JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY
School of Education and Communication

” It is with great curiosity the world is watching Sweden take lead in the race to save our climate”

A content analysis – the representation of climate and the environment in relation to Agenda 2030 in the Swedish government online communication

COURSE: *Master Thesis in Media and Communication 1, 15 credits*
PROGRAM: *Sustainable Communication*
WRITER: *Joanna Andersson*
EXAMINATOR: *Philipp Seuferling*
TERMIN: *Spring 2022*

JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY
School of Education and Communication
Box 1026, 551 11 Jönköping
036-101000

Master thesis, 15 credits
Course: Master Thesis in Media and Communication 1
Program: Sustainable Communication
Semester: Spring 2022

ABSTRACT

Writer: Joanna Andersson

Title: **"It is with great curiosity the world is watching Sweden take lead in the race to save our climate"** A content analysis – the representation of climate and the environment in relation to Agenda 2030 in the Swedish government online communication

Language: English Pages: 41

2022 is election year in Sweden and at the same time we are approaching year 2030 fast. Because of that, it is of interest to analyze how the Swedish government is communicating Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, with a special focus on climate and the environment, on their official Instagram account and website. This thesis performed with a qualitative content analysis aims to analyze and compare the representation of these subjects with the help of the theoretical framework of critical theory and its critical political economy of media and communication. This allows for a critical analysis of how communication is presented on the different platforms and if the main focuses differ between them. Statistics from Internetstiftelsen (2022) shows how Instagram is the main social platform used by first-time voters and therefore it is of importance to analyze the communication posted there. At the same time the Instagram posts refers to the website in some cases, hence, it is important to analyze the communication published there as well to be able to make an accurate comparison between the platforms.

The collected material consists of articles and Instagram posts that has been coded, thematized and analyzed with the help of software analyze tool. It resulted in an accurate visualization of how large percentage of the coded themes was present in the chosen material. Analyzing the material opened a discussion on how the communication does differ on the two platforms. The communication done on Instagram has a strong focus on what Sweden has done with regards to Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, what they are doing and how well they are performing. Nevertheless, it rarely discusses what Agenda 2030 is, how the SDGs are constructed or what it takes to achieve them. This information can however be found on the website, a platform which is visited less often than Instagram by first-time voters. To increase political interest and knowledge amongst the younger generation, changes in the communication must be done. Otherwise, we might see ourselves in a situation where the interest in making crucial changes decreases and thereby jeopardizes our chances of achieving Agenda 2030.

Keywords: Agenda 2030, Sustainable development goals, Sweden, Political communication, Instagram, Social media platforms, Environment & Climate

Table of Contents

1. Introduction 1
1.2 Background 2
1.2.1 Agenda 2030 2
1.2.2 Sustainable Development Goals 4
1.2.3 Sustainable development goals rocess in Scandinavia 4
2 Research and questions 8
3. Literature review 10
3.1 Governmental involvement in achieving Agenda 2030 10
3.2 Politics, media, and communication in Sweden 10
3.3 Political communication - Sweden 12
3.4 Instagram in Swedish politics 13
3.5 Contribution 15
4. Theory 16
4.1 Critical theory 16
4.2 Critical political economy of media and communication 18
5. Method 19
5.1 Qualitative content analysis 19
5.2 Material 23
5.2.1 Research ethics 24
5.3 Data collection 24
6. Findings 26
6.1 Theme - Climate 28
6.2 Theme – Sweden 29
6.3 Theme – Related to Agenda 2030 31
6.4 Theme – European Union 32
7. Discussion and analysis 34
8. Conclusions 39
8.1 Limitations and further research 41
8.1.1 How to communicate political information – recommendations for the Swedish Government 41
References 42
Appendices – empirical material 45
Appendices 1 – Initial coding NVivo 45

Appendices 2 – Thematization of the codes 45
Appendices 3 – Thematization of initial codes **EU** 46
Appendices 4 – Thematization of initial codes **Related to Agenda 2030** 46
Appendices 5 – Thematization of initial codes **Sweden** 47
Appendices 6 – Thematization of initial codes **Effects on the climate** 47
Appendices 7 - Material collection website articles: 47
Appendices 8 – Material collection Instagram posts 50

1. Introduction

In September 2015, the 193 member states of the United Nations (UN) approved the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development. Agenda 2330 is presented as a transformative vision towards environmental, economic, and social sustainability (United Nations, [UN], 2022). There are only eight years left until 2030 and the question is, will the goals be achieved, or will the world fail? Sweden is ranked high as one of the countries that will manage to achieve the goals (Bexell & Jönsson, 2020), and therefore it is of interest to analyze and compare how the Swedish government communicates Agenda 2030, with a special focus on the aspects of environment and climate, through Instagram and their official website.

All different ministries of the Swedish government are responsible for implementing and working towards Agenda 2030 within all different areas of expertise. However, the achievement cannot be done without engagement from other outside actors as well, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the business life etc. Sweden is far ahead when it comes to the work regarding Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) nevertheless they still do have challenges to handle to fully accomplish the plan. Inequality is a growing issue in many countries as well as the threats to our climate and environment. Changes still have to be done and the society must work on these changes together, even if Sweden is moving forward in a fast pace, it is not enough. The need for collective solutions is crucial, especially when it regards the work to secure our climate, reduce conflicts and reasons for conflict, human trafficking, and unsustainable production and consumption (Regeringskansliet, 2018).

The sustainability readjustment takes place all over Sweden. Sustainable development is looked upon as something positive that businesses, corporations, and companies use as a competitive advantage, at the same time as they work together to achieve the stated goals and targets. Civil society contributes as well, mainly by affecting and influencing the decision makers but also through their own participation and daily efforts. Agenda 2030 and the SDGs work are also implemented in universities and colleges where research and education regarding sustainable development are implemented in the already existing education plans. The Swedish government has created a delegation, called the Agenda 2030-delegation, whose only task is to support and energize the implementation of Agenda 2030 in Sweden. The delegation is supposed to secure

both the SDGs and the Agenda 2030 by closely and broadly communicating with municipalities, authorities, civil society, county councils, the business sector, and the academic sector, this is done with information and knowledge regarding what sustainable development is and how it can be incorporated in daily life and work. Primarily the aim is to establish a digital platform on the national level which can facilitate the implementation of Agenda 2030 in businesses and corporations (Regeringskansliet, 2018).

Based on the information from Regeringskansliet (2018) the conclusion can be drawn that Sweden aims to accomplish Agenda 2030 and they are ranked high on the list of those who might might make it. But how does the Swedish government communicate this through social media platforms? Is there continuous communication, is it more sporadic or even non-existent?

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Agenda 2030

To achieve global sustainability there is a need to address the dimensions of sustainability – economic, environmental, and social. In September 2015, the UN assembled and implemented an aim for a better and more sustainable world. It consists of 17 Sustainable Development Goals and it is called Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development. The 17 goals were described more through 169 different targets and 231 global indexes. The overall goal is to achieve the SGDs and different targets by 2030, hence the name Agenda 2030 (Naturvårdsverket, 2022).

Agenda 2030 is a call to action for the planet, people, and prosperity. The SDGs and 169 targets have an aim of achieving what the Millennium Development Goals did not and they pursue to realize and recognize human rights, gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. With Agenda 2030 the hope is to enhance global peace in greater freedom. One of the greatest universal challenges that has to be taken into consideration to reach sustainable development is extreme poverty, and it is something that has to be abolished in all its different dimensions and forms. The UN has the intention of, between 2015 and 2030, putting an end to poverty and hunger in all places on the planet, encounter those inequalities that are present both among and within countries, enable peaceful, broad and just societies all over the planet, protect, promote, and embrace empowerment of women, human rights and gender equality and to protect the planet and its natural assets (UN, 2015).

When the Agenda was put into action the idea was for the targets and goals to encourage change and action over the next 15 years in those areas that are of major importance for people and the planet (UN, 2015). Embracing the Agenda, it can be broken down into four distinct categories:

Planet

The Agenda aims and is determined to protect the planet from being destroyed. This is done by both sustainable production and consumption. There is a need to embrace the planet's natural resources and rapidly make changes that affect our climate in a positive way and reduce the climate change taking place – to make our planet more sustainable and available for the future (UN, 2015).

Prosperity

The United Nations and Agenda 2030 works determinedly to assure that every human being on the planet can live an accomplishing and flourishing life, with economic, technological, and social processes that arise in cooperation with nature and the planet (UN, 2015).

People

One of the major goals for the UN with Agenda 2030 and the SDGs is to end poverty and hunger in all its different forms all over the planet. This would provide a planet where all human beings have the opportunity to achieve their full potential in equality and decency in a healthy and thriving environment (UN, 2015).

Peace

The UN aims strongly to strengthen and implement peaceful, justified and including societies – free from pressure, violence, and fear. In order to achieve the wanted sustainable development there has to be peace, however there cannot be peace without any form of sustainable development. They work simultaneously together side by side and need one another to be accomplished (UN, 2015).

Partnership

The strive to achieve the Agenda and the SGDs includes a global partnership for sustainable development which has its core in global solidarity. This solidarity has a strong focus on taking care of those who need it the most with the presence of all people, all countries, and all stakeholders. The unified nature of the SGDs is of major concern in assuring the realization of

the goal with the Agenda. As the UN and the people of the planet comprehend our aspiration for the Agenda, all lives will be thoroughly enhanced, and our planet will be modified for the better (UN, 2015). The SDG goals were put in effect on January 1st 2016, and were meant to give direction and influence all decisions being made over the next fifteen years. All member states of the UN were given the assignment to apply the Agenda and its goals in their regional and national decision-making processes to establish a foundation in sustainable thinking (United Nations Statistics Division, [unstats], 2016).

1.2.2 Sustainable Development Goals

The SDGs are a sequel to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were signed and approved by the UN in September of 2000 (World Health Organization, [WHO], 2018). However, the SDGs are more evaluated and have a universal focus, whilst the MDGs had a stronger focus on the global south (Dalby, et.al., 2019).

> The 2030 Agenda's universal application means that it is not merely "our agenda" for "them"… Rather it is a global template for a world that is increasingly integrated through flows of finance and people, in which poverty, deprivation, inequality… and unsustainable patterns of production and consumption, are as much a concern in the rich advanced economies as they are in the developing world (Razavi, 2016, p. 28 as cited in Dalby et.al., 2019, p. 2).

The SDGs consist of 17 global goals which all act as a call to action to protect our planet, end global poverty and make sure that by 2030 everyone living on our planet should enjoy prosperity and peace. Accomplishing the goals requires a balance between social sustainability, economic sustainability, and environmental sustainability – it is all necessary to realize the goals and the 2030 Agenda (United Nations Development Programme, [UNDP], 2022).

1.2.3 Sustainable development goals rocess in Scandinavia

Information regarding the SDGs process in Norway and Denmark, presented below, has been included to give some insight in how well the other two Scandinavian countries are doing in their work towards achieving Agena 2030. Even though is is not a comparative study between the countries it can be of interest to see how well Scandinavia is doing overall with Agenda 2030.

1.2.3.1 Sweden sustainable development goals process

The Swedish government, currently led by the Social Democrats and the Green Party, has adopted an action plan aimed to achieve Agenda 2030 and to accomplish the SDGs, including and presenting how the different governmental levels, agencies and other societal actors can contribute to the work of achieving the goals. The environmental ambitions have been concluded by the Riksdag to establish the policies that provide the work needed to succeed in the environmental aspects of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. The Scientific Council for Sustainable Development was established by the Swedish government in 2015 and their main task is to act as an area of communication between the government and the scientific spectrum to present a well-planned sustainable development policy that has a scientific foundation (European Envrionment Agency, [EEA], 2020b). Sweden has a good chance of achieving the SGDs as it is a country with democracy and peace, the country presents aspiring national goals for the sustainable transition and there is an openness and willingness to collaborate and coordinate both nationally and internationally. Nevertheless, the COVID-19 pandemic hit hard and resulted in a stalling Agenda 2030 progress and new challenges. At the same time, there is an increasing economic and social inequality occurring.

The younger generations are experiencing mental health issues and pressure from different aspects of society. Sweden is also struggling with achieving sustainable production and consumption, something that is stalling the shift to the circular economy (UN, 2021b). The engagement, perspectives and innovations from the younger generations are important fr the implementation and accomplishment of Agenda 2030. In Sweden, the younger generations find particular interest in “environment and climate, gender equality and preventing oppression and discrimination” (UN, 2021, para.5). Overviewing Sweden in their sustainable development report from 2021 they have an Sustainable Development Goals Index Score of 85.6 out of 100; ranked at number two out of 165 in the SDG Index Rank (SDGindex, 2021). This gives an indication that Sweden is progressing well and has the possibility to achieve the SDGs. Looking at all the 17 goals they show that Sweden is doing well on seven of them, however there is still work to be done to achieve all 17 and make sure it is maintained (SDGindex, 2021).

1.2.3.2 Norway SDG process

The 2021 United Nations voluntary national review (VNR) process aims to describe how the member countries are doing in their achievements towards the Agenda and their progress on the SDGs from 2016 until 2021. The greatest focus of the VNR is the local and regional engagement to accomplish the SDGs. To follow up on the Norwegian achievements regarding the SDGs a partnership agreement was made with the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities. To receive the feedback and information on the Norwegian progress three different actors from the civil society are involved, the Norwegian Forum for Development and Environment, UN Global Compact Norway, and SDG Norway. These actors supply feedback regarding the improvement of the 17 SDGs from the Norwegian organizations, which cooperate with the environment, development, human rights, and peace They also provide recommendations and views regarding the government application of the SDGs in the industry, business, academic and education sector (UN, 2021a).

Based on the SDG Index Norway's work with "goals 1 (no poverty), 3 (good health and well-being), 5 (gender equality), 7 (affordable and clean energy), 10 (reduced inequalities) and 17 (partnerships for the goals)" (United Nations, 2021, para.7), is progressing well and Norway is ranked amongst the top at 6th place on the SDG Index list. The main challenges for Norway when achieving the SDGs are connected to unsustainable consumption, biodiversity, and gas emissions. Further on, there are also issues regarding gender-based violence and labor market imbalances that enhance inequalities between different groups in society. The SDGs are important in local government actions and since 2016 the adaptation of the goals has obtained power in regional authorities and municipalities. This illustrates that political commitment for direction and progress and cooperation between different political and governmental levels is positive as it is yielding engagement across several political and governmental levels (UN, 2021a).

1.2.3.3 Denmark – SDGs and Environment

Denmark began their SDG work by constructing an Inter-ministerial Group on Sustainable Development to make sure that there is unanimous work done between all relevant stakeholders and institutions. The Danish government enhances the importance of presenting the SDGs as detailed and actionable to the public. An action plan was created in 2017 to implement and follow up on Agenda 2030 and the SDGs – the plan is concentrating on the five different Ps: people, planet, prosperity, partnerships, and peace, and it is formed to meet the need of adapting the SDG targets to Danish national circumstances (EEA, 2020a). Analyzing the planet aspect, Denmark considers themselves front-runners when converting to a greener economy (SDG8) and a sustainable usage of natural resources and energy efficiency (SDG7). The government has an ambition of continuing the green conversion whilst making sure that there will be enough jobs and competitiveness and further on reducing the greenhouse gas emissions which falls in line with SDG13. Overall Denmark's main actions towards sustainable development lays within SDG goals 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 15 (EEA, 2020a).

The Danish government intensifies the need for all actors in the civil society to contribute and make it possible to achieve the SDGs, because of this the government proposed different legislative motions to establish a fund for external SDG action. Since 2018, Denmark has assembled an annual progress report including both the action plan and their national targets. It is a report which presents a description of how the SDG implementations are going and pinpoints any adjustments that must be made. Additionally, the Danish government constructs a status report consisting of information referring to current and future initiatives taken to accomplish the SGDs as well as the same information presented in the progression report (EEA, 2020a).

2 Research and questions

A publication from 2019 made by the Swedish Delegation for the 2030 Agenda, on behalf of Statens Offentliga Utredningar - a branch under control of the Swedish government - enhances motions and assessments for the continued application of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs in Sweden. The proposals presented are based on what the Delegation considers necessary to create opportunities for the government to construct encouraging conditions to accomplish the goals that Sweden has agreed upon by accepting and adopting Agenda 2030 (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, [SOU], 2019:13).

> In Swedish legislation, the term 'sustainable development' is used in two ways: one broader definition encompasses the environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainable development, while a second, more specific definition, focuses on the environmental dimension. The Delegation consistently adheres to the broader definition, in accordance with the meaning of the 2030 Agenda. (Swedish Delegation for the 2030 Agenda, SOU, 2019:13)

It is of significant importance to gain attention and interest for sustainable development amongst the people and the responsibility for this is placed on county councils and municipalities. Implementing Agenda 2030 requires action and decision making from those in charge and for it to be successful there has to be unanimous collaboration and engagement. Hence, the information and communication regarding actions thet nees to be taken to achieve Agenda 2030 should be made publicly available to enable involvement and further actions by the citizens and public actors. Actively communicating and informing the public may enhance further cooperation between different governmental levels (SOU, 2019:13).

The Delegation enhances the importance of communication regarding the Agenda and SDGs which is crucial to build awareness and understanding of and about sustainable development and, to develop and preserve the engagement and innovation to generate behavioral change amongst the people (SOU, 2019). Considering that Sweden is ranked amongst the top countries with the possibility of achieving the SDGs and Agenda 2030 (Bexell & Jönsson, 2020), hence communication is such an important process of accomplishing the implementation of the Agenda it is intriguing to evaluate how the Swedish government communicate their Agenda 2030 actions to the public.

The aim of this thesis is therefore to critically analyze the representation of climate and the environment in regard to Agenda 2030 and the SDGs in the Swedish government online communication. Performed with a content analysis with the theoretical framework of critical theory, the thesis could hopefully shed a new light on how sustainability development is represented in the voices of politicians from a country who are aiming to achieve Agenda 2030. This is something the former Swedish prime minister clearly stated in a national review from 2021 regarding the implementation of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs (Government Offices of Sweden, 2021). To reach the aim and new perspectives, two research questions have been conducted:

Research question 1: How is Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, with special focus on climate and the environment, communicated on the Swedish government's official website and Instagram account?

Research question 2: Does the Swedish government use their position of power and domination to similarly present the communication on the different platforms?

3. Literature review

This chapter will present relevant information regarding governmental involvement in Agenda 2030, political communication, and political communication on social platforms. Due to limited empirical material regarding the subject of communication and Agenda 2030 there are less empirical studies presented in this chapter.

3.1 Governmental involvement in achieving Agenda 2030

Adapting and implementing Agenda 2030 in decision making and country values involves action and engagement from all levels of politics – national, regional, and municipality (SOU, 2019:13). This means that there most likely is a need for parliaments and other governmental institutions to be involved. Bexell and Jönsson (2020) enlighten the questions regarding what influence parliaments have in the implementation of the Agenda and how it can be a factor for questioned legitimacy. Even though there are no implements of the SDGs or the Agenda in the Swedish legislation the political system has been influenced by the sustainable thinking and the annual budgets presented by the politicians usually involve the SDGs in one way or another.

When implementing the SDGs in national politics and decision making it comes with challenges and obstacles. The main ones lie within structure and coordination, making it possible and efficient across departments, agencies, and levels of government. A survey done in 2016 by The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development showed that prime ministers and presidents found the most problematic part of delivering and implementing the SDGs is the coordination that has to be done across different ministries and departments. The Swedish Minister for Social Security Ardalan Shekarabi pointed to the fact that applying Agenda 2030 comes with changes that must be made within the governance culture and this is something that the government cannot accomplish on their own. It calls for larger partnership and cooperation with multiple parts of the country's society (Organization for Economic Co-Operation Development, [OECD], 2017).

3.2 Politics, media, and communication in Sweden

For multiple decades, the Social Democrats had the position as the dominating party in Swedish politics, but that time of dominance is now over. They are still the largest political party; however, they do not have a complete majority as they only got 28 percent of the votes in the 2018 election. Sweden Democrats, a nationalist-conservative party, received enough votes to

enter the parliament in 2010 and is now the third-largest party after the Moderates who are in second place. However, neither of these three parties have enough seats for the majority, and it requires collaboration over political lines to get their thoughts and emotions through. There are changes being done in the Swedish society and this is reflected within the politics as well. Conflicts regarding different left and right opinions, welfare, jobs etc., have always been present within the political sphere and they still are. Nevertheless, new subjects of conflict have risen over the last few years, and they can appear more disputed and dictate the public debate. One of those subjects is the occurring conflict regarding a sustainable environment and economic growth: this is the concern for the current climate changes that are influencing politics and party opinions (Nord & Grusell, 2020).

As the elections only take place every fourth year it demands a lot from each party during the election year to make sure that they do receive enough votes when the election day arrives. It may not be realistically possible to receive all the undecisive votes, however if the parties conduct successful campaigns during the year it can result in a few more votes than they were supposed to get according to gallups. Based on this it can be concluded that a well-performed and structured party campaign will most likely result in a positive outcome. As the importance of campaigns increases there are multiple factors that have to be included in the production process, and one of them is the growing importance and interest of social media channels and the Internet overall. This is something that changes the relationship and communication between politicians, journalists, and the voting community. The general election of 2018 opened for discussions on whether social media communication will increase and become the primary form of communication between politicians and current and/or potential voters (Nord & Grusell, 2020).

Nonetheless, this change has not appeared yet, instead there is still a balance between traditional and social media where they complement each other rather than replacing each other. But the importance of social media is rising as more people use it as a tool to gain information regarding the parties, their political standpoints etc. that is necessary to be informed of before an election. This makes social media platforms progressively more important for all parties that want to succeed in the 2022 election. The appearance on social media channels is only increasing as our societies are becoming increasingly technologically influenced and is now allowing politicians to communicate with their voting citizens on multiple different levels (Nord & Grusell, 2020).

3.3 Political communication - Sweden

> Political communication and related areas of press/politics have been defined historically by the interplay of social conditions that define audiences, the communication processes that send messages to them, and the effects of those processes. (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018, p.243).

Political communication has undergone three eras up until now and is slowly entering the fourth one. The first age of communication can be placed during the two decades following World War II and was characterized by politicians who communicated messages addressed to loyal voters and strong believers. During this period, the traditional mass media held the position as the single most important form of communication between the politicians and the citizens. The second era took place between the 1960s and 1990s and was defined by mass media and television. This led to political communication with professional procedures which were fitted for the new ways of advertising. At this time, the traditional mass media became more independent and were more in control of the content they created as well as the sources used for information. During the late 1990s, political communication entered the third era, a time of growing complexity which required more professionalism and information administration. At the same time mass media was almost entirely independent which led to political actors trying to adapt to this new phenomenon of media logic – in order to maintain an opportunity to influence the news feed and create visibility for themselves (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018).

Media systems have been developing, citizens have been changing their party loyalties and the usage of media has changed. This has led to the entrance of a fourth political communication era, one consisting of even more complexity and media prosperity. Media logic and everything that comes with it is now a crucial part in political communication, therefore, it is also internalized and it allows for new standards of newsworthiness within the communication. With every different era the theories, methods, and concepts within political communication have changed (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018; Strömbäck & Nord, 2008).

Sweden is, amongst other, a country where media plays a significant role when discussing political communication processes and this is primarily based on media independence but also the fact that media channels are the number one source people use to gather information. There are more reasons involved which all affect the political communication and its relationship with the media, it is a complex and interesting relationship that often falls in the hands of the

journalists, they have the leading role and are more than happy to keep it. Swedish politicians do not have the opportunity to perform direct and unfiltered communication with the citizens through for example television, hence they are dependent on journalists and other types of media channels to reach their target groups (Strömberg & Nord, 2008).

3.4 Instagram in Swedish politics

Political communication present on social media platforms emerges the professional and personal aspects of the politicians at the same time as they address and reach the citizens. This new era of social media expressions is brought up from evaluating societal changes which can be connected to the present time of mass-self communication. The current dominance held by social media platforms has contributed to a transformation where online communication is more of a culture of connectivity rather than just a participatory culture. And it is something that has meaning for the present-day political communication. Social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook etc. are used by both 'civilians' as well as politicians and this makes the daily political communication noticeably affected by socio-technical affordances that are present on these distinct platforms. Another aspect that is apparent with this type of social media communication is the connectivity that becomes a major part of the communication done by the politicians (Ekman & Widholm, 2017).

The interest in politics plays a crucial part when advertising and boosting political knowledge, and reasonably the ones who have an interest from the beginning will most likely be those who consciously pursue to find political information to build their knowledge. Whilst those without interest will not seek the information and therefore not build their knowledge of the area, and at the same time, they will less likely remember or advertise it. This aggravates a knowledge gap between these two groups, and the one with more interest tends to devour more media on the topic. Nonetheless, social media is seen as a feasible way of decreasing the existing knowledge gap. Today political communication that is presented on social media becomes a non-intentional by-product of just using social media daily and it can also reach those with less political interest unintentionally (Bode, 2015).

Mediatization is a term which highlights the changes being made within the relationship between media and the political spheres. A prevailing understanding of media and politics is that they are established by diverse logic and that the media logic is progressively becoming

more powerful in relation to political logic. In present societies citizens, corporations, organizations, and politicians enhance the newly developed communicative possibilities which empower social media landscapes. Traditional news journalism is still the main source of information citizens use when they want knowledge about politics and political issues, nevertheless politicians and political actors are now more independent when communicating with their potential voters (Ekman & Widholm, 2017).

The development of social media platforms allows for more direct communication, and many political actors have established themselves as influential media producers. A definite example of a powerful political media producer is the former United States President Donald Trump. His presidential campaign during the 2016 election is a clear statement of how politicians have conflicts with traditional journalism. Had social media platforms not allowed for another source of communication this conflict would not have been present in the President's campaign administration. Politics and politicians in Sweden are not as personalized on social media, as compared to the United States however, social media and its platforms still holds an essential role in the communication done by both the parties and individual politicians (Ekman & Widholm, 2017; Klinger & Svensson, 2014).

Instagram is one of the major social media platforms today and it is a digital sphere which allows for the continual publication of self-centered visual representation. Even though Instagram offers the possibility of combining text and image, it is a platform where the visual trumps the text as the image is demanded whilst the text is optional. It is a predominantly personal platform where the users tend to be extraordinarily performative in their presentation and this makes Instagram a social platform suited for technical and cultural context of communication. The main question however is not whether the political communication that takes place on the platform is influenced to be personalized but to what degree this personalization is present in the different political parties and politicians (Ekman & Widholm, 2017).

3.5 Contribution

Embracing the importance of political communication taking place on social media platforms it is of interest to analyze how this communication is done and if it portrays a realistic and true picture of the governments' work towards achieving Agenda 2030 and the SDGs or if it is only used as an efficient tool to highlight how well Sweden is doing. Statistics from Internetstiftelsen (2022) show that Instagram is the main social platform where first-time voters gather information whilst the percentage of those collecting information from the political parties' websites is low. Hence, it is of interest to analyze the communication done on both platforms and compare if the communication is done differently depending on the choice of platform.

4. Theory

This chapter describes the chosen theory - critical theory and the approach of critical political economy of media and communication.

4.1 Critical theory

The theoretical framework in this study will be based on critical theory and this choice is made from the study's aim to critically investigate the communication on the official channels of the Swedish government. By adapting critical theory and its dimensions and foundations in combination with the content analysis method this research study can hopefully reach its aim of shedding some new light on political communication in relation to sustainable development. The theoretical framework of critical theory is strongly related to the era of Enlightenment and the writings are done by Marx, Kant, and Hegel; however, it also connects to the times of Greek thoughts on democracy and autonomy, including thoughts and opinions from Weber and Nietzsche (Fuchs, 2016).

Critical theory is an ensemble of political, social, and philosophical thoughts which all enables a theoretical framework that has the competence of reflecting and acknowledging faint and noticeable structures of domination and inequality in societies (Devetak, 2018). There have been declarations portraying the critical theory as unpolitical based on the premise that political theory mostly deals with what today's modern societies would distinguish as politics, or as Theodor Adorno would reckon it as "the sphere of so-called politics" (Heins, 2011, p. 3). Nevertheless, seen from another perspective, political theory can be open to aspects regarding both political, nonpolitical, state actions and non-state actions, to in the end be conceived and order establishments in our contemporary world. Adapting this view of political theory leads it straight into the soul of critical social theory (Heins, 2011).

An important and crucial phenomenon of the 21st century is digital communication and culture. Critical theory is agile, meaning that new contributions are related to the previous ones, and they complement each other, hence the critical theory framework is an open sphere influenced by and cross-references with other critical frameworks. One dimension of critical theory is the critique pointed at domination and exploitation and the theory itself questions all opinions, thoughts, and disciplines that advocates or maintains that falls in line with domination and/or

exploitation. One aim of critical theory is to enlighten the world of its own potential, "the world has long dreamed of something of which it only has to become conscious in order to possess it in actuality" (Marx, 1997, p. 214 as cited in Fuchs, 2016, p.9). An interpretation of the theory and the Marxist way is that it is a structure of political communication; "they communicate fundamental deformations of society and humanity and potentials for political change and struggles by which humans can overcome these deformations" (Fuchs, 2016, pp.9-10).

The theorization of digital communication – communication done through social media platforms, the Internet, mobile phones etc. has not been done by Habermas. Even though the Internet and similar new digital media have not changed everything about societies they have still transformed them, and it has been done in order to remain in the equivalent structure of domination and exploitation. Critical theory has to be modified to suit the 21st century and the realities that come with it, including digital technologies related to different structures of communication that have to be critically theorized. Power structures that the traditional mass media had been close to the power the Internet has today. However, the new media also includes possibilities and restrictions that are related to the political, cultural, and economic systems today (Fuchs, 2016).

Not to be neglected, Habermas has indeed created and integrated one of the most prominent critical theories of communication, and most critical subjects in relation to communication is based on Habermas thoughts and ideas. Nevertheless, they do not stop at Habermas; they continue. When implementing critical theory, it has a focus on analyzing the chosen subject in relation to exploitation, domination, power relations and control and this is a theoretical framework which can be enforced in the field of media and communication mainly because of the enhanced use of digital media today. Digital media, Internet and other new communicational technologies are instruments and mechanics of domination. Ideologies and practices of surveillance have implanted an authoritarian system and society of control where citizens can be categorized and questioned as being part of terrorist and criminal sectors. A repercussion of this is that the Internet has become a largely controlled form of communication in multiple parts of the world (Fuchs, 2016; Fuchs, 2011).

4.2 Critical political economy of media and communication

Within critical theory there is an approach of critical political economy which is a subject within media and communication studies. It allows for a way of studying media, communication, and society with a critical viewpoint, in the settings of power, domination, class, capitalism and social issues. (Fuchs, 2022). The critical political economy of media and communication (CPE) is based on one main area: how different ways of producing, organizing and presenting communication have significance for the media content spectrum and how it is consumed and accepted. As CPE is an approach within ciritcal theory it has been influenced by Karl Marx and his ways of grasping domination and power (Hardy, 2014). For this thesis the subject of domination and power is interesting as one would believe that the Swedish government posseses a power position both in society and on social media. How they produce and present their online communication can have significance for how the Swedish society consumes and interpret information regarding for an example Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. This falls in line with the third main subject of CPE, presented by Hardy (2014), which is how the relationship between different communication systems, media content and structures of society. To be able to understand dffeerent forms of media it is necessary to enhacnce how the media is produced and shared in the chosen society and how it is established in regard to the exisiting dominating social structures.

Critical theory strongly argues that ordinary people's ideas and thoughts are molded by political worldviews. Political actions and reasons are a foundation for why people are interested or intrigued by certain topics or questions (Fuchs, 2017). Overall, ciritical theory and CPE will help analyze how the government uses their power position to produce and present their online communication regarding climate and the environment. Even though the aim is not to analyze the publics' perception of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, the critical theory's idea of how politics do affect the publics thoughts and ideas is an interesting factor when analyzing the government's communication. The theory will help analyze whether the sustainable development communication is representative and accurate or if it is primarily focusing on how well Sweden is performing in achecving Agenda 2030.

5. Method

This chapter describes the chosen method, the collected material and how the data collection and data analysis were conducted. This chapter also discusses research ethics for the thesis.

5.1 Qualitative content analysis

For this study, qualitative content analysis is the chosen method as it allows for an efficient and versatile way of framing characteristics and representation of the sustainable development goals and Agenda 2030 in the official online communication done by the Swedish government. By applying the process of content analysis, it will make it possible to define specific coding categories - such as each one of the goals. Then based on that be able to construct a coding schene that can provide information on how the goals are represented in the governmental communication - are there any goals that are overrepresented or do they receive an equal amount of attention. Based on this the goal is to hopefully be able to make a conclusion on whether the government communicates the SDGs in an equal and representative way that goes hand in hand with the Agenda 2030 work. When conducting qualitative media and communication research, content analysis is one of the most used methods, and it is no surprise why it is labeled as one of the most popular ones. Content analysis is a method which is efficient, versatile, quantitative and a way of easily tracing patterns or symbols in various communication channels. While it can be adopted into a research study on its own it is also a method which is quite easy to integrate with both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The main purpose of the content analysis is to extract and pinpoint different distinctive characteristics, their presence, social relevance and representation in a text or communication message. The prime definition of content analysis was described in 1952 as “content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Barelson, 1952, p.18 as cited in Hansen & Machin, 2019, p.91). As any other research method, critique has been lifted towards content analysis and it is mostly based on objectification and that content analysis is a method, amongst other methods, where it is slightly impossible to be objective (Hansen & Machin, 2019).

A content analysis does not analyze every minor detail of a text or communication message, instead it outlines specific characteristics or dimensions in the text, which is done in a subjective matter, mostly based on the theoretical framework and previous research studies. This indicates that the chosen empirical material is in fact more important than the dimensions or aspects not chosen. Research has been done for years and after almost half a century it has been declared that the relationship between media content and its social involvement is quite complicated, hence the content analysis can contribute with indications of the corresponding presence and unavailability of key characteristics and dimensions in texts and media messages. Nevertheless, these indications have to be securely connected to a theoretical framework which enhances the associations between media content and their social relation (Hansen & Machin, 2019). Conducting a content analysis involves eight key steps, "1) Define the research problem, 2) review relevant literature and research, 3) select media and sample, 4) define analytical categories, 5) construct a coding schedule and protocol, 6) pilot the coding schedule and check reliability, 7) data preparation and analysis, & 8) report findings and conclusions" (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p.93). The following is a brief description of each step to present a full understanding of how to conduct a content analysis – the most important part, as in any chosen method, is to specify what the problem is and how to shed some light on that.

Content analysis is not a theory but simply a method for investigating communication content. When the problem is defined and relevant previous research within the field has been discussed the researcher has to clarify what part(s) of the communication content will be broken down and analyzed. The sampling and defining procedure consist of a) selection of the type of content that will be analyzed, b) selection of period and c) collecting relevant content. Media and communication are a broad subject that involves multiple types of communication means such as mass media, broadcasted media, digital media, and more qualified types such as political paperwork, governmental documents, etc. In most cases a content analysis focuses on only one type of medium, however if the study is made on a larger scale, it can involve multiple mediums (Hansen & Machin, 2019).

Content analysis is a method primarily conducted for a quantitative research path. However, it has gone through changes which has led it towards a more explanative approach in the qualitative paradigm. Qualitative content analysis is a choice of method that targets contexts, subjects and highlights variations and differences in texts (Granheim & Lundman, 2004 as cited in Granheim et al., 2017). When conducting a qualitative content analysis, the chosen

methodological technique can have one out of three different approaches, inductive, deductive, or abductive and they all have their own variations of challenges and issues (Granheim et al., 2017).

Inductive approach to qualitative content analysis

The inductive approach is data- or text-driven, it is defined by searching for different patterns. Analyzing the material with this approach the researcher focuses on finding both differences and similarities in the collected data, which is then presented on multiple levels of both concept and clarification in distinct categories and/or themes. The challenge with inductive approach is the risk of getting caught in brief descriptions and common summarizations (Granheim et al., 2017).

Deductive approach to qualitative content analysis

This approach can also be called the concept-driven approach, in which the researcher tries the inference of pre-existing theories and/or explanatory models regarding the subject under study against the chosen material. This is mainly about moving theory to material or moving from a more brief and accustomed level to one which is more specific and detailed. The deductive approach also comes with challenges and hurdles, one of them is the risk of creating categories and/or themes entirely based on the pre-existing model or theory (Granheim et al., 2017).

Abductive approach to qualitative content analysis Critical theory strongly argues that ordinary people's ideas and thoughts are molded by political worldviews. Political actions and reasons are a foundation for why people are interested or intrigued by certain topics or questions (Fuchs, 2017).

The complementary, retroductive, fuzzy logic or combined approach. It can be used to get further understanding and entails a flow back and forth between the deductive and inductive approaches. This is a combination of the two previous approaches that allows for a new way of detecting hidden patterns which makes it realizable to accommodate surface and deep structures (Granheim et al., 2017). For this thesis, the chosen methodological approach is the inductive one, this as the purpose is to compare how the communication is done through Instagram and the official website. The aim is to build theory based on data and this research is data-driven, which is an indication of an inductive approach. I want to know whether there are any differences and/or similarities in the way climate, environment, Agenda 2030, and the SDGs are communicated. A crucial step in conducting the content analysis is to pilot test the coding

schedule and control the reliability of the coding, here the researcher is deemed to test code some of the sampled material to expose any underlying weaknesses or irregularities in the coding category system. Reliability is an important aspect that should be tested as well to make sure that the study is trustworthy. The reliability is tested through consistency between coders and individual coder's profession over time. When coding in a content analysis all the reviewed material should be entered into an applicable data analysis program such as Microsoft excel or NVivo. Concluding the study, there must be a connection to the research questions and a critical reflection on whether the study was successful or not (Hansen & Machin, 2019).

After analyzing the material when conducting a qualitative content analysis, the results are presented as either themes and/or categories. The categories more often consist of opinions, perceptions, things, experiences, and attitudes. "Morse (2008) describes a category as the 'what' comprising and describing a collection of similar data sorted into the same place" (Morse 2008, as cited in Granheim et al., 2017, p.32). During the initial stages of the analysis process the researcher decides on what categories should be determined from the data collected. A decision also has to be made regarding groups of codes that consist of similar characteristics so they can be differentiated against other categories and then either be divided into different subcategories or more extensive categories. One of the challenges when categorizing the data is keeping a consistent logical and compatible level of abstraction and quality of interpretation in every move made all the way from the subcategories up to the main one. Themes are aiming to be the comprehensive red thread through the distinct categories; this allows for meaning in frequent subjects and/or topics and its different manifestations. They are more than often philosophical and because of that quite difficult to grasp however, when found they are obvious (Granheim et al., 2017).

Another challenge with qualitative content analysis is trustworthiness and it is discerning the red thread that usually can be found in studies with this methodological approach. More than often, there is a sign of similar patterns running through the entire study from the introduction all the way to conclusions. Because of this it is of significant importance to establish the study's trustworthiness by making sure that it is clear who's voice is portrayed through the study, is it the researchers' interpretations of the data or is it a participant's voice. Another quite common issue when conducting qualitative content analysis is that both categories and themes often are declared on diverse levels of interpretation and abstraction, something that can threaten authenticity, credibility, and trustworthiness. A study including prominent levels and degrees

of interpretation and abstraction has increased the challenges of demonstrating authenticity and credibility. An important task is to demonstrate the philosophy of how the themes and categories were interpreted and abstracted and how they connect to both each other and the aim of the study. “Do the categories and/or themes give an answer to the aim?” (Granheim et al., 2017, p. 33) is a question the researcher should ask themselves to ensure the logic behind the analysis (Granheim et al., 2017).

5.2 Material

The empirical material was drawn from the Swedish government’s official channels, their website regeringen.se and their official Instagram account, Sverigesregering, during a period of December 2021 – April 2022. To gather as relevant and specific material as possible the data gathering focused on Instagram posts and website articles related to the environment and climate. This decision was primarily based on the time limitation for this thesis. The decision of gathering some of the data from Instagram was based on information and statistics from Swedish Internetstiftelsen. They present information which shows that social media channels are an important source of political information for the younger generations who might be first-time voters in the Swedish political election in 2022. Even though traditional mass media remains the main source of information. Social platforms are not far behind, and around 70% of the first-time voters receive political content and information through social media daily. The generation born between 2001-2003 will be voting for the first time in 2022 and amongst them Instagram is the most used social media platform, and it is also the platform that most of them find primarily important when absorbing political news and information (Internetstiftelsen, 2022).

At the same time, the statistics of how much political information Swedish Internet users have received from the political parties’ official websites are low. The statistics show that only 2% of Swedes 18+ receive political information through the different political websites, including the official government website daily. At the same time, that percentage is 9% for Instagram (Internetstiftelsen, 2022). This makes it interesting to analyze the political communication done through both the Instagram and website to conclude if the communication is done differently and if that can be a reason for the difference in daily consumption of political information.
The focus will be on Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, more specifically the environment and climate aspects of these subjects, how they are portrayed and presented on these communicative

channels. The year 2030 is quickly approaching and this year, 2022, is election year in Sweden which makes it even more interesting to derive information on how the Agenda is handled on social channels. The coding process of the method will cooperate with the critical theory and its opinions on power and domination to analyze the government communication from a critical view. The material will be sampled and analytically coded to fit in the coding schedule, which will be conducted before the results are analyzed and discussed. Previous research regarding how the other Scandinavian countries is doing in the progress of Agenda 2030 can hopefully generate an insight to place Sweden on a scale of how well they are doing. Is the communication based on thoughtful considerations or is it merely empty words?

5.2.1 Research ethics

The chosen material is available to the public as it is collected from the government's official Instagram account and website. Hence, there have been no questions asked to get approval from the owners of the material before it was collected. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is the primary security and privacy law in the world. It was conducted by the European Union and was put into action in 2018. It is a law which protects individuals' freedom, and rights but mainly their personal data that can be found online (gdpr.eu, 2022). Since this thesis is analyzing public material there has been no special focus on GDPR and personal information. Nevertheless, the collected material will be deleted from my computer when the research is done if it were to be deleted from the website or Instagram account at some point. Allen (1996) describes how it is somewhat the responsibility of the researcher to determine whether the collected material is referred to as private or public based on whether it can be accessed by everyone without their consent or not. If they are accessible to everyone there is no need to gather approval from the publisher. The material for this thesis has been collected by a public website and a public Instagram account, available to everyone with access to the Internet. Hence, I have not asked for approval before choosing and collecting the articles and posts.

5.3 Data collection

When gathering the material from the website **regeringen.se**, the choice was made to focus on the department of environment and climate. This choice was made mainly due to time limitations for the conduction of this thesis. Via the government official website, there is a possibility to filter through the content presented on the chosen webpage. The Swedish government website allows for a specific and thorough filtration, the content can be sorted

through (1) type of content, (2) area of expertise, and in this case that area is climate and environment, (3) choice of minister, (4) choice of department, and (5) date, in this research the chosen date is from December 2021 – April 2022 as it allows for a more accurate analysis in relation to the fact that 2022 is an election year in Sweden. Also, the time limitation for the thesis conduction is a relevant thing to take notice of in this decision.

Filtrating on (1) the choice was made to only search for content that was either an article, information material or governmental assignments. This was done to limit the amount of content – enabling a thorough and relevant analysis later. There was no filtration done at (3) as this could have excluded relevant material which concerns either the climate or environment despite not being told or commented on by the environmental minister. Neither were there any departments excluded from the search, which is to make sure that every article, information material or governmental assignment associated with environment and/or climate was presented. After the filtration choices were made, it resulted in 28 different types of website material. Due to constrained time frame and the fact that material from the government Instagram is analyzed as well, the choice was made to reduce the 28 articles/information material/assignments down to 14, those being the ones whose headlines included words or phrases which could be related to either climate, environment, or Agenda 2030 – such as Agenda 2030, climate, environment, Sweden, progression etc.

The data gathered from the Swedish government's official Instagram, **Sverigesregering**, was limited and did not allow for any major filtering to be done. It was quite hard to find enough material to make it accurate and comparable. Nevertheless, adapting to the same time frame, December 2021 – April 2022, 13 different posts related to environment, climate or Agenda 2030 were collected. These posts together with the material from the website were then placed in individual documents to later be imported to NVivo, a qualitative data analysis program, which was used for coding and analyzing the data for this thesis. NVivo is a software that allows for the interpretation and coding of different types of research material. This can be done with the help of multiple tools for enriching different types of texts, coding both in categories and visually. When doing a qualitative type of research, it has a desire for controlling complexity. Hence, when code, shape and link the different research data NVivo enables a way to operate and incorporate the ideas which founded the research (Richards, 1999). After the filtration had been done on the website and Instagram all the found material was imported to NVivo to begin the coding session.

6. Findings

When conducting the coding through NVivo the focus was placed on extracting words and phrases that can be related to Sweden (as of politics, government, something that Sweden is specifically working on), Agenda 2030, SDGs, climate, environment, and politics, from the collected material. Appendices 1 (page 44-46) shows the result after the first coding and the most common words and phrases were related to climate, the European Union and Sweden. Nevertheless, words and phrases related to batteries, Agenda 2030, equality, and plastic are prominent. Hence, these are the following themes that will be further analyzed as they appeared multiple times in the collected material, and they are themes that can be related to the work with Agenda 2030. Even though there is no specific SDG explaining the danger of plastic pollution and is clearly working towards it, SDG 14 "Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development" (sdgs.un, 2022, para.1) brings up the fact that our seas and oceans are under different severe threats, and amongst them is plastic pollution (UN, 2022). On that account it felt relevant to include the theme of plastic. The theme of batteries does not fall in line with Agenda 2030 either. However, they can be connected to the EU research initiative called Battery 2030+, a concept that has the vision of sustainable batteries for the future. It is a research project that works closely together with multiple different stakeholders within the field of batteries, and they want to establish actions that reinforce the implementation of, amongst other plans and deals, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Battery2030+, 2022).

To create an even more thorough and representative analysis the initial codes were merged into four different themes*: climate, EU, Sweden and relatable to Agenda 2030*. The merging was done simply by connecting all the codes that could be related or has common denominators, for an example "batterier" (batteries), "energi" (energy), "plast" (plastics) and "cirkulär och fossilfri upphandling" (circular and fossil-free procurement) were merged into a theme of effects on climate. The EU theme is constructed by the codes EU (all references to EU in the different articles and Instagram posts) and Fit For 55 (a climate package created by the EU. Sweden is the theme consisting of all references that refer to Sweden in some way, including four different ministers, Arbetsmarknad- och jämställdhetsminister (Minister of labour market and equality), Civilminister (Minister for public administration), Klimat- och miljöminister (Minister for Climate and the Environment), and Digitaliseringsminister (Minister for Energy

and Digital Development). It also includes the code Stockholm+50 and the Swedish youth involvement in that (an UN meeting that took place in Stockholm to increase the work for Agenda 2030 which involved a lot of young Swedes) and references to Sweden in general (can be notifications on how far along they have come and if the government has expressed something particular). For the theme of Related to Agenda 2030 the codes included are: FN (United Nations), "Hållbar utveckling" (Sustainable development), "Hållbara städer" (Sustainable cities), "Jämställdhet" (Equality), "SDGs" and "Agenda 2030" (See appendices 2).

Theme	**Sources**	**References**
Climate	10	58 = 28%
Sweden	14	71= 30%
Related to Agenda 2030	11	48= 20%
EU	5	29= 10%

Figure 1. The frequency of the chosen themes in all the collected files. Sources represent the total amount of files. References represent how many times the theme was presented in the source. The percentage number equals how large the frequency that reference had in all the files.

The result shows that in all the chosen material words and phrases strongly related to Agenda 2030 and the SDGs have a 20% frequency. Whilst the words and phrases related to climate and the environment has a 28% frequency, those related to EU has a 10% freqcuency and those related to Sweden has a 30% frequency. Concluding the initial codes and following themes it makes it possible to conduct a content analysis of the online communication regarding Agenda 2030, especially regarding climate and environment, done by the Swedish government during December 2021 – April 2020.

6.1 Theme - Climate

> *Increasing the implementation of the SDGs is the focus of Stockholm+50. The UN climate program, Unep, is describing three planetary crises that has to be addressed – climate change, loss of biological diversity and pollution, in the Making Peace with Nature rapport - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-04-08)*[1]

An article published on regeringen.se in April 2022 emphasizes how Stockholm+50 is a call to action to rapidly increase the work with Agenda 2030 and that the world have to address three crises, caused by humans, that are taking place as we speak: climate changes, pollutions and loss of biological diversity. This article points to exact issues that are addressed in the SDGs and how the meeting Stockholm+50 will work to help in the implementation of the SDGs.

> *More plastic must be collected and recycled. A sustainable plastic management is crucial if Sweden is going to reach the goal of decreased greenhouse gas emissions by 2045 - (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-02-21)*[2]

This quote comes from an Instagram post published by the government, it enlightens the importance of recycling plastics and how it is a necessity for Sweden to reach the goal of decreased greenhouse gas emissions by 2045. It is an Instagram post that strongly emphasizes the importance of plastic recycling, but it does not refer to any of the UN or EU goals or projects that can be related to the situation. Also, the communication is very general as it does nor state who is responsible for making it happen.

---

[1] ***Snabba på takten i genomförandet av de globala målen är i fokus för Stockholm+50. FN:s miljöprogram Unep beskriver i sin rapport Making Peace with Nature, som gavs ut i februari 2021, de tre planetära kriser som världssamfundet måste adressera, nämligen klimatförändringar, förlust av biologisk mångfald och föroreningar. Alla dessa är skapade av människan. – (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-04-08)***[1]

[2] ***Dessutom behöver mer plast samlas in och återvinnas. En hållbar plasthantering är nödvändig för att Sverige ska nå målet om noll nettoutsläpp av växthusgaser senast 2045. – (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-02-21)***

> *The presidentship shall present a current rapport on the proposition for new regulations regarding batteries. The proposition includes new regulations on increased recycling, decreased affection on the climate when producing and a sustainable value chain - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2021-12-20)* [3]

The EU has presented a climate project called Fit for 55 which aims to increase changes that have positive effects on our climate. One of those changes is to implement a new law regarding batteries, something that Sweden is positive towards. In this particular article the government highlights how the new regulation will include rules regarding increased recycling, sustainable production, and decreased climate impact. It involves concrete examples of what has to be done to achieve the goal.

6.2 Theme – Sweden

> *It is with great curiosity the world is watching Sweden take lead in the changes to save our climate. Our innovational and competitive trade and industry does not only contribute to decreased global emissions, it also creates jobs in Sweden as we speak. This is presented at the world exhibition, which is a collective work done by the government and the society – Anna Hallberg, Minister for Foreign Trade and Nordic Affairs – (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2021-12-14)* [4]

Looking into the codes merged into the theme of Sweden it is clear that a lot of them involve the progression Sweden has done in working towards a better climate, on both a national and global level. An example of how the progression work is presented is from an Instagram post from December 2021 saying that Sweden holds a strong leading position in the race for improved climate. However, none of the text included in that post includes any information

---

[3] ***Ordförandeskapet ska presentera en lägesrapport om förslaget till ny lagstiftning om batterier. Förslaget innehåller nya regler om bland annat ökad återvinning av råvaror, minskad klimatpåverkan vid produktion och en hållbar värdekedja .- (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2021-12-20).***

[4] ***Med stor nyfikenhet ser omvärlden på hur Sverige leder den pågående klimatkapplöpningen. Vårt innovativa och konkurrenskraftiga näringsliv bidrar inte bara till att minska utsläppen globalt utan skapar också jobb här och nu i Sverige. Det visar vi upp på världsutställningen som är en gemensam satsning från regeringen och näringslivet, säger utrikeshandelsminister Anna Hallberg, - (Sverigesregering, Instagram 2021-12-14).***

regarding the climate work included in Agenda 2030 or what SDGs are affected by the improving climate work.

> *UN meeting, Stockholm+50, shall contribute to rapidly increase the implementations of the commitments for climate and environment made within Agenda 2030 - (Swedish Government, regringen.se, 2022-04-08).*[5]

This is a quote from an article published on the Swedish government official website in April 2022 and it discusses a UN meeting called Stockholm+50, which is constructed to rapidly increase the implementation of Agenda 2030. Here it is clear what the main goal is, accomplishing Agenda 2030, and it shows black on white.

> *It shall help Swedish climate politics being adapted to Fit for 55 – the climate legislative regulation package made by EU-commission - (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-04-11)*[6]

Another quote from an Instagram post published in April of 2022 once again presents Sweden's ambition to increasingly work towards a better climate and how their politics related to climate is supposed to be adapted to suit the EU commission project Fit for 55. This puts a lot of focus on the EU and their work towards climate change. However, it does not give any insight into the actual work or indicates how it is connected to either Agenda 2030 or the SDGs.

---

[5] ***FN:s möte Stockholm+50 ska bidra till att snabba på genomförandet av åtaganden för klimat och miljö som gjorts inom Agenda 2030 - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-04-08)***

[6] ***Det ska hjälpa svensk klimatpolitik att anpassas för Fit for 55 som är EU-kommissionens lagstiftningspaket på klimatområdet. - (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-04-11)***

6.3 Theme – Related to Agenda 2030

> *In addition, the Ministers for the Environemnt will have the annual discussion regarding the EU's economic planning, focusing on the global goals for sustainable development, Agenda 2030 - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-03-16).* [7]

Communication that specifically brings up the SDGs is more or less nonexistent when looking at both the website articles and Instagram posts. Rather they are mentioned as actions towards the climate or actions Sweden shall take to continue their strong work. The quote above is one of few situations when the SDGs are mentioned, and in this case, they are referred to in reference to the EU's economic planning in relation to the SDGs and the Agenda 2030.

> *Addressing how climate change affects gender equality is a cornerstone of a more equal, sustainable and peaceful world – Eva Nordmark, Minister for Labour and Gender Equality - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-04-29).*[8]

In one of the articles published on the website there is a connection made between the importance of equality and climate, and how they both affect the work done towards a sustainable, peaceful, and equal world for us to live in. However, this is the only time this connection is mentioned throughout all the collected material.

> *Creating conditions for government cooperations which contributes to the achievement of SDG 11, Sustainable cities and communities in Agenda 2030 – (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-03-18).*[9]

---

[7] *Miljöministrarna kommer därutöver att ha den årliga återkommande diskussionen om EU:s ekonomiska planeringstermin med fokus på de globala målen för hållbar utveckling, Agenda 2030. - (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-03-16).*

[8] *Att adressera hur klimatförändringarna påverkar jämställdheten är en grundbult för en mer jämställd, hållbar och fredlig värld, säger arbetsmarknads- och jämställdhetsminister Eva Nordmark – (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-04-29)*

[9] *Skapa förutsättningar för myndighetssamarbete som bidrar till att mål 11 Hållbara städer och samhällen i Agenda 2030 kan uppnås- (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2022-03-18)*

In an article published in March 2022 on the governmental website they list changes that are going to take place to create more flourishing opportunities to establish sustainable cities and municipalities – a process that goes hand in hand with the implementation of Agenda 2030. It also presents the related SDG, which in this case is goal number 11 – Sustainable cities.

> *Swedish innnovations and sustainable solutions that will help the world transition into a more green, fair and sustainable directions are made visible here – (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2021-12-14).*[10]

A quote from the government Instagram posted in December of 2021, in which they strongly argue that Swedish innovation and sustainable solutions will per say help the world transition into a more sustainable and greener path. Once again there is a strong emphasis on Sweden's hard work but nothing concrete related to either Agenda 2030 or any of the SDGs.

6.4 Theme – European Union

> *The government proposes that the National Institute of Economic Research's climate work shall be strengthened by increasing the agency's analytical capacity in the environmental economic area. It will help Swedish climate policy adapt to Fit for 55, which is the EU's legislative package in the climate area – (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-04-11).* [11]

There were a few references to the EU in the collected and coded data, which is reasonable as Sweden is part of the EU and therefore implements the EU regulations and laws into their political decisions and communication. This Instagram post headlines the work with EU-commission and their climate act Fit for 55 and how Swedish climate politics will be adapted to fit this act and work simultaneously to achieve a better climate.

---

[10] *Här synliggörs svensk innovation och hållbara lösningar som hjälper världen ställa om till en mer grön, rättvis och hållbar riktning. – (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2021-12-14)*

[11] *Regeringen föreslår att Konjunkturinstitutets klimatarbete förstärks genom att utöka myndighetens analyskapacitet på det miljöekonomiska området. Det ska hjälpa svensk klimatpolitik att anpassas för Fit for 55 som är EU-kommissionens lagstiftningspaket på klimatområdet. - (Sverigesregering, Instagram, 2022-04-11).*

> *Fit for 55 package as a whole. The package contains a number of regulations that aim to implement the EU's stricter climate targets for 2030 and proposes measures that will reduce the EU's emissions by at least 55% compared to 1990 levels – (Swedish Government, regeringen.se, 2021-12-01).* [12]

Fit for 55 is an EU act which contains multiple regulations and law proposals that all aims to conclude the strengthened climate goals set by the EU for 2030, one of these goals is to decrease greenhouse gas emissions by at least 55 percent when compared to the emission levels of 1990. These EU climate goals are set for the year 2030 is just like Agenda 2030, and it can be reasonable to think that they are based on the same premises even though it is not clearly presented that that is the case.

[12] *Fit for 55-paketet som helhet. Paketet innehåller ett antal lagförslag som syftar till att genomföra EU:s skärpta klimatmål för 2030 och som föreslår åtgärder som ska minska EU:s nettoutsläpp med minst 55 procent jämfört med 1990 års nivåer. - (Swedish Government, regringen.se, 2021-12-01)*

7. Discussion and analysis

As previously mentioned in the literature review chapter, the interest in politics plays a crucial part when advertising and boosting political knowledge, and reasonably the ones who have an interest from the beginning will most likely be those who consciously pursue to find political information to build their knowledge (Bode, 2015). This makes one believe that to make those not interested gain knowledge and interest, the different aspects of political communication and information has to become an unaware part of their everyday life. This is something that can be done through social media. Nord and Grusell (2020) emphasizes that the politicians in Sweden use social media platforms, such as Instagram, as a way of communicating with citizens and the press. Their appearance on social media is increasing because of the technological impacts the new media channels have on our societies. Instagram is the main social media platform used by those who will be first-time voters in the 2022 general election in Sweden. Statistics show that even though traditional mass media still is the main source of political information, social media platforms are not far behind as 70% of first-time voters receive their political content through social media daily. Primarily from Instagram which is the most used platform and the one which the younger Swedes find most important when collecting political information (Internetstiftelsen, 2022). These facts make one believe that the government of Sweden should embrace the importance of being visible on social media and publish relevant content and information that could help the younger generations create their own values and opinions.

Based on the information of the growing importance of social media, one would think that the result from the analyzed material should be that the information communicated on the official website would be similarly communicated on Instagram. Fuchs (2016) states that the power structures that social media has today are growing and will soon reach the same level of power as the traditional mass media has today. As well, the critical theory perspective enhances that our thoughts, opinions, and ideas are shaped based on different political worldviews, reasons, and actions; everything constructs our investment and interest in different topics or questions (Fuchs, 2017). So, as the younger generations spends more time on social media (Internetstiftelsen, 2022), the government is placed in a position where they can use their position of domination to influence and affect those taking part of the political communication on social media. The government has the possibility of highlighting both the progression Sweden is doing but also the importance of what Agenda 2030 is and how it affects all of us.

By looking at the analyzed data there is clearly a difference in how the communication is done on the different platforms. Overall, the communication regarding the environment and the climate done on the website is more informative and includes major topics such as sustainable development, Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. This whilst the communication on Instagram is partly more laid back and not as inclusive. Chapter 7.2 presents how one Instagram post and one article, which discusses the same thing, are communicated differently, and emphasizes two different approaches to the main goal. The Instagram post places a lot of focus on how well Sweden is doing and how the world is watching as they are moving forward at a rapid pace. At the same time the chosen articles enlighten the work with the UN meeting Stockholm+50 and how it is constructed to continue this rapid implementation of Agenda 2030, the focus on the goal is clear, and it uses strong and visible words such as Agenda 2030. The Instagram post on the other hand is communicating how well Sweden is doing and how impressed everyone else is. Nevertheless, it does not indicate what the main goal is or how their job is affecting the SDGs. The communication done in this Instagram post does not open a conversation regarding either Agenda 2030 or the SDGs, it only presents the well-produced job Sweden has done.

As the critical theory framework emphasizes that the digital media are new instruments of domination that helps authorities construct and affect our thoughts and opinions (Fuchs, 2016) it is interesting how the Swedish government does not act on it when communicating on such a platform where most of the first-time voters spend a lot of time. They hold a position of domination where they can influence peoples thoughts and values based on how they produce and present their climate and environmental communication. They have the chance to increase the younger generation's interest in climate changes, Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. However, they have, based on the analyzed material, chosen to primarily focus on the progression Sweden has made and how well they are doing, instead of emphazising on the importance of the Agenda 2030 work and how everyone can contribute to achieving the SDGs.

Chapter 7.3 – the theme of Agenda 2030 presents two examples which strengthen the idea of the government not pinpointing either Agenda 2030 or the SDGs in an environmental or climate aspect in the communication on Instagram. A post published in December 2021 focuses on and strongly argues how the Swedish innovations and sustainable solutions will be a helping hand in the world shifting into a greener and more sustainable path. As mentioned previously, politicians have the upper hand when being visible on social media as they are able to affect and impact our thoughts and ideas based on what they present and communicate (Fuchs, 2016).

However, the way the Swedish government communicated climate and environmental-related aspects on Instagram makes me question whether there is an interest in making first-time voters interested in what Agenda 2030 and the SDGs are. This is particularly questionable as the analysis illustrates that the communication done through the official website more frequently includes words that can be strongly associated with the SDGs or Agenda 2030. In an article published in March 2022 the government lists changes that are going to take place to create more flourishing opportunities to establish sustainable cities and how that is part of the path towards accomplishing goal number 11, sustainable cities. This strongly highlights what is being done and what goal it is affecting. Statistics from Internetstiftelsen (2022) show that there are only 2 % who receive political information through the political websites, including the official government website, daily whereas that number is 9 % for Instagram. Those are not that different by looking at them, however we have to remember that Instagram is the number one social media used by first-time voters (Internetstiftelsen, 2022) and if there is political communication done continuously on Instagram, they will be exposed to it even though they do not consciously search for it. That makes one question how there can be more concrete and informative information regarding Agenda 2030 and/or the SDGs on the website when there are fewer people taking part of it.

The theme of climate 7.1 includes topics such as plastic, plastic pollution and other types of pollution. One article and an Instagram post enlightens these problems but from two different angles. The article once again emphasizes the work of Stockholm+50 and how sustainable plastic management is an action to increase the ambitions of accomplishing Agenda 2030. They address that there are three crises taking place that we must take care of as we speak, such as different types of pollution, climate change and biological diversity. Hence the article enlightens the importance of the SDGs and the Agenda 2030 work. Plastic pollution is also discussed in the Instagram post. However, the focus is placed on how recycling plastics is a necessity for Sweden to reach the set goal of decreasing greenhouse gas emissions by 2045. It has an important message as plastic pollution is an issue, nevertheless, there are no references to either UN, EU or projects that can be related to this situation.

Based on the information presented in the introduction chapter and in the analysis of the collected material it shows that Sweden is doing a decent job when aiming towards accomplishing Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. They are ranked at number two in the world and have made substantial progress in almost all the 17 goals (UN, 2021). However, the

communication done on the topic through the website and Instagram makes one question what the main interest of the government is. Fuchs (2022) highlights how one of the subsections in critical theory, adapted in the field of media and communication, is the public sphere and surplus values. In this context the public sphere is of immense importance as both the chosen politicians and the country's citizens are part of it. As Sweden is a democracy it is the public opinion that decides who is placed in charge and what political party will be offered the opportunity of forming the government. In 2018 the Swedish government expressed how even though they are far ahead in the work with Agenda 2030 there is still work to be done and it requires participation from every part of the society. There is a need for collective solutions especially when it comes to the issues regarding climate change and unsustainable consumption and production. This is something one would think is appropriate to highlight in the communication on Instagram to influence people to gain more interest in the area. Since digital media, Internet and other new communicational technologies are instruments and mechanics of domination (Fuchs, 2016), social media allows the government to act out their position of power to make a difference. They have an opportunity to include relevant information regarding Agenda 2030 and the SDGs on Instagram, an opportunity that they do not take full advantage of now.

To make a collective effort to make a change one would assume that this has to start with overall interest in the area. As mentioned before those who have an already existing interest in politics and every aspect of that will be more likely to consciously search for political information and news, whilst those with no prior interest probably will not actively look it up on news sites or websites. But this is the time where social media becomes a crucial part of changing those habits, with political parties being active on social media it allows for Instagrams algorithms to do the job for them and present political information on everyone's social platforms without people actively seeking to find it (Bode, 2015).

Social media's importance is rising and political parties' appearance on different platforms is increasing as a way of keeping closer contact with the citizens and election voters (Nord & Grusell, 2020). Politicians possess positions as authorities in our society and their communication, which eventually is political communication, is constructed so that people and the society can be part of the process of political change and how we together can overcome deformations and struggles (Fuchs, 2016). There is a lot pointing to the conclusion that the Swedish political communication regarding Agenda 2030 and the SDGs should be equally

communicated on the official governmental website and on the official Instagram to gain the most interest and make as many of the voters as possible informed about Sweden's work and what the Agenda is all about. However, based on the presented analysis, that is not the case here. Communication on the website is far more information regarding concrete examples of Agenda 2030, what SDGs are concerned and how Sweden's work is connected to them. This whilst the communication is done on Instagram is primarily focused on how well Sweden is doing and how their innovative sustainable solutions will help the rest of the world transition.

Hard work is paying off, and that is for certain something that should be emphasized and promoted. However, to accomplish Agenda 2030 and achieve all the SDGs in a set time the focus should be moved from the website to social media platforms. Information about what Agenda 2030 is and what it means should be promoted on social media, that is where the younger generations are present and they are in the end those who will be in charge when we reach 2030 in, unfortunately, no more than eight short years.

8. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to critically analyze the representation of climate and the environment in regard to Agenda 2030 and the SDGs in the Swedish government online communication. This was done based on two research questions, How is Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, with special focus on climate and the environment, communicated on the Swedish government's official website and Instagram account? Does the Swedish government use their position of power and domination to similarly present the communication on the different platforms?

Sweden is ranked high as one of the countries that will manage to achieve the goals (Bexell & Jönsson, 2020), and because of that it is of interest to analyze and compare how the Swedish government communicates Agenda 2030, with special focus on the aspects of environment and climate, through Instagram and their official website. Previous research done within the field of politics, communication and social media shows that governmental involvement when trying to achieve Agenda 2030 is crucial (Bexell & Jönsson, 2020), however, trying to accomplish major changes has to include participation from all parts of a country's society (OECD, 2017). In this case this includes the Swedish government and the Swedish society.

To achieve such an important and major goal as this, one would assume it requires interest and engagement from society as the biggest changes will take place in people's everyday life. Making people interested is crucial for building knowledge in a subject or in this case a collective goal. As the government plays an important part in adapting and implementing the Agenda 2030 in a country's society (SOU, 2019:13) it is also their responsibility to make the society interested in playing their part in the transition. If someone does not have an interest in politics or political information, they will most likely not look up information regarding decisions or major changes like Agenda 2030 on political websites. Here social media platforms play an important part by enabling the reach of political information without people having to search for it themselves. It becomes a non-intentional by-product of using social media platforms daily (Bode, 2015).

Based on the information presented above, one would assume that the Swedish government would highlight important aspects of Agenda 2030 and the work that includes on Instagram to reach as many voters as possible, especially first-time voters as they according to

Internetstiftelsen (2022) see Instagram as the prime platform of collecting information. However, this seems to not be the case. Based on the analysis of the collected material for this thesis it is presented that the government communicates a more informative communication including concrete examples of SDGs on their website whilst the communication done on Instagram is focusing more on what Sweden has been doing, what they are doing and how they will assist the rest of the world in the transition towards a more sustainable planet. This leaves out information regarding what Agenda 2030 and the SDGs are on Instagram, not allowing for the social media followers to build an interest or knowledge about the subject. Since the 2022 first-time voters possibly can be the ones leading the country when we reach 2030 this must change.

One could think that an assumption has been made that those being presented with less informative communication on Instagram will move on to access the website and receive more focused information there. However, based on the statistics presented by Internetstiftelsen (2022) the younger generations spend more time on social media platforms than they due on official websites and this puts them in a position where they only receive the information presented on social media. This may also be a reason for less political interest amongst the young Swedes, they are simply not exposed to concrete information regarding, for example, Agenda 2030 and what it means for the societies they live in. Nord and Grusell (2020) highlight the fact that the importance of social media is increasing with every year that passes by and more people use it as a primary tool to gain information. This makes social media platforms progressively more important for all political parties now than they were a few years ago. But this also means that the communication done on the social platforms has to increase and be equally informative as the one presented on official websites. Critical theory argues that the thoughts, values and opinions of ordinary people are influenced by political actions and reasons, they build the foundations for why people are interested in certain topics (Fuchs, 2017). The Swedish government possesses a position where they can influence the younger generations to gain interest in Agenda 2030 and the SDGs by communicating it on Instagram, however the analysis show that they do not do it. The question is why they do not use their position of power and domination to make a difference.

8.1 Limitations and further research

The prime limitation for this thesis has been the period of time given to conduct the research. It required strict choices to be made regarding the amount of data collected and how extended the chosen time frame could be. Considering that the thesis had to be conducted in six weeks it did not allow for a larger data collection from a broader period of time. The decision on collecting data from December 2021 to April 2022 was made on the thought of keeping the material as accurate and close in time as possible. On the same premise the decision on making limited selections of data was made, instead of analyzing all aspects of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, I only focused on those related to climate and environment to make it possible to realize. Due to this, an interesting idea for further research would be to compare and analyze the Swedish governmental communication done before the election of 2018 and the election 2022. Have there been any improvements or changes in online communication due to growth in social media interest? Another interesting approach to the area is a study based on interviews with politicians and young Swedes, how are the two sides perceive social media platforms as a political tool of communication?

8.1.1 How to communicate political information – recommendations for the Swedish Government

Based on the findings of this thesis, my suggestions for the Swedish government and their online communication, especially on Instagram, is to keep the communication short, consistent, and informative. Statistics have shown that Instagram is the main platform used by the first-time voters. To make them interested in being part of the change we have to increase their knowledge of the subject. A straightforward way to do that is by making sure that relevant political information is published on so§§cial media. Instead of only focusing on how well Sweden is doing, how the world is impressed by Sweden's work or how Swedish innovations will help the transition. Include information on what Agenda 2030 is, what are the SDGs based on, how can they be achieved and what do our biggest challenges look like. Make them interested in following the government on Instagram and use that path to make them interested in looking into the website and the information which is available there. It has to start somewhere and at this point it has to start with social media. We are approaching the year 2030 fast and without changes in communication we might not accomplish the main goals.

References

Allen, C. (1996). What's Wrong with the 'Golden Rule'? Conundrums of Conducting Ethical Research in Cyberspace. *The Information Society 12*(2), 175-188 https://doi.org/10.1080/713856146

Battery2030+. (2022). *Vision.* https://battery2030.eu/battery2030/about-us/vision-aims/

Bennett, W.L., & Pfetsch, B. (2018). Rethinking Political Communication in a Time of Disrupted Public Spheres. *Journal of Communication, 68*(2), 243-253. https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqx017

Bexell, M., & Jönsson, K. (2020). Realizing the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development engaging national parliaments? *Policy Studie,*. 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2020.1803255

Bode, L. (2015). Political News in the News Feed: Learning Politics from Social media. *Mass Communication and Society, 19*(1), 24-48 https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1045149

Dalby, S., Horton, S., Mahon, R., & Thomaz, D. (2019). *Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals: Global Governance Challenges*. Routledge.

Devetak, R. (2018). *Critical International Theory.* OUP Oxford.

Ekman, M., & Widholm, A. (2017). Political communication in an age of visual connectivity: Exploring Instagram practices among Swedish politicians. *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook. 15*(1), 15-32. https://doi.org/10.1386/nl.15.1.15_1

European Environment Agency. (2020a). *Denmark country profile – SDGs and the environment.* https://www.eea.europa.eu/themes/sustainability-transitions/sustainabledevelopment-goals-and-the/country-profiles/denmark-country-profile-sdgs-and

European Environment Agency. (2020b). *Sweden country profile – SDGs and the Environment*. https://www.eea.europa.eu/themes/sustainability-transitions/sustainable-development-goals-and-the/country-profiles/sweden-country-profile-sdgs-and

Fuchs, C. (2011). *Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies.* Taylor & Francis Group.

Fuchs, C. (2016). *Critical Theory of Communication: New readings od Lukács, Adorno, Marcuse, Honneth and Habermas in the Age of the Internet.* University of Westminister Press.

Fuchs, C. (2017). *Social media.* Sage Publications.

Fuchs, C. (2022). *Foundations of Critical Theory – Media, Communication and Society.* Routledge

GDPR.EU. (2022). *What is GDPR, the EU's new data protection law*? https://gdpr.eu/what-is-gdpr/

Government Offices of Sweden. (2021). *Report on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.* https://www.government.se/4a5bef/globalassets/government/dokument/regeringskansliet/agenda-2030-och-de-globala-malen-for-hallbar-utveckling/voluntary-national-review-vnr/voluntary_national_review_2021_sweden_report_on_the_implementation_of_the_2030_agenda_web.pdf

Granheim, U.H., Lindgren, B-M., & Lundman, B. (2017). Methodological challenges in qualitative content analysis: A discussion paper. *Nurse Education Today. 56*, 29-34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nedt.2017.06.002

Hansen, A., & Machin, D. (2019). *Media and Communication research methods.* Red Globe Press.

Hardy, J. (2014). *Critical Political Economy of the Media – An Introduction.* Routledge.

Heins, V. (2011). *Beyond Friend and Foe: The Politics of Critical Theory.* Brill.

Internetstiftelsen. (2022). *Svenskarna och Internet: Valspecial 2022. Nätet som informationskälla och arena för politisk diskussion.* Svenskarna och Internet. https://svenskarnaochinternet.se/rapporter/svenskarna-och-internet-valspecial-2022/

Klinger, U., & Svensson, J. (2014). The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach. *New media & society, 17*(8), 1241-1257.

Naturvårdsverket. (2022). *Agenda 2030 and the Global Goals for Sustainable Development.* Retrieved 2022-04-25 from https://www.naturvardsverket.se/en/environmental-work/agenda-2030-and-the-global-goals-for-sustainable-development/

Richards, L. (1999). *Using NVivo in Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications.

Regeringskansliet. (2018). *Handlingsplan Agenda 2030 -2018-2020.* (Fi 2018:3). https://www.regeringen.se/49e20a/contentassets/60a67ba0ec8a4f27b04cc4098fa6f9fa/handlingsplan-agenda-2030.pdf

Skogerbö, E., Ihlen, Ö., Kristensen,N,N., & Nord, L. (Eds.). (2020). *Power, Communication, and Politics in the Nordic Countries.* (pp. 113-128). Nordicom.

SOU 2019:13. *Agenda 2030 och Sverige: Världens utmaning – världens möjlighet.* https://www.regeringen.se/493ab5/contentassets/a1d21f7c7c7c484e96c759f2b3c44638/agenda-2030-och-sverige-varldens-utmaning--varldens-mojlighet-sou-201913.pdf

Strömberg, J., & Nord, L, W. (2008). Media and Politics in Sweden. In Strömbäck, J., Örsten, M., & Aalberg, T. (Eds.). (2008). *Communicating Politics: Political Communication in the Nordic Countries.* (Pp. 101-121). Nordicom.

Sustainable Development Index. (2021). *Sustainable Development Report – Sweden.* https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/profiles/sweden

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017). *Getting Governments Organised to Deliver on the Sustainable Development Goals.* https://www.oecd.org/gov/SDGs-Summary-Report-WEB.pdf

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.* https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda

United Nations. (2021a). *Norway: Voluntary National Review 2021.* https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/memberstates/norway

United Nations. (2021b). *Sweden: Voluntary National Review 2021.* https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/memberstates/sweden

United Nations. (2022). *Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.* https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal14

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Sustainble Devlopment (2022). *14 – Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.* https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal14

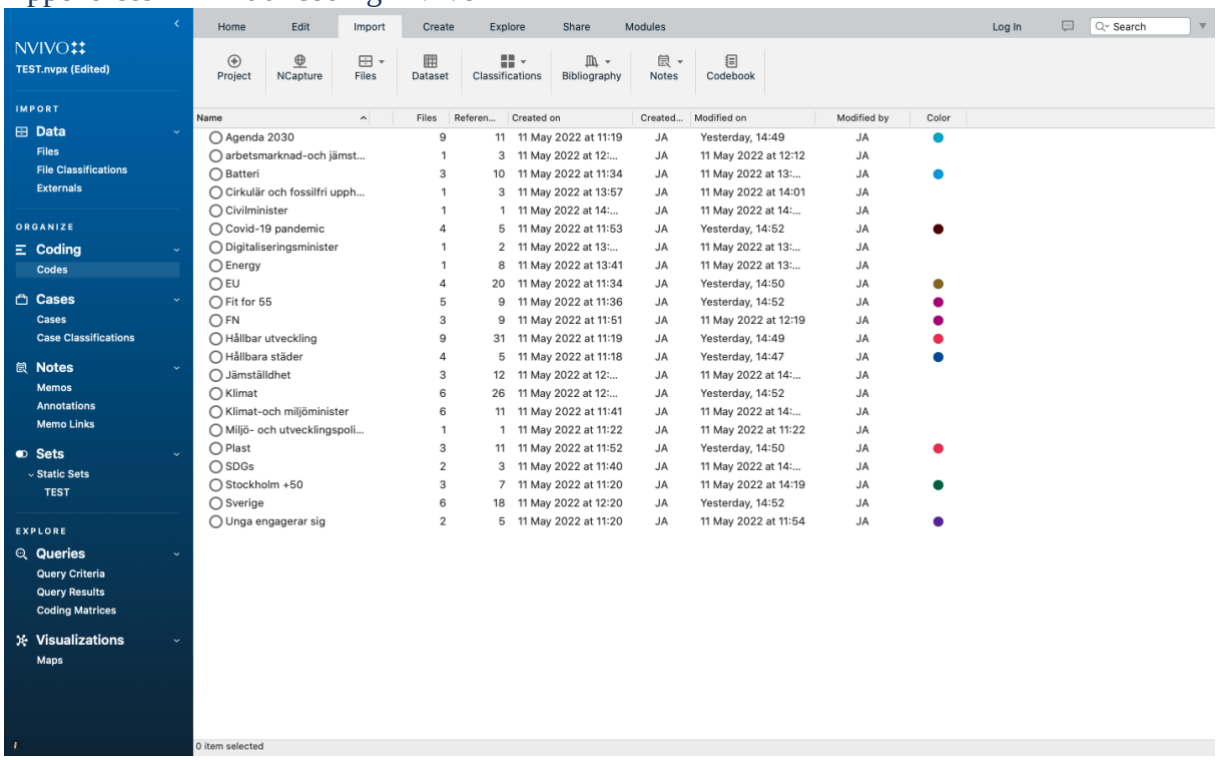
United Nations Development Programme. (2022). *What are the Sustainable Development Goals?* https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals

United Nations Statistics Division (2016). *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2016.* https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2016/

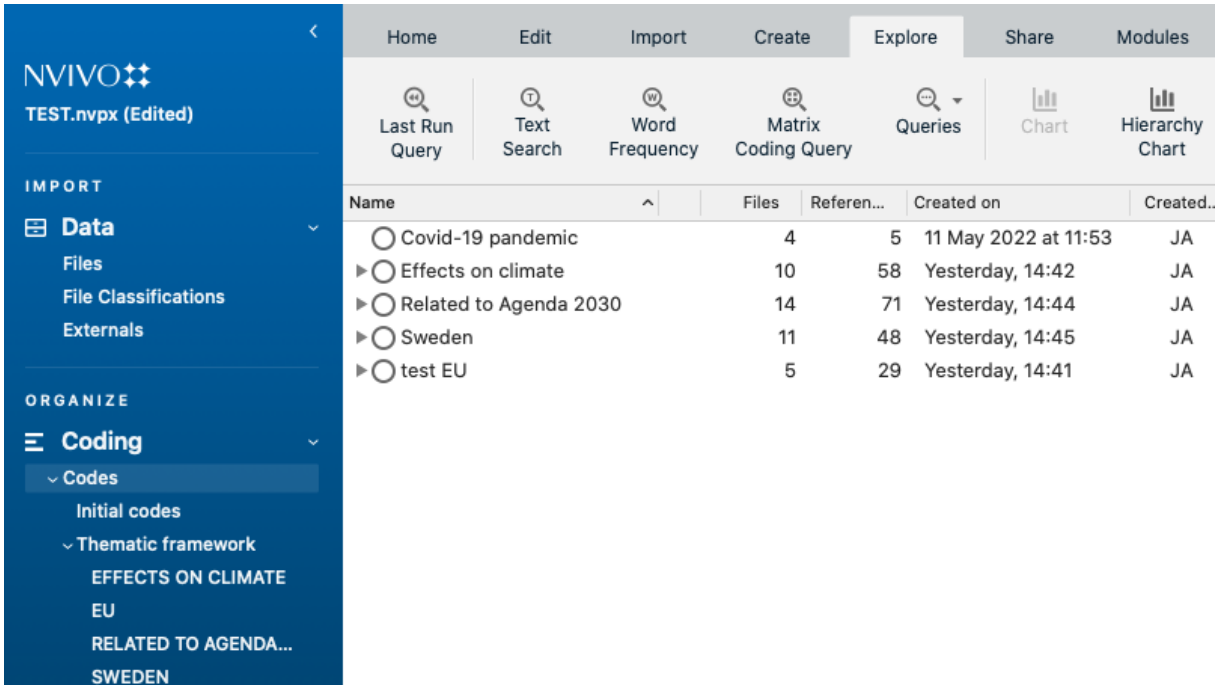
World Health Organization. (2018, 19 February). *Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).* https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/millennium-development-goals-(mdgs)

Appendices – empirical material

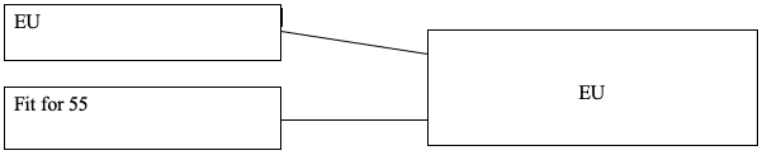
Appendices 1 – Initial coding NVivo



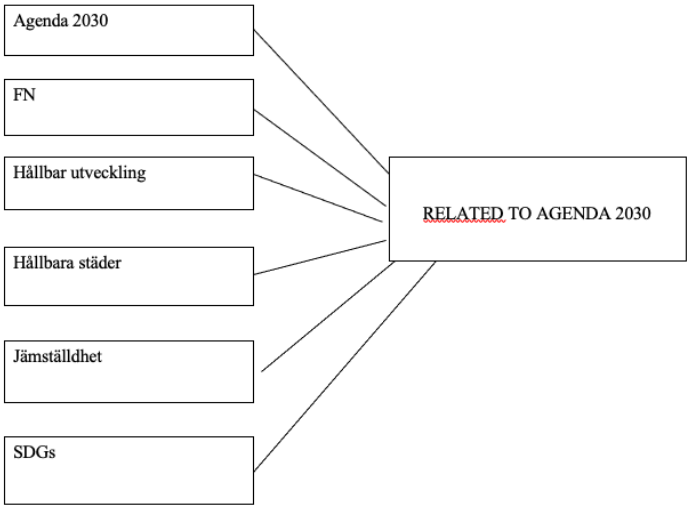
Appendices 2 – Thematization of the codes



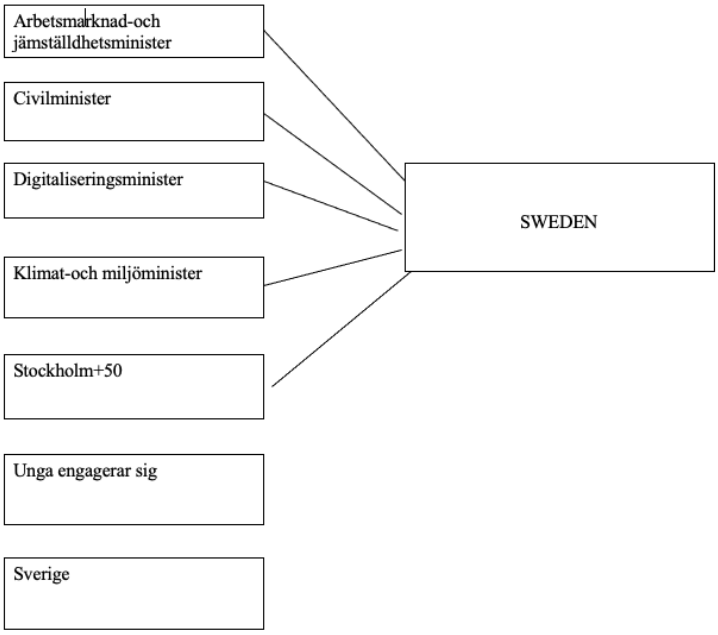
Appendices 3 – Thematization of initial codes **EU**



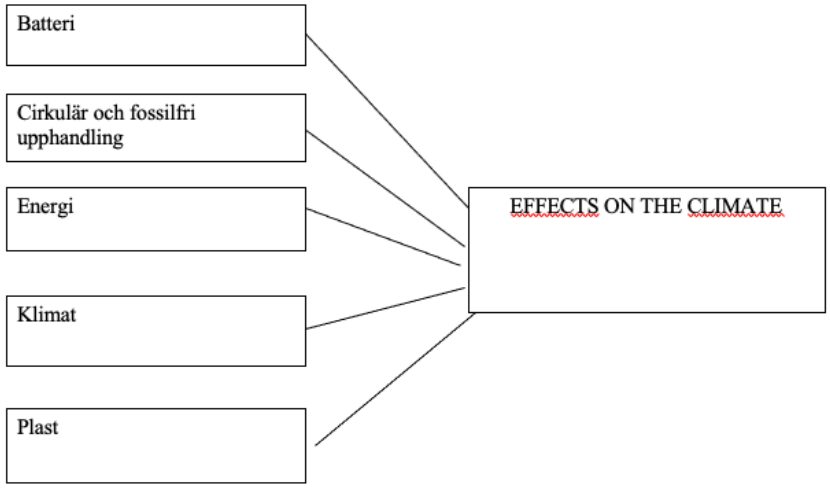
Appendices 4 – Thematization of initial codes **Related to Agenda 2030**



Appendices 5 – Thematization of initial codes Sweden



Appendices 6 – Thematization of initial codes Effects on the climate



Appendices 7 - Material collection website articles:

Historiska slutsatser om klimat och jämställdhet blev resultatet efter FN-möte i Kvinnokommissionen:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/04/historiska-slutsatser-om-klimat-och-jamstalldhet-blev-resultatet-efter-fn-mote-i-kvinnokommissionen/ Published 2022-04-29

Stockholm+50 ska påskynda genomförandet av Agenda 2030:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/04/stockholm50-ska-paskynda-genomforandet-av-agenda-2030/ Published 2022-04-08

EU överens om den nya batteriförordningen:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/03/eu-overens-om-den-nya-batteriforordningen/ Published 2022-03-19

EU:s klimatpaket Fit for 55 och batterier på miljöministrarnas möte:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/03/eus-klimatpaket-fit-for-55-och-batterier-pa-miljoministrarnas-mote/ Published 2022-03-16

FN:s miljömöte Unea fattade beslut om plastföroreningar och firade 50 års globalt miljöarbete:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/03/fns-miljomote-unea-fattade-beslut-om-plastfororeningar-och-firade-av-unep-50-ar-p/ Published 2022-03-14

Toppmötet mellan EU och Afrikanska unionen: ett stärkt och fördjupat partnerskap:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/02/toppmotet-mellan-eu-och-afrikanska-unionen-ett-starkt-och-fordjupat-partnerskap/ Published 2022-02-21

Civilsamhället spelar en viktig roll inför Stockholm+50

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/02/civilsamhallet-spelar-en-viktig-roll-infor-stockholm50/ 2022-02-09

Klimatet, batterier och EU:s markstrategi på miljöministermöte:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2021/12/klimatet-batterier-och-eus-markstrategi-pa-miljoministermote/ Published 2021-12-20

Höga energipriser och EU:s klimatpaket på energirådsmöte:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2021/12/hoga-energipriser-och-eus-klimatpaket-pa-energiradsmote/ Published 2021-12-01

Historiskt beslut vid FN:s miljöförsamling – förhandlingar om globalt avtal mot plastföroreningar ska inledas:

https://www.regeringen.se/pressmeddelanden/2022/03/historiskt-beslut-vid-fns-miljoforsamling--forhandlingar-om-globalt-avtal-mot-plastfororeningar-ska-inledas/ Published 2022-03-02

Uppdrag att stödja länsstyrelserna i deras implementering av den nationella folkhälsopolitiken:

https://www.regeringen.se/regeringsuppdrag/2022/04/uppdrag-att-stodja-lansstyrelserna-i-deras-implementering-av-den-nationella-folkhalsopolitiken/ Published 2022-04-12

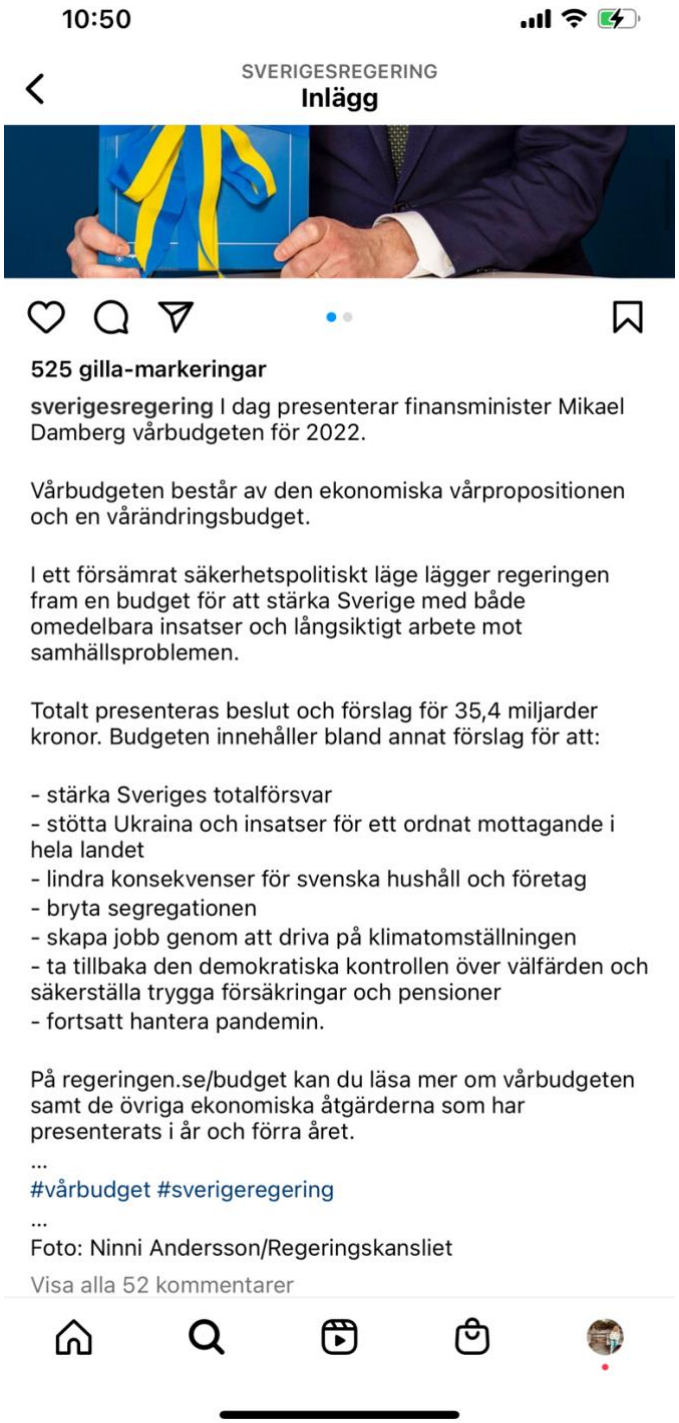
Ökat fokus på cirkulär och fossilfri upphandling:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2022/02/okat-fokus-pa-cirkular-och-fossilfri-upphandling/ Published 2022-02-25

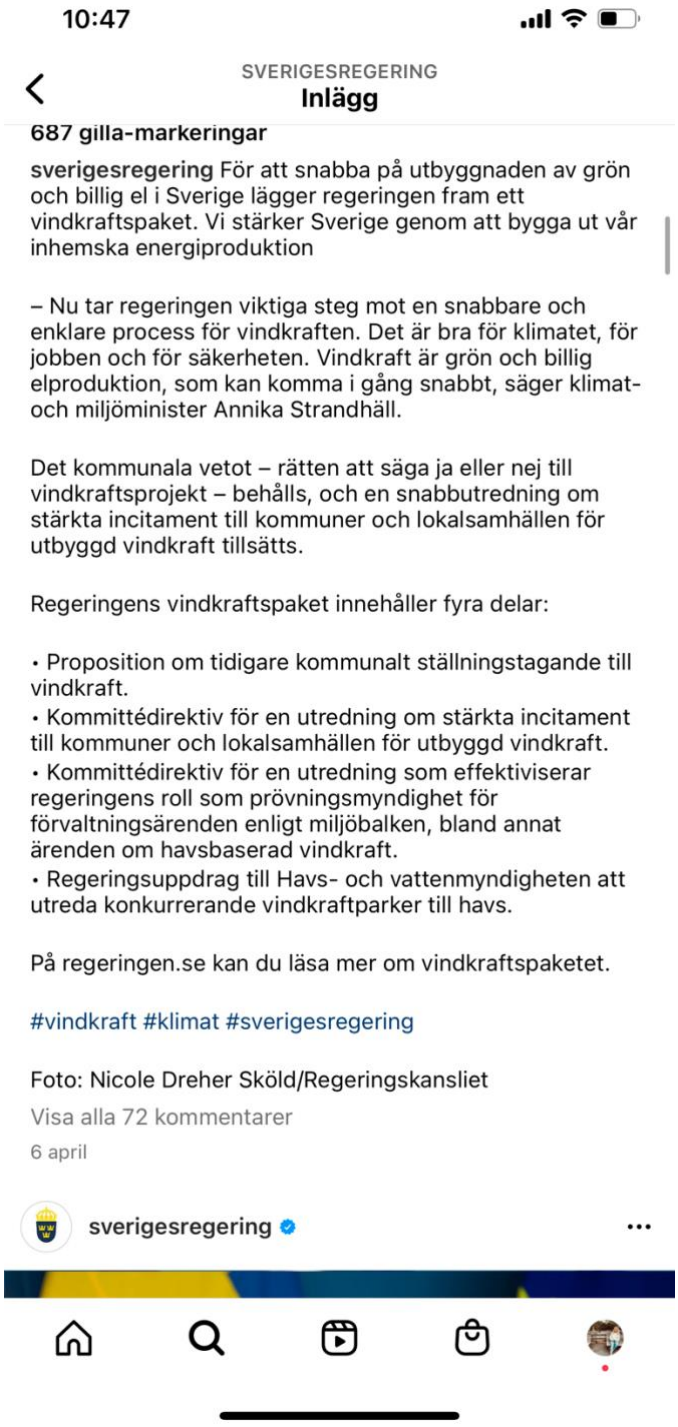
Sverige får framträdande roll vid USA:s världsomfattande demokratimöte:

https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2021/12/sverige-far-framtradande-roll-vid-usas-varldsomfattande-demokratimote/ Published 2021-12-06

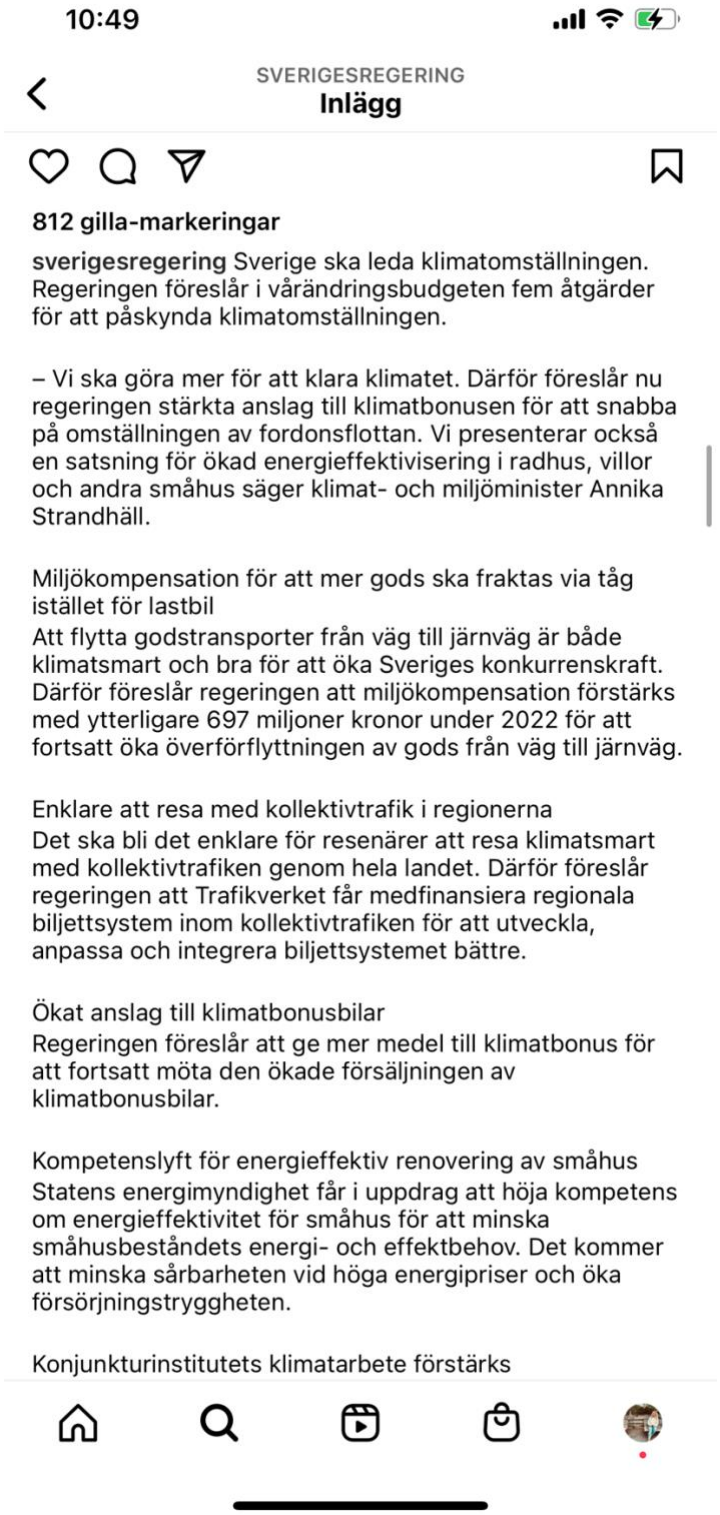
Appendices 8 – Material collection Instagram posts



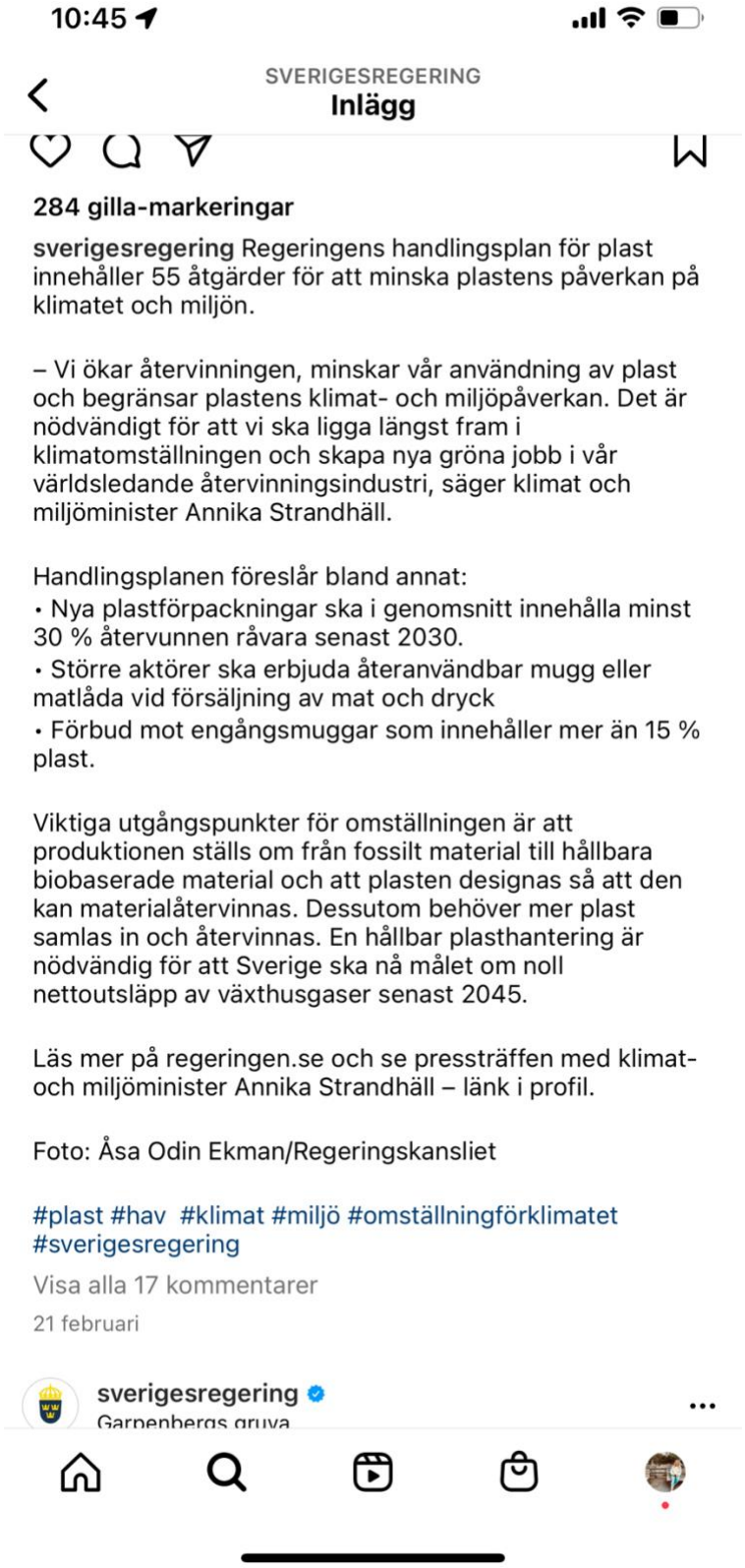
Published 2022-04-19



Published 2022-04-06



Published 2022-04-11



Published 2022-02-21

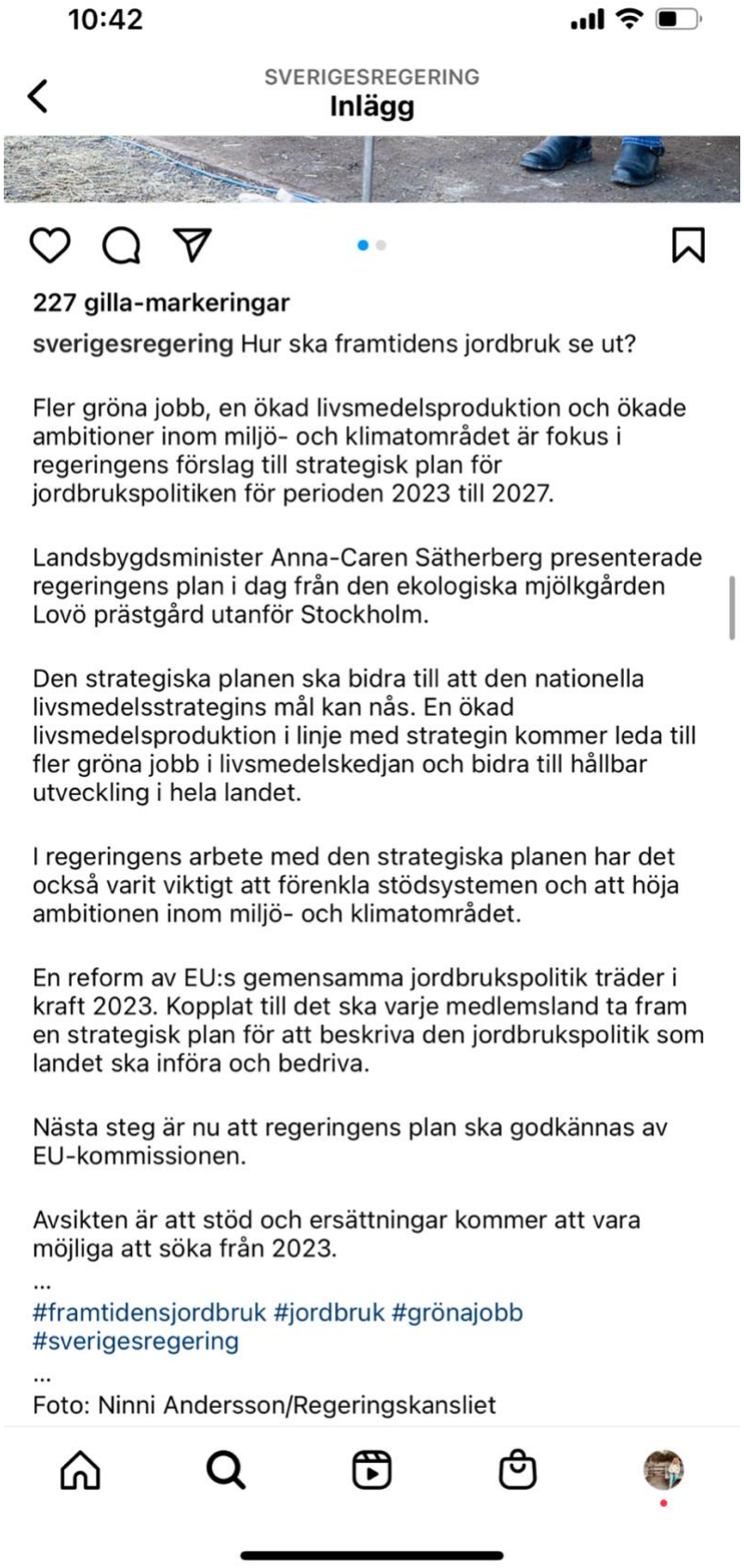
Published 2022-03-07

Published 2022-02-11

Published 2022-01-24

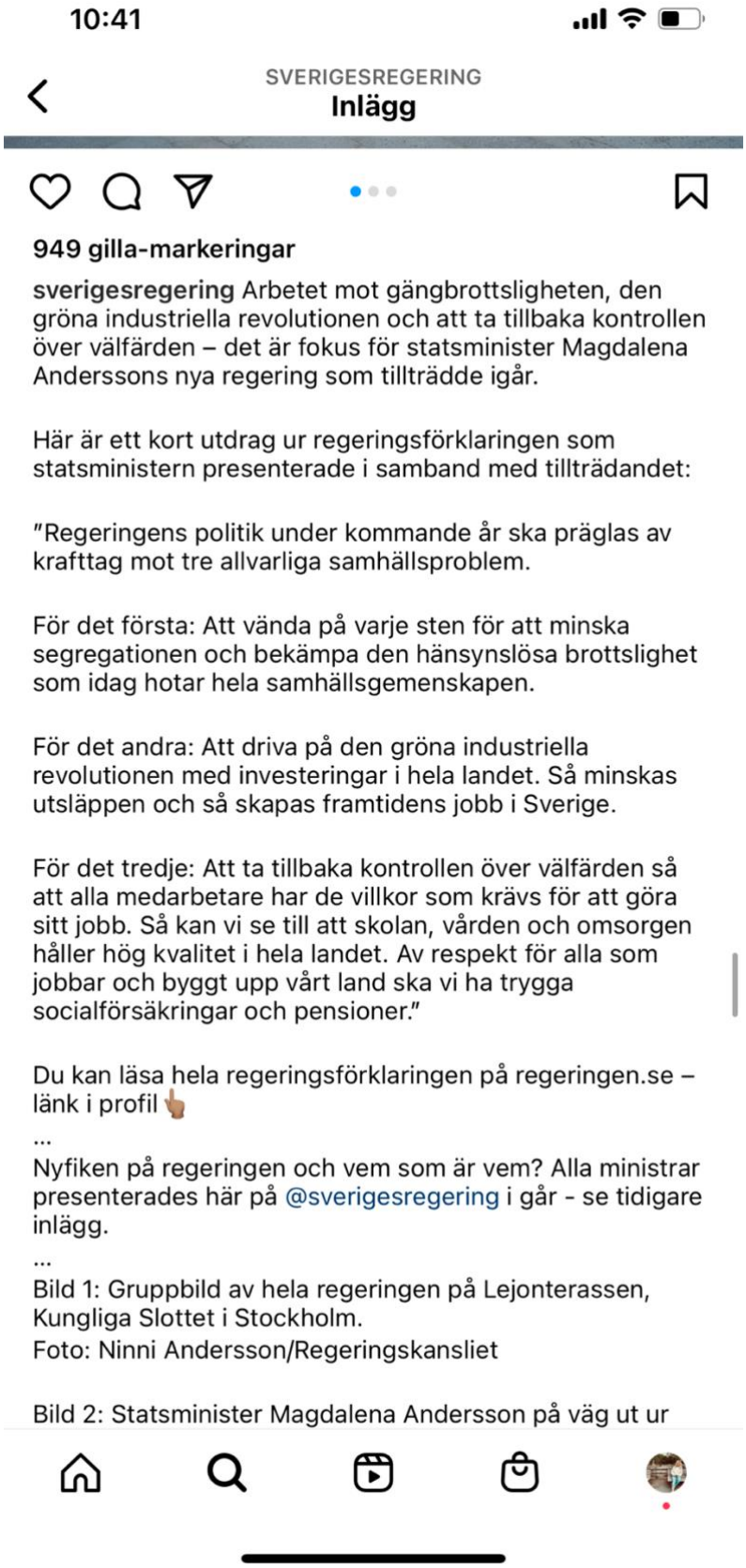
Published 2022-01-21

Published 2021-12-29



Published 2021-12-16

Published 2021-12-14



Published 2021-12-01