

Media's Role in Political Communication: The Case of Climate Change

*Analyzing the Issue of Climate Change in the
Media Democracy the Past Decade*

Ingeborg Nyrud



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Comparing Newspaper Media with Political Communication in Norway: Coinciding Practices?

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Ingeborg Nyrud

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Abstract

Media is highly intertwined with politics in the Western democracies today. Zooming in on Norway, the process of mediatization has affected Norwegian politics to the extent that strategies have been made to work with, rather than against, news media. Mediatization also affects the climate change issue wherein politicians may use it strategically by paying lip-sync due to its high salience; at the expense of proposing real solutions. Consequently, the thesis question is: **How is the issue of climate change presented by the media, and do political communication comparatively provide a different or similar presentation of the same issue?** The thesis contributes to research by filling a gap in knowledge about the issue of climate change's degree of mediatization in the Norwegian public sphere, where media and politics are the two main actors. By gaining insight into what determines media attention as well as how media might determine political communication style and attention, it is possible to deem the issue's position in the landscape and the efforts thereafter.

The data consisted of newspaper articles, analyzed with quantitative content analysis from 2007 until 2018; paired with an in-depth qualitative analysis of the coverage of the Conference of Parties 21 (COP21) by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Paris, France in 2015. The data is analyzed with theories of newspaper coverage on complex issues, the theory of media logic and social media logics, as well as issue ownership and opposition possibilities, applied with codes at the appropriate units of analysis.

The answer to the thesis question is, in short, that increased attention has been paid to the issue over time, but that no clear development has been found for the presentation of the issue by the media. Whereas media, furthermore, follow their logics for discussion; political communication does not merely pay lip-sync to these logics unconditionally. Some practices are coinciding, but this depends heavily on the political party.

Preface

Two (and a half) interesting and educational years at Blindern is now over. I feel privileged for the opportunity of writing this thesis. I have to thank my supervisor, Asimina Michailidou, for excellent help and great understanding of my ideas.

Writing a thesis can be frustrating and lonely. Starting the process at a time when my fellow students ended theirs, enhanced these feelings. Simultaneously, I do not think the alternative could have been better. Spending time with Eli Marie and Kendra certainly made up for the lack of sun, and I spent great days with you during the summer months.

My family deserves thanks as well. Mom, dad – you taught me well. Helga, Anders, for being the best siblings I could have wished for.

Responsibility for mistakes and inaccuracies remain entirely mine.

Oslo, November 2019

Ingeborg Nyrud

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1 Introduction

1.1 Politics and Media in Norway

The Norwegian party system grew out of a crisis within the parliamentary system in the 1880s. As a consequence of this crisis, the country became politically organized in parties. From this came the necessity for a medium that could provide information on behalf of the parties, as well as dialogue with the voters; and out of it grew the party press. For a long time, there was a strong link between politics and the media wherein the political parties played the leading role. Much has changed from that time, and the formerly strong connection is no longer in effect. It is, however, still a significant and integrated relationship despite the many changes during the past decades. Some (Østerud & Selle, 2006) argues that the changes in the relationship have led to a weakened parliamentary chain of government because of the increased independence of the part of the mass media.

The relationship has gone through four phases since the Second World War and is today characterized by a dominant media. The former professional ties between the two actors ended in the late 1950s. In the 1960s came the advent of the television, which was a direct threat to the loyal party press, but it furthermore lasted well until the 1970s. Throughout that, and the next decade, there was a dissolution of the party press, which consequently led to more professionalized journalism, and further increased the independence of the media from the party system. This development continued into the 1990s, when the last phase started, seeing further development of the professionalization and independence. New stages are a continuation of the previous phases who do not end, but nevertheless remain in certain structures. For example is there today certain remnants of a party press wherein some newspapers are still owned by political parties or political organization (Østbye & Aalberg, 2008).

The relationship between politics and media, as well as the citizenry in Norway, can furthermore be understood as a continuous process of *mediatization*: an “adaption of politics to the needs of the mass media” (Haßler, Maurer, & Oschatz, 2014, p. 326). This term suggests a process where the media has gained increased influence, importance and independence vis-à-vis the political system. Some scholars (Mazzoleni, 2008) even argue that

politics *is* communication. Without discussing how far the process has come, it is nonetheless evident that politics adapt to media in two ways, according to Donges (2008, cited in Haßler et al., 2014). Political parties can change their organizational structures, for example, by establishing press offices or selecting political candidates according to their media theft. They can furthermore change their communication behavior, which includes holding press conferences, keeping close contact with media people or by strategizing their communication. This is what is called media logic (Mazzoleni, 2008; Strömbäck, 2008), which has been studied extensively, generally in an election context due to the need for political attention in such periods.

Climate change as a political issue has been on the agenda primarily since the 1980s in Norway; its attention caused by unusually warm summers around the world with droughts and heatwaves. It has climaxed politically, at least according to their issue ownership, with the Norwegian Green Party winning one seat in the national Parliament in the 2013 election (Wernersen, 2013). The issue is present and broadly discussed in the public debate today because of its all-hitting consequences; as it

underlies the deep interconnectedness of people, calls for new kinds of models of transnational governance, requires a radically future-oriented political imagination, and challenges the very material base that our modern, carbon-thirsty cultures are built on (Kunelius, 2014, p. 63).

On the one side, the content of climate change for news media depends on (1) the case of an occurrence in the natural world, such as floods or extreme weather, or (2) in relation to climate-related political events (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 331). On the other side, scholars (Anderson, 2009) also argue that science discoveries or scientific are the determining factors. Also politicians' role is discussed (Schäfer, Ivanova, & Schmidt, 2014). To gain knowledge about this in the Norwegian context, and the issue's role in the mediatized society, this thesis aims at answering the question: *How is the issue of climate change presented by the media, and do political communication comparatively provide a different or similar presentation of the same issue?*

This question is important for at least three key perspectives. The first is for the perspective from the case of climate change in itself. The way parties communicate about climate change is essential for the public and how they perceive the issue. As it is collectively agreed (almost

exclusively) beyond political party divisions that something has to be done about global warming and greenhouse gas emissions (Klima- og miljødepartementet, 2014), it is important to investigate whether political parties are committed to action that will mitigate global warming, or are merely paying lip service to the climate change emergency. One way to determine whether climate change is taken seriously by political parties, but by no means the only one, is, therefore, to investigate the role, if any, and framing of climate change in political party public communication efforts.

The second perspective is about democracy, as the media logic arguably can be damaging for the role of political parties in the parliamentary system. Mediatization makes issues in the political realm objects for techniques used in media context; historically not in politics. The consequence is that politics is less about substantiality and more about communication and strategizing. Using climate change as a case study for a common starting point can broaden our understanding about media in general as well as its effect and “colonization” of politics in the media democracy most Western democracies operate in today.

The third aspect is about political parties. While media is said to affect the political landscape, it is not a given that this influences them equally or that they respond to the climate change issue similarly. Therefore, comparing the political parties in their climate change communication can gain insight in both how they respond to the role of the media in the issue but also how they place themselves in relation to the issue, not ideologically, but in terms of political communication. This can affect the public’s perception of the severities, or the lack thereof, surrounding the issue. If there are significant differences internally in the political landscape, knowing who communicates more or less substantially and about the issue, can help navigate among the different political parties.

1.2 The Case of Climate Change

Climate change, as already noted, is a central issue on the political agenda today. The 1700s marks the first mentioning of the “climate question”, facilitated by research programmes exploring the fundamental physical processes in the environment, learning about connections between deforestation and precipitation; especially done in the U.S. context. Simultaneously, the newspapers mostly focused on the links between weather, food and climate, with the unusually cold winters in the Northern Hemisphere and its consequences being the main

object of coverage by the news media (Boykoff, 2011, p. 41). Examining the weather as a factor of “longer-term climate change” has been conventional in the coverage by the media, with evidence of this tracing back to the 1700s and 1800s. This displays how deep the roots are in linking the weather and climate in the public discussion and the “highly politicized atmosphere of climate science and politics”, with media as a broker between them; still up to this present day (Boykoff, 2011, p. 43).

Several events in the decades from the 1960s onwards, proved as essential contributors to the mass-media coverage regarding climate change, especially in the U.S., but also globally. The 1969 moon landing and the first Earth Day in 1970, as well as the global oil shocks in the 1970s, inspired additional considerations and coverage by the media in questioning facets about the environment. Today, scientists estimate that several billion tons of carbon are emitted into the atmosphere each year, with emissions from the fossil fuels being the primary source of anthropogenic emissions since the 1950s until present (Le Quéré et al., 2018). Countries like China, USA and India, are leading in this development, as well as the EU member countries overall. The actual losers in this equation, are the developing countries who have not yet had their economic growth like the countries in the North had during the industrial revolution and could be prevented from this because of the global demand to decrease the fossil fuel emissions. Because of this, the global effect of climate change and the growing concern about it, the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was formed in 1988. This was the first international coordination concerning the issue where both politics and science interplayed to find strategies and solutions (Bolin, 2007). Shortly after, the political summit, Conference of Parties (COP) established, based on the “Rio Convention” in 1992. The first meeting was held in Berlin in 1995 and has since been held annually with an “overall framework intended to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases” (Rhodes, 2016). Next meeting is in Madrid, Spain in December 2019.

The case of climate change is nevertheless more than just an annual international political meeting. In the twenty-first century, the issue has become the first demonstration of how the public interacts with the environment. Everything about the issue, both discussed by scientists and by politicians, cut to the heart of how people “live, work, play and relax in modern life” and accordingly affect almost every aspect of the life (Boykoff, 2011, p. 1). It is one of the most global, pressing issues of our time, deemed an “anthropogenic” problem as “human activities have contributed significantly to global climate change” (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007,

p. 1190), and that the phenomenon can “seriously alter life on earth” (Weingart, Engels, & Pansegrau, 2000, p. 261).

As of the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) in Paris, and the following Paris Agreement, there was made a new set of an international framework to work on the climate change issue, and reach the infamous aspirational 1.5°C “above pre-industrial levels” (Falkner, 2016, p. 1114). Different from any previous agreements, the Paris Agreement relied heavier on the signing countries’ voluntary climate policy ambition. Following this logic, the discussions, decisions and politics in each country play a critical role (Carter, Ladrech, Little, & Tsagkroni, 2018). The national context also includes mass media, which makes them an essential contributor to the understanding of the issue; the political, scientific and environmental aspect of climate change is being observed and discussed, not just by scientist and politicians, but also the media.

1.3 Area of Study and the Contribution of the Thesis

Media and politics, as well as their relationship and dependencies, have been subject for many scientific investigations in Norway. It has been studied in the general context of democracy (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011; Østbye & Aalberg, 2008), in an election situation (Bjørklund, 1991; Strömbäck & Aalberg, 2008) and in a context of increased fragmentation, as internet and social media has gained more attention (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Kalsnes, 2016), to mention a few.

Media and politics’ relationship with the issue of climate change has also been a topic of investigation in previous studies. For example, has the book by Eide (2014) investigated both politicians and journalists relationship to the issue, asking questions surrounding the climate in the media, global climate issues, political prioritizing and how the electorate relates to Norway as an oil-producing “climate-friendly” nation. They find that the climate issue is depoliticized in Norwegian politics because of *klimaforliket*, an agreement signed by all parties, except one, in Parliament, which hindered the issue to become important in the election. They also argue that climate negotiations and discovery of new oil sparks the commentary in the media and that they usually argue both for the climate and the oil, which is seen as a paradox.

Considering only the mass media's representation of climate change, it is evident that the issue is highly salient. It is developed and redeveloped by the media all the time, accordingly after the complexity of the issue. They are "important agents in the production, reproduction, and transformation of the meaning" of anthropogenic climate change (Carvalho, 2010, p. 172). The issue is furthermore often told by scientists whose communication is translated to the general public, through media and according to specific journalistic standards and norms. Due to these factors, the issue has historically had problems achieving sufficient attention from news outlets in the United States, but the attention has increased the past 15 years (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). This also applies to the European context, in for example Sweden (Shehata & Hopmann, 2012) Germany or France (Grundmann and Krishnamurthy, 2010, cited in Schäfer et al., 2014). Media's attention for climate change furthermore peaks at certain times, such as at times of international political conferences. The media is nevertheless regarded as an essential educator and a "broker" between politics and the public and inhibits an crucial democratic function when it comes to informing the public about scientific knowledge (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Ryghaug, 2011). They have the opportunity to set the agenda, and frame the issue according to the context they operate in. It is however expected that some of the same structures are apparent in Norway as in Sweden, because of the geographical and political similarities between the countries. This can be said about other countries seemingly more different than Norway as well, due to the global impact of climate change. It is therefore expected that the attention on the issue has increased approximately the last 15 years and that it the issue is mainly driven by the international surroundings; the scientists; and at times, other "issue entrepreneurs" such as organizations. National politicians are expected to consequently take a smaller part of the issue as other actors take the main stage. The first research question is, therefore:

RQ1: *Who and what drove the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers in the period 2007 – 2018?*

There are additionally several studies looking into the issue of climate change, when focusing only on political communication. Blasio and Sorice (2013, p. 61) argue that communicating about such an issue might perhaps be different from other issues because of the moral obligation politicians have to reduce global warming by "lead[ing] to public recognition of its urgency and engender public support for established policies". According to them, there are two arguments typical for the official communication in Italian politics: the issue is (1) too

distant, and (2) scientifically ‘uncertain’. There is a multitude of examples (Båtstrand, 2014, 2015; Ryghaug, 2011; Weingart et al., 2000) that supports the findings of Blasio and Sorice (2013). The communication logic of politics includes a complex process where the problem must be framed as solvable by politicians, and consequently, because of the complexity of the climate change issue, there is neither an urge nor a possibility to solve the problem fast. Quite contrary, a typical strategy is to refer to science and the need for more and less unsure knowledge on the issue. Analyzing this context found that the issue is not necessarily subject for media logic, as is the case for most mediatized political issues. Haßler et al. (2014) studied political communication channels as well as the media coverage of the Conference of Parties (COP)-meetings in 2011 and 2012 in Germany. The findings were sometimes opposite for specific effects of media logic, and they suggested that media logic is much less present in a regular context than for election campaigns. It also depends on Based on this research, the expectation for Norway is that political communication is different from the media communication according to the media logic. Media adhere to its logics, and the political communication, in contrast, only partly to the same logics, because 1) it is not in an election context and 2) not necessarily an issue deemed newsworthy. The second research question is therefore:

RQ2: *Do direct political communication channels provide a different or similar presentation of the climate change issue than news media?*

As with the differences between the news media and the political parties, there are also internal differences between the parties and how they communicate. Several theories and potential reasons exist for this but accounting for them all is beyond the scope of this thesis. That is why it deliberately limits itself to focus on the communication of the issue in Norwegian political Facebook pages. The Norwegian context is studied several times before (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Kalsnes, 2016; Larsson, 2016; Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014; Thesen, 2013), and found it more personal, more interactive and furthermore in a “permanent campaign”. Also, other contextual factors are central, such as professionalization of politics. However, as the climate change issue and mediatization, together, are heavily understudied in Norway, a starting point is the communication differences between political parties. The expectation is that ownership (or the lack thereof) might determine the communication: The “green” parties discuss it more than other parties. Government parties do not furthermore take

any blame of the issue, but opposing parties simultaneously try to place blame. The third research question is thus:

RQ3: *How is the climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?*

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis continues on the reasoning done in the introduction into the theoretical perspectives presented in chapter two. Theoretical insight includes media reporting on complex issues such as climate change; mediatized politics and media logic; political communication theories taking into account the nature of social media, as well as theories accounting for differences, such as issue ownership and policy responsibility.

The third chapter explains the choice of method, which is a mixed-methods of quantitative content analysis supplied with an in-depth qualitative analysis. An explanation of the empirical foundation in which the study operates in, and the codebook for analysis, is done. A discussion of reliability and validity is done last in the chapter.

Chapter four presents the findings, first of quantitative analysis, and second, of the in-depth qualitative analysis. It also comprises of some discussion in terms of differences between media and politics. The fifth chapter further discusses implications and answers all three research questions. The final chapter concludes and gives remarks and discusses the possibilities for future research.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this section, the problem under study places itself in a broader theoretical framework by discussing theoretical insights on newspaper reporting and journalistic norms due to their independence from politics and market-driven practices today. Then, the thesis moves to the main anchor point of the thesis, the sphere where media and politics meet and the process of mediatization in politics. As media becomes increasingly powerful, the politics are likely to take after them, in the form of adopting their media logic. While this kind of media remains powerful today, a new type of media has also made its way to the forefront as of recently, and these social media bring with them new kinds of logics, which is also discussed. Lastly, the issue sees it from the politics' side, where the individual differences between political parties' reaction to the agenda-setting effect, the theory of issue ownership and policy responsibility, is discussed. The theoretical discussion aims to place the issue of climate change both within the specific context of the Norwegian media and political public sphere, and the broader discussion on mediatization of politics and politicization of climate change.

2.2 The Norwegian Media System: The Democratic Corporatist Model

Historically, as already explained in the introduction, the newspapers were a communication outlet for the political parties. From 1880 until 1925, all the major parties had own newspapers. Almost all parts of the country had at least one newspaper, which lasted well into the 1960s, with an exception from 1940 until 1945. It was not until the 1970s that the newspapers became depoliticized. This materialized itself due to market mechanisms where the need for increased readership forced them to reach outside of voters and supporters, consequently toning down the political profile. Profit-oriented investors entered the media sphere, which made it more independent and the journalists more professional. In 1969, state subsidiary was also introduced to overcome local monopoly situations. Media ownership is furthermore regulated by law in Norway in order to ensure “freedom of expression and a comprehensive range of media” (Østbye & Aalberg, 2008, p. 94).

Norway is, according to Hallin and Mancini (2011), a system under the Democratic Corporatist Model. These countries are old and robust in liberal institutions, strong in the development of civil society, limited in state power and are social states, which is at state guarantee of responsibility. Three distinct features are present for a Democratic Corporatist country: (1) It is strongly developed in mass-circulated commercial media, coupled with media tied to political and civil groups, (2) the coexistence of political parallelism and journalistic professionalization, and (3) the coexistence of liberal traditions such as an autonomous press, along with an intervening press.

All three of these features are present for the Norwegian context, but some are diminishing more than others, according to Østbye and Aalberg (2008). The corporative features are smaller now than before, and the market has taken a more significant share. It is also evident that it took more time for the press to become depoliticized, due to their historical ties with politics, causing a late development of the commercialized media. The scale has certainly tipped lately, as the primary concern in the landscape today is whether the media is too commercialized and market-oriented, which can threaten the media diversity.

As a consequence of the historical structures, the newspaper's systems comprise of specific characteristics. As a whole, it is addressed to the mass public. It is furthermore a part of a vertical process of communication, mediating between the political elite and the mass public of the society. It is low in gender gaps in terms of the target groups and consists of both national and local newspapers in the same market, as well as some examples of party-press papers (Hallin & Mancini, 2011, pp. 22-25).

2.2.1 Newspaper Reporting and Journalistic Norms

Due to these developments and the ultimate independence they experience, the mass media is addressed to the public. This is because of the market forces that push them to a big audience. They can be the link between the mass public's realities and experiences, and the discussions by scientists, policymakers and public actors. As for the climate change issue, the newspapers can help understand and make meaning of the complexities in climate science and governance. They also decide what becomes the discourse in the public as it "shapes our perceptions, considerations and actions" (Boykoff, 2011, p. 29).

News media have proved to be an essential component in encouraging the climate issue. Media's attention is limited, and the position they give an issue in terms of attention has an "agenda-setting" effects on the members of the audience. The more attention the issue is given, the more the audience deems the issue important (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Schäfer et al., 2014). This issue-attention cycle was first proposed in 1972 by Downs, explaining the "coming and going of news coverage and public concern" (Schäfer et al., 2014; Trumbo, 1996, p. 274). It includes stages of realization, reality-check and the gradual decline of the interest. These stages have been the basis for the "dimensions of information sources" that determines how an issue moves from being vague to becoming visible (Liu et al. 2011, cited in Schäfer et al., 2014, p. 154).

Attention for the climate in the U.S. was determined by, firstly "problem indicators": factual based, for example, the average temperature or extreme weather conditions, where the latter factor is the more significant as it has greater news value and more eligible for becoming news. The second group of factors is "focusing events": high-profile international events, bringing attention for three reasons: (1) it gives attention to hidden problems, (2) it proposes new policy alternatives and (3) mobilize interest groups. This can be the Conference of Parties (COP) meetings held annually by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, other political events or even cultural events that bring the climate change issue to the front. These events can push attention in favor of the issue, at the expense of others. The third and last factor is feedback from civil society and scientists to build climate change as a political issue. Feedback can come from interest groups or opinion polls, all-determining the attention of the issue (Schäfer et al., 2014, p. 154).

Furthermore, as the issue is affected by the stages of attention, the journalists are also driven by their own practice when deeming climate change as newsworthy for the media agenda. It is one of the most challenging fields in journalism due to the high stream of information from the society, simultaneously as the formal training is often lacking for environmental issues, making it complicated to make judgements about the flow of information, and being the broker of information. Thirdly, the issue is complicated for journalists due to the "creeping" nature with a lack of events that can dramatize and facilitate the possibility to "tell the story". Because of the relevance and importance of the issue, there have been several "issue entrepreneurs" on both sides who have succeeded in telling a story to the news and thus gained momentum for the issue in the media. For example, politicians arranging press

conferences or making conflicts with other politicians, or moreover, organizations on either side, protesting. The “issue entrepreneurs” might do the issue a disservice, however, as it fails to be informative and give real insight; instead of becoming a metaphor for something else that is rather game-focused (Young & Dugas, 2011, p. 4).

The issue became more substantive and matured in the American context, by mainly being discussed in political measures; rather opposite of the prior vague, scientific issue. The discussions in the media became more diverse and often surrounding the aspect of adaptation to the climatic changes, as well as the anthropogenic dimension of it. Audiences are accordingly more willing to engage with the problem if the issue is presented in a broader context, surrounded by other issues, having the possibility to impact the audience increasingly (Trumbo, 1996, cited in Young & Dugas, 2011).

Boykoff (2011, p. 99) further elaborates on the journalists own preconditions for fathoming and explaining the issue. Journalists are, first and foremost, not objective, according to him. The factors that affect them when deciding are “large-scale social, political and economic”, such as the market forces, the lack of state subsidiary, or the target group (Hallin & Mancini, 2011). Furthermore, there are several factors (structural, institutional, cultural and psychological) that operate simultaneously that construct meaning. The product from this is several norms, such as personalization, dramatization, balance, authority-order and novelty.

Personalization focuses on the individuals rather than groups or social processes in the story. This gives the story a focus on the micro-level rather than macro, and furthermore demands image and visuals. Due to fragmentation of the format that media operates in, there is no opportunity for lengthy and complicated resonating, but rather a game aspect and a person-focus that keeps the attention of the audience. People consuming news as the main source of knowledge may consequently be distracted from substantial analyses of climate change, (Boykoff, 2011; Mazzoleni, 2008).

The second norm, dramatization, makes the news focus on the “immediate and spectacular”, and on controversy and stories for provocation. Consequently, while the subtle news might provide more information about the issue, it is more often dismissed at the expense of more dramatized stories. It is similar to the novelty- norm, which is the constant need for developing new and fresh stories, opposite of persistent stories, because of the highly competitive environment for journalists (Boykoff, 2011, p. 104).

The fourth norm, authority-order, forces media to sacrifice a wide range of voices in sophisticated reporting due to the desire to consult “political leaders, high-profile scientists, government officials, environmental non-governmental organizations figureheads and titans” (Boykoff, 2011, p. 107).

Similarly, the “balance”-norm can give minority viewpoints disproportionate attention, due to the journalistic desire to balance out a statement by someone else’s statement. It is clear that these journalistic norms are measures to make important news fathomable for consumer-citizens, but there are simultaneously dangers to the use of the standards uncritical and unaware of the far-reaching effects they may have (Boykoff, 2011, pp. 118-119). These are further discussed in the media logic-section.

2.3 Mediatization in the ‘Media Democracy’

As explained, journalists have their practices due to independence from politics. The consequence is, following the mediatization process, that media and politics become two highly interrelated concepts. Mediatization is more than just the “fundamental” task of the mass media in translating information to the mass public, the mediation, which is a communication tool already established. It is a process where media becomes more dominant, furthermore at the expense of politics, in the ‘media democracy’ (Mazzoleni, 2008).

Mediatization is a developing concept consisting of four phases (Strömbäck, 2008). The first phase is characterized by the mass media as the primary source of information in the society; the second phase is when media is independent, increasingly governed by media logic than political logic; the third phase is whenever media cannot be ignored by the political actors, because of its importance in the society, and politicians need strategies to handle them. This is when the spin-doctor, whose job is to “spin” a message from a specific point of view, becomes a profession. Consequently, media reality and the “actual” reality is now the same thing, and the public gets their truth via the “mediated truth”. The fourth and last phase is when this “mediated truth” is accepted as the reality and highly integrates into government processes. Media “colonizes” politics, and political and media logic are in many cases not able to be distinguished from each other. Consequential, newsworthiness is essential for all

the processes of governing, and there are made no clear distinctions between the times of governing and the election-period (Strömbäck, 2008, pp. 236-241).

The media system is, however, crucial for the media democracy as it is the “Fourth Estate” whose job is to check on those in power. Simultaneously, as it forms the expectations and reality of the public and forces those who want who influence and decide, into communicating via the principles of the media, “it equates to a problem that requires constant attention” (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 240). This holds especially true for political actors who, in a constitutional or pragmatic perspective, is held responsible by the citizens and are in a position where they have need re-election. The system is guided by dynamics where “the more independent media are from politics, the more dependent they become on market forces” (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 241). Thus, in the process of mediatization, where media becomes increasingly independent from politics, they have to become increasingly commercialized in order to survive. This is when they reflect the ideas of the public and contribute to the public debate, so that they are justified. Thus, although market-driven, the media is a highly valued asset in the democracy, and if considered problematic, political options such as state subsidiary and the public broadcast are methods to slow down the process of mediatization. Somewhat ironically, the process of media becoming increasingly independent is based on political decisions (Strömbäck, 2008).

Five basic principles for the practice of politics in this mediatized democracy are apparent. Politics is a competition between opposing ideas and trying to impact the surroundings is a part of this contest. Media is a perfect tool for these ends and gaining access to it can help reach millions of people. The first obstacle to this is the competition for attention. Power over the media comes with power in politics, according to Wolfsfeld (2011, p. 9). It is not to say that other actors cannot gain attention, they have to do it by other means, like providing more essential events or better information for the media. Now while it seems as politicians with power can always get their message across, the media is furthermore independent and discusses issues also by defying the terms of the politicians. After all, what they are after is a good story, as previously discussed.

Furthermore, Wolfsfeld (2011, p. 30) discusses *Politics-Media-Politics-Cycle*. By emphasizing that it is a cycle, he argues that “political change leads to changes in the way the news media cover issues which leads to further political change”. An example is the Vietnam War seen from the US media’s perspective. As the war unfolded and changes in the consensus

concerning policies were apparent, media started to report on these disagreements, which in turn led to more negative coverage and again determined political change in office. This example shows that the news media have an agenda-setting effect by “not merely reflect[ing] political change; in many cases, they can magnify and accelerate change” (Wolfsfeld, 2011). Agenda setting is the potential the media have to influence and structure political reality and to drive the public debate, for example, by focusing on specific aspects of an issue or by requiring answers from the responsible.

The three last principles see it from the perspective of the media. Media is not merely a mouthpiece for the political actors; they also transform it into the news. Although they are dependent on the actual world and the development therein, the media can furthermore work with these to gain a broader audience. The first principle is that there is no such thing as objective journalism, for example, biases will determine the content. Cultural and ideological biases, Wolfsfeld (2011, p. 47) mentions. The first bias has to do with the nearness of news, and that people are more interested in news close to themselves than the very distant. News frames play a big part by being able to turn distant information into something local. The second bias has to do with ideologies that are more “visible”, manifested through the journalist’s own personal convictions. Second, the media are more than anything dedicated to telling a good, often tabloid story in order to have a big audience, occasionally at the expense of good and useful information for politics. Third, citizens tend to oversee the persuasion journalists inhibits, which is either intentional or unintentional. For example that they are exposed to a very selective part of the information and the actual reality which subsequently when learning from this, can be learning in very skewed ways (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 110).

Chadwick (2017) furthermore discusses a similar theoretical concept, namely the “political information cycle”. This includes interactions and interventions by politicians, officials, communications staff and professional news workers. This is today more fragmented because of the new media, which makes the cycle period less predictable as it today goes past the latest and the next issue of a newspaper. Political communication is positioned in this realm, dubbed the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017). The rapid changes in the media environment are consequential for politics because it reshuffles the power between the actors where older and newer media logics work side by side. These logics are understood as technologies, norms and behaviors, and the most influential individuals in this situation are whoever can “create, tap or steer information flows in ways that suit their goals” (Chadwick,

2017, p. 4). The situation is therefore gradually inclusive as more actors can gain access to the power possessed by the media. At the same time, the traditional media has also found fruitful assets with the new media and adapted thereafter, as a mean of maintaining the impact (Chadwick, 2017, p. 285). The influence of new media is discussed further in the end of this chapter.

2.3.1 Media Logic

As shown here, politics and media are highly interrelated, and politics adapt to the media after their needs. One of the adaptations is to change communication conduct to that of media. The media logic was first defined by Altheide and Snow (1979, p. 10) as a way of seeing and interpreting social affairs, and a way of communicating through techniques focusing on the presentation, the focus or the grammar of the content. Finding these gave an increased understanding of the media process, but has since been criticized for being too vague (Haßler et al., 2014).

Today, it is a process co-created by the media, the politicians, as well as the public. Through a process of adaption of the media logic by other actors, they become highly intertwined with it. It is the most dominant source of information; it can tell a story and has the ability to give a presentation that no other actor in advanced democracies can. This logic causes interactions based on what is “valued information and communication”. (Chadwick, 2017, p. 23; Klinger & Svensson, 2015).

As for the political communication, this means emphasizing techniques on selecting news and presenting them via dramaturgy in order to “keep readers’, viewers’ and listeners’ attention” (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 327). This furthermore argues that media logics operate at the expense of political logic because they work after different agendas and by different *modi operandi* (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1244). Political logic is for example, historically invested in gaining acceptance and finding common grounds, and not concerned with the same way of dramatizing as they can control their content without any dependencies. The adoption of this logic can, however, be seen in two “places” or aspects of politics, according to Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999, p. 251). In the representatives of politics, such as the government, the parties of the political leaders and how their communication styles; or in the actual content and

substantiality of political discourse, which consequently becomes less focused on the discussion of issues and ideology.

Five main aspects can distinguish media logic from political logic (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). The first is the policy-polity-politics dimension. Media reports normally about the politics or polity dimension, focusing on the game, the race and the process of discussion, agreeing and disagreeing (politics); or on the formal dimension, for example, the institutions and their framework (polity). Simultaneously, political communication, especially in televised debates or on party websites, emphasizes the policy dimension because it allows them to discuss the substantiality of things.

The second dimension is personalization, which is content that is personalized in any manner. This kind of content normally becomes news, which is why politicians are inclined to personalize their communication. This holds especially true for election campaigns, but it is simultaneously not found any clear evidence of increased personalization. It is, however, a common strategy to personalize political communication, so a coinciding practice for this dimension can be found for both political and media logic (Boykoff, 2011; Haßler et al., 2014).

The third dimension is negativity. From the media, negative articles outnumber the positive, and framing issues from a negative point of view becomes more frequently. Traditionally this has not been the case for politicians, but several studies (Takens et al., 2013 cited in Haßler et al., 2014; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999) have found that development towards more negativity is evident for politicians as well. Increasingly more content bases it on attacking the opponent, especially true for election debates, and less is about the substantiality of the politics they defend themselves.

Fourth is topicality as an aspect of presenting communication. Politicians are generally concerned with the long-term issue of things because it is in only in that context it is possible to describe their policies and how to deal with issue fairly. However, as assumed by scholars elsewhere (Van Aelst, Maddens, Noppe, & Fiers, 2008), the focus of news and its per definition short-lived “newness” and focus on events rather than long-term issues, has made politicians more short-termed in their communication as well.

Last is the aspect of ambiguity. Here, the media and politics are opposite from each other as the first wants to be as clear and direct as possible when reporting on political issues, and a news item can be selected based on its unambiguity. On the other, politics can maximize support and avoid distraught any voters by vaguely discussing their politics as it easier finds common ground. A classic strategy is then to instead focus on the opponent (Maurer, 2009, cited in Haßler et al., 2014).

These five aspects of media logic, as opposed to political logic, are found theoretically through research done in the election context, but furthermore verified through a non-election context (Haßler et al., 2014). The aspects are therefore used also in this study to analyze whether it holds for the Norwegian context. This exact situation, the international political event such as the climate meeting, is under-studied in the Norwegian situation and although the theory is not verified for the situation is that all the more reason for improving the knowledge.

2.4 Political Communication in the ‘Digital Democracy’

The practice by news media and political actors is highly intertwined, so when the new media emerges, this threatens the power and status of both the media and the politics. Both actors have to adapt to this new media, or they see their relevancy disappear (Chadwick, 2017). The concept of digital democracy was first coined by (Hacker & van Dijk, p. 1) in 2000, defining it as “a collection of attempts to practice democracy without the limits of time, space and other physical conditions, (...) as an addition, not a replacement for traditional ‘analogue’ political practices”. They argue that the digital democracy - term is adequate because it covers both old and new media, and that the new media includes defying old constraints that propose new possibilities and positive effects for the democracy. The public can, for example, gather information more efficiently or participate in discussions and through that become more enlightened citizens. The citizens furthermore affect the government by having a more prominent voice through the digital democracy because the communication is direct and not distorted by “mediators like journalists (...)” (Hacker & van Dijk, 2000, p. 4). This relationship likewise goes the opposite way as well as it enables politicians to respond directly to the citizens. The new media are therefore in a position where it can provide new alternatives for communication in the democracy, and while posing a threat to politics and media, is used strategically.

2.4.1 Social Media Logics

Today, we move away from the definition of media logic by Altheide and Snow (1979), and move towards a fragmented, competing public with several logics. Thus, how is political communication affected when using social media and its logics? One apparent structure that affects communication is the network aspect. Mass media is directed towards the mass following its nature and established “popularity”. Social media, however, do not reach the general public and must use the logics of the network in order to succeed. This implies that it is not sufficient for political parties to be present on Facebook; they must also use it strategically to get attention which gives followers and potentially more voters. Several structural and practical techniques is not elaborated here, but the main point is that content is selected based on attention-maximizing, such as the wish to “go viral”, which includes positive, personalized and emotional content because it resonates well with the audience. “Virality” includes a longer lifespan (and is recycled, rather than having a lifespan of just a couple of hours, due to nature of social media such as a constant stream of new information) (Asur, Huberman, Szabo, & Wang, 2011). Social media communication, in contrast to mass media’s professional codes and evaluation of news value, is, therefore, freer in deciding their content. The main objective is nevertheless to gain access to new networks and new audience, which can ultimately give them more voters (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1253).

New media such as Facebook are furthermore an addition to the existing mass media and not a direct threat to it. It can provide information directly from the source, and it can improve discussions amongst the public, but it is still not the primary provider of information, and especially not as nuanced and relevant as the mass media are, who are guided by journalistic standards and norms. The two types of media are simultaneously interdependent of each other, in the same way that political and media logic is. The logics furthermore overlap and is used strategically by each other, for example, by sharing news articles on Facebook pages or by monitoring social media for newspaper content. For the political parties communicating in social media, can campaigning be a period of heightened content because it can “market their candidacies, mobilize their voters for the upcoming election, discuss politics or a combination” (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013, p. 759).

2.4.2 Political Attention: Policy Responsibility and Issue- Ownership

Media has a political agenda-setting power carrying inevitable consequences for the political parties. It is not a question of if this effect takes place, but rather when. Given that the media devotes amounts of attention to an issue, this has implications for the specific party that the society perceives as good at the issue. A specific issue that has been under investigation is the environment as it a so-called “sensational issue” due to its abstractness and the fact that the population do not have experience with it and henceforth rely on the media for gaining knowledge (Thesen, 2013, p. 366). The typifying of issues that are more or less prominent in the media’s agenda-setting is furthermore excessive if the relationship between the issue and the political party is not explained. Two specific contributions stand out here: policy responsibility and the theory of issue ownership.

The role of the political party determines policy responsibility and whether it is in opposition or governmental. Whereas the government has apparent strengths by holding power, such as lawmaking, can the opposition counter with the privilege of attacking and placing blame on the development in the country. The opposition, therefore, emphasizes the negativity in political communication and highlights only the issues where the government looks bad. On the contrary, the government focuses on positive development. Parties in opposition can furthermore demand more, complain and place blame, and the government only “accepts” this blame attribution if it is in a context where another factor may be determined of the situation. This can be the international economic market or, as in this context, the environment as it is depended on so many other actors as well (Thesen, 2013).

The theory of issue ownership argues that some issues links to certain political parties. Investigating political parties’ climate policies is essential for three reasons. First, parties can be either facilitators or obstructions to governments’ climate change mitigation policies. Moreover, when in government, it is the political parties that are important when formulating and implementing climate policies. Second, as argued by the authors, political parties can shape the attitudes of the citizens and the opinion. Thus, political parties play an essential role in accelerating the acceptance of the issue and changing behavior. Third, because of the magnitude required to mitigate the effects of climate change, the political parties have a great responsibility in connecting citizens to political decisions. Parties act as policymakers, leaders and representatives (Carter, Ladrech, & Little, 2014).

The starting point for this is the “salience theory”, which argues that a political party should not mention issues where voters do not have trust in them because it brings attention to

something that other political parties' profits from discussing, which could ultimately push voters to leave. Owning an issue increases, however, their incentives for public discussion, which is done in greater detail and with more confidence by voters. This competition between parties, seen in large part through discussions, is the basis for the trust that is built up by voters because it is through that medium that politicians can argue their best solutions, which in turn can increase trust. Long historical lines, where all political parties are a product of political conflict, the electorate's dissatisfaction and their need for political representation, demonstrates this. Therefore is any party that is a product of concrete conflict dimensions the most trusted party with issue ownership in that specific situation (Budge & Farlie, 1983; Karlsen & Aardal, 2007, p. 24).

The trust that is gained from the electorate is, however, not given and are prone to be lost if the parties do not "deliver" in terms of policy solutions for the issue. Whenever they have the trust, they also have the ownership of the issue. Issue ownership is thus less carved in stone and can float between parties to a much greater extent. For parties to gain anything from the issue ownership, the issue must furthermore be high on the agenda. It is in this situation the media can play a role because of their capacity to set the agenda, choose the newsworthy issues and draw a conflict in which an issue-owning party can win attention and ultimately votes. That is why political parties must have a strategy both in terms of winning issue ownership, but also making sure that the issue is brought up and maintained in the public debate, especially manifested through media but also through the communication channels the politicians have power over themselves (Karlsen & Aardal, 2007). It is therefore interesting to investigate media logics, and doing so by investigating it with content analysis, accounted for in the next chapter.

3 Method Framework and Data Material

3.1 Introduction

This thesis adopts a mixed-method approach, deploying both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to find the answers to the research questions presented in the previous chapter. Specifically, the empirical component comprises of: a) content analysis of news coverage for the period 2007 – 2018, through systematically defined categories for each variable, to answer research question one (*who and what drove the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers in the period 2007 – 2018?*); b) in-depth analysis of texts taken from the period of four weeks surrounding the Conference of Parties (COP) in Paris in December 2015, to answer research questions two (*do direct political communication channels provide a different or similar presentation of the climate change issue than news media?*) and three (*how is the climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?*).

This chapter presents the methods firstly. An explanation of the framework from which the data is retrieved follows. The framework includes the Norwegian political and media situation. Thereafter, the data collection and sampling techniques used for the empirical component is discussed in detail. In the last part of the chapter, the reliability and validity aspects of the applied methods are presented, and a further discussion of potential limitations of the research design and the steps taken to mitigate these is done.

3.2 Mixed Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis

The research design in this thesis gives the flexibility that suits ‘the fluid Internet universe’, and is deemed appropriate thereafter (Michailidou, De Wilde, & Trenz, 2014, p. 84).

Quantitative approaches are best at explaining, whereas qualitative approaches are more suitable for understanding the underlying themes and ideas. The main reason for using mixed methods approach is the ability to map the development structurally and simultaneously give a contextual understanding, ending up with a more thorough comprehension of the “area of inquiry” (Bryman, 2016, pp. 641-642). The methods furthermore allow an answer to the three

different research questions, investigating both a development over time, as well as understanding a phenomenon, in this case, the media- and- politics interrelationship.

The basic idea of the quantitative content analysis is that it can analyze communication in structured ways as it is “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Bryman, 2016, p. 284). The method is used for the first component of the analysis, which records article metadata, specifically type, source and news peg, whereby the unit of analysis is the whole article, and the coding scheme is designed to record descriptive data (presence/absence of keywords) that identify the profile of each new article.

Qualitative analysis is able to preserve the advantages that the quantitative coding proposes, while simultaneously add the latent dimension that the quantitative analysis in most cases overlooks. Mayring (2004) argues that qualitative content analysis also preserves the advantages from quantitative analysis, summarized in four points: (1) it fits material into a model of communication; material being pure text or the effect of the communication; (2) it follows rules of procedure, being a step-by-step analysis that; (3) put categories in the focus of investigation, with the possibility of; (4) easily maintaining the criteria of reliability and validity.

The second component of the analysis is qualitative, delving into the frames used in newspaper articles and political party communication on Facebook on the topic of climate change. The units of analysis are as follows: a) the entire news article, as with the first component of the analysis and b) the entire Facebook post. The coding scheme comprises of five categories that address both units of analysis to map differences and similarities. These five are policy-politics-polity dimension; negativity; personalization; topicality and ambiguity. These media logics guide the analysis and give different code values to different components of the unit of analysis, which gives a general idea of the theme in the different units. The presentation of the findings includes both the categories and examples of them.

The underlying themes or frames are studied more extensively by going in-depth for a specific time frame. Two approaches are central in the qualitative coding: inductive and deductive category development. These are different from each other, where the first have tentative categories checked and confirmed via a feedback loop; and the second has prior formulated, theoretical categories (Mayring, 2004). The approach outlined by Altheide and

Schneider (2013), dubbed ethnographic content analysis, but essentially a qualitative analysis, is adapted here. They codify the content in the same manner as a quantitative content analysis but contrast their approach to that of a quantitative as they revise the themes and categories from exploring the content. Following Mayring (2004), this thesis deemed inductive coding more appropriate as an approach. The variables and categories were firstly deduced after the research by Dotson, Jacobson, Kaid, and Carlton (2012) and Young and Dugas (2011), focusing on the news media attention. The theoretical approaches presented by Schäfer et al. (2014) is also taken into account when making the codebook. It was completed by the inspiration of Haßler et al. (2014) and (Boykoff, 2011). They were furthermore modified inductively when conducting the study as new categories appeared. The variables which guide the study are explained in the codebook later in this chapter. The aim is, as explained by Altheide and Schneider (2013, p. 26), to be systematic and analytic, but not rigid.

3.3 The Norwegian Political Parties

Norway has long traditions of democracy, gaining its Constitution in 1814. The political system is a parliamentary monarchy; the Parliament holding 169 seats from the different counties; elected for four years at time (Østbye & Aalberg, 2008). As of the 2017 election, there are nine parties represented in the Parliament, and the same centre- right government (although in different constellations following an update in 2017) has governed the country since 2013 and included until 2018 the Conservative Party and the Progress Party and expanded with the Liberal Party and Christian Democrats from 2018.

The parties are very different in terms of policies and representation in Parliament. By discussing the left-right dimension, the most important and historically prominent dimension in Norwegian politics, the parties are presented. To the left is the parties who are politically interested in equalizing differences through economic instruments and the state. Here is the Communist Party (Rødt) furthest to the left with only one representative, followed by the Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti) with 11 representatives; and the biggest, the Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet), with 49 representatives (Østbye & Aalberg, 2008, p. 87).

In the middle of this dimension are the Centre Party (Senterpartiet) with 19 representatives, the Christian Democratic Party (Kristelig Folkeparti) with eight representatives and the Liberals (Venstre), Norway's oldest political party with eight representatives. All three are

mainly associated with each their political dimension (Berg, Braanen, & Garvik, 2019; Østbye & Aalberg, 2008).

On the opposite side of the Communist Party on the left-right dimension is the Progressive Party (Fremskrittspartiet), a party concerned with immigration, law, order and taxes, with 27 representatives. The last party on this dimension is the Conservatives (Høyre), holding the Prime Minister. It is the second biggest party, with 45 representatives. They are mainly concerned with economic politics and is the most conservative party in Norwegian politics (Østbye & Aalberg, 2008).

Last is the Norwegian Green Party (Miljøpartiet De Grønne). They have one representative in the Parliament; their main political issue is climate and environmental politics. They furthermore place themselves outside the traditional left-right dimension; maintaining their sole focus is a green change in society (Tuastad, 2019). They were not a party in Parliament until 2013 although established in 1989. One explanation for this is, according to Jupskås (2013), that the Liberals and the Socialist Left Party already were parties with green alternatives as they also place themselves in the climate/environment- dimension. When they gained one representative in 2013, studies of the electorate showed that they surpassed the two other “green” parties considerably in terms of issue ownership. Twenty-two percent holds the Green Party as the primary contributor to climate and environment politics, whereas the Liberals and Socialist Left parties have lost considerable support in the issue, with respectively 16 and 15 percent of the asked respondents (Helljesen, Kolberg, & Krekling, 2013).

All the parties in the Parliament except one (the Progress Party) support the Climate-settlement (*Klimaforliket*), reached in 2008 and further strengthened in 2012 in terms of carbon neutrality and other political measures. This has made the issue stable and predictable, with the national assembly aiming at the same objective. The relatively small size of the country has made climate communication effective concerning this settlement, and the consensus was thus relatively easily reached (Farstad, 2019).

Facebook pages of Norwegian Political Parties

All the political parties in the Norwegian Parliament have a Facebook page. The use of social media has been under investigating several times: for the election period; in general; and for

the “permanent campaign”. This permanency allows politicians to discuss with, and inform, their voters throughout the whole electoral cycle (Kalsnes, 2016; Larsson, 2016; Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014). Alongside observing that it is a step forward in the professionalization of political communication, one of the main reasons to use social media is to interact uninterrupted with their voters, and that it furthermore offers a way of bypassing the traditional media. Studies have also shown that politicians reported ‘marketing reasons’ as their motivation (Kalsnes, 2016).

It has furthermore become “virtually mandatory” to be present on Facebook. Accordingly, just over 80 percent of the general Norwegian population uses Facebook daily (Parr, 2018), which is why it is chosen as the political communication channel for this thesis. It is also the most direct way of public communication available: a proposition was the web pages for each political party, but trying to find content from 2015 proved as a difficult task, as it is apparent that normal conduct by political parties is to delete content older than approximately a year old. Another alternative is to analyze speeches from the Parliament, which can arguably also be a direct way of communication. It is, however, strict rules for debates in the Norwegian Parliament, where keeping a formal tone is mandatory; saying “unparliamentarily” words, as well as expressing dissatisfaction, is illegal. The other approaches would, therefore, be challenging for tracing media logic in this kind of communication.

3.4 About the Newspapers

This study comprises of two newspapers, *Aftenposten* and *VG*. *Aftenposten* is Norway’s largest subscribed newspaper, whereas *VG* is the biggest online news outlet and single copy-newspaper, as of 2019 (Mediebedriftene, 2019). They are both regarded national newspapers, but *Aftenposten* has a clear Oslo-profile simultaneously. *Aftenposten* was founded in 1860 and is thus one of the country’s oldest newspapers as well. During the 1880s, it gained a conservative profile and had formal ties with the Conservative party until depoliticizing the newspapers in the 1970s. A online website began operating in 1995, and the original two issues distributed per day was cut down to one in 2012, stopping the evening issue (Pettersen, 2016). *VG* was founded in 1945 and is the biggest newspaper in terms of single copies. Bought by Schibsted, the owners of *Aftenposten*, in 1966, this still applies today. New owners gave a changed journalistic style, becoming more tabloid. This, in turn, gave them new readers and increased their sale. They also released their website in 1995. *VG* became the

second biggest newspaper in 1972 and surpassed Aftenposten until 2010. VG is, however, still regarded the biggest newspaper when seeing website and paper altogether, with a total readership just over two million each day (Pettersen, 2017).

VG is a single-copy paper, mainly established as a website today. It is regarded as tabloid press; Aftenposten a quality-based press. The latter is furthermore subscription-based. This can arguably represent a width in readership, as well as editorial decisions. The alternative was to include Dagbladet, which is one of the top three most-read newspapers, but as a tabloid newspaper mostly based online, much like VG, it was deemed unnecessary as they would be too similar. VG is furthermore larger than Dagbladet, and thus more natural to include. The main assumption is that the two newspapers included in this study can pick up on the tendencies in the society, as well as represent a big part of the public opinion and can, to a large part, set the agenda. All the newspapers on paper are available back to 2007 in Atekst, but the evening issue of Aftenposten stopped back in 2012. Both newspapers also introduced so-called journalism paywalls in the 2010s, VG was first in 2011 with VG+ and Aftenposten with a similar strategy from 2013. All of them are included in this study (Hågvar, 2016).

3.5 Data Material and Collection

Due to practical and time constraints, it is not possible to conduct a Big Data type of analysis. Instead, four criteria for selection of news media content were defined and applied on all Norwegian news media material found on the online database Atekst. The media archive, containing over 300 Norwegian newspapers and magazines dating back to 1945, is owned and driven by Retriever Norge, a company offering media surveillance and media analysis.

The criteria were as follows: first, it had to be from either Aftenposten or VG. In Atekst, this includes nine different “outlets” that has to be ticked off: Aften (the evening number of Aftenposten), Aftenposten and VG in paper versions, Aftenposten and Aftenposten Innsikt; VG and VG Nyhetsdøgn online; lastly, VG + and Aftenposten Login for the paywall journalism. Second, it had to include (any versions of) the words “climate change” or “global warming” (in Norwegian) but had to further and thirdly, discuss the phenomenon somewhat extensively. Articles with only a mere reference to the issue, either by a single mentioning of the exact words or the concept more broadly in the beginning of the article, were excluded.

Discussing climate change includes a reference of the weather, food, animals or any other phenomenon that is usually linked to climate change today. This means that the articles were briefly skimmed through before they were included in the pool of documents. There were no criteria concerning the type of article as the study partly sets out to map how and by what the media shows interest in the climate change issue, which can just as well be from a ‘letter to the editor’ by a citizen. Lastly, the articles had to be from a year between 2007 and 2018. These criteria enables investigating an answer to the first research question (Who and what drives the presentation of the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers in the period 2007 – 2018?). After filtering on news source and time frame, a total of 11 481 articles were identified, sampling 200 articles. This is explained in the next section.

The second part of the content analysis consisted of articles from the four weeks during the Paris climate conference (COP21) in 2015. Similarly, as with the original articles from the 12 years, these articles also needed to meet requirements: they had to discuss the COP21 (and ultimately climate change) somewhat extensively to be included, not just give a mere reference to it. The four weeks in November and December 2015, two weeks during the COP21, one week prior and one week post the event gave 215 articles when searching for “climate change*” or “global* warming*”, but after filtering the articles with respect to the substantiality of the discussion of the COP21 (called Paris conference in popular speech), 76 articles were left for analyzing.

Retrieving data from political parties’ Facebook pages happened by accessing their free and open pages, scroll back to the year and weeks under analysis and retrieve the data by ‘screenshotting’ a picture of the Facebook post. The analysis went back to 2013, for the weeks of the COP each year onwards, to be able to discuss the 2015 COP in context of amount; not the actual substantial content of the communication. 2013 was chosen for two reasons: (1) for practical purposes, as scrolling back in Facebook posts is very time consuming, especially for the political parties with high amounts of content; (2) it was a year with a disruption in terms of content of COP by the media, making it a good starting point for context. For the opportunity to accurately compare media and politics, the time frame was the same four weeks as for the newspapers. The content was furthermore significantly smaller for political communication, counting only 31 different units. A reference from the page to anything, such as a website link; another social medium; a video or a picture, this was also analyzed in terms of media logic. The end is to answer research question three (How is the

climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?).

The Time Frame

As already specified, the time frame of this analysis is between 2007 and 2018. There are several reasons for this: it is interesting to know what has led to the relevancy of the issue in today's public agenda and look at the development up to this point. 2018 was natural ending point as it is the latest full calendar year. Further, from doing a quick search in the media archive, it was evident that 2007 was unusual in terms of coverage of climate change, as seen in Figure 3.5.1. From a preliminary study, it was evident that 2007, with the peak month of October and December, was high in content due to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Al Gore and IPCC (Gibbs & Lyall, 2007). What is furthermore evident from regarding the figure, is that it is not necessarily any connection between election years and content. The findings already give support to the theory of media attention, as explained by Schäfer et al. (2014) and Haßler et al. (2014). Thus, the month with the highest content of each year is analyzed, making it possible to answer research question one (Who and what drives the presentation of the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers in the period 2007 – 2018?). The period also includes 2015, which makes it possible to analyze the context of the COP21, whether this is what drives the issue in 2015, and, more detailed, how the media and politics jointly understands the issue of climate change in a period of mediatization. The period nevertheless enables a discussion of development over time of the issue, as well as more detailed analysis by zooming in.

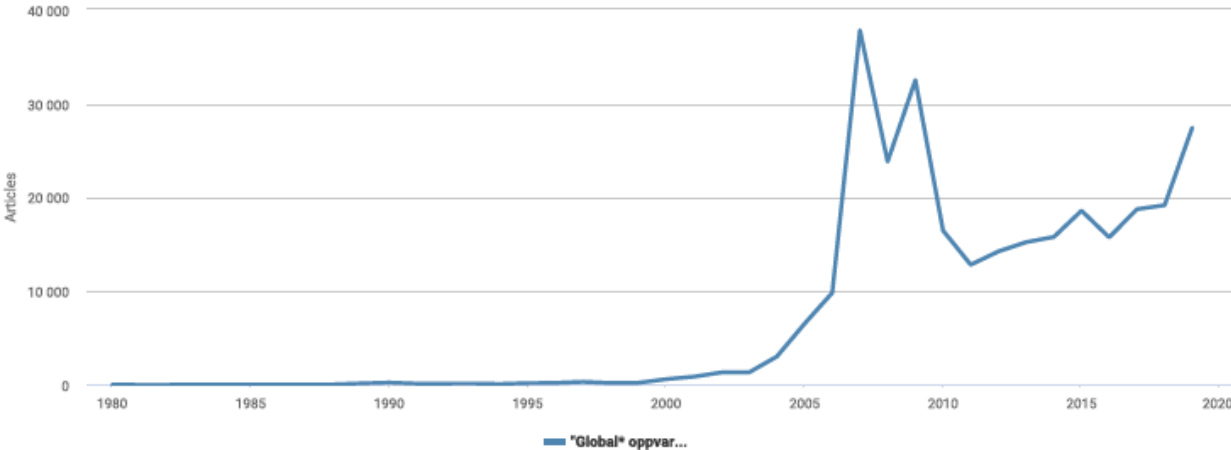


Figure 3.5.1: “Global* oppvarming*” OR “klimaendring*”. Development from 1980-2019. All sources included; Source: Retriever 2019

Search Words and Sampling the Population

The practical data retrieving happened by using the search string “global oppvarming*” OR “klimaendring*” in its entirety. The star (*) at the end of the word includes everything consisting of at least the word stem, as well as a possible ending. A quick search (with the right time frame and news outlets) on each of the words by themselves, gives 9 371 hits for “klimaendring*” and 3 421 for “global* oppvarming*”, which is a total of 12 792. Compared to the search string emphasized for this study (11 481 in total), only a difference of 1311 articles, which means that the search string only excludes roughly 10 percent when searching for articles with either word.

Sampling is the procedure of “selecting a subset of units for study from the larger population” with the option of either sampling it random or nonrandom, according to constraints of the researcher (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 83). The first sampling method allows generalization and is thus the ideal in social sciences. Because of the constraints in time and space, the sample size is limited to 200 articles. By giving certain criteria, in order to answer the research questions, the sample is strategically divided into categories. The articles are stratified randomly from the population (Neuendorf, 2002). To represent the two newspapers equally, the 200 articles is divided: 100 pieces from VG; 100 pieces from Aftenposten. For each of the newspapers, roughly eight articles are drawn from each of the 12 years ($100/12=8$), and more specifically the peak month in terms of content the given year. To stratify the sample, the total amount of articles of the given month divided by 8, and every Nth article is chosen. For December of 2007, for example, with 241 articles, every 30th article is selected. Next, the article is checked for relevancy of the issue, as discussed in the former section, and either scrapped or included in the sample on the basis of this. Whenever the article is excluded, the next is chosen instead. The number of articles were much higher for some months, so an extra article per month was chosen – in order to equalize the amount because of uneven numbers to divide with.

Newspaper	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
VG	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	April	Nov	Aug	Dec	Dec	Jan	Dec
Aftenposten	Dec	Jan	Dec	Dec	Dec	March	Nov	Nov	Dec	Feb	Jan	Oct

Table 3.5.2: Peak months in terms of content from “Global* oppvarming*” OR “klimaendring*”; Source: the author with data taken from Retriever 2019.

3.6 Operationalization: Codebook

The categories were deducted from previous research on the same issue (Boykoff, 2011; Dotson et al., 2012; Haßler et al., 2014; Young & Dugas, 2011). The coding step is fundamental in the content analysis process. To follow this process, one needs to design a coding schedule and a coding manual. The coding schedule is a straightforward system that keeps track of the documents, systemized for the findings of the study later. The coding manual is the instructions of coding that contains a list of all the dimensions, its belonging categories, as well as the codes, or numbers, corresponding to each category (Bryman, 2016, p. 293). It is crucial to have a clear coding manual because it provides an interpretation of how to code the content, increasing reliability. Concerning the validity, the variables must measure what the research question asks about. To achieve the most comprehensive study, one should have variables at both general and specific levels in order to be certain about the results coming from the analysis (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 95).

Bryman (2016, p. 294) further discusses the potential pitfalls. First, the dimensions should not be discrete; that is, no conceptual or empirical overlap between them. Additionally, the categories should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive, and lastly, there should be no ambiguity concerning the allocation of the codes, as well as the definition of the unit of analysis. The following categories are the result of an iterative process going back and forth between similar studies and the units of analysis in focus.

The first four variables identify the metadata: article type, source/voice, including “political citing” and news pegs. The remaining five variables are investigated with qualitative coding. This implies that, as already discussed, some context and extra meaning are added when the codes are applied. The basis for the coding of each variable is now discussed, explaining what it measures/captures, and giving reference to prior research, whenever the variable is conducted from previous research.

Article type

The first variable is identifying the article type. Following Young and Dugas (2011), distinctions are made between stories written as opinion pieces, and the ones that are subject to journalistic objectiveness standards. (Subjective) Opinion pieces include editorials and opinions/letter to the editorial and is defined as the official viewpoint of the newspaper; written in the form of “we”; not signed by a person, but rather the whole editorial staff. The

mentioned traits can thus identify it.

An opinion piece or a letter to the editor is also a subjective article but is the viewpoint of a person and is therefore also signed by them. The editorial and the opinion is distinguished from each other for two reasons. First, an editorial about climate change is a direct proof of the newspapers (attempt at) driving the issue of climate change. Second, a general opinion piece can identify whether politicians also take an active role in trying to “own” the climate change issue in the public sphere via media. Any opinion piece signed by a politician is thus coded separately. Last, an opinion piece or letter to the editor by the general public or for example scientists show how the rest of the society is interested in, and understands, the issue through a “neutral” lens (Reader, Stempel III, & Daniel, 2004).

A news item or a feature is subject to journalistic standards and is thus more filtered by this. The number of news items can say something about the relative importance of the issue in society over time. If there are a lot of hard news stories or features of an issue, this issue is put higher on the agenda, according to the agenda-setting theory. Identification is done by the length and the tone of the article. A news story is shorter and more cut to the point. A feature delves more into the issue and gives a broader understanding of it. These two are coded separately to provide an understanding of how the issue is viewed. If the piece is neither of the articles stated, it is coded as “other”.

Sources/Voice

Variable number two is the primary source, or voice, in the article. The variable essentially answers the question “who is speaking about the climate change” (Young & Dugas, 2011), and tries establishing the politicians potential to act or react to the climate change issue as it is highly covered in news media; and high on the agenda. The variable measures the evolution of the voices in the media when regarding the climate change issue as space granted in the national newspaper gives an opportunity to broadcast one’s opinions or views with the potential of becoming a “primary definer” – a particularly influential role in issues such as climate change (Young & Dugas, 2011, p. 11).

The main source is identified as the source being referred to mostly in the article, otherwise being the first source mentioned. There are 10 different sources to choose from, based off of the studies of Dotson et al. (2012) and Young and Dugas (2011). This includes environmental group/organization, other interest group or organization, scientist/expert, citizen/unaffiliated

individual, business association/unaffiliated business, journalist/editors, politician, politician regarded “green” (as identified earlier in this chapter), international agency or organization (either the UN or the EU) and politician outside Norway. ‘Other’ or ‘no voice’ are also included.

Political citing

Because this study is interested in identifying the role of politicians in the media’s representation of the issue, this variable categorizes whether the article included any reference to the voice of a politician. If the article did not detect the main voice as political, it is able to be identified in this variable, as the second source. The categories for this variable include politician, politician regarded “green” (as identified earlier in this chapter), politician outside Norway and no politician. It is identified by finding any citation or second citation of a politician, but needs to be more than just a mere mentioning of a person, “the government” or “the prime minister”, for example, as they have to have done something “active” in order to be regarded as taking a part of the climate change issue. If the article already contains political citing, this is not coded.

News pegs

News pegs are the justification and the drive of the article. With inspiration from the study of Reader et al. (2004), nine categories are deducted, based on six news pegs. First is the new discovery or publication, which is found whenever there is an explicit reference to a new report or finding. Second is the “suggested remedy”- variable, where the article is about an alternative policy or solution to the status quo. It can be merely mentioned, but is only coded with this category if it is the main news peg. Such a solution can be done by an unaffiliated citizen, scientist, journalist, or by a politician. This is divided because it is the politician’s role in the article that is central and have to be measured explicitly. The fourth category is a national political event, including everything that is initiated by a politician or a political party in Norway, for example press conferences, party congress, etc. The article can also be about an international political event, which is every event held outside Norway and thus also not initiated by a national politician or political party, but rather by international agencies such as the UN. The article can further be pegged by a protest or other marking, normally held by interest groups and organization. The two next categories can be found by identifying any disagreements or conflicts, either by an unaffiliated individual, scientist or journalist, or by a politician. The last peg is the occurrence in the natural world. The category is a mere

description of the occurrence, normally any deviation from the normal weather cycles in the local area. It can lastly be either another news peg than the mentioned, or no news peg at all.

Dimension

This variable is based on the assumption that mass media “observe the procedural and structural aspects of democracy, focusing on polity and politics over policy”, as they try taking a “watchdog”-role. These are conventional dimensions of how political sides of the society is. Polity describes the formal dimension of Politik: it includes the framework of institutions, that is, the political order in which political action has to take place, like parties, elections, coalitions, political principles. Politics describes the process-related dimension of Politik, the conflict about decisions between the political players, for example, between the parties. And lastly is the policy, which describes the substantial dimension of Politik; that is, the organization of individual social problem areas through obliging decisions, for example, about the distribution of resources. It is the visible result, the actual outcome, applied to different areas, of political action (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). If none of the above, the unit is coded thereafter.

Personalization

Political communication, as well as the newspapers itself, are dominated by the personalization media logic. It is a normal journalistic norm and can be found by identifying the issue. If the focus is on the people rather than on the abstract issue, for example by presenting more events about people than events about abstract issues. This can be a fruitful strategy for political parties as well, as personalization has shown to positively affect voter’s support. It is furthermore a trending concept to be focusing on a few, prominent politicians – the concept of presidentialization (Haßler et al., 2014). This includes politicians, distinguishing between political leaders and other politicians, or political parties/organizations. Whenever a story takes the point of view from a person or a group, rather than the issue itself, is it personalized. Articles or communication not personalized is excluded, but the ratio between personalized and not is discussed in the findings.

Negativity

Negativity is yet an aspect of the media logic and, arguably, political logic. This means that media focuses on the negative stories, and the negative sides of the issue rather than the positive. This is also a trend in politics, where attacking the opponent is an increasingly more common strategy. A story can thus be either positive, ambivalent or negative. As already

discussed, is a negative story attacking, problem-oriented and presenting the issue in terms of negative sides about the issue. An ambivalent story or article is both negative and positive and does not really present either side. The positive category is applied whenever solutions and sunshine stories are what represents the issue (Haßler et al., 2014).

Topicality

This variable includes the option of either focusing on long-term parts or short-term parts of the issue, where only one of them can be the main frame of the article or communication piece. It is stated that media's attention for one topic does not last long, due to novelty (Boykoff, 2011) and therefore focuses more on the issues that are short-term. As for politics, they have to solve the problems that have a longer horizon, but simultaneously needing attention for their issues. For this study, a short-term article or communication-piece focuses solely on the COP21 by for example reporting directly from it or discussing the issues directly in connection to the event, which is short-term and perhaps more tabloid. A long-term article, however, gives context and background information generally about climate change, its causes and consequences and solutions not discussed in direct context with the climate conference. If it is neither of the categories, it is coded thereafoter.

Ambiguity

There is a lack of ambiguity in media logic, which is opposite to what political logic normally consists of. For political communication, the risk is discussing very concrete solutions, as voters can feel dispelled by it. That is why the normal conduct is to be very vague and make sure not to give promises. For the media, however, it is very positive to be concrete and give a clear understanding of what each party wants, because it can stir up a conflict which is even more newsworthy. The three categories here are vague phrases, general goals and concrete plans. The first is found by observing the discussion of a goal "in such a vague manner that it should be shared by almost everyone. The second is "mentioning a goal without mentioning how to achieve it", and the third is "mentioning a goal and how to achieve it" (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 333). If no category applies, it is coded thereafter.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are standards for scientific method. They are discussed in this section in order to clarify how quality (Yu, Jannasch-Pennell, & DiGangi, 2011), trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) or rigor (Morse, 2015) is strived for in this analysis by approaching these standards. First is the standard of reliability, which refers to the constituency of the measurement, i.e. how reliable the findings are (Bryman, 2016, p. 157). Will it be the same result if the study is conducted again at a later point? The ideal answer is yes, and the discussion here is conducted as to increase the probability of reaching that answer. Reliability is moreover a means rather than an end as the reliability of the analysis is a prerequisite for validating the evidence/results that comes from it. The concepts were introduced as standards for quantitative methods and the use of them in qualitative research has occasionally received criticism as it is context- based and can initially not be replicated (Krippendorff, 2018; Yu et al., 2011).

Because there is only one author of this thesis, no option is available for testing the reliability of the operationalization with an inter-reliability test. Since content analyses are furthermore object for potential dangers when considering the reliability, an intra- rater test was established (Bryman, 2016, p. 298). This included a test of ten percent of the content at two times during the analysis, one at the beginning and one towards the end of the actual execution. This included two tests because the coding is done at two times for the two aspects of the study. For the first test, 20 units were extracted, and found a mismatch in four out of the 20 units, which gives an intra-coder reliability score of 80 percent for the first analysis. There is only one source for mistakes; the news peg- variable. It is not very surprising that this is difficult to code, as it requires some more subjective thinking and not as obvious as the other variables, who are either clearly stated or logically evident. For the second analysis, ten percent from each of the two different units where retrieved, 3 from Facebook and 7 from newspapers. Although a small number and a higher possibility to perhaps remember them clearly, the test was nevertheless conducted and four out of the ten units were inconsistent, giving a score percentage of 60 percent. Here, dimension, topicality and ambiguity were all inconsistent. These are also the variables for the second analysis that required most subjective thinking. Although the subjectivism was attempted diminished by giving clear instructions in the code book, there are furthermore many cases that were either hard to determine because the article contained several codes and it was hard to determine which was the most dominant, or that none seemed to cover it enough. Coding the second time was also affected by the new insight that was gained throughout the analysis, which could be an explanation for the

inconsistency. Applying codes qualitatively can always be a potential pitfall because it requires a lot more from the researcher and is often very context depended. The drawbacks of only one coder are also many. It is reasonable to believe that the researcher has a skewed “ease” with the coding, and that a new coder (in the case of replicating) is not able to imitate this. The coder is furthermore affected by “invisible” factors such as “fatigue, boredom, varying emotional states, and carelessness” (Yu et al., 2011), as well as personal bias. The codebook is nevertheless made as thorough as possible in order to overcome these problems, and the transparency of the codes and its application are instruments in receiving high reliability and reliable results.

Although the different variables are clear in theory and in the original context they were deduced from, the applicability is not automatically transferred to other situations. Consequently, sensitivity to variables and categories and what they represent is necessary. Operationalizing them accordingly by making sure it represents the phenomenon is important and ensures high validity. A test for establishing this, at a very minimum, is face validity. This is done by discussing the relationship between the concept and the measures with professionals in the field (Bryman, 2016). The process has been iterative, back and forth between data and theory, to ensure the variables are as valid as possible. This includes internally homogenous, and as externally heterogeneous variables as possible, which ensures picking up the complexities in the concept under study. Using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis increases the validity because it has the possibility to obtain thick and rich data (Morse, 2015, p. 1214). This refers to the sample size, which needs to be sufficiently big enough. It is arguably small for the media logic – analysis using Facebook, but it includes furthermore all the content available for the defined concept and time frame, making the results valid for that exact in-depth analysis. Furthermore, combined with the analysis over the time, the research has both “variation and depth, and can (...) provide detailed understanding” (Morse, 2015, p. 1214). By the looks of it is therefore both validity and reliability established for this study, but as statistics is not used, can the study not be generalized or establish causality.

4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the two-step content analysis, one concerning the development of the main source, the type of article and the news peg in the coverage of climate change 2007 until 2018 in news media. The other compares news media coverage with direct political communication on Facebook. The findings are presented in tables and discussed by comparing them to the expectations and with the research questions in mind. It starts with the first research question which set forth knowing the development of newspaper coverage of the climate change issue, continues with the second research questions that asks what the differences and similarities between news media and political communication are in the case of climate change; and ends the presentation of findings with the differences between political parties, which the third research question asks about.

4.2 The Issue of Climate Change in Norwegian Newspapers

The first analysis' primary finding is the main voice, or source, in each article. It was expected, following the reasoning in chapter one and the theory by Dotson et al. (2012) and Liu et al. 2014 (cited in Schäfer, 2012) that scientists would be the main source and that some political citing would occur, but not by far the primary. Main voice is appearing most in the article; if difficult to determine, the first mentioned. Table 4.2.1 illustrates the number of times different categories of actors appear in the two selected newspapers, VG and Aftenposten, during the period 2007 – 2018. It is clear from the findings that no special development is evident for these voices. Furthermore, these voices can arguably be the sources that contribute to the agenda-setting effect of the media as they are omitted from the months of the years with the highest coverage of climate change issues (Mazzoleni, 2008; Schäfer, 2012). The driving factor, i.e. their intentions as main sources are furthermore highly individual as they can either be interviewee-objects in news articles or features or the author of an opinion piece.

Main Voice	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Politician(s)	0	2	1	0	1	2	1	3	5	3	1	0	19
Politician(s) regarded "green"	1	0	0	0	1	3	3	0	1	1	1	0	11
International politician(s)	3	1	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	15
Scientist(s)	2	6	4	3	3	7	4	3	2	3	2	9	48
Journalist/editor	3	1	2	4	4	1	4	1	1	5	2	4	32
Citizens/unaffiliated individual	5	3	2	4	1	2	1	1	3	3	4	1	30
Environmental groups/ other interest groups	3	1	4	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	27
Other	1	3	3	0	1	0	2	3	1	0	3	1	18
Total	18	17	18	16	16	16	16	16	17	17	17	16	200

Table 4.2.1: Categories of public actors talking about climate change in Norwegian newspapers, 2007 – 2018. Displayed in number of mentions per years; Source: the author.

Scientists as main voice

Scientists were the most-cited voice throughout the whole period, and is cited considerably more than the rest, 24 percent of the total amount of articles. The amount has also not diminished over time, but rather had a peak year in 2018, which is a sign of the climate change issue not “maturing”, as it doesn’t gain proportionately more attention from politicians than scientists in the media (Young & Dugas, 2011). The issue is still coinciding with scientists, according to these findings.

Journalists and Citizens as main voice

The second-most cited is, less in line with the expectations, journalists, with 16 percent of the total amount of articles. This source has furthermore been somewhat stable throughout the whole period; neither increased nor decreased substantially. Journalists often taking the front stage of the issue can be an indicator of them driving some of the issue attention themselves and try to place the issue out there deliberately, i.e. be strategic about it. Citizens as the main voice have developed similar to the journalists, as they have been stable throughout the whole period and not increased nor decreased much. They furthermore represent a type of source that is used for framing the issue in more “everyday” scenarios, due to the general abstractness of the issue (Schäfer, 2012; Young & Dugas, 2011).

Environmental groups/Interest groups

The environmental groups or the interest group working with issues concerning climate change are also overall highly cited, although fairly stable overall, certain years peaked. They might be used in the same manners as a scientist – as experts – due to their position in the society and due to the issue, with their role as “issue entrepreneurs” (Young & Dugas, 2011). Although they do not have any real political power, their main purpose is furthermore to work for political change, which is arguably a type of political source.

Politicians (international/mainstream/green)

The national politicians were divided into subgroups of “green” politicians and mainstream politicians; their differences accounted for in the method – chapter. They were divided to establish if the issue-owning politicians were able to appear in more of the articles in times of high coverage of the issue, but these findings show that they do not as they are the lowest cited, only appearing in approximately 5 percent of the articles. They appear in more items than they did over time at the beginning of the time frame which might have an impact, but these numbers are small and thus not significant. As for the mainstream politicians, they are most likely from parties in position as the current government; established in 2013 (as accounted for in method-chapter); is a very little green government (thus not consisting of “green” politicians”). Simultaneously do leaders, such as the Prime Minister or Minister of Climate and Environment, have an easier time gaining access to the issue as they are responsible for it and are more powerful in society.

Political Citing

This is an extension of the previous variable. If the main source was not political, could the article still include any political citing? As most articles include more than one source, this variable reveals if the second source is ever political. Findings (table 4.2.2) show that there are 158 articles left after filtering out them with politicians as the main voice. Most of the remaining articles do not include any political citing, but of the cited politicians, it looks similar to the original political voice with green politicians counting for least mentionings. International and national politicians are moreover similar in amount. 2009 was a clear peak year for the international politician; and 2016 and 2017 for the national politician. It could perhaps mean that the issue has become more based in national politics and that politicians

regard it as newsworthy as the newspapers coverage is peaking.

Political Citing	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Yes, a politician	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	3	2	5	4	0	20
Yes, politician regarded "green"	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	10
Yes, international politician	3	0	6	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	4	4	24
No	10	11	8	11	9	8	8	10	7	4	7	11	104
Total	14	13	14	14	13	11	13	13	10	12	15	16	158

Table 4.2.2: Categories of the use of political citing in Norwegian newspapers, 2007 – 2018. Displayed in number of mentions per years. Source: the author.

Type of Article

The third variable of the first content analysis is the type of article. The type is determined by regarding the article as it is presented in the newspaper (as a “copy” of the original article is attached to the downloaded version from the Atekst database, but only available from the 2010s on), searching for words that indicate the types of articles.

Type of Article	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
News item	6	10	9	10	9	8	5	8	12	5	5	4	91
Editorial	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	11
Opinion/ letter to editor	10	5	5	5	5	6	10	7	4	5	9	9	80
Feature or information series	2	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	18
Total	18	17	18	16	16	16	16	16	17	17	17	16	200

Table 4.2.3: Categories of type of article covering climate change in Norwegian newspapers, 2007 – 2018. Displayed in numbers of mentions per year; Source: the author.

From viewing the table, there are two types of articles that stand out, counting for almost half of the total articles each. These are the news article and opinion-pieces. News articles have, however, broadly seen, decreased in amount over time, although there are peak years

throughout the whole period; when news items decrease, opinion pieces increase. Editorials as well, although the numbers are small, have increased the last years. More people, as well as the newspapers, arguably, have increasingly more opinions about it as the issue has become a bigger part of every aspect of the society. The fact that the issue is more often the object for a news article in peak months means that it is deemed newsworthy and that the newspapers, in this study, deems it newsworthy. The findings, however, can perhaps point to development since the peak year 2013 of a slight overweight towards opinions rather than news items, giving the issue attention in the public discussion; not just an object for tabloid reporting.

News Pegs

This variable is used to find who and what establishes or justifies a story. It can apply to all types of newspaper articles; there is always a reason for discussing it. Table 4.2.4 displays the findings.

News Peg	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
National political event	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	6	1	0	14
International political event	3	3	10	4	5	2	9	1	13	4	6	6	66
Occurrence in natural world	2	2	0	1	4	4	3	1	2	1	0	3	23
New discovery or publication	4	4	2	6	2	4	2	7	1	1	2	3	38
Conflict by politician or by scientist	0	4	3	1	1	1	0	4	0	2	5	2	23
Suggested remedy	6	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	24
Other	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	12
Total	18	17	17	16	16	16	16	16	17	17	17	16	200

Table 4.2.4: Categories of justifications used in for the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers, 2007 – 2018. Displayed in numbers of mentions per year; Source: the author.

International political events

What nevertheless has proved to drive the issue in the Norwegian context, which is in line with theory and previous findings, is the international political events. As already discussed, the global context of it, mainly in forums such as the UN, gains much attention from newspapers in Norway and is the justification in almost double the articles compared to the

next on the list. The development is nevertheless ambiguous as it shows some peak years, but no clear sign of increasing or decreasing. It is stable, but simultaneously very differing from one year to the next. 2009, 2013 and 2015 are years with high coverage of international political events, and the latter is subject for the in-depth analysis.

National political events

As for the national political events, it is not very remarkable or significant in the attention of the issue. Events could be everything from press conferences to other staged events, but most important, at the initiative from politicians in Norway. The issue has not, except from in 2016, proven to catch media's attention and as it has not matured in terms of political pegs either.

New discovery or publication

The second-most used news peg in Norway is the scientific category that justifies the news article by giving new insight to the issue. The development can perhaps show a peak between 2010 and 2013 and furthermore decreasing during the later years. This is in line with the findings by Young and Dugas (2011), arguing that an issue matures when it steps out of the scientist area and into the political area. The issue has, according to these findings from Norway, however not necessarily moved to the national political realm through media's lens. There have been discoveries and findings all the years, but seemingly less covered lately.

Occurrence in natural world, conflict and 'suggested remedy'

Although the theory argues that occurrences in the natural world, such as floods, heatwaves or weather patterns, are regular news pegs, it is in this analysis not covered much nor showing a clear pattern. It is, however, one of the used pegs and applied similarly as much as conflict or suggested remedy. 2007 was nonetheless a year where this was the main news peg, which can be due to the nature of the issue at that time and that, although being concerned with Al Gore and the Nobel Peace Prize, the public, as well as the newspapers did not regard the issue in political terms. The conflict news peg is "high" in sum because of mainly 2017, implying that January (Table 3.5.2) was a month filled with (a) conflict(s) interesting for the newspapers. Conflict usually is interesting as it can negatively present the issue, according to the media logic. This is discussed thoroughly in the comparison of political communication.

Other news pegs

Other news pegs include no news pegs, unidentified news pegs and protests. Neither is very

much used as news pegs. Protests are not used much, maybe as it has not been an occurring event or as it is not deemed newsworthy.

4.3 News Media and Political Communication Compared

The second analysis in this thesis is concerned with a comparison of media communication and political communication. The political parties' Facebook communication is firstly presented, and a comparison in terms of media logic follows. The background for this analysis is research question two (*do direct political communication channels provide a different or similar presentation of the climate change issue than news media?*); and research question three (*how is the climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?*) The assumption is that both news media and political communication will use media logic to some extent, but the degree of media logic in politics depends on the political party. This is based on theory for the two research questions separately, and their findings will be presented separately in this chapter but discussed together in the next chapter.

Facebook Communication

Looking at political party communication on Facebook (Table 4.3.1), one can read that 12 percent of all content from the period under study is about the climate conference (COP21). Total posts in the Table (4.3.1) refers to everything, also including COP21- content, on the party Facebook page between 23rd of November and 19th of December; the period of the analysis. The aim is to do an in-depth analysis of a highly popular event in the media, analyze it by their logic and see if and where political communication follow the same logic (Haßler et al., 2014).

What Table 4.3.1 furthermore shows is that the Greens communicated most in total but also most relative to their total posts in the same period, with nine posts and almost half of their content in the period concerning the COP21. This is expected from knowing their issue ownership (Budge & Farlie, 1983; Karlsen & Aardal, 2007); mostly issues about the climate and environment. Second most is, perhaps more interestingly, the Conservatives. They communicated about the issue seven times throughout the period; only counting for 11 percent of the total communication in the period; same percentage as the Labour Party with four Facebook posts about the issue. The Conservatives' coverage can naturally be explained as they were physically present for diplomatic reasons, having the Prime Minister and the

Minister for Climate and Environment (from the party) present there, which is furthermore covered extensively in the media. All of their communication is about them representing Norway, and the focus was rather on the person than on the issue in itself, which is a point for discussion in the next chapter.

Furthermore, there are two other parties in the Norwegian Parliament with issue ownership of environmental policies. Socialist Left Party had a high number of posts about the conference, but they furthermore seemingly communicate a lot in general (as shown in ‘Total posts’-column in Table 4.3.1). The Liberals communicated less, but relatively much compared to their standards; almost 40 percent about the conference. Both parties nevertheless showed their opinions and thoughts via Facebook in this period, which is subject for further discussion in the next chapter.

Political Party Communication on Facebook, 23.11 - 19.12 2015			
Political Party	Paris Conference Posts	Total Posts	%
Labour Party (Ap)	4	36	11
Conservatives (H)	7	54	13
Progressive Party (Frp)	0	35	0
Christian Democrats (KrF)	0	28	0
Liberals (V)	3	8	37
Norwegian Green Party (MDG)	9	20	45
Center Party (Sp)	0	18	0
Socialist Left Party (SV)	8	37	21
Total	31	236	12

Table 4.3.1: Facebook Posts by Political Party, about the Paris Conference and total during the period 23.11 – 19.12.2015. Displayed in numbers; Source: the author

To give some context to the Paris Conference and its importance relative to other conferences (as they are held annually since 1995), Table 4.3.2 shows how political parties have communicated yearly before and after Paris (COP21), during the same time frame - four weeks of the respectively annual conferences. Therefore, comparing the rest to the COP21, it received the most attention by the political parties. Only in 2017, however, there was almost

no content, and the only party that did communicate here is the (issue-owning) Green party. As accounted for in the theory-chapter, 2013 was the cut-off year due to Facebook technicalities and that professionalization and strategizing surrounding social media has developed extensively lately, making it hard to compare “old” content with the current.

Climate Conference Posts, Development							
	Nov 2013	Dec 2014	Dec 2015	Nov 2016	Nov 2017	Dec 2018	
Political Party	COP19	COP20	COP21	COP22	COP23	COP24	Total
Labour Party (Ap)	2	0	4	2	0	0	8
Conservatives (H)	1	3	7	1	0	2	14
Progressive Party (Frp)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christian Democrats (KrF)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Liberals (V)	1	1	3	2	0	2	9
Norwegian Green Party (MDG)	2	1	9	3	1	3	19
Center Party (Sp)	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Socialist Left Party (SV)	2	2	8	1	0	0	13
Total	8	7	31	11	1	7	65

Table 4.3.2: Facebook Posts by Political Parties, Coverage of all the COPs since 2013, divided by year. Displayed in numbers; Source: the author

The second part of the content analysis, comparing the two actors, is presented here. The number of units is differing extensively, but as they are retrieved based on the same time frame and the same principles, they are able to be compared. Political communication has a total of 31 units from the Facebook pages, whereas media have 74 units from newspaper articles. The units are the Facebook posts and the newspaper articles, meaning that one unit can contain several parts of one “media logic”, but it is the dominating logic that will be relevant and counted as one unit altogether.

Political Dimension as Media Logic

For the political dimension, the expectation is that political communication is discussed more in terms of policy than any other dimension, and the media discussed both polity and politics

above the policy. This holds only partly true for the analysis (table 4.3.3). This dimension is, firstly, only found in just over half of the units. Perhaps an explanation is due to the nature of Facebook as a social medium, which requires easy and less complicated techniques of communicating; not discussing the substantiality of the issue (Asur et al., 2011; Klinger & Svensson, 2015). As for the newspapers, they can use the COP21 as an explanation or a justification, but often not discuss the issue, or explain any of the dimensions such as the polity or policy of climate change (Young & Dugas, 2011).

Political Dimension	Politics N = 19	Media N = 42
Polity	35	40
Politics	5	15
Policy	60	45
Total	100	100

Table 4.3.3: Media logic aspect of political dimension, comparison between politics and media. Displayed in rounded percentage; Source: The author.

Furthermore, the findings (Table 4.3.3) show that neither politics nor media focuses on the politics-dimension, with respectively five and 15 percent coverage. Overall, politics do not focus on the contest of the issue (the politics-dimension). The Labour Party, however, focuses on the politics on one instance, which is furthermore the only in the population:

The Government in Norway represents the extreme in climate politics. “It is tough to work for the climate in a Government where some do not deem it necessary”, Erna Solberg said in 2014. It shows. The arguments concerning the climate and environment lose constantly in Government, and the right decisions are made only in Parliament.¹

This is a good example of how political communication can be if it focuses on politics instead of the other dimensions. The attention is on conflict and who-does-what, rather than the structures or the opportunities for the issue. That is, however, not the situation in Norwegian politics.

As for the politics - dimension in media, the issue of climate change, especially in the context

¹ (My translation) I Norge er det regjeringen som utgjør ytterpunktet i klimapolitikken. «Det er tøffere å stå på for klima i en regjering hvor noen ikke er så opptatt det», sa Erna Solberg i 2014. Det synes. Miljø- og klimaargumentene taper konsekvent rundt statsrådenes bord, og det er først i Stortinget at klimariktige prioriteringer foretas (Arbeiderpartiet, 2015).

of the COP, is highly diplomatic and characterized by long, slow, thorough discussions perhaps not suitable for journalistic practices and norms. There are however certain examples, more common in the tabloid newspaper VG than Aftenposten: “Organizations are raging against Norway’s climate negotiators”² and “Norway gives in in Paris”³.

A common focus is rather on polity and policy dimensions, also for the articles with the most tabloid headlines. As they are both somewhat similar in content, this can be a sign of media logic by political parties. The assumption is that politics is most interested with the policies of the issue; that is, the solutions and the actual results of politics. This holds true, but simultaneously, has the analysis shown that they are inclined to discuss it as a structural, global problem in terms of organizations and structures (the polity dimension). An example is this Facebook post by the Socialist Left Party:

People all over the world will today give a clear message to the world’s leaders that something has to be done to avoid destroying the basis of life for our children! SV encourages everyone to participate in the climate marches today! ⁴.

Or this by the Conservatives:

The world community must understand that climate change is far more than an environmental problem. Climate change threatens the basis of life for people in large parts of the world. During the climate conference in Paris, Norway will be a driving force for an ambitious agreement that can lead the world towards a society free of emissions⁵.

This looks similar to how the media focuses on the issue 40 percent of the time, with articles such as “The Paris Agreement can be too good” that further writes:

A climate agreement is not just saving the Earth. It must also embrace spiking visions and needs. Climate is now being negotiated at the highest political and diplomatic

²(My translation) Organisasjoner raser mot Norges klimaforhandlere (Johnsen, 2015).

³ (My translation) Norge gir etter i Paris (Haugan, 2015).

⁴ (My translation) I dag gir folk over hele verden klar beskjed til verdens ledere om at vi må gjøre noe for å forhindre at levegrunnlaget for ungene våre ødelegges! SV oppfordrer alle til å delta i klimamarsjene i dag! (Sosialistisk Venstreparti, 2015).

⁵ (My translation) Verdenssamfunnet må ta innover seg at klimaendringer er langt mer enn et miljøproblem. Klimaendringer truer livsgrunnlaget for mennesker i store deler av verden. Under klimatoppmøtet i Paris skal Norge være en pådriver for en så ambisiøs klimaavtale som mulig, som kan bidra til å føre verden mot et utslippsfritt samfunn (Høyre, 2015).

*level. Night and day. And believe it or not: for everyone to be content must the agreement both secure (...) the worlds emissions, and simultaneously continuing it for those who cannot choose another way.*⁶

These are similar in the sense that they both focus on the systems of it; the discussion is rather elevated, perhaps due to the nature of the issue. In order to explain it properly, one must account for the globalism and organizational level of it. More surprising is the media's policy-focus, as it is assumed to be more in the realm of political logic. Therefore, it is arguably the media that follows political logic in this specific context. For example, Aftenposten had throughout the whole time frame; before and after 2015, a concept where a climate and environmental - specialized journalist kept a blog discussing the issue in terms of its policies, the consequences and the substantiality of the conference. This is somewhat different from regular journalism that would usually regard an issue as either newsworthy or not – and deem the potential for the issue thereafter. Aftenposten, however, takes on a role vis-à-vis the public thoroughly informing about the issue. Although the politicians have more content – that is more *units* concerning the policy dimension, the communication is shorter and more based off of Facebook as the communication outlet, compared to the media who have “unlimited” space. Both do, however, discuss the policy dimension extensively, which can arguably be positive for the issue as solutions is essential. Example from the politics is from the Greens:

*Minister of Climate and Environment Tine Sundtoft has a central role in the negotiations, where she now works towards a 1.5 degree – goal. This is good, but also a paradox: while Sweden and Denmark have succeeded cutting in their emissions, Norway is continuing. Our opinion is that Norway must cut more at home and stop buying their way out of commitments.*⁷

And from the media, through the aforementioned blog explaining the whole agreement in a simplified language:

⁶ (My translation) En klimaavtale skal ikke bare redde kloden. Den skal også favne svært sprikende visjoner og behov. Nå forhandles det klima på høyeste politiske og diplomatiske nivå. Natt og dag. Og tro det eller ei: for at alle skal bli fornøyd skal avtalen både sikre (...) verdens utslipp, og samtidig at de kan fortsette å øke for dem som ikke har noen vei utenom (Mathismoen, 2015b).

⁷ (My translation) Klima- og miljøminister Tine Sundtoft har en sentral rolle i forhandlingene, hvor hun nå jobber for et 1,5 graders mål. Dette er bra, men også et paradoks: Mens Sverige og Danmark har klart å kutte i sine CO2- utslipp, fortsetter norske utslipp å øke. Vi mener Norge må kutte mer på hjemmebane og slutte å kjøpe seg fri fra sine forpliktelser gjennom kvotekjøp i utlandet! (Miljøpartiet De Grønne, 2015)

*This is how the deal turned out: the deal is written in complicated juridical language. Here is an explanation of the main points. Voluntary commitments (...), Ambition: maximum 2 degrees (...), Promises are renewed voluntarily (...), No date is set for emission stop (...), Compensation – but no reassurance (and so on).*⁸

Personalization as Media Logic

The second aspect under analysis is the personalization as a media logic. The units were filtered in terms of the object under study, or from what perspective the unit is discussing. Seventy percent of the media content was removed as it did not focus on either party or person. The focus is instead on the countries which arguably is a type of “personalization”, with headlines such as “Norway + Saudi Arabia = True”, “Is it possible to understand the USA?”, “Has China totally tricked us?” or “Three things Norway will work for in Paris”.⁹ It tells a story about the issue from the countries’ point of view, but the main point is that the issue, and the climate conference, is at a supra-level in which the national political parties or organizations will, in many cases, be excessive. One could argue that Norway represents the “lowest” level and thus is the natural object for the newspapers.

Personalization	Politics N= 20	Media N= 22
Politician	65	70
<i>Political leader</i>	57	50
<i>Other</i>	8	20
Party	35	30
Total		
Share illustration/personal picture	30/70	40/60

Table 4.3.4: Media logic aspect of personalization, comparison politics and media. Displayed in rounded percentage; Source: the author

As expected before the analysis, nevertheless, it is still personalized. Many newspapers normally attach a picture of the political leaders to the article (personalized or not), a practice that is more common than not, as seen in Table 4.3.4. Although a substantial discussion of the climate conference occurs, it nevertheless becomes somewhat personalized when a personal

⁸ (My translation) Slik ble avtalen: Avtalen er skrevet i et komplisert juridisk språk. Her er en forklaring på hovedpunktene. Frivillig forpliktelse (...), Ambisjonen: Maks 2 grader (...), Løfter skal fornyes, frivillig (...), Ikke dato for utslippsstans (...), Erstatning – men ikke forsikring (...) (and so on). (Mathismoen, 2015c)

⁹ (My translation) «Norge + Sauda Arabia = Sant», «Går det an å bli klok på USA?», «Har Kina lurt oss trill rundt», and «Tre ting Norge vil gå for i Paris».

picture is attached. The media might feel compelled to “decompose” the issue to make it more exciting and understandable for their readers. There is a further 30 percent of the content not filtered out, focusing on the party and their policies; rather than the political leaders. This opinion by the Greens’ only Parliament representative is an example of such content:

*The Greens do not want to end air travel, but it has to be attenuated. The Government introduces now, after pressure from the Liberals and the Christian Democrats, a fee on tickets at about 80 kroner.*¹⁰

The article focusing on the Liberals explicit policies is also an example, with a headline saying: “This is the Liberals tough climate cure to reach the Paris Agreement. More expensive petrol, emission-free cars and full stop in drilling for oil”¹¹.

The political communication is however just slightly more personalized than news articles, pointing to the politics obeying media logic of personalization. Much less of their content, only 30 percent, was filtered out based on person/party-focus. This means that the political parties do not discuss the climate conference in terms of countries, but they keep it at a level where national political parties and politicians are key actors. It might be a strategy in political communication trying to make an abstract issue more palpable or interesting to read about.

Political leaders are furthermore the main object almost exclusively, pointing at a strategic use of the issue. As political leaders are celebrities, they have an eye-catching effect. A prime example of this is when the Conservatives, ahead of the climate conference, wanted to share their thoughts on the future negotiations that would take place, attaching a picture of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, quoted: “Let there not be a doubt: the climate changes cannot continue”.¹² In general is it the party in Government that is more personal, arguably as they were in Paris representing Norway. Another explanation is that they are not “owning” the issue.

Personalized content in the media is also often through pictures of prominent leaders,

¹⁰ (My translation) De Grønne vil ikke flytrafikken til livs, men den må dempes. Regjeringen innfører nå, etter påtrykk fra Venstre og KrF, en avgift på flybilletter på omlag 80 kroner (Hansson, 2015).

¹¹ (My translation) Slik er Venstres tøffe klimakur for å nå Paris-målene. Dyrere bensin, utslippsfrie biler, full stopp i oljeboringen i nord (Tjernshaug, 2015).

¹² (My translation) La det ikke være tvil: Klimaendringene kan ikke fortsette (Høyre, 2015).

primarily of international leaders due to the international setting the climate change operates within. Media uses, moreover, other persons than the leader as object for personalization, such as other delegates to the conference or spokespeople in the party. The most recycled frame is however to personalize it with noticeable individuals, such as Obama or The Pope:

*Obama first laid down a rose. President Barack Obama went straight to Bataclan when he landed in Paris this night, where he put down a rose for memorizing the 130 terror victims. (...) Sunday, Frans, the climate- Pope, took his shoes off in a climate protest in the middle of Paris.*¹³

*This is how you meet Obama. (...) you must be extremely patient, do not have claustrophobia and do not have a deadline right around the corner.*¹⁴

Negativity as Media Logic

The aspect of negativity is measured by giving a score of either positive, ambivalent or negative to the issue of climate change and the climate conference's work in the communication. All of the units were included in this analysis, as it is deemed possible to read an evaluation out of almost every written text. Expectations from the theory (Haßler et al., 2014) argues that political communication is far more positive. It is partially true, as they are only slightly more positive. The two actors are equally negative, and the media are instead often ambivalent. The media's overall evaluation is however negative than positive; opposite of the political communication. Negativity in the context of media is to highlight the conflict and negativity in a story as well as choosing the stories that are negative rather than the positive ones. For example these stories have a negative tone and frame: "Norway gives in in Paris"¹⁵, "Worst- case scenario: this is how the worlds coastal cities might drown" (Haugan, 2015), "Predicts gloomy oil future" (Bergo, 2015) or "The Paris Agreement is far from sufficient" (Storeng, 2015). These exemplify how the media can both turn the Paris Agreement negative, as well as work out new stories based on the information from the conference.

¹³ (My translation) Obama la først ned en rose. President Barack Obama dro rett til konsertlokalet Bataclan da han landet i Paris i natt. Der la han ned en rose til minne om de 130 terrorofrene. (...) Søndag tok klima-pave-Frans av seg skoene i klima-protest midt i Paris (Mathismoen, 2015a).

¹⁴ (My translation) Slik møter man Obama. (...) må du være ekstremt tålmodig, ikke ha klaustrofobi og ikke ha deadline rett rundt hjørnet (Mathismoen, 2015d).

¹⁵ (My translation) Norge gir etter i Paris (Haugan, 2015).

Negativity	Politics N= 31	Media N= 76
Positive	50	25
Ambivalent	10	35
Negative	40	40
Total	100	100

Table 4.3.5: Media logic aspect of negativity, comparison politics and media. Displayed in rounded percentage; Source: the author

Party communication is normally about other political parties' shortcomings, but also the general shortcomings in the society and all the measures that needs to be done. Overall, it is more of the green political parties' content that applied a negative frame to their context, compared to the "catch-all" parties seen under one. None of the green parties were happy with status quo and called for more action on the issue. For example from Socialist Left Party, arguing that the Minister of Climate and Environment is not sufficient at her job and demanded resignation; or the Greens who encourages the Minister of Climate and Environment to do the job accurately by indirectly "threatening" him. The Conservatives are moreover very positive in their content which is because of their position in Government and their responsibility. They simply do not have the opportunity to complain about the policies. The only occasion where they are negative, is in relation to the issue of climate change in itself.

Topicality as Media Logic

The fourth aspect of media logic is the topicality, which determines if the units focus on the event that the climate conference is or any surroundings in relation to it, which is deemed short-term and perhaps more tabloid. Or if the units rather concentrate about background information on climate change such as its causes, consequences or perhaps solutions. It is expected that political communication would focus on the issue of climate change in general more than the event specially, and opposite for the news media (Haßler et al., 2014)

Topicality	Politics N= 30	Media N= 76
About the event (COP21)	35	55
Background issue information	65	45
Total	100	100

Table 4.3.6: Media logic aspect of topicality, comparison politics and media. Displayed in rounded percentage; Source: the author

Table 4.3.6 shows that political communication in total has more units with more background information; discussing more than the COP21, whereas the newspapers mostly provide information only about COP21. The findings for media are, however, not favoring either but provides both perspectives in approximately half of the times. Newspapers giving information about the issue takes on a role as an educator. This is apparent for Aftenposten but has not been found for VG. Both had reporters present in Paris, but whereas VG (almost) only reported about events directly concerning the conference, with articles such as “Bill Gates revealed billion-dollar investment in Paris”¹⁶ or “The world needs a result in Paris”¹⁷, did Aftenposten provide more background information, primarily through the blog-concept explained previously in this chapter. In this respect, the correlation between the profile of a news source (quality or tabloid) and the quality of climate change coverage is confirmed.

The different political parties show different patterns also here, as with the previous aspect. The Conservatives give more information about the event, which is natural as they were the only party officially present there. Some of the other parties did send representatives and reported also from the actual events. They were, however, more prone to talk about the issue of climate change and other solutions they might have, which is regarded as another way of strategically discussing their policies. Although political parties are interested in providing information about their policies, it is evident that this holds true especially for the political parties that have the issue ownership, and that the other parties will perhaps present the issue on their premises without trying to over-discuss it as they will not gain anything on it.

Ambiguity as Media Logic

The last aspect of media logic analyzed in this thesis is the ambiguity. Measuring how vague or concrete the parts of each unit is, it gives an overall category by determining the dominant frame. It is expected, following theory, that media is more concrete and politics vaguer, as it is more risk associated with promises for politicians, opposite their voters (Haßler et al., 2014).

The findings (Table 4.3.7) shows that both media and politics are almost equally concrete. One of the main reasons for this is the many concrete discussed during the COP21, as that is

¹⁶ (My translation) Bill Gates avslørte milliardssatsing i Paris (Nordby, 2015)

¹⁷ (My translation) Verden trenger et resultat i Paris.

the main objective with the conference.

Ambiguity	Politics N=29	Media N=73
Vague phrases	40	10
General goals	10	30
Concrete plans	50	60
Total	100	100

Table 4.3.7: Media logic aspect of ambiguity, comparison politics and media. Displayed in rounded percentage; Source: the author

Therefore, and although the reasonable conduct for political communication is to be vaguer, the Paris conference is arguably unique in the sense that its baseline is already determined in terms of the concrete 1.5-degree goal, etc. As for the media, they normally present issues in terms of concrete plans as it increases conflict and newsworthiness. The findings here also point in that direction, for example, because the newspapers produced many articles deliberating on the Paris conference; its goals and the decision-making. They also report about the direct consequences for each individual; this, combined with negativity gives great newspaper pieces as it is newsworthy, relevant for their readers and a “concerned” tone that should engage readers.

These findings are furthermore interesting because political communication is both very vague and very concrete, which is due to the different results for the political parties. As with the aspects of topicality and the negativity, the Conservatives approaches it also here differently. They are the party with the vaguest statements in their content. They report from the Paris conference, but they do not present climate change in any profound way. The Greens, however, is clearer in their communication. They, too, have vague phrases, but discusses also the concrete policies and measures to reach the goal set in Paris. They might be more explicit in their communication because, as the main green party, they are the only party that can promise anything. They might also regard their voters and ultimately those reading the communication, to be informed about the issue in such a way that they will appreciate the information. None of the parties’ communication is too complicated, and although discussing it, is it not in technical terms.

5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This section connects the findings from chapter four with the theory from chapter two and discusses the implications of the results. The purpose of the thesis is to investigate the mediatized Norwegian political sphere and place the issue of climate change therein. The previous chapter presented rather differing results based on the thesis question; consequently, this chapter draws together these findings, discusses their implications, and finally approaches a conclusion. The main guiding question is:

TQ: How is the issue of climate change presented by the media, and do political communication comparatively provide a different or similar presentation of the same issue?

The thesis question is answered with a content analysis of the metadata from two Norwegian newspapers, followed by an in-depth comparative analysis between newspaper articles and political Facebook communication about the 2015 Paris COP21. This exact context is chosen based on theory, but also due to its convenient starting point for comparison. Variables were prepared from previous research and from regarding the population. Three research questions guided the study:

RQ1: Who and what drove the issue of climate change in Norwegian newspapers in the period 2007 – 2018?

RQ2: Do direct political communication channels provide a different or similar presentation of the climate change issue than news media?

RQ3: How is the climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?

The International Political Context as a Driving Factor for Norwegian Media

Newspaper reporting function as an arena on deciding the discourse and “setting the agenda”. Simultaneously, the newspapers act as brokers by breaking down the issue and present it thoroughly to the general public (Carvalho, 2010). Especially true for the current climate agreement, from Paris, is that more responsibility is on the respective governments, and as the issue becomes national, obligation is also moved to the national news media (Carter et al., 2014). The news media is both guided by the norms and rules of conduct that journalists have to follow; but also by the potential news sources’ accessibility. The nature of the climate change issue has generally made it difficult to present on the media’s premises, but as it has become more newsworthy, via for example the international events, the market forces have evidently made it more attractive to cover, due to the attention cycle that develops an issue from vague to more concrete (Trumbo, 1996).

It is not often that journalists are formally trained in the climate change issue; it is furthermore difficult to frame as it has a “creeping” and not very “dramatized” nature, but is simultaneously deemed very important. Certain “issue entrepreneurs”, generally organization, have nonetheless made newsworthy stories about the issue (Schäfer et al., 2014; Young & Dugas, 2011). It is expected that the media is driven by, as explained in theory, information about the natural weather or occurrences, the international political events and the feedback via scientists. It is also expected that organizations would take a central role, as they would frame the issue according to their beliefs. As the study by Trumbo (1996, cited in Young & Dugas, 2011) also finds in the American context, the issue has matured in terms of political discussion, which is why the role of politicians is also included in the analysis Boykoff (2011).

The findings suggest that the issue has not matured in Norwegian context; it is still highly scientific and driven in cycles by the international political context. It has gained more attention throughout the 2000s compared to the decades before, and the attention is overall greater in 2018 than in the beginning of the decade. Some years are “tops” in terms of content; and some tops are higher than others. 2007 and 2009 are extraordinary years. In the findings, these tops often coincide with “international political event” as the main news peg or citizens/unaffiliated individual and environmental groups as the main source. Politicians

(especially nationally) are rarely highly cited or seem to peg any story to the extent that they are “issue entrepreneurs”. This is also true for 2015 and 2017. They all seem to be pegged by either an international event, or that “issue entrepreneurs”, such as environmental organizations, try to increase the attention of the issue.

Although the scientists are the most-cited source throughout the time frame, this does not explain the general interest, as the years they are most cited do not coincide with the extraordinary years, such as 2007 and 2009. In this vein, scientists can be seen as representing a steady (high) interest for the issue, but that they do not increase any interest significantly. Scientist are a “general”, “underlying” and “sleeping” source that contributes to the issue all the time and - by the outlook – is not taken over by politicians in the Norwegian context. As it is the journalist’s job to make the issue fathomable and be a link between politics and the public, they also have the opportunity to frame the issue in national terms. As of 2018, the issue has only occasionally been understood in national political terms, which most likely is the reaction of the media’s attention spent on international events. It is rather still recognized as a scientific issue.

The international events make the newspaper increase their content considerably and set the issue on the agenda as it makes the population aware of it, representing a cycle of information, media reaction and political change. Furthermore, as the media, in the highly mediatized society, is the source of the “truth” for most people, the sources presented in this study are the voices they will connect the climate change issue with. The implication here is that the issue seemingly does not come across to the public as a national political problem when national politicians are neither the main voice nor the main news peg; but rather the least-cited and least used peg. If national politicians are not the main source coinciding with the issue, the issue-attention cycle will again, after it is perceived as “someone else’s problem”, lead to disinterest in the public, which will again lead to disinterest by the media actors. The consequence is furthermore that the media does not fulfill their mandate as the “Fourth Estate”, because they simply cannot afford it due to market reasons. Media is thus, perhaps, just as dependent on politicians as the opposite way around.

Perhaps the “steadier” scientific approach is better for the issue as it educates people. And more spectacular events might also be suitable for the attention of the climate change issue as it allows media to be interested in it due to its novelty and newsworthiness, increasing the content and the attention at the expense of other issues. But as of now, the attention cycle will

not lead to political change. The climate issue is not a spectacular happening, like the Vietnam War. It lacks both the concrete aspect; and it cannot change any governments drastically as the issue is, at least in Norway, too vague and does “too little” harm. Although it might be framed in such a way through the focus on the international events, the real changes are not arguably made until they hit national governments. This holds especially true for the current agreement, where much more is dependent on national measures than before. Thus, with the current agreement and the general interest in the attention, as it has increased substantially in the last two decades, times may be changing. This study did not show any clear development in terms of new or old sources increasingly present today, but a new top is seemingly hitting the media coverage, which should be subject for future research. Perhaps 2019 proves to be a year where the national Government is held responsible, and the future proves to put the climate change issue in a context where preventions to the diminishing of greenhouse gas emissions can give distrust in the responsible politicians. This is, however, a role the media could take.

Although the media and the political measures are discussed here, no causal link has been established. Media’s political agenda-setting effect is studied several times before and is in this study only taken for granted as the relationship between media and politics has been investigated. For future research, a suggestion is to establish a link between them, and furthermore deliberating upon other factors that determine both media attention and political determination.

Presentation of the Climate Issue Depending on the Political Party

Media is a perfect tool for the competition in politics as it can reach people in a fast manner and give increasingly more attention to their issues. The mechanisms between politics and media are highly intertwined, and both actors yield to use each other strategically. Any political change will be picked up by the press which emphasizes newsworthiness - ultimately conflict and person-focus - picking the stories that are prone to cause a change in politics. This is the “Fourth Estate” -, and agenda-setting function of the media (Strömbäck, 2008; Wolfsfeld, 2011). The “winning” politicians in this context, is the opposition who can use the media strategically for their good. These actors might, however, be in the opposite situation next time, as media, above all, is interested in the “good news story”, due to the capitalistic market system they are situated in (Wolfsfeld, 2011). The political actors have to “constantly

campaign”, as the media “colonizes” politics with a focus on the good news stories (Strömbäck, 2008).

Whether this holds for the climate change issue, is however interesting. It is a highly salient issue, but due to its nature and “depoliticization” from 2012 in the Norwegian context, it might not be a political issue that is contested over. Based on previous research and findings (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Haßler et al., 2014; Klinger & Svensson, 2015), it is expected that direct political communication would not unconditionally follow media logic for this issue, as the context is outside election period and depending on the political party’s position vis-à-vis the issue.

The findings suggest that the expectations were somewhat confirmed. Rather interestingly, certain aspects of the media logic were the opposite of the expectations. The differences concern the two aspects, negativity and topicality. Newspapers are overall more negative than positive but are similarly as negative as the political parties (being slightly more positive). Concerning topicality, the media reported more about the event than about the background to the issue, while political parties wrote more about the background issue of climate change. Following their logic, this is expected and does not thus far give evidence of mediatization of the climate issue. However, for the policy/polity-dimension, the media follow political logic rather than media logic. The media tends to cover more policy than polity, but these findings are more evenly distributed for the media. For the ambiguity- aspect, politics are as concrete as the media in their communication, and for the personalization-aspect, direct political communication is arguably relatively higher than media.

These findings show a slight tendency of the mediatization of the issue of climate change, but not to a huge extent, as they do not adhere to all aspects of media logic. The media, however uses evidently media logic in the presentation of the issue of climate change, but they too show some sign of following political logic. Although not significant, it is interesting that the news media deem the issue differently, perhaps as it is still highly scientific and depoliticized in the Norwegian political realm; as well as global in its nature.

The aspects of media logic in direct political communication give signs of the mediatization of the issue. It might show that politicians use techniques from media logic as media permeates the political landscape and forces them to discuss it in terms of media techniques.

This might be a democratic problem as it decreases the actual substance and discussion, giving media disproportionate power. Media, as an independent actor, fueled by market forces, becomes so dominant in the politics-media-relationship that the politicians rather focus on any potential media repercussions when discussing the issue, than on the actual substantiality itself. Media's role as a watchdog is, however, still "alive", as the media takes the issue seriously and presents the political actions on the field. The problem is, however, if no part of the climate change issue can be framed due to the media's standards; making it difficult to discuss the issue in national terms and hold politicians accountable.

While it might be the case that climate change issue is mediatized in terms of media logic, it might very well also be that these aspects of media logic are also used in social media. The new media proposes another outlet for communication which democratizes the situation. For example, everyone can gain access, but to succeed, one must adhere to the news logics of social media. In this study, Facebook communication is only used for convenience, and its relevance vis-à-vis the democracy is not inherently a point of discussion. Thus, its threat or opportunities for the public discussion is not a discussion made here, but can be a starting point for a new study, specifically for the context of climate change.

Furthermore, as discussed in chapter two, social media, such as Facebook, constitutes a new way of communication. It obviates time, space and other physical conditions, and is furthermore an addition to digital democracy the actors find themselves in. For politicians, it permits a direct form of communication to their followers, avoiding the news media and their logics (Hacker & van Dijk, 2000). Politics do not merely stop being a contest because of the social media. Being present is a good starting point, but also here must the parties adhere to logics strategically to succeed (Klinger & Svensson, 2015). Strategies include techniques for "attention-maximizing" and content that resonates well with the audience, which will open up new audiences and by way of networking, make the party communication achieve several voters. As a matter of form, these techniques include "positive, personalized and emotional content" (Asur et al., 2011). As a matter of content, the political parties respond to the media's attention by emphasizing what they have ownership to and ignore what they do not. Techniques include maintaining the issue in public and use it in their communication when it is on the agenda (Budge & Farlie, 1983; Karlsen & Aardal, 2007). The responsibility of the issue, i.e. differences between the government and opposition parties, is also used strategically. Parties in opposition will discuss it, trying to place blame on the government,

which will, in turn, try to downplay the issue, unless it is nevertheless a global problem that requires other measures than just national policies (Thesen, 2013). The expectations to research question three (*How is the climate change issue presented differently by the different political parties' direct communication?*) were therefore that the issue-owning parties, the Greens, Socialist Left party and the Liberals, in opposition will discuss it more and perhaps less ambiguous as they are issue owners. Position parties, however, discusses it less and more prone to “use” the issue strategically; if they discuss it at all.

This is true; and issue ownership and policy responsibility certainly is decisive in this context. Three structures are evident: The “green” parties communicated most of all, and they were more negative, at times less personalized and more oriented at the substance of the climate issue. The parties “opposite” of the greens without ownership to the issue, did not communicate about it at all, as they do not gain anything from this, following the theory. Lastly is the “catch-all”- parties. They communicated about it without owning the issue. The party in opposition presented it only slightly, but more negative and thus probably used the situation to create conflict. The party in position, however, presented the issue different than all other parties included and with communication units to study. They were more personal, more positive and less substantial than all the other parties, which resonates well on Facebook. Climate change as an issue also suits them well when being in government, as it is an issue, they will try making an effort to fix, but given the nature of the “complicated” problem, they recognize the problem without accepting blame.

These results show that, although the politicians not being very present in the news media presenting of the issue, they still communicated on social media. This might indicate a tendency of emphasizing social media over news media for communication. It is furthermore tricky to state this for a fact, as the content of political statements and their actual communication strategies for different outlets has not been under investigation. It is not straightforward to separate Facebook as a medium from the conduct of communication, so whether this kind of strategy is exclusive for Facebook, must be subject for further research.

Media attention, however, works as ammunition for the opposition parties, especially for the issue-owning parties. It gives them a chance at creating a game, in which some parties must be the losing part. For most parts, the winners are furthermore the issue owners. The influence of the media and their agenda-setting effect is also mostly at the expense of the

parties in government, as the influence between them is based on powerful politicians and the cycle of change, where media's watchdog role is pointed towards the most prominent conduct of politics in the society. The problem is when political parties choose the issues, they find it convenient for their own communication and do not take an active standpoint in *all* issues. The attention spent by the media on the problems they (might) deem important, is what ends up being important in these respects. Politics, which is ultimately a contest for attention, is simplified to being just this, which is also reflected in their communication. The problem is that the issues become very fragmented, and no real alternatives might be presented because every party is interested in talking about only what they have ownership to.

Politically, the state broadcasters can prove a remedy to a fragmented discussion scene, as their role, in many ways, is to slow down the mediatization process and provide an alternative to the market-driven news media. This is an arena where politicians are held responsible and both can, and must, discuss issues they do not necessarily emphasize in their communication because of little ownership or much responsibility. Future research should, therefore, include the state broadcasters in the analysis of the issue of climate change as to determine their role in it. Another fruitful approach is to study the political parties over time, as to determine the development, and to find points in time where parties with issue ownership and in opposition do not coincide – as it does here, making it difficult to separate the two from each other.

6 Conclusion

This thesis sought to investigate the relationship between media and politics by analyzing the climate change issue. The aim was to uncover the mediatization-process in Norway and where both journalistic norms and political priorities are placed therein. This was done through focusing on the main thesis question, brought up in the introduction: *How is the issue of climate change presented by the media, and do political communication comparatively provide a different or similar presentation of the same issue?* In this chapter, a reflection around the answer to this question is given, followed by a discussion on future research for the theme.

Mediatization in Norway and the Position of Climate Change

The literature on the politics-media relationship in mediatization is, in general, vast (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008). The literature on the issue of the mediatization of politics in Norway has also been studied extensively, but the position of the issue of climate change has not gained much attention. In this local context, it is a standard route to focus on the media conduct by politicians (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Kalsnes, 2016; Larsson, 2016; Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014; Østbye & Aalberg, 2008) or on the climate change issue in politics (Båtstrand, 2014, 2015), and occasionally on the interplay between media, politics and climate change (Eide, 2014). Because it is relatively understudied, this thesis fills a gap of knowledge about the mediatization of environmental politics and the issue of climate change for the Norwegian context.

Two content analyses with two different sets of data were the basis of the study, based on existing theory, presented in chapter two. This method was deemed appropriate as it suits the fluidity of the theme and internet, as it can easily access data without doing any ethical harm. The expectation was that it is a mediatized issue to the extent that some political parties would communicate about it with the logic of media based on factors such as issue ownership and their position in terms of power. As for the news media, the attention would be driven by the international context and mainly by other factors outside the power of national politicians, such as the natural weather occurrences, and that they would communicate about it due to media logic. However, the presentation of climate change was somewhat interesting, as the findings were not uniform: they did not differ extensively nor show a clear sign of the same conduct. Media would adhere to a more *politicized* logic in certain areas, and political

communication would follow media logic for other areas. This is much due to the internal differences between the political parties, but it might also show news media's inclination to presenting the issue due to its substantiality and not just based on newsworthiness and "the good story". The international political conference (COP21), the object for investigation in the in-depth content analysis, proved as the most critical contributor to the international, and therefore also national, media agenda on climate change. Media's inclination to, therefore, present this issue in terms of substantiality and the actual policy-outcome, points to a climate-issue that is not merely subject to newsworthiness. Especially one of the newspapers, Aftenposten, did take its role as an "information provider" seriously, which might have skewed the results as VG is a highly tabloid newspaper that will be *extra* market driven.

Political communication's focus on the COPs, however, coincided at times with media attention on the same issue. This points vaguely to the political agenda-setting of the media. Moreover, to the extent that the political direct communication on Facebook is characterized by media logic, this might also be due to logics that operate in the new social media "separately" from media, or perhaps operating more powerful than the news media. The position of the party, as well as the ownership of the issue, are however the explaining factors in the different communication conducts.

The implications from these findings are that mediatization undoubtedly applies to the Norwegian context in general. Politicians are, although not very strongly in this context, present in the media as they try to take ownership over the issue by discussing it. They are additionally present on Facebook, either to surpass the media logic; or to enhance it, as also the social media conduct contains certain logics. For the climate change issue specifically, as it has proved important due to its growth in attention, will perhaps be subject for some mediatization wherein politics and media work together to increase attention and support for each other. The news media will use it to increase audience and revenue; political actors will use it where they can strategically increase their audience. But whereas it is not unconditional for the political parties, as they are not dependent on revenue and thus selects and presents issues due to (among others) ownership; the media will want to use it strategically no matter what, because of market forces.

This might be issue-specific due to the nature of climate change: it is complicated, therefore hard to use strategically; it is perhaps depoliticized due to "klimaforliket", therefore, hard to

create conflict over; but it is abstract, therefore, easy to personalize. As Strömbäck (2008) however argues, if the process of mediatization proves problematic and needs to be slowed down, the role of the state is to increase the media diversity with subsidies; or improve the role of the state broadcaster. News media and social media are furthermore changing at a rapid pace, and the development of these media might make them look and function entirely different only some years down the line.

Future Research Possibilities

Some discussion surrounding limitations and future research possibilities have already been done in the discussion, but a more thorough explanation follows here. Although the data in this analysis gives a broad understanding of the issue and the theme of mediatization, as it is both over time and more thoroughly analyzed from a moment in time; generalizing the findings is difficult. This is not to say that no insight into the theme is gained, but the answers are not applicable to other situations, which limits the discussion to only this exact context. The political agenda-setting by media is also hard to establish due to the lack of data, although some evidence points towards it; making this development object for another analysis.

Furthermore, some of the findings points towards noteworthy differences between the two newspapers included in this study. The role of the news media is decisive in the mediatization process, but also differences among the news media and to what extent they are market-driven is essential. Future research can thus establish this in relation to climate change. Whether more or less market forces determine the attention spent and the substantiality of it; as well as the position of the national broadcaster.

Last, due to the political situation in 2015, the parties that were communicating most about the issue were both issue-owning and in opposition, which makes it hard to establish these two factors separate from each other. Only one of the factors could, for example, be determining of the communication, but it is taken for granted that either factors increase (or decrease) the amount of communication. Therefore, an analysis over time should be the object for future research, in order to establish any differences from one political constellation to another, as well as with the significance of Facebook conduct. Perhaps also an analysis with the Greens in Government, which is for the future as it is yet to happen in Norway.

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Appendix 1: Coding manual

V1: Month (which month is the article or Facebook post from?)

- 1 = January
- 2 = February
- 3 = March
- 4 = April
- 5 = May
- 6 = June
- 7 = July
- 8 = August
- 9 = September
- 10 = October
- 11 = November
- 12 = December

V2: Year (which year is the article or Facebook post from?)

- 1 = 2007
- 2 = 2008
- 3 = 2009
- 4 = 2010
- 5 = 2011
- 6 = 2012
- 7 = 2013
- 8 = 2014
- 9 = 2015
- 10 = 2016
- 11 = 2017
- 12 = 2018

V3: Newspaper (not applicable for Facebook posts)

- 1 = Aftenposten
- 2 = VG

V4: Political party (not applicable for newspapers)

- 1= Labour Party (Aftenposten)
- 2= Conservatives (Høyre)
- 3= Progressive Party (Fremskrittspartiet)
- 4= Christian Democrats (Kristelig Folkeparti)
- 5= Liberals (Venstre)
- 6= Norwegian Green Party (Miljøpartiet De Grønne)
- 7= Center Party (Senterpartiet)
- 8= Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti)

Applicable only for first step of the content analysis:

V5: Main source (What is the most used source? First cited if hard to determine. Opinions, letter to the editor: Source is the author, if mentioned)

- 1 = Environmental group/organization
- 2 = Other interest group
- 3 = Scientist/expert
- 4 = Citizen/ unaffiliated individual
- 5 = Business association/ Unaffiliated business
- 6 = Journalist/ editors
- 7 = Politician
- 8 = Politician regarded “Green”
- 9 = International agency/organization
- 10 = International politician (not Norwegian)
- 11 = No voice in article
- 12 = Other

V6: Political mentioning (If main source is not political, is it still mentioned?)

- 1 = Yes, a “green” politician
- 2 = Yes, a politician
- 3 = Yes, a non-Norwegian
- 4 = No

V7: Type of article

- 1 = News item
- 2 = Editorial
- 3 = Opinion
- 4 = Letter to the editor
- 5 = Feature or information series

V8: News pegs (What is the main reason or justification for the item?)

- 1 = New discovery or publication
- 2 = Suggested remedy by unaffiliated citizen or scientist
- 3 = Suggested remedy by politician
- 4 = National political event
- 5 = International political event (such as COPs)
- 6 = Protests or other
- 7 = Conflict/ disagreement among/by unaffiliated citizen or scientist
- 8 = Conflict/ disagreement among/by politicians
- 9 = Occurrence in natural world
- 10 = Other
- 11 = No news peg

Applicable only for the second step of the content analysis:

V9: Dimension of Politik (What dimension is discussed in this unit?)

- 1 = Polity
- 2 = Politics
- 3 = Policy
- 4 = Not applicable

V10: Personalization (Is the unit personalized?)

1 = Politicians

1 = *Political leaders (members of the government and chairpersons of the political parties in the parliament)*

2 = *others*

2 = Parties/institutions

3 = other

4 = Not applicable

V11: Negativity (What is the valence of this unit?)

1 = Positive

2 = Ambivalent

3 = Negative

4 = Not applicable

V12: Topicality (What is being discussed in this unit?)

1 = Concrete reporting from the COP21/ Paris event

2 = Background piece about climate change

3 = Not applicable

V13: Ambiguity (How concrete is this unit?)

1 = Vague phrases (mentioning a goal in such a vague manner that it should be shared by almost everyone)

2 = General goals (mentioning a goal without mentioning how to achieve it)

3 = Concrete plans (mentioning a goal and how to achieve it)

4 = Not applicable

Appendix 2: List of Coded Articles/ Posts

Code number of article	News/ social medium	Date published	Title of article	Date printed
1	Aftenposten	27.12.2007	Vannkraften kan bidra mer	01.09.2019
2	Aftenposten	21.12.2007	Hvor blir det av snøen?	01.09.2019
3	Aftenposten	17.12.2007	Klimaendringer biter ikke på denne giganten	01.09.2019
4	Aftenposten	14.12.2007	Mørklegger byer verden over	05.09.2019
5	Aftenposten	13.12.2007	Fredsprisens formidlingsproblemer	05.09.2019
6	Aftenposten	11.12.2007	- Olje kan bli forbudt	05.09.2019
7	Aftenposten	08.12.2007	Sats på miljøet, Statsbygg!	05.09.2019
8	Aftenposten	05.12.2007	De små øystatene – havet tar dem	05.09.2019
9	Aftenposten	01.12.2007	Julebudskapet 2007	05.09.2019
10	VG	22.12.2007	Lurt opp i stry?	05.09.2019
11	VG	29.12.2007	“Klima” er ordet i klimaåret	05.09.2019
12	VG	15.12.2007	Klima-kampen vil lønne seg	05.09.2019
13	VG	12.12.2007	Republikansk klimadebatt i Iowa	05.09.2019
14	VG	11.12.2007	Fortjente fredspriser	05.09.2019
15	VG	10.12.2007	Al Gores nobelforedrag	05.09.2019
16	VG	08.12.2007	Grønne protester verden over	05.09.2019
17	VG	06.12.2007	- Global oppvarming vil ødelegge 60 prosent av Amazonas	05.09.2019
18	VG	03.12.2007	Klimaekspert: - Vi risikerer verre ødeleggelser enn de to verdenskrigene	05.09.2019

19	Aftenposten	24.01.2008	Gutten som roper ulv	05.09.2019
20	Aftenposten	20.01.2008	Isdåp da sjefen kom til Norges bi-land	05.09.2019
21	Aftenposten	18.01.2008	Må bli mer enn tomme løfter	05.09.2019
22	Aftenposten	15.01.2008	Forskning på grensen til svindel	05.09.2019
23	Aftenposten	11.01.2008	En gang var det jungel her	05.09.2019
24	Aftenposten	08.01.2008	- De rike landene må ta ansvar	05.09.2019
25	Aftenposten	06.01.2008	Tåler ikke sledeføre	05.09.2019
26	Aftenposten	04.01.2008	Boliger med tærne i vann	05.09.2019
27	Aftenposten	01.01.2008	120 millioner år gamle – nå dreper vi dem	05.09.2019
28	VG Nett	26.01.2008	- Global oppvarming har stanset	05.09.2019
29	VG	23.01.2008	- Kvantestprang i dumheit!	05.09.2019
30	VG Nett	19.01.2008	- Amundsen hadde det verre	05.09.2019
31	VG Nett	18.01.2008	Brown vil utvide handelen med Kina	05.09.2019
32	VG Nett	17.01.2008	Økende avskoging i Amazonas	05.09.2019
33	VG Nett	13.01.2008	Stoltenberg søker råd hos klimaekspertene	05.09.2019
34	VG Nett	08.01.2008	Veitrafikk bidrar mer til oppvarming enn flytrafikk	05.09.2019
35	VG	03.01.2008	Klima var årets ord i 2007	05.09.2019
36	Aftenposten	22.12.2009	Temperaturmålinger ikke til å stole på	05.09.2019
37	Aftenposten	19.12.2009	Topplederne forhandlet på detaljnivå	05.09.2019
38	Aftenposten	17.12.2009	Obama selve frelseren	05.09.2019
39	Aftenposten	13.12.2009	Slik skjer smeltingen	05.09.2019
40	Aftenposten	11.12.2009	Kun én sjanse	05.09.2019
41	Aftenposten	08.12.2009	Saudi- Arabia sjokkert	05.09.2019

42	Aftenposten	05.12.2009	Håp i havet	05.09.2019
43	Aftenposten	04.12.2009	Lykkeleg slutt?	05.09.2019
44	Aftenposten	02.12.2009	- For fjernt for folk	05.09.2019
45	VG	26.12.2009	Kalkulatorer for klimaet	05.09.2019
46	VG Nett	19.12.2009	Ekspert: - Dette er langt fra godt nok	05.09.2019
47	VG Nett	17.12.2009	Obama håper han kan bidra i København	05.09.2019
48	VG Nett	15.12.2009	Miljøaktivister bestiger operaen i Sydney	05.09.2019
49	VG Nett	11.12.2009	EU gir milliarder til klimatilpasninger i u-land	05.09.2019
50	VG	09.12.2009	Skremmer med fremtidsbilde	05.09.2019
51	VG Nett	07.12.2009	Danskene snur – sier ja til atomkraft	05.09.2019
52	VG Nett	04.12.2009	FNs klimapanel skal undersøke Climategate	05.09.2019
53	VG	02.12.2009	Kunnskapsløse Kalvig	05.09.2019
54	Aftenposten	28.12.2010	Surt hav så langt du ser	05.09.2019
55	Aftenposten	19.12.2010	Klimaforstyrret	05.09.2019
56	Aftenposten	14.12.2010	Illusjonen som brast	05.09.2019
57	Aftenposten	11.12.2010	Sikrer ris og mais mot varmere klima	05.09.2019
58	Aftenposten	08.12.2010	- Norge svikter de fattigste i klimaforhandlingene	05.09.2019
59	Aftenposten	07.12.2010	Angripes fra alle kanter	05.09.2019
60	Aftenposten	04.12.2010	Kalde vintre forvirrer Norge	05.09.2019
61	Aftenposten	03.12.2010	Legger ned klimakomiteen	05.09.2019
62	VG Nett	26.01.2010	Misfornøyd med myndighetenes klimainnsats	05.09.2019

63	VG Nett	15.01.2010	Dommedagsklokka skrudd tilbake ett minutt	05.09.2019
64	VG Nett	12.01.2010	USA satser på atomkraftverk mot klimaendringer	05.09.2019
65	VG	11.01.2010	Spår mini-istid i opptil 30 år	05.09.2019
66	VG	09.01.2010	Hvorfor skriver ikke VG om den ...	05.09.2019
67	VG	06.01.2010	Gjør noe selv!	05.09.2019
68	VG	02.01.2010	Dobbel krise etter København	05.09.2019
69	VG	02.01.2010	Jeg har vært topendler i....	05.09.2019
70	Aftenposten	29.12.2011	Strømløse, telefonløse, forsvarsløse Norge	05.09.2019
71	Aftenposten	21.12.2011	Snøgaranti	05.09.2019
72	Aftenposten	15.12.2011	Sivil ulydighet mot miljøkriminalitet	05.09.2019
73	Aftenposten	12.12.2011	Vil redusere klimagassutslipp med avgnagde maiskolber	05.09.2019
74	Aftenposten	11.12.2011	Enighet om å forhandle frem ny klimaavtale	05.09.2019
75	Aftenposten	09.12.2011	Demonstranter inntok toppmøtet	05.09.2019
76	Aftenposten	07.12.2011	- Penger i potten, Jens	05.09.2019
77	Aftenposten	01.12.2011	Tro, håp og klimarettferdighet	05.09.2019
78	VG	29.12.2011	Tatt av kvinnen	05.09.2019
79	VG	27.12.2011	Ekstremvarsel: Været blir våtere og villere	05.09.2019
80	VG Nett	15.12.2011	Vil lage verdens bredeste fly til romturisme	05.09.2019
81	VG Nett	11.12.2011	Hauge roser Solheim for klimaavtale	05.09.2019
82	VG	07.12.2011	Spår 12 grader varmere i iskalde nord	05.09.2019
83	VG Nett	04.12.2011	Stoltenberg frykter klimakollaps i Durban	05.09.2019

84	VG Nett	03.12.2011	Demonstranter krever rettferdighet i Durban	05.09.2019
85	VG	01.12.2011	I går startet klimatoppmøtet	05.09.2019
86	Aftenposten	28.03.2012	For miljøtiltak – i teorien	05.09.2019
87	Aftenposten	27.03.2012	- Om jeg synes synd på Solheim? Nei.	05.09.2019
88	Aftenposten	25.03.2012	Fuglene krymper	05.09.2019
89	Aftenposten	22.03.2012	Varmerekord i Oslo, 18 grader i mars!	05.09.2019
90	Aftenposten	18.03.2012	Verden lager for mange solceller	05.09.2019
91	Aftenposten	14.03.2012	Bedre storbyluft neste vinter	05.09.2019
92	Aftenposten	07.03.2012	Staten bør ikke betale for forurensere	05.09.2019
93	Aftenposten	02.03.2012	De små klimaavtalene	05.09.2019
94	VG Nett	25.04.2012	Klimaforsker: Brutte klimaløfter kan gi smitteeffekt	05.09.2019
95	VG	24.04.2012	VG og klima	05.09.2019
96	VG Nett	21.04.2012	Klimakrig i Frp	05.09.2019
97	VG	20.04.2012	Dette er argumentene	05.09.2019
98	VG	16.04.2012	Disse vil hun ikke samarbeide med	05.09.2019
99	VG	14.04.2015	Klima-panelet	05.09.2019
100	VG	11.04.2015	Ungdommens dumskap?	05.09.2019
101	VG	03.04.2015	Påskan, ski og klima	05.09.2019
102	Aftenposten	26.11.2013	Klimaendringenes psykologi	05.09.2019
103	Aftenposten	24.11.2013	Derfor er en klimaavtale så vanskelig	05.09.2019
104	Aftenposten	21.11.2013	FNs klimapanel: Ikke mulig å tvile lenger	05.09.2019
105	Aftenposten	18.11.2013	Klimaministeren bedt om å være isbryter	05.09.2019
106	Aftenposten	15.11.2013	Byene er frontkjempere	05.09.2019

107	Aftenposten	10.11.2013	Vil ha oss til å se hit	05.09.2019
108	Aftenposten	05.11.2013	Tøff klimakamp for skogenes konge	05.09.2019
109	Aftenposten	02.11.2013	Det store klimaspranget – fra «humbug» til «offensiv klimapolitikk»	05.09.2019
110	VG	28.11.2013	Helge Lund i Statoil tar helt feil	05.09.2019
111	VG Nett	26.11.2013	Sundtoft forlater klimaforhandlinger uten avtale i sikte	05.09.2019
112	VG Nett	19.11.2013	De maktesløses arena	05.09.2019
113	VG Nett	17.11.2013	De grønne: Norsk oljepolitikk skaper værtragedier	05.09.2019
114	VG Pluss	14.11.2013	De maktesløses arena	05.09.2019
115	VG Pluss	12.11.2013	I stormens øyrike	05.09.2019
116	VG Nett	06.11.2013	Rekordutslipp av CO2 i atmosfæren	05.09.2019
117	VG	04.11.2013	Forsetter fabelen om CO-?	05.09.2019
118	Aftenposten	28.11.2014	Med drap på samvittigheten	05.09.2019
119	Aftenposten	19.11.2014	Vitenskapsfornekterne	05.09.2019
120	Aftenposten	14.11.2014	Stadig sterkere stjerneaktisme	05.09.2019
121	Aftenposten	12.11.2014	Skrot klimamålet!	05.09.2019
122	Aftenposten	10.11.2014	Stille protest på Høvikodden	05.09.2019
123	Aftenposten	06.11.2014	Strømleverandør spår lave priser i november	05.09.2019
124	Aftenposten	05.11.2014	Vi må forberede oss på ekstremt vær	05.09.2019
125	Aftenposten	01.11.2014	Flomkartleggingen må intensiveres	05.09.2019
126	VG	28.08.2014	La lærerne være lærere	05.09.2019
127	VG Pluss	20.08.2014	Oljesmurt regjering gir full gass	05.09.2019

128	VG Pluss	19.08.2014	Jamaica utropes til klimaversting	05.09.2019
129	VG Pluss	18.08.2014	Trygg mat fra jord til bord	05.09.2019
130	VG Nett	12.08.2014	Kronikk: Biodrivstoff til fly – klimaets redning?	05.09.2019
131	VG Pluss	02.08.2014	En reise tilbake i tid	05.09.2019
132	VG	02.08.2014	Slik gror det norske kulturlandskapet igjen	05.09.2019
133	VG Nett	08.08.2014	Oppdaget sjelden gigantmanet i Italia	05.09.2019
134	Aftenposten	25.12.2015	Julestormer krevde 14 liv i USA	05.09.2019
135	Aftenposten	15.12.2015	La oss feire klimaavtalen fra Paris	05.09.2019
136	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Slik er Venstres tøffe klimakur for å nå Paris-målene	05.09.2019
137	Aftenposten	11.12.2015	Norge forlenger regnskogsatsingen til 2030	05.09.2019
138	Aftenposten	09.12.2015	Oppdrag kaldest mulig klode	05.09.2019
139	Aftenposten	07.12.2015	Kan ungdommer redde jorden?	05.09.2019
140	Aftenposten	05.12.2015	6 råd til verdens topledere	05.09.2019
141	Aftenposten	03.12.2015	Katastrofeflom i India etter verste regn på 100 år	05.09.2019
142	Aftenposten	01.12.2015	Utslippene ingen land eier	05.09.2019
143	VG Nett	20.12.2015	Så mye koster det å stanse oljekranene	05.09.2019
144	VG	17.12.2015	Spår dyster oljefremtid	05.09.2019
145	VG	15.12.2015	Hoppekreps til middag i stedet	05.09.2019
146	VG	12.12.2015	EU: Parisavtalen sender et tydelig signal	05.09.2019
147	VG Nett	11.12.2015	Norge vil gi 30 nye milliarder til regnskog	05.09.2019
148	VG	07.12.2015	Fra København til Paris	05.09.2019
149	VG	03.12.2015	Sterke protester mot norsk avtaleendring	05.09.2019

150	VG Nett	01.12.2015	Skrekksenarioet: Slik kan verdens kystbyer drukne	05.09.2019
151	Aftenposten	24.12.2016	Erna Solberg har gitt den største gåva	05.09.2019
152	Aftenposten	21.12.2016	Ingenting er sikkert lenger. Derfor prøver Carl I. Hagen å erobre klimasaken fra miljøeliten	05.09.2019
153	Aftenposten	21.12.2016	- I dag tar statsministeren et steg til høyre, bort fra oss	05.09.2019
154	Aftenposten	19.12.2016	Forholdet mellom Kina og Norge normalisert etter seks år med isfront	05.09.2019
155	Aftenposten	15.12.2016	Guvernør vil forby offshore oljeboring i California	05.09.2019
156	Aftenposten	08.12.2016	Statoils kampanje unnviker fakta	05.09.2019
157	Aftenposten	05.12.2016	Naturmangfold står i skyggen av klimakampen	05.09.2019
158	Aftenposten	02.12.2016	Her får du sannheten om klimagassutslippene dine	05.09.2019
159	VG	30.12.2016	Det store klimabløffåret	05.09.2019
160	VG	26.12.2016	Bærekraftig turisme	05.09.2019
161	VG	23.12.2016	Merkelig tilfelle	05.09.2019
162	VG Pluss	21.12.2016	Klima-uenig med Carl I.	05.09.2019
163	VG Nett	20.12.2016	Her er Solbergs nye statsråder	05.09.2019
164	VG Nett	17.12.2016	Klart for klimakamp i Frp	05.09.2019
165	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2016	Forskere: - Klimaendringer rammer reinsdyr på Svalbard	05.09.2019
166	VG	05.12.2016	DAB	05.09.2019

167	VG Nett	01.12.2016	VG mener: Symboler i klimapolitikken	05.09.2019
168	Aftenposten	26.01.2017	Kort sagt fredag	05.09.2019
169	Aftenposten	25.01.2017	Jeg stammer ikke fra apene	05.09.2019
170	Aftenposten	21.01.2017	Fem ting Donald Trump allerede har gjort som USAs president	05.09.2019
171	Aftenposten	19.01.2017	Vi må kunne føre en åpen klimadebatt	05.09.2019
172	Aftenposten	16.01.2017	Det handler ikke om å tro	05.09.2019
173	Aftenposten	12.01.2017	Jeg fikk ikke det jeg ønsket meg til jul	05.09.2019
174	Aftenposten	06.01.2017	Staten gir 2,3 millioner til grønt snøprosjekt	05.09.2019
175	Aftenposten	02.01.2017	2017 er året vi må ta miljøet vårt alvorlig. Her er mine fem tips til deg.	05.09.2019
176	VG	29.01.2017	Borgerlønn, mer enn en hippiedrøm	05.09.2019
177	VG Nett	24.01.2017	Vann, energi og mat. Slik har Davos utfordret verdens ledere	05.09.2019
178	VG Nett	22.01.2017	To døgn med Trump som president – dette frykter ekspertene han gjør nå	05.09.2019
179	VG	21.01.2017	En forfengelig mann uten prinsipper	05.09.2019
180	VG Pluss	20.01.2017	Det finnes håp i USA	05.09.2019
181	VG Nett	16.01.2017	Japans største korallrev dør i rekordfart	05.09.2019
182	VG Pluss	13.01.2017	Korallrev kollapse	05.09.2019
183	VG	05.01.2017	Verdens grønneste selvbilde	05.09.2019
184	VG Nett	01.01.2017	Bærekraftig turisme	05.09.2019
185	Aftenposten	25.10.2018	Vi må forstå hvorfor to graders	05.09.2019

			temperaturøkning er farlig	
186	Aftenposten	18.10.2018	Varmere of isfritt hav nord for Svalbard	05.09.2019
187	Aftenposten	15.10.2018	- Mange rekorder overrasker	05.09.2019
188	Aftenposten	12.10.2018	Vitenskapen kan ikke stoppe klimaendringene	05.09.2019
189	Aftenposten	09.10.2018	Vi må suge ut CO2 fra atmosfæren	05.09.2019
190	Aftenposten	07.10.2018	Norske klimafornekttere. Trump og vaksineskeptikere forstår ikke hva vitenskapelig konsensus er. Det er et demokratisk problem.	05.09.2019
191	Aftenposten	06.10.2018	Folkeopplysningen tror på fakta	05.09.2019
192	Aftenposten	03.10.2018	Høyere panter tar over i et varmere Arktis	05.09.2019
193	VG Nett	25.12.2018	Dette var væråret: Ekstremkulde, ekstremvarme, ekstremtørke, ekstremnedbør	05.09.2019
194	VG	21.12.2018	Vekket av fiskelukt	05.09.2019
195	VG Nett	17.12.2018	Suksess i dagens klima	05.09.2019
196	VG Nett	15.12.2018	Polen vil redde klimaet med skog	05.09.2019
197	VG	13.12.2018	Brannmur mot klimafare	05.09.2019
198	VG Nett	09.12.2018	Titusener marsjerte for klimaet	05.09.2019
199	VG	04.12.2018	Dieselopprør vs. Klimakamp	05.09.2019
200	VG	01.12.2018	Sir David Attenborough (92) om:	05.09.2019
201	VG Pluss	30.11.2015	Verden trenger et resultat i Paris	01.10.2019
202	VG Nett	30.11.2015	Norges klima-sjef: - Jeg er en miljøsynder	01.10.2019

203	VG Nett	30.11.2015	Disse ti tiltakene kan redde klimaet	01.10.2019
204	Aftenposten	30.11.2015	Solberg planlegger større klima-kutt	01.10.2019
205	Aftenposten	30.11.2015	Obama på klimatoppmøtet: -Den neste generasjonen følger med på hva vi gjør	01.10.2019
206	VG Nett	30.11.2015	Bill Gates avslørte milliardsatsing i Paris	01.10.2019
207	Aftenposten	30.11.2015	Slik møter man Obama	01.10.2019
208	Aftenposten	30.11.2015	Klimagassutslippene øker raskest i land hvor hver innbygger slipper ut minst	01.10.2019
209	Aftenposten	01.12.2015	Utslippene ingen land eier	01.10.2019
210	VG Nett	01.12.2015	Skrekkscenariot: Slik kan verdens kystbyer drukne	01.10.2019
211	Aftenposten	03.12.2015	Fem spørsmål og svar om klimatoppmøtet i Paris: «Det ser jammen ut som de skal lykkes»	01.10.2019
212	Aftenposten	03.12.2015	Vi handler mot bedre viten	01.10.2019
213	VG Nett	03.12.2015	Organisasjoner raser mot Norges klimaforhandlere	01.10.2019
214	Aftenposten	03.12.2015	Dette er barnas klimakrav til den norske regjeringen	01.10.2019
215	Aftenposten	03.12.2015	Norsk forhandlingsleder under klimatoppmøtet: - Det er ikke gjort særlige fremskritt	01.10.2019
216	VG Nett	03.12.2015	Vi kan ikke fly fra klimaendringene	01.10.2019
217	Aftenposten	04.12.2015	Det nødvendige er umulig i Paris	01.10.2019
218	VG	04.12.2015	LO ble ikke hørt i klimaavtalen	01.10.2019

219	Aftenposten	05.12.2015	Kan frivillighet redde kloden?	01.10.2019
220	Aftenposten Login	05.12.2015	Norge + Saudi Arabia = sant	01.10.2019
221	Aftenposten Login	05.12.2015	Syv problemer som må løses for å stoppe den globale oppvarmingen	01.10.2019
223	Aftenposten Login	06.12.2015	Norge skal lede forhandlinger i Paris	01.10.2019
224	VG	07.12.2015	Avgjørende uke for verdens klima	01.10.2019
225	Aftenposten Login	07.12.2015	Budsjettet som ikke går opp	01.10.2019
226	Aftenposten Login	07.12.2015	Gladmelding i Paris: Verdens CO2- utslipp faller	01.10.2019
227	Aftenposten Login	07.12.2015	Disse landene har ingen klimaløfter i Paris	01.10.2019
228	Aftenposten Login	08.12.2015	Norge og Saint Lucia har ett oppdrag: Få verden til å bli enig om en kaldest mulig klode	01.10.2019
229	VG Nett	08.12.2015	Norge gir etter i Paris	01.10.2019
230	Aftenposten Login	09.12.2015	Takk, Paris	01.10.2019
231	Aftenposten Login	10.12.2015	Det er flaut å være norsk i Paris. Vi har et forslag til deg, Tine Sundtoft	01.10.2019
232	Aftenposten Login	10.12.2015	Paris-avtalen kan bli for god	01.10.2019
233	Aftenposten Login	10.12.2015	Slik oppfører Kina og India seg under forhandlingene om klima i Paris	01.10.2019
234	Aftenposten Login	11.12.2015	Klimaforskere uenige om hvor god den foreløpige Parisavtalen er	01.10.2019
235	VG Nett	11.12.2015	Norge vil gi 30 nye milliarder til regnskog	01.10.2019
236	Aftenposten Login	11.12.2015	Franskmenn er klimavennlige takket være atomkraften	01.10.2019

237	Aftenposten	12.12.2015	Sirkus Paris	01.10.2019
238	Aftenposten Login	12.12.2015	Teknologien som kan redde landet hans fra klimakatastrofe finnes ikke ennå	01.10.2019
239	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2015	10.000 protesterte mot klimautkast i Paris	01.10.2019
240	Aftenposten Login	12.12.2015	- Game over for norsk olje og gass etter 2035	01.10.2019
241	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2015	Naturvernforbundet: - Nå må vi avlyse oljeboringen i nord	01.10.2019
242	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2015	USA stiller seg bak klimaavtalen	01.10.2019
243	Aftenposten Login	12.12.2015	Slik ble Paris-avtalen	01.10.2019
244	VG Nett	12.12.2015	Bellona-Hauge: - Målløs av glede	01.10.2019
245	Aftenposten Login	12.12.2015	Klimaavtalen: Slik reagerer verdens ledere – og noen norske	01.10.2019
246	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2015	EU: Parisavtalen sender et tydelig signal	01.10.2019
247	VG Nyhetsdøgnet	12.12.2015	Rasmus Hansson: - Overlater alt det enkelte land	01.10.2019
248	Aftenposten Login	12.12.2015	Knapp tid kan gjøre det umulig å oppfylle klimaavtalens mål	01.10.2019
249	Aftenposten	29.11.2015	Hva er en klimasuksess?	01.10.2019
250	Aftenposten	29.11.2015	Obama la først ned en rose	01.10.2019
251	Aftenposten	29.11.2015	Håp om gjennombrudd på klimatoppmøtet	01.10.2019
252	VG Nett	29.11.2015	Dette må du vite om klimatoppmøtet i Paris	01.10.2019
253	Aftenposten	29.11.2015	Hva kan vi vente oss?	01.10.2019
254	VG	29.11.2015	Klima-forkjemperen	01.10.2019
255	Aftenposten	28.11.2015	Går det an å bli klok på USA?	01.10.2019

256	VG	28.11.2015	Skisportenes fremtid	01.10.2019
257	Aftenposten	27.11.2015	Håper å fylle gatene før Paris-toppmøtet	01.10.2019
258	VG	27.11.2015	Statsministeren mener at	01.10.2019
259	Aftenposten	26.11.2015	Sjansen for en grønnere jord har aldri vært større	01.10.2019
260	Aftenposten	26.11.2015	Få klimaktivister dropper Paris på grunn av terrorfrykten	01.10.2019
261	VG	26.11.2015	Sydpolen smelter nedenfra.. og det samme skjer på Grønland	01.10.2019
262	Aftenposten	24.11.2015	Tre ting Norge vil gå for i Paris	01.10.2019
263	Aftenposten	24.11.2015	Har Kina lurt oss trill rundt?	01.10.2019
264	VG	13.12.2015	Kvinnen som ble bedt om å redde verden	01.10.2019
265	VG	12.12.2015	Ekspert om klimaavtalen: - Svakhet at de langsiktige målene er mest	01.10.2019
265	Aftenposten	13.12.2015	Slik ble verdens nye klimaavtale	01.10.2019
265	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Ingen garanti for de laveste øyene	01.10.2019
266	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Dette betyr klimaavtalen for Norge	01.10.2019
267	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Slik er Venstres tøffe klimakur for å nå Paris-målene	01.10.2019
268	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Bilkjøring vil bli dyrere	01.10.2019
269	Aftenposten	14.12.2015	Paris-avtalen: et stort fremskritt	01.10.2019
270	VG	15.12.2015	Nå starter arbeidet	01.10.2019
271	Aftenposten	15.12.2015	La oss feire klimaavtalen fra Paris. Deretter bretter vi opp ermene	01.10.2019

272	VG Nett	15.12.2015	Slik blir din nye hverdag om Norge følger klimaavtalen	01.10.2019
273	Aftenposten	17.12.2015	Dette er starten på slutten for oljeeventyret	01.10.2019
274	Aftenposten	18.12.2015	Paris-avtalen langt fra tilstrekkelig	01.10.2019
275	VG	19.12.2015	Spår dyster oljefremtid	01.10.2019
276	Facebook	27.11.2015	Arbeiderpartiet	08.10.2019
277	Facebook	30.11.2015	Arbeiderpartiet	08.10.2019
278	Facebook	01.12.2015	Arbeiderpartiet	08.10.2019
279	Facebook	10.12.2015	Arbeiderpartiet	08.10.2019
280	Facebook	27.11.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
281	Facebook	30.11.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
282	Facebook	01.12.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
283	Facebook	06.12.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
284	Facebook	04.12.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
285	Facebook	11.12.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
286	Facebook	12.12.2015	Høyre	08.10.2019
287	Facebook	05.12.2015	Venstre	08.10.2019
288	Facebook	12.12.2015	Venstre	08.10.2019
289	Facebook	14.12.2015	Venstre	08.10.2019
290	Facebook	26.11.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
291	Facebook	30.11.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
292	Facebook	03.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
293	Facebook	07.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
294	Facebook	07.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019

295	Facebook	10.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
296	Facebook	14.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
297	Facebook	15.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
298	Facebook	17.12.2015	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	08.10.2019
299	Facebook	26.11.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
300	Facebook	28.11.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
301	Facebook	30.11.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
302	Facebook	7.12.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
303	Facebook	11.12.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
304	Facebook	12.12.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
305	Facebook	13.12.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019
306	Facebook	14.12.2015	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	08.10.2019