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CLIMATE CHANGE AND IDEOLOGY

- Are climate change narratives affected by ideology?

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Abstract

Media's framing can arguably affect how media consumers view causes, consequences, and solutions of different social issues such as climate change. Likewise, newspaper editorials have different ideas and approaches to climate change, which may be influenced by their ideological positions. This study aims to research if climate change narratives differ between editorials with different ideological tendencies. To achieve this, three Swedish newspapers were studied: Aftonbladet (“unattached social democratic”), Svenska Dagbladet (“unattached conservative”) and Dagens Nyheter (“unattached liberal”). A qualitative content analysis was performed on editorials in 2018 and 2019 containing the word “klimatförändring*” (a truncation of the phrase “climate change”). The material was analyzed using a theoretical framework described by Norton and Hulme (2019) containing four different climate change narratives, Lukewarmer, Ecoactivist, Smart Growth Reformer and Ecomodernist. The following questions were posed in the study: Can the four narratives be found in Swedish editorials? Have the narratives of the individual newspapers changed during the chosen time period? Do these newspaper editorials express different climate change narratives depending on their ideology? The narratives can be found in the analyzed newspapers, however no major changes were discernable over the time periods. The type of narratives found in the editorials seem to correspond to its expressed ideological views.

Keywords: Climate Change, Narratives, editorial, media, ideology

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1. Introduction

Climate change is by no means a new concept: in 1965 a report by the President's Science Advisory Committee in the US acknowledged that human activities could affect the climate (Ungar, 1992, p. 488). Despite being known about for several decades, and the overwhelming scientific consensus that anthropogenic climate change (meaning the climate is affected by human activities) is real, a question is raised what should be done to mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Climate change is an issue that concerns a lot of people. For example, in Sweden 2019 marked the first year when the Swedish population was more worried about climate change and environmental degradation than military conflict, war, and terrorism (Många ändrar sina vanor för att rädda miljön, 2020). During 2018 and 2019, the climate activist Greta Thunberg started protesting outside the Swedish parliament, arguing that too little is done regarding climate change. This gained her and this issue a lot of media coverage, both in Sweden and internationally. Coupled with this, Sweden experienced an unusually hot and dry summer, causing wild-fires and drought, which possibly could have increased the concern of climate change among the Swedish population.

However, climate change is a politicized subject and seems to have become increasingly so. In a study by Björn Rönnerstrand (2019, p. 328) statistics show that the worry among the Swedish population for climate change is higher among people who identify themselves as "clearly to the left" (an increase from 62 % in 2015 to 75 % in 2018) and "clearly on the right" (an increase from 29 % in 2015 to 32 % in 2018). Thus, the gap among the people clearly on the right and clearly on the left has increased significantly within just 3 years.

The media arguably plays a role in informing and influencing people's views on social issues including on the issue of climate change, which is a complex and contested issue. According to a

study conducted in 2020 people in Sweden consider newspapers as their most individually important source for climate change related news (*Allmänhetens efterfrågan på information om klimatfrågor*, 2020). However, newspaper in Sweden have ethical guidelines, which are in place to ensure accurate and nuanced reporting on issues (*Publicitetsregler*, 2020). However, these guidelines do not apply to editorial pages. Here, the “constraints of objectivity” of news discourse do not apply (Norton & Hulme, 2019, p. 116). Editorials could be described as a form of elite discourse since few people have the ability to express their views via national newspapers. Norton and Hulme (2019, p. 116) describe editorials as “conversations among society’s elite”. This gives these views a certain weight and also a large audience.

With this ideological gap identified between peoples’ views on climate change with different ideological beliefs, it would be interesting to see how it is reflected in newspaper editorials. Furthermore, has editorials changed their views on climate change or not, since certain changes are seen in the public opinion?

1.1. Disposition

Section 2 contains a background on the previous research of climate change and media framing and studies of narratives in the media. Section 3 will further explain the aim and the research question of this study. Section 4 presents the methodology, material, and the analytical framework. In Section 5 the empirical data will be presented, and in section 6 the empirical data is analyzed using the analytical framework. Based on the analysis in section 6 a conclusion will be presented in section 7. Section 8 discusses avenues for further research, which is followed by section 9 containing appendices and section 10 presents the sources used in this study.

2. Previous Research

Previously, what narratives editorials used to describe climate change has not received much scholarly attention. One exception is by Norton and Hulme (2019) with the article “Telling one story, or many? An ecolinguistic analysis of climate change stories in UK national newspaper

editorials”. They have studied how climate change narratives changed over time on the editorial pages on 5 large UK in 2001, 2007 and 2015. In the study the authors find that the type of climate change narratives present on UK’s leading editorial pages has largely shifted away from climate change skepticism, and that even more right-leaning editorial pages have become more accepting that climate change is caused by human activity and that it may pose a challenge to humans. The authors also conclude that the partisan divide on climate change between left- and right-leaning newspapers has decreased. This finding is interesting since it points to climate change being viewed as a problem that needs addressing reaching even more widespread political approval, albeit Daily Mail is still skeptical of the implications of climate change.

As mentioned, editorials could be described as a form of elite discourse since few people have the ability to express their views via national newspapers. Norton and Hulme (2019, p. 116) describe editorials as “conversations among society’s elite” and a place where the “constraints of objectivity” of news discourse do not apply. The battle of ideas takes place in the newspaper's editorials, where the newspapers tries to convince their readers that their perspective is the best and most viable. This of course also applies to the issue of climate change, which is arguably a complex and contested issue. In order try to make issues understandable to the readers, editorials conceptualize topics in a way they understand the problem. Based on a perspective’s understanding, different cause(s), consequence(s), and solution(s) can be identified, Stamm et al (2000, p. 221) argues.

2.1. Climate Change and ideology

Climate change skepticism and denial has been linked to right-wing populist / nationalist beliefs. In a study by Ralph Schroeder and Sebastian Stier (2021), the researchers found a correlation between right-wing populist beliefs and climate change denial; however the same correlation could not be found between left-wing populist beliefs and climate change denial. Similarly, researchers in both Norway and the US found a similar correlation between right-wing political beliefs and climate change denial (see Krange et al., 2019; McCright & Dunlap, 2011).

In another study from 2014, Kirsti Häkkinen and Nazar Akrami found that social dominance orientation (SDO) is more important in predicting climate change denial from a person than right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and a left-right political orientation (2014). Social dominance orientation is a person's "predisposition to support group-based social hierarchies and intergroup dominance" (Häkkinen & Akrami, 2014, p. 62). When SDO is controlled for the effect of RWA disappears and while all these three variables are believed to influence environmental attitudes, the authors find that SDO is a most important of the three variables.

The results of a study by Norton and Hulme (2019) shows the right-of-center newspapers are more likely to have a more skeptical view of climate change. More skeptical views on climate change have also been shown to correlate with conservative views in the United States (McCright & Dunlap, 2011). A study in Norway has come to a similar conclusion, and the authors conclude that "climate change denial in Norway seems to merge with broader patterns of right-wing nationalism" (Kränge et al., 2019, p. 1).

2.2. Narratives

The usefulness of narrative analysis lies in the possibility to study how a person or a group of people understands and portrays a theme or event. By analyzing narratives, it is possible for the researcher to start to understand what a certain storyteller thinks happened and why this is significant to the storyteller (Wong & Breheny, 2018, p. 246). The issue of climate change can be described in many ways, with different causes, consequences, and solutions as well as many different actors as villains, heroes, and victims of climate change.

Narratives narrows down the number of possible policy-alternatives, for example by including some actors and excluding others from the narrative (Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017, p. 2). The narration analysis is based on Vladimir Propp's analyses of traditional fairy tales. Propp utilized this analysis to identify common traits in stories and for example common characters (Propp et al., 1984). However, this type of analysis has reached more widespread use within the political sciences field and has been used for studying how the media portray current topics such as

immigration, gender, and climate change (see for example Burroughs, 2015; Sjoberg & Whooley, 2015; Stoddart & Smith, 2016).

The concept of narratives and storytelling is closely related to discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a way of studying social phenomena, such as texts, images, and video, but also paintings as well as real-life actions, such as demonstrations, theater performances and dialogues (*What Is Discourse Analysis?*, 2013, p. 54). Within political science and media studies, the concept of narratives has been used to analyze how different subject are portrayed by political actors and the media. The overarching idea of narratives is that the narratives (also commonly referred to as stories) people tell are significant in understanding how they view the world. These narratives can be used to express support or challenge ideas. Shanahan et al (2013, p. 457) describes a narrative as “policy stance or judgment of policy-related behavior + story character = policy narrative”.

For example, Fløttum and Gjerstad (2013) has explored the narrative used by the South African government in a White Paper on how the South African government wants to act in response to climate change. Especially, the authors explore how the poor are described in the text. Interestingly, the authors find that the rights of the poor are hardly present in the text, whereas more often the interests of the poor are expressed as competing concerns against climate change mitigation. Also, the text represents the poor rather as helpless victims with need of government assistance and the government as the hero saving the poor from their dire situation, rather than depicting the poor as individuals capable of acting on their own accord.

2.3. Climate change and the media

According to Stamm et al (2000, p. 220) the media “is at least partly responsible for focusing people's attention on environmental problems” but also notes that the level of public concern seems to have more to do with the amount of attention to the issue, “rather than the substantive content of news reports”. The authors also conceptualize the word “understanding” and break it down to three components: Causes, consequences, and solutions.

Olausson (2009, p. 422) argues that the news media has an important role “in the attribution of responsibility for both the creation and resolution of societal problems”. Similarly, Anderson (Anderson, 2009, p. 166) argues that the media's framing by “giving voice to some viewpoints while suppressing others”, while also recognizing that “the effects [of media on framing of issues] are complex and dynamic”.

2.3.1. Newspaper editorials

Editorials in the larger newspapers have a role to play in the public debate. Their goal is to try to shape the public debate. Unlike other news discourse, editorials are “free from objective constraints” as expressed by Norton and Hulme (2019, p. 116). Before the era when large parts of the population had access to the internet and social media, the power of the traditional newspapers and the editorials to shape public opinion was arguably even greater. However, even today traditional media plays an important role in shaping public opinion. Of the surveyed persons in Sweden 80 percent reads a digital newspaper, the same number for printed (paper) newspapers are 72 percent (*Svenskarna och internet 2020*, 2020). In another study 48 percent of the Swedish population preferred to get information on climate change from newspapers and 47 percent by TV-programs. The share of people preferring search engines (like Google) and social media was 43 and 10 percent, respectively (*Allmänhetens efterfrågan på information om klimatfrågor*, 2020). That means that almost half of the questioned still preferred newspapers as their main source for information on climate change. This arguably shapes the discourse in social media forums, and their increasing online-presence with digital subscription models and sharing their own news articles on their respective Facebook- or Twitter-pages also help to shape public opinion.

Editorials are also interesting because of their position of power; power over the discourse, what can and cannot be said (excluding concept or ideas from a narratives is referred to as “erasure” by Norton and Hulme (2019, p. 116)). They also reach a large audience and have a certain authority when speaking to the audience because of that.

3. Research Question

This paper aims to research how climate change narratives in editorials have changed between 2018 and 2019, in newspapers Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, and Svenska Dagbladet. This will be achieved by using a narrative-model based on a model described by Norton and Hulme (2019) focusing on the four different narratives. This model will aid in identifying how the different newspapers portray climate change, with possible causes, consequences, and solutions.

This paper argues that the narratives on editorial pages reflect the political change these newspapers want to see in Sweden or in the world and wants to research if the narratives these newspaper express has changed and by that the political change they want to see in the world.

This study will aim to answer the following question:

- Can the four narratives (Lukewarmer, Ecoactivist, Smart Growth Reformer and Ecomodernist) by Norton and Hulme (2019) be found in Swedish newspapers?
- Have the narratives the newspapers express changed from 2018 to 2019?
- Do these newspaper editorials express different climate change narratives depending on their ideology?

4. Research Design

4.1. Country of study

The country of study is Sweden. The main reason for choosing Sweden as the case in this study, is that Greta Thunberg's climate strikes originated in Sweden during the chosen time period (2018-2019), thus making Sweden a "hot-spot" for a possible change in narratives. According to Ronald Inglehart's theory of post material values, Sweden is a country with large potential for post material values. Inglehart posits that in countries with a high material living standard some

people will start to place greater importance on non-material values, such as gender equality and care for the environment (Inglehart, 2015). This is also what can be seen in Sweden: a large emphasis is put on equality between the sexes, racial equality and issues pertaining to the environment. Along with the climate activist movement such as Fridays for Future as well as the hot and dry summer of 2018, post materialism is expected to lead to less narratives expressing skepticism towards the idea of climate change in 2019 than in 2018, compared to for example the UK (as previously studied by Norton and Hulme's (2019)). In practice, this could manifest itself as the Lukewarmer narrative being less common in the latter time period. However, the ideological views of the newspapers are expected to influence what climate change narratives are expressed. For example, right-of-center editorials are expected to be more likely express skepticism of climate change which can be manifested by right-of-center editorials being more supportive of the Lukewarmer narrative.

Also, the temporal distance between me (the author and researcher) and the texts are shorter than if I (a Swedish native) would read text from another country or context. This further makes Sweden a suitable case.

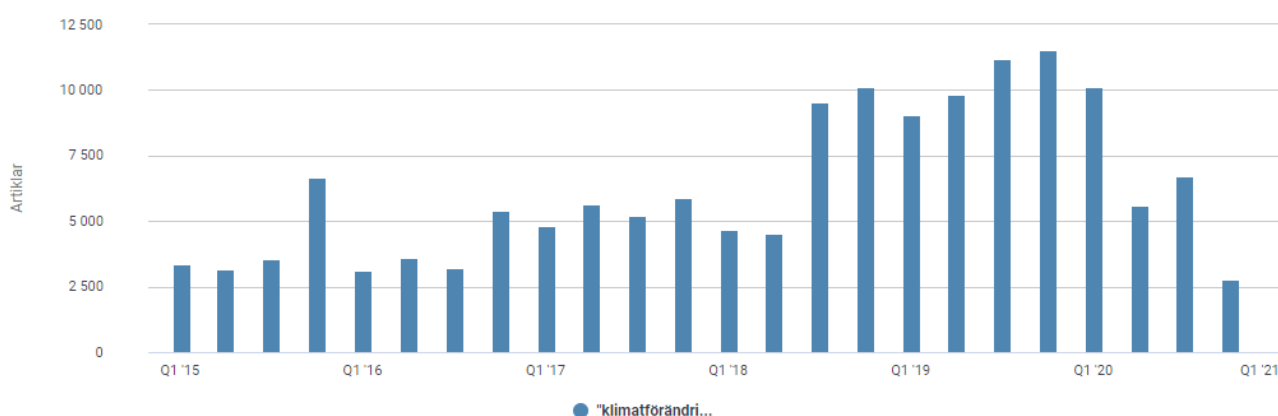
4.2. Search terms and time period

The texts to be included in the study are editorials containing the phrase “*klimatförändring**” (“climate change”). The reason for using this particular search term is due to the new understanding of the consequences of the greenhouse-effect: not only can it lead to higher global average temperatures, but also lower temperatures in some areas, as well as more rain or drought. The word “global warming” was more commonly used previously but now “climate change” is the more common term. Since the text material analyzed in this study is published between 2018 and 2019, this warrant using the search term “*klimatförändring**” (“climate change”) instead of “*global uppvärmning*” (“global warming”).

It can be made clear however, that the number of news articles (also including TV-broadcasts) seem to have increased as indicated by the increased number of articles containing the word

“klimatförändring*” (the asterisk indicates a truncation) from the third quarter 2018 to the fourth quarter 2018. Since the second quarter 2020, the number has seen a large decline, most likely due to the media interest in the COVID-19 pandemic. The below graph is from “Mediearkivet Retriever”, a snapshot from 2020-10-30.

Medieexponering över tid, totalt 149203 artiklar: "klimatförändri...



The study will compare two time periods, where the first period analyzed ranges from January 1st, 2018 to December 31st, 2018 and the second period ranges from January 1st, 2019 to 31st December 2019. One reason for the chosen time period is the spike in climate change related news as mentioned above. Although this study will not try to research what led to the spike in climate change news in the Swedish media, the media interest in climate change is assumed to have at least partly been increased due to the prominence of Greta Thunberg, the Fridays for Future-movement (as well as other climate activist organizations such as Extinction Rebellion) as well as the extreme weather events of 2018 and 2019. This is expected to have led to an increased sense of urgency for the effects of climate change, which might manifest itself as decrease in the percentage of narratives containing the Lukewarmer narrative, and thus making other climate change narratives more prominent.

The main reason for comparing two adjacent years (2018 and 2019) and not a longer time period is due to the rather intense reporting on climate change during these years. I want to see if this is

also reflected in how climate change is portrayed in editorials. In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic hit and led to a rather steep decline in the interest in climate change.

4.3. Newspapers used in this study

I have chosen some of the most circulated newspapers in Sweden while also considering the different ideological orientations on their editorial pages. Dagens Nyheter calls itself “unattached liberal”, Svenska Dagbladet calls itself “unattached conservative” and Aftonbladet “unattached social democratic” (*Ledare*, 2017; Sundin, 2018; Wålsten, 2018). While these newspapers are not representative of the print media in Sweden as a whole, they do provide a strategic selection of some of the different views on climate change present in some of the most circulated newspapers in the media. The two former newspapers are daily newspapers whereas the latter is a daily evening newspaper.

4.4. Analytical model

The tool to conduct the searches is “Mediearkivet Retriever”, a web service that indexes many different newspapers in Sweden and lets you search within them using certain phrases. The study will also use the websites of the individual newspapers (dn.se, svd.se and aftonbladet.se) for collecting empirical material. The editorials will be analyzed in chronological order, so that changes in framing over time will appear more clearly in the material. To achieve this, the material will be coded, categorized, and quantified in this study. These categories will be based on the model constructed by Norton and Hulme (2019) which includes four different narratives: Lukewarmer, Ecoactivist, Smart Growth Reformer and Ecomodernist. The three latter narratives are based on previous research by Nisbet (2014), but the Lukewarmer narratives in identified by Norton and Hulme (2019). Although Nisbet’s (2014) work was conducted on the Anglophone world, I do believe this model should be tested on other parts of the world, especially a nation like Sweden, also part of the developed world with a high standard of living.

The study will be based on a framework developed by Norton and Hulme (2019). The model can be seen below.

Coding table.

Story Form (cf. Table 1)	Lukewarmer	Ecoactivist	Smart Growth Reformer	Ecomodernist
Ideology	LWIS Climate change not dangerous	EAIC Humanity destroying the earth	SGIE Economic growth important	EMIH Human ingenuity
Framing (1)	LWIA Prosperity and adaptation not mitigation	EAIG Limits of economic growth	SGIN Nature as natural capital	EMIP Current frameworks
	LWF1 Increase CO ₂ good for agriculture and nature	EAF1 Imminent catastrophe	SGF1 Economic problem threat to global economy	EMIT Technology, innovative solutions
Framing (2)	LWF2 science flawed, models exaggerated scientists ideologically motivated. No consensus.	EAF2 Limits on consumption, lifestyle choices, renewables good for economy	SGF2 Nature has value. Monetary value assigned to ecosystem services	EMF1 Government investment in innovative energy technologies
Framing (3)	LWF3 Mitigation futile. International agreement pointless.	EAF3 Deprioritise economic growth, new models	SGF3 Business opportunity in low carbon economy, jobs	EMF2 Build societal resilience and reduce poverty. Human dignity
Metaphor	LWM religious: crusaders, zealots, evangelists	EAM – war, apocalyptic, embedded humanity	SGM green growth, clean energy revolution	EMM nature spared
Evaluation Good	LWEG	EABG	SGEG	EMEG
	a. Global warming good	a. Reduce carbon footprint	a. Economics: carbon tax	a. Decouple from nature, intensify human activity
Evaluation Bad	b. Adaptation good	b. Renewables good	b. Sustainable growth	b. Energy technology innovation
	c. Local vs international agree	c. International agreement	c. International agreement	c. International agreement
	LWEB Renewables not enough	EAEB Nuclear power Industrialisation, technological fixes are bad,	SGEB Renewables not enough	EMEB Renewables not enough, low yield farming
Conviction (1)	LWC1 Climate change real no action	EACI Climate change real action required	SGC1 Climate change real action required	EMC1 Climate change real action required
Conviction (2)	LWC2 Investment in adaptation	EAC2 Nuclear energy and geo-engineering too risky and costly	SGC2 Continual economic growth possible and desirable	EMC2 Perpetual human population and economic growth uncertain
Conviction (3)	LWC3 Economic growth vital	EAC3 Economic growth false, breeds dissatisfaction	SGC3 Carbon neutral by 2050. Nuclear energy needed.	EMC3 Long-term government investment vital
Erasure	LWE Rising CO ₂ not important. Not related to extreme weather.	EAE Aspirations for better life: flying, driving cars, energy	SGE Limits on natural resources	EME Rural existence/growth
Salience	LWS Life is improving	EAS Nature fragile	SGS Future generations	EMS Nature resilient

The texts will be read and analyzed to see if any of the content matches the codes of the narratives. If the editorials contain any climate change narrative the material will be coded into the coding chart, which categorizes each individual editorial into the corresponding narrative. The results will be presented with each narrative representing one sub-headline.

The four narratives to be included in the study have constructed different ideas of how climate change operates, how it affects humans and nature, and how climate change should or should not be mitigated and adapted to. The narratives to be included in the study are the following:

The Lukewarmer narrative: This narrative argues that climate change is indeed real and mostly man-made. However, the narrative does not believe that climate change poses an immediate and severe threat to humanity and the natural environment. Instead, Lukewarmers believe that a lot of the current efforts to mitigate climate change are either ineffective, expensive, or unnecessary or all of it. They believe that climate change mitigation depraves people in both the Global North and the Global South of benefits continued economic growth. Skepticism is also levied towards the scientific community, and much of climate science in particular is believed to be ideologically skewed and using bad scientific models.

The Eco-activist narrative: This narrative contends that climate change is man-made and poses an immediate and severe threat to humanity and natural world as we know it. The modern Western lifestyle, with consumerism, air travel, and fossil fuels is believed to threaten humanity. The solution is believed to be a radical change of our way of living and an economic system that is not built on, what eco-activists believe to be, an over-exploitation of natural resources such as freshwater and land. While renewable energy is favored, the eco-activist narrative believes that more needs to be done than just switching to renewable energy.

The Smart Growth Reformer narrative: This narrative argues that climate change is real and man-made, but that it can be mitigated and adapted to using the basic mechanisms of the market economy, but “tweaking” it so that resources are used more sustainably. This would, according to Smart Growth Reformers, allow humanity to maintain economic growth and a growing living standard worldwide, without the negative consequences of climate change. This narrative does not believe that renewable energy alone can supply us with enough energy for us to maintain our lifestyle, and that nuclear energy is also needed.

The Eco-modernist narrative: This narrative is optimistic about technology, human ingenuity, and believe that the modern lifestyle of “the West” can be optimized to become much more sustainable, and its benefits shared world-wide to lift people out of poverty and underdevelopment. The “optimization” can happen through technological breakthroughs, leading to less exploitation of natural resources. Like Smart Growth Reformers, Eco-modernist believes that nuclear energy is needed to supply humanity with enough energy (at least until viable alternatives are available), because renewable energy cannot supply us with sufficient energy.

I will argue that narratives are inherently subjective, since they choose what information to include and to exclude from how a problem is described. This is also what makes narratives understandable: if information from every possible point of view would be included in explaining an issue, it would make it an incomprehensible explanation and thus not really an explanation at all.

5. Empirical data

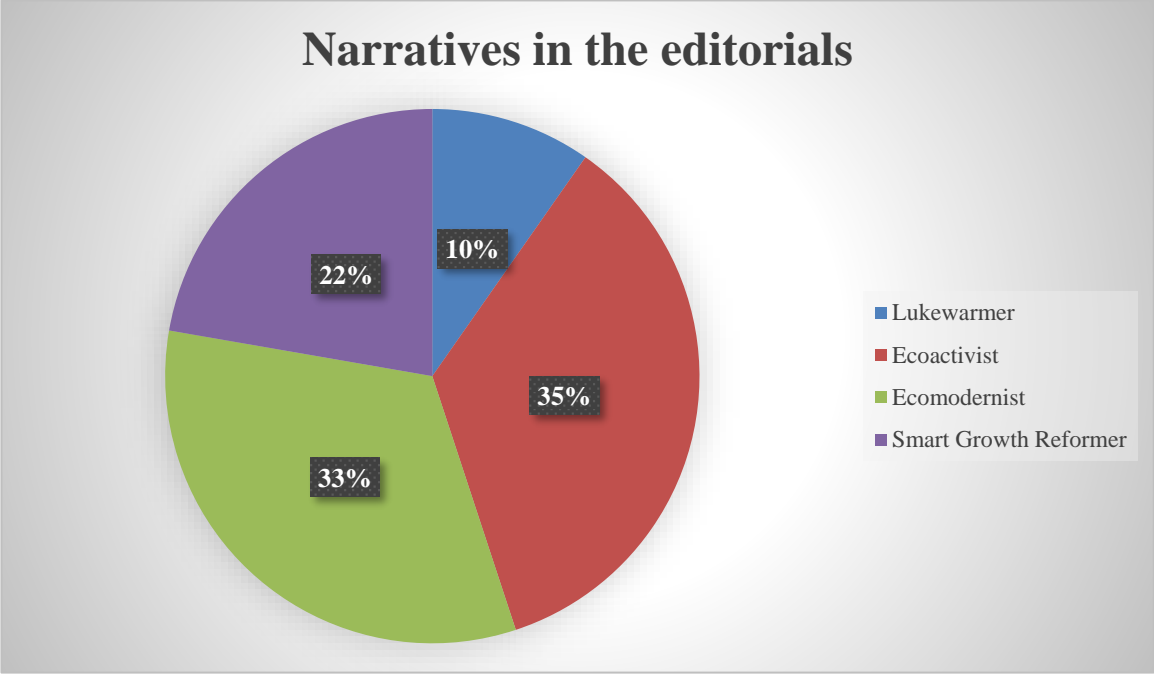
One search term was used, “klimatförändring*” (truncated version of “climate change”). This generated a search results out of which 128 editorials contained what could be considered climate change narratives.

The analysis was conducted using mainly the ecolinguistic breakdowns of the different climate change narratives rather than the coding table provided by Norton & Hulme (2019) ¹. The main reason for this is the more detailed nature of the ecolinguistic breakdown: the text in the coding table was too sparse to really aid in identifying the narratives in the editorials. The complexities of the narratives were better embodied in the ecolinguistic breakdown².

¹ More detailed coding tables of the narratives can be found in the Appendix 1

² Eco-linguistics link human understanding of ecology and language. Language inspire and impact the ideas that affect human actions and interactions: actions that can then affect our natural environment, both now and in the future (Norton & Hulme, 2019, p. 115).

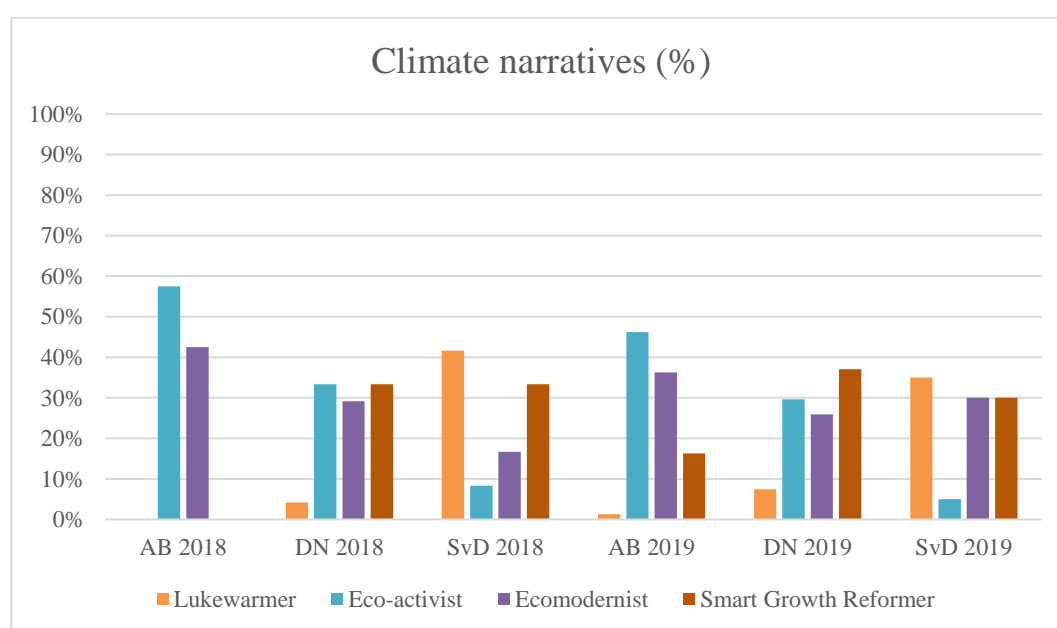
Overall, the eco-activist narrative was the most common narrative, but the ecomodernist narrative was almost as common.



A diagram of the number of editorials containing climate change narratives are presented below.

	Number of editorials containing climate change narrative	
Newspaper	Period 1 (2018)	Period 2 (2019)
Aftonbladet	26	41
Svenska Dagbladet	6	18
Dagens Nyheter	24	13
Total (n)	56	72

The presence of the different climate change narratives divided by newspaper and by year is presented below. This will visualize what narratives are more common or less common in each newspaper.



6. Analysis of empirical data

6.1. Lukewarmer narrative

This narrative appeared almost exclusively in Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and was about as common in 2019 as in 2018 and appeared in 40 % of the editorials by SvD in 2018 and 35% of the editorials in SvD during 2019. The narrative appeared four times overall in Dagens Nyheter and only once in Aftonbladet.

The coverage of climate change on SvD's editorial page is markedly different from that on Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet. More critique is yielded towards the Paris agreement, stating for example that it is "expensive" and "inefficient". This aligns with the code LWF3 in the narrative analysis. It is stated that even if the agreement is followed to a tee, it will not be even close to enough to keep the average temperature of rising with maximum 1,5 °C. Julia Wålsten writes in Svenska Dagbladet (2018):

"[IPCC] expect this is only going to be enough for one percent of what is needed to reach the goal of a maximum 1,5 °C warming."

Furthermore, it is argued that the damage of too radical moves aimed to mitigate climate change risks creating more damage than actual climate change, especially in poor countries. For example, Bjørn Lomborg (2018) argues (aligning with the code LWF3) in SvD that by spending money on lowering greenhouse gas emission in rich countries like Sweden instead of spending them on poverty-reducing efforts like health care, lack of infrastructure, and malnutrition, we are doing poor people a disservice:

"Anders Wijkman [Bjorn Lomborg's debate opponent] insists on helping her [a poor woman in the Global South] by reducing CO2 emissions a bit in Sweden, so that her family, if they survive, get it slightly less bad from the climate impact in a hundred years."

Another argument in the Lukewarmer narrative is the importance of prosperity for adapting to and mitigating climate change. Here, too strict climate policies damage people's lives and health. For example, overly high taxes on energy to limit emissions of carbon dioxide are linked to higher mortality caused by energy poverty in "rich countries". This aligns with the code LWEB. Lomborg (2019) writes in SvD:

"In the United States, the extraction of oil and gas has through so-called fracking has halved energy costs, making it easier for poor households to afford heating and saving on average 11,000 lives per year. We thus risk more deaths through a policy that pushes up energy prices because of a supposed will to attack the already declining death toll due to heat."

Similarly, Lukewarmers argue that current climate change mitigation efforts threaten the economy and continued economic growth, which aligns with the codes LWIA and LWC3. Economic growth is described as a sort of "firewall" against the adverse effects caused by climate change. It is argued that a larger economy means that most people are better off economically, and thus have better opportunities to protect themselves from the effects of climate change. Catarina Kärkkäinen's reply to Håkan Wirtén's (2019) text in Svenska Dagbladet:

"I maintain that the thought experiment of the ecological debt day [Earth Overshoot Day] is based on a model that is greatly simplified, and that continued growth and technological development will in any case be needed to solve problems from global warming and other threats. This also applies to the growth related to personal consumption."

Lomborg (2019) argues that the main solution is adaption to the heatwaves, rather than climate change mitigation effort. This is another common argument in the Lukewarmer narrative, and has been coded as LWEG and LWC2:

“If we worry about heat waves, the answer is mainly to invest in adaptation - in the form of such simple things as air conditioning for the vulnerable.”

Another common argument in the Lukewarmer narrative is that while climate change is real, the consequences of it are at least uncertain or at most blown out of proportion by “zealous” activists and scientists, aligning with the codes LWF2 and LWM. Quoting Björn Lomborg, Janerik Larsson (2019) writes in SvD:

“Climate change is real and needs to be addressed, but when we are asked to spend trillions of dollars on policies that would transform the global economy, we need to demand more than hype and spin.”

“The UN have more important tasks than spreading false alarming reports.”

These quote mimics the idea that climate scientists are biased and are spreading false or misleading information about the severity of climate change. The author also argues that the UN too often publish reports of with findings related to climate change of what believes to be dubious scientific quality. The skepticism against climate science aligns well with the code LWIS and LWF2.

6.2. Eco-activist narrative

The Eco-activist narrative appeared most frequently in Aftonbladet, both in 2018 and 2019. In 2018 it appeared in approximately 59 % of the editorials and in 2019 it appeared in approximately 45 % of the editorials. Dagens Nyheter’s editorials featured the narrative approximately a third of the time both in 2018 and 2019 (33 % in 2018 and 30 % in 2019). The narrative was almost non-existent in Svenska Dagbladet both in 2018 and 2019.

One of fears in the Eco-activist narrative is the imminent catastrophe caused by climate change unless radical action is taken. This includes health and security for society worldwide. The worries include for example more extreme weather events and mass migration. This aligns with the code EAF1, which are expressed in an article by Susanne Kirkegaard (2018) in Aftonbladet which states:

“The trend we see in the world is worrying. Extreme drought, heat and floods occur at a lower global temperature increase than previously expected. What we see now in Sweden and around the world is already happening at 1 degree [Celsius] of warming and is also striking more and more often in our part of the world, says Johan Rockström to Aftonbladet. In the past, climate change has mainly affected the world's poorer regions. Floods, extreme drought, and heat make people's former homes uninhabitable and difficult to cultivate. It is as if 14 Sweden would have to move.”

In line with this narrative a heavy emphasis was placed on the severity of the threat of climate change and the importance of immediate and radical action. Likewise, lifestyle changes in Sweden are also believed to be important, mimicking the idea that humanity is destroying earth. The eco-activist narrative also takes a more skeptical approach to technological fixes to climate change. Instead, some practices such as “excessive” air transportation must be much more limited than today aligning the codes EAF2, EAEB, EAIC as well as the code EAE, which posits that certain part of our lifestyle must be sacrificed in order to save the planet. Daniel Swedin (2018) writes in Aftonbladet:

“If we continue to fly as we do now - and believe that we will refuel all planes with biofuel - it will required that so much arable land is used for fuel that it will crowd out food production. Are famines really a price we are willing to pay for the ability to continue to fly as now?”

“Sure, being optimistic about technology is great, but not to the point of stupidity in an issue that is utmost about the survival of the planet. We actually have to fly less.”

Furthermore, the authors for Aftonbladet state that the government and the state also must take steps to slow down climate change, by introducing more regulation. The government is expected to take responsibility and not invest pension funds in coal-, gas- and oil-companies, thus setting a precedent and thus hopefully speeding up the transition away from fossil fuels. This aligns with the code EAEG. In one editorial Pernilla Ericson (2019) writes that:

“So how can politicians provide hope? By stopping investing pension funds in coal-, oil- and gas-companies. Banning fossil fuel cars, and subsidizing electrical alternatives”

In another example the ruling right of center coalition in Gothenburg is criticized for removing subsidies on public transportation, thus raising the cost of that type of travelling. Here, this is interpreted by the editorial as an action disincentivizing sustainable transportation, thus leading to more emissions from for example cars. This aligns with the code EAEG that we need to limit our carbon footprint. From an editorial from Persson (2019b) in Aftonbladet:

“On Wednesday, the inhabitants of Gothenburg who bought a 30-day card for public transport within the municipality paid SEK 640. Today, the same card costs SEK 775, and the explanation for the shock [price] increase is simple: The ruling [right-of-center] alliance minority in the city has withdrawn municipal [economic] support. The effect of the decision will be that more people will take the car. That is how it works. In a city struggling with traffic problems and in a world fighting against climate change, it is so stupid it almost boggles the mind.”

6.3. Smart Growth Reformer Narrative

This narrative was the most common in Dagens Nyheter in 2018 at 33 % and as common as the Eco-activist narrative in 2019 at 37%. The narrative was also common in Svenska Dagbladet both in 2018 and 2019 (33 %, 30 % respectively).

The narrative is optimistic that change can be achieved and that a carbon neutral society is possible by 2050 and underlines the importance of a market economy to fight climate change, aligning with the code SGC3. Mattias Svensson (2018b) writes in Dagens Nyheter:

“Much of the environmental politics that actually works comes from economists [...] Therto comes the emphasis on institutions like property rights and markets, which rewards long term responsibility and constantly attempts to get more out of less and exhausting less resources. [...] It is frighteningly common to denounce growth, capitalism and market economy and instead dream of some sort of green planned economy.”

Here he contrasts the policies that in his words “actually work” and other policies that do not work. Likewise, the author argues that “[a] carbon tax, research and development and investments in cleaner technology are good policies given what we know about the climate threat” (Svensson, 2018b). This falls well in line with the Smart Growth Reformer narrative and the code SGEG and SGF1, where economic growth and capitalism are necessary components to mitigate climate change which needs to be tweaked for example with emission quotas and a carbon tax.

Another characteristic of the Smart Growth Reformer narrative is the idea that overexploitation of natural resources is happening, and this is because the resources does not have an economic value on the market, or that their economic value is too low. This characteristic is coded as SGF2 and SGIN. In an editorial by in Dagens Nyheter by Liby Troein (2018) describes the idea as following:

” Sweden and other countries in the rich world must therefore make it economically profitable for poor countries to protect the tropical forests and waters that we also benefit from.”

Another noteworthy detail in the same editorial is the concept of the rainforest as “binding carbon-dioxide” which makes use of metaphors common in the Smart Growth Reformer Narrative, where carbon emissions can be “offset” (or neutralized) by being “captured” by trees which work as a carbon sink. This aligns with the code SGM.

Some common underlying themes can be found in the editorials in Dagens Nyheter: not surprisingly a rather liberal approach with focus on international cooperation and international trade is present in many of the editorials. The following editorial by Mattias Svensson (2018a) in Dagens Nyheter promotes the idea that business solutions in tandem with the state gives the ability to export solutions which plays a vital role in mitigating climate change. This idea are reflected in the following codes: SGIE, SGC2, SGF3.

“Research and development are needed to develop more environmentally friendly technology, and when this is actually available it is good with free trade to spread it over the world. Contrary to this, EU and the US has imposed punitive duties on solar panels.”

Svenska Dagbladet also featured editorials containing the Smart Growth Reformer narrative. One of the core ideas in this narrative is its overall positive outlook on the future and optimism towards market economy, economic growth, and innovation. This is highlighted in an editorial by Catarina Kärkkäinen (2019) together with the idea the resources are not as finite as some make them out to be. Resources that are today difficult and not profitable to access will be extracted in the future when these value of said resources has risen (due to relative scarcity).

“There are [reserves of] resources that we have not yet discovered. There are [reserves of] resources that have not yet been financially defensible to extract, but that will be in the future. New ways of recycling are emerging. And we are constantly learning to produce what we need with smaller amounts of raw materials.”

6.4. Ecomodernist narrative

This narrative was fairly common in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter both in 2018 and 2019. In Aftonbladet 41 % and 37 % and in Dagens Nyheter 29 % and 26 % in 2018 and 2019, respectively. In the case of Svenska Dagbladet, the narrative was only present in 8 % of the editorials in 2018 and in 5 % of the editorials 2019.

A key component of the narrative is a humanist, progressive and technology-positive worldview. The importance of the freedom and modernity for all people worldwide is central. Most of the changes necessary to mitigate climate change is believed to be able to be enacted within the currently political and economic system. The future is believed to be built by nation states, international cooperation, activists, the media, and corporations alike. This excerpt from an unsigned editorial from Dagens Nyheter (“Endast demokratin kan rädda oss från klimatkatastrofen,” 2018) illustrate the narrative (mainly codes EMIH, EMIT and EMIP) well:

“If we are to succeed in tackling the climate threat, it must be done through intergovernmental cooperation. And from this more realistic starting point, the arguments for democracy and free societies are even stronger [...] Independent media has reported on the findings, even when they were uncomfortable in the halls of power. Civil society organizations and activists have shaped [public] opinion. It has not been easy in democratic societies to get the state to take climate change seriously and to act both at home and internationally.”

The moral obligation of countries that has high carbon emissions through history to take the lead in lowering their carbon emissions as well as help to finance lowering emissions in poorer countries, is another idea central to the Ecomodernist narrative, especially within the codes EMIP and EMF2. An unsigned editorial (“Ett Möte Med En Mycket Grå Verklighet,” 2019) from 2019 Dagens Nyheter states:

“...where countries that have become rich through historical emissions have a particular responsibility to take the lead with emission reductions and to finance emission reductions in poorer countries.”

The Ecomodernist narrative is also present in Aftonbladet with an optimistic and future-oriented worldview, where humans have an opportunity to combat climate change through revolutionizing new technology, align with the codes EMIT and EMEG. Unlike the Eco-activist narrative, humanity should not “slow down” to combat climate change, rather it should set full speed ahead into the future. With the envisioned innovations, humanity goes towards a new and bright future, and the future is happening right now. The following quote (Persson, 2019a) from Aftonbladet points to the eco-modernist narrative’s trust in new technology’s possibilities contribute to a more sustainable world:

“The Swedish steel industry is working on a method to completely exclude coal from the production. A pilot plant is currently being built in the old coal port in Luleå. If the project, which goes by the name Hybrit, succeeds, it means that a large part of the Swedish carbon dioxide emissions will disappear in the next few decades.”

The contrast against the eco-activist narrative where humanity’s possibilities for even having a decent future are contingent on humanity’s ability to slow down their activities, is very stark. The following quote from Aftonbladet (Persson, 2019a) illustrates the optimistic and tech-positive spirit of the eco-modernist narrative, as well as stressing the importance of government commitment to the issue of climate change aligning well with the code EMC3:

“The [climate change] adaption creates new opportunities for industry, and Sweden's conditions for having a leading role are good. But it requires that we do the right things, not least politically.”

7. Conclusion

The quantity of editorials regarding climate has increased in Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet but not in Dagens Nyheter, comparing before and after January 1st, 2019. Dagens Nyheter wrote editorials quite frequently containing a Climate Change-narrative between January 1st, 2018 to December 31st, 2018 (n=24), and in 2019 the number of editorials on the subject decreased to 13. The opposite trend can be seen with Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet, where the number increased from 26 to 41 (Aftonbladet) and 6 to 18 (Svenska Dagbladet) respectively.

The eco-linguistic model used by Norton and Hulme (2019) was applicable to almost all of the material in this Swedish context and most of the codes was used in the coding. No large shifts in the type of narratives expressed happened in either of newspapers from 2018 to 2019. However, while the Lukewarmer narrative was present in some of the editorials (mostly by Svenska Dagbladet) none of the analyzed editorials presented the idea that climate change could be an overall benefit for the world (code LWF1). This is the idea that higher temperature and more perspiration (rain) could yield more crops, because of longer growing season and more land being arable. This is maybe an indication that the acceptance of climate change as a threat is more widespread on Swedish editorial pages than in the United Kingdom's counterparts.

There seems to be a connection between ideological orientation of newspaper editorials and the climate change narratives expressed. This includes how severe the issue of climate change is perceived and what possible solutions that are suggested to mitigate and adapt to climate change.

As discussed previously in the study there seems to be a political divide in the opinions expressed in the editorials: the more right-leaning editorial page of Svenska Dagbladet are overall skeptical of more radical efforts to mitigate climate change. These efforts are frequently described as counterproductive, ineffective, or overly expensive. The narratives presented in the editorials seems to reflect ideological views. The more conservative of the researched newspapers, Svenska Dagbladet, did express more views in line with the Lukewarmer narrative.

This is not so surprising considering that this narrative is supportive of common conservative views such as smaller state spending, capitalism, and economic growth, and is skeptic of state interference. Instead, less “ambitious” or radical answers to climate change are proposed, based on the research of Nobel Memorial Prize laureate in Economics William Nordhaus as well as the works by Danish economist Bjørn Lomborg. This aligns rather well with Norton and Hulme’s (2019) finds in the United Kingdom, where the Lukewarmer narrative was most common in right-wing conservative newspaper editorials.

The relative commonality of the Eco-activist narrative in Aftonbladet’s is not surprising considering it aligns well with Norton and Hulme’s (2019) findings related to the left-of-center newspaper The Guardian in the UK. Since large parts of the Eco-activist narrative critique capitalism, globalism, and economic growth and instead promotes values such as sharing benefits more equally, it is understandable that Aftonbladet is supportive of many of the measures related to the Eco-activist narrative. Not surprisingly coming from editorials, Aftonbladet sees climate change as an opportunity to prop up their own belief/ideology: they identify that equality, social democracy and climate change mitigation is intrinsically linked.

The ideas within the Eco-activist narratives could be argued to challenge many of the ideas central to the conservative capitalist ideology as well as liberal capitalist ideology. For example, arguing that free market policies (a form of globalization) perpetuate exploitation of the environment across the world and that national policy networks are insufficient to face the threat of climate change, could be seen as a threat to both free trade agreements such as NAFTA, CETA and EU-Mercosur and a threat against the nation state. Especially if the suggested solutions are heavier taxation on emission as well carbon dioxide import duties, the latter has been suggested by for example the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen (Khan & Rachman, 2020).

DN takes a moderate position in between Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet. Their opinions contain a large range of narratives, ranging from more radical Eco-activist narratives as they express concern over the pace and the activities (or rather the believed lack thereof) to mitigate

climate change. However, this is balanced against more mainstream Eco-modernist narratives where economic growth and the market economy cannot be comprised in any greater degree. The narrative has appeal over a large part of the political spectrum because of its rather uncontroversial view of climate change. While it wants reforms done to combat climate change it is not a radical approach. Instead, reforms resembling those enacted in many parts of the world today are suggested. This makes the narrative largely digestible for liberals and social democrats.

The aim of this study was to research if the narratives surrounding climate change had changed in the renewed and heightened interest of climate change in the media. To be sure, there seems to have been an increase in the number of instances where climate change is discussed in editorials.

8. Discussion

This study shows that climate change narratives differ between editorials with different ideological views. The interest in climate change also differed between different newspapers. An increase in the instance of climate change narratives could be seen in both Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet, however not in Dagens Nyheter. Considering the largely mainstream views on climate change held by Dagens Nyheter, this might not be surprising since if their views are largely held in society the need to argue for these views is diminished. The views that are less mainstream in the political discourse, such as those held by Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet might have a greater need to be argued for.

However, the number of editorials studied are rather small. For example, in 2018 only 6 editorials in Svenska Dagbladet contained any significant climate change narratives, whereas the same number for Dagens Nyheter was 24. This can also be an indicator that certain newspapers are less concerned about climate change, and thus allocate less editorial space to argue their positions. Another possibility could be to include more search terms, this would arguably lead to more empirical material. However, the carefully selected search term has generated a considerable amount of material leading to a rather comprehensive study, nonetheless.

Developments in future studies could also be the inclusion of more newspaper over a longer time period. This study covered less than a 2-year period, which is not a considerable amount of time since political opinions often change rather slowly. Norton and Hulme (2019) study, by comparison, “Telling one story, or many? An ecolinguistic analysis of climate change stories in UK national newspaper editorials” spawned a period of 17 years, with special attention paid to 3 years. That study also covered 5 newspapers, thus reaching a larger audience. This study included newspapers with different political leanings, but a study using more newspapers would make it possible to draw conclusions regarding the Swedish media landscape as a whole.

Also, in future studies other platforms than editorials should be studied, since there is a risk that editorials are mostly read by people already agreeing with its contents, thus forming a kind of selection bias. Since other sources than editorial pages have an ability to influence public opinion, future studies could also include tv broadcasts, “infotainment show”, as well as posts on social media. The social media influence arguably also works different and has larger possibility to spread disinformation (or “fake news”), since it is next to impossible for social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube to check all the content uploaded to their platform at any given moment. This merits more attention from social scientists.

9. Appendix

9.1. Appendix 1 – Eco-linguistic breakdown of the narratives

Ecolinguistic breakdown of Ecoactivist climate change story with assigned codes.

Ecolinguistic framework	Description	Code
Stories-we-live-by	Humans, through population growth and consumerism are reaching the limit of the world's resources and destroying the very world they depend on. Pessimistic narrative that warns of impending doom, ecological destruction and the end of humanity unless radical action is taken	
Ideology	Humanity is destroying the Earth	EAIC
Framing	Limits of Economic Growth: Human societies need to be fundamentally reorganised away from the capitalist norm that “growth is good”	EAIG
	Imminent catastrophe: Climate change increases health, security and environmental risks including hurricanes, droughts, biodiversity loss, disease, instability and mass migration	EAF1
	Limits on consumption and lifestyle choices are needed to protect the earth for future generations. Investing in renewables is good for the economy	EAF2
Metaphors	Deprioritise economic growth. New economic model required, with new indicators for progress such as well-being	EAF3
	War metaphors: battle, fight, retreat, combat	EAM
Evaluation	Apocalyptic: tipping point, overshoot and collapse, climate clock ticking. Embedded humanity: Planet Earth, Mother Earth, Saving the Seed	
	Good: Limiting consumption, lifestyle and carbon footprint; Small scale, locally owned renewables, solar, wind, geothermal. Regulation and international agreements	EAEG
	Bad: Industrialisation and capitalism; technological fixes such as carbon capture; genetically modified foods and geo-engineering; nuclear energy, fossil fuels and fracking	EAEB
Identity	Anti-capitalist, anti-globalisation, local community, harmony with nature	
Conviction	Climate change is real and needs to be tackled. Emphasis on the scientific certainty of evidence	EAC1
	Nuclear energy and geo-engineering too risky and too costly	EAC2
	Continual economic growth is false: breeds dissatisfaction and will lead to planetary catastrophe	EAC3
Erasure	People's aspirations for flying abroad for holidays, driving cars, having unlimited energy are unworthy of consideration as they need to understand these things will not make them happy and sacrifices need to be made	EAE
Sallience	Nature and Wilderness are fragile, sacred and need to be protected	EAS

Ecological analysis of Smart Growth Reformer climate change story with assigned codes.

Ecological Framework	Description	Code
Stories-we-live-by	Capitalism and market mechanisms are the most effective tools for instigating real and long-lasting change in human society. Optimistic that, with the right policies focussed on incentives and regulation, capitalism can deliver a low carbon/neutral carbon economy thus stabilising the climate and preventing catastrophic climate change	
Ideology	Economic Growth is Imperative. Market regulation and intelligent economic frameworks can provide business opportunities along with sustainable development and growth to maintain current lifestyles	SGIE
	Nature as Natural Capital. Only way to save nature is to give it a monetary value which although would increase short term costs would save money in the long run	SGIN
Framing	Climate Change is an economic problem and a threat to the global economy: economic benefits of strong early action outweigh costs. Market regulation required with emissions quotas and taxation to achieve climate stabilisation	SGF1
	Nature has an economic value: monetary value needs to be assigned to ecosystem services	SGF2
	Climate change is a business opportunity. Business solutions are required to advance the low carbon economy, generating millions of jobs.	SGF3
	Private-public partnerships are required to take innovations from universities to the market place	
Metaphors	Carbon sinks, green growth, greening of world markets, Code Green, clean energy revolution	SGM
Evaluation	Good: Emissions trading/carbon tax or cap will allow proliferation of renewables. Sustainable economic growth possible if the right policies are adopted. Financially profiting from climate change is good. International agreement necessary	SGEG
	Bad: Renewables alone are not enough for modern society. Other energy sources are required	SGEB
Identity	Economists, strong belief in market and imperative economic growth	
Conviction	Climate change is real and needs to be tackled. Emphasis on scientific certainty of evidence	SGC1
	Continual economic growth possible and desirable. Private investment needed	SGC2
	A Carbon neutral society is achievable by 2050. The world needs widely available energy that does not produce carbon. Nuclear power is needed. Government needs to foster innovation for other sources of energy	SGC3
Erasure	Ignores the limits on natural resources and the loss of natural capital. Ignores the social meanings and cultural importance of nature	SGE
Salience	The welfare of future generations relative to our own is important and should be taken into consideration	SGS

Ecological analysis of Lukewarmer climate change story with assigned codes.

Ecological Framework	Description	Code
Stories-we-live-by	Climate change is real and mostly man-made but is not a planetary emergency. The effects of global warming are marginal and overall beneficial	
Ideology	Climate change is not dangerous but slow and erratic. Climate science predictions, impacts and causes are debatable; there is no consensus and the models are unreliable and exaggerated	LWIS
	Prosperity and adaptation: Mitigation is a mistake as it is harmful and expensive. Individuals should not have limitations placed on their consumption or lifestyle choices. The richer we are the more able we will be to deal with global warming. I.e. prosperity is key	LWIA
Framing	Nature and agriculture benefit from higher levels of carbon dioxide because of increased fertilisation effects	LWF1
	The IPCC process for determining scientific evidence is flawed. Scientists are ideologically motivated and use evidence selectively. There is no consensus. Scientists are economically motivated to get more grant money for their research	LWF2
	Mitigation is futile: the economics do not add up. International agreement pointless. Adaptation is the way forward. Developing countries like China and India need to cut emissions. The developed world alone will have no impact, so international agreements are pointless	LWF3
Metaphor	Religious metaphors: crusaders, zealots, evangelists, fanatics. Secular religion	LWM
Evaluation	Good: Global warming is good: it benefits the world. Adaptation is good: it leads to better flood defences, plant breeding and infrastructure.	LWEG
	Adaptation does not require international treaties and can be applied locally and unilaterally. Nuclear energy is good	
	Bad: Mitigation strategies are bad. They are ineffective, expensive and harmful. Renewables are bad: they are not a viable energy option and are a waste of money	LWEB
Identity	Libertarian. Anti-regulation, non-interventionist	
Conviction	Climate change is real but does not need to be mitigated	LWC1
	Investment needed in adaptation	LWC2
	Economic growth is necessary	LWC3
Erasure	Increasing carbon dioxide levels are unimportant: not related to rising sea levels, droughts or extreme weather events	LWE
Salience	Life for humans will continue to improve: we will all be better off in the future	LWS

Ecological analysis of Ecomodernist climate change story with assigned codes.

Ecological Framework	Description	Code
Stories-we-live-by	Technology and modernisation are the foundations of human progress. Moral, progressive, optimistic and pragmatic story of how technological innovations accelerated by government investment can mitigate climate change issues at the same time as reducing poverty and sparing nature	
Ideology	Progressive, humanist and anthropocentric. Humans are special: they have great potential for innovation and ingenuity and have both rights and responsibilities to the non-human world	EMIH
	Technophiles. Technology sets humans apart from other species. Innovative solutions will bring modern living standards to people worldwide	EMIT
	Pragmatic. Work within current economic and social frameworks. Strong role for long-term government investment, collective action and sharing benefits fairly	EMIP
Framing	Climate change is an opportunity for governments to invest in innovative energy technologies	EMF1
	Climate change is an opportunity to build societal resilience and alleviate global poverty. It is a question of human dignity.	EMF2
	Climate change is an opportunity to spare nature and re-wild the Earth by decoupling human activities from nature	EMF3
Metaphor	Nature unused is nature spared; love your monsters	EMM
Evaluation	Good: Decoupling from nature by intensifying human activities. Technology and energy innovation. Re-wilding and re-greening the earth	EMEG
	Bad: Sub-urbanisation, low yield farming. Renewables cannot supply enough energy to modern society	EMEB
Identity	Pragmatists with a philosophy of universal human dignity	
Conviction	Climate change is real and needs to be tackled. There are serious threats to human well-being	EMC1
	Perpetual human population and economic growth is uncertain. Demand for material goods is reaching saturation levels. Human impact on the environment could peak and decline this century	EMC2
	Long-term government investment is vital. Need to focus on understanding how technological advances happen	EMC3
Erasure	Downplays people's desire for a rural existence, small-scale farming, and simple life	EME
Salience	Wild nature is worthy of attention for aesthetic and spiritual reasons and enhances well-being	EMS

9.2. Appendix 2 – Source material

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