Comparative Study about the portrayal of Environmental issues by governmental actors in Poland and Sweden
Abstract
This is a qualitative content analysis that explores the presence of government framing in political communications regarding environmental issues by governmental actors in Sweden and Poland. By analyzing policy documents, press releases, and equivalent content spanning recent years, the study aims to identify instances of "emphasis framing" deployed by official governmental entities.

The findings of the study identify distinct patterns in framing strategies between the two nations. Some of the key areas that shape the environmental narratives of both nations include Ambition, Just Transition, Economic Concerns, and Equality. However, the framing of these areas differs between the nations communications.

Poland tends to center its communication on the challenges associated with climate change and energy transition, emphasizing strategies to mitigate adverse effects. In contrast, Sweden consistently accentuates the positive aspects of energy transition, positioning itself as a global leader in climate-friendly solutions.

Key words
Government Framing, Political Communication Strategy, Poland, Sweden, Environmental issues.
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1. Introduction

In the political landscape of the 21st century, environmental concerns have risen to prominence, evolving into one of the most significant political questions. This is evident by looking at the amount of international agreements that have been signed in the last 10 years that connect to environmental issues. For example in 2015 both the Paris Agreement and The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were signed by the members of the United Nations (UN). The Paris Agreement which has been signed by 196 countries, aims to limit the effects of global warming and by countries committing to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and fostering climate resilience, the goal is to keep the earth's temperature at 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, however, efforts to limit the increase to 1.5 degrees is included.\(^1\) The SDGs are a set of 17 global objectives established by the UN and signed by 193 countries. Apart from urgent social and economic challenges, several of the goals are aimed at tackling environmental issues, such as ensuring clean water and sanitation, combating climate change, and ensuring reliable, sustainable, and modern energy.\(^2\)

As the discourse surrounding environmental issues and attitudes towards climate change has become a pivotal arena for shaping public perceptions, policy decisions, and societal responses, I argue that the strategies that political actors apply in order to sway public opinion or harvest support for certain policies are of great interest. At the heart of this lies the concept of "framing". Framing is a concept that in political and social science entails the deliberate construction of messages, narratives, and rhetoric by political actors and other influential figures, aiming to shape how individuals and communities perceive and engage with certain political issues.\(^3\) In the context

\(^1\) United Nations (n.d.)
\(^2\) United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (n.d.)
\(^3\) Entman (1993) p.52
of environmental issues, the way environmental concerns are framed can
significantly influence public discourse, public opinion, policy decisions, and
collective actions. Comparing two different countries and their governments'
use of framing within policy documents and other communications such as
press releases can be beneficial and offer a more nuanced exploration of how
environmental attitudes are shaped.

Sweden and Poland, both integral members of the European Union (EU),
offer intriguing perspectives for a comparative analysis of political framing
in environmental discourse. These two countries, while sharing EU
membership, boast very different reputations when it comes to environmental
policies. Sweden for example was ranked 5th in the world by the 2022
Environmental Performance Index (EPI), an index developed by Yale and
Columbia University with the goal of ranking the performance of countries
when it comes to climate change, environmental health, and ecosystem
vitality. On the same list, Poland was ranked 46th in the world, the second
lowest ranking for a member of the EU except for Portugal in 48th place.

Sweden is often lauded for its progressive and sustainability-focused
environmental initiatives, while Poland, grappling with a more complex
industrial legacy, faces unique challenges in navigating environmental policy
landscapes.

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4 Spence & Pidgeon (2010) p.656
4 Hysing (2014) p.262
1.1 Problem Formulation

In the face of the growing interconnected challenges posed by global environmental changes, it becomes imperative to comprehend and analyze the framing of these issues. Environmental issues such as climate change, biodiversity loss, and resource depletion are not confined by borders, thus an in-depth analysis of governmental framing can be an essential aspect in order to develop a deeper understanding of effective policy making and public engagement on an international level. Within the specific contexts of the countries Sweden and Poland, an extensive study of political framing can help us understand some of the complexity of environmental policymaking and its impact on public attitudes towards environmental challenges. Previous research has shown how framing has been used to try and influence public opinion in order to gain support for certain political agendas by both media and political actors. There has also been research specifically conducted on framing connected to environmental issues before, for example by Alexa Spence & Nick Pidgeon (2010) and Sarah Wiest, Leigh Raymond & Rosalee Clawson (2015). These however are examples of manufactured scientific experiments, where frames in news articles were manufactured in order to measure the effects of certain environmental frames in media-communications. To my knowledge, most contemporary studies on the concept of framing tend to either focus on instances of “media frames” or the effects frames have on public opinion. I therefore argue that there is a noticeable gap in framing research when it comes to identifying and analyzing frames in official government-produced political communications.

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8 Nelson (2019)
9 Spence & Pidgeon (2010)
1.2 Purpose Statement and Research Questions

By focusing on governmental framing, through a comparative lens, this study aims to explore what similarities and differences governmental actors and policymakers in Poland and Sweden employ when it comes to environmental issues. The research seeks to provide insights into how framing manifests itself in governmental communications strategies in order to influence public attitudes. Additionally, the study aims to contribute to the nuanced understanding of language's power in shaping policy priorities. The study also investigates the alignment between framing strategies and actual environmental policies in Poland and Sweden, exploring potential discrepancies between rhetoric and policy outcomes.

Understanding how framing operates as a communication strategy by government officials and policymakers not only contributes to academic discourse but also holds practical implications for crafting more effective environmental policies and fostering informed public engagement.

It is important to note that this study's focus and purpose is to identify frames connected to environmental issues by the governments of Poland and Sweden, as such it does not answer to what extent the identified frames have impacted public attitudes towards environmental issues. Additionally, the study places no specific moral value on whether the frames or political communication are fact-based or truthful, the aim is solely to identify the frames.

The aim of this study therefore manifests itself in the following research questions:

- In what way do the framing of environmental issues differ between governmental actors in Poland and Sweden?
• How do the framing strategies align with their actual environmental policies and actions?

1.3 Disposition
This paper begins with an introductory section where the topic of this essay is presented. This includes a problem formulation, the purpose statement of the study and also the research questions this paper attempts to answer. Section 2 delves into the two nations' backgrounds when it comes to environmental issues as well as previous research conducted regarding framing and environmental issues. The 3rd section presents the theoretical framework that this thesis is based upon and introduces the concept of government framing. Section 4 outlines the methodology, material and operational definition detailing the approach to data collection and analysis. The 5th section presents the empirical results, unveiling insights drawn from the research conducted. Finally a 6th section offers a comprehensive conclusion, summarizing key findings, reflecting on implications, and suggesting directions for future research.

1.4 Delimitations
While acknowledging that framing is a multifaceted concept employed by various actors, including news media, activists, and other influential figures, the scope of this study deliberately centers on the framing strategies employed specifically by government agencies and government officials. The decision to narrow the focus to governmental actors stems from the recognition that government-led framing holds particular significance in shaping national policies, influencing legislative agendas, and directly impacting public perceptions. While the influence of news media and activists is undoubtedly noteworthy, their framing efforts often operate

11 Nelson (2019)
within the broader context set by governmental discourse. This has been observed in research by Frida Rodelo & Carlos Muniz (2018).\textsuperscript{12} as well as Amy Gershkoff & Shana Kushner (2005).\textsuperscript{13} Therefore, this research intentionally narrows its focus to governmental actors to gain a targeted and in-depth insight into the framing dynamics that directly impact environmental policymaking and public perceptions within the chosen contexts of Sweden and Poland.

Additionally, previous research by Zbigniew Kundzewicz, James Painter & Witold Kundzewicz (2019) have shown that historically climate issues are far less covered by Polish media-outlets than media-outlets in other European countries, which I argue makes the analysis of governmental actors a more suitable comparison.\textsuperscript{14}

These delimitations allow for a more concentrated exploration of the specific mechanisms through which government-led framing shapes environmental discourse, offering valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and activists seeking to comprehend the intricate interplay between political communication and environmental attitudes.

\textsuperscript{12} Rodelo & Muniz (2018)
\textsuperscript{13} Gershkoff & Kushner (2005)
\textsuperscript{14} Kundzewicz et al (2019)
2. Background & Previous Research

2.1 Sweden

Sweden as previously stated is one of the most prominent countries in the world when it comes to combating climate change and addressing environmental issues. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which both Sweden and Poland are members of have produced reviews of the environmental performances of member states. According to the “Environmental Performance Review Sweden 2014” Sweden was among the first nations worldwide to implement environmental taxes in the early 1990s. Today Sweden is described as having the second lowest carbon-intensive economy of all OECD member states.\(^\text{15}\)

In 2020 69% of the nation's energy production is from renewable sources and Sweden is a worldwide leader in decarbonization. Clean energy sources such as hydro, wind, solar and nuclear amount to around 90% of the nation's electricity mix.\(^\text{16}\) Additionally, the Swedish public is generally interested and positive in implementing societal measures to reduce climate change. In the latest survey conducted by Gullers Grupp on behalf of the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency on attitudes towards environmental issues, 95% of the respondents answered that Sweden will be affected by climate change, nearly 8 out of 10 people are of the opinion that it is possible for “us in Sweden” to mitigate climate impact and 86% of respondents answered that it is “important” or “fairly important” to implement social measures to combat climate change.\(^\text{17}\)

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\(^{15}\) OECD (2014) pp.13-14  
\(^{16}\) Swedish Energy Agency (2022) p.17  
\(^{17}\) Gullers (2021)
2.2 Poland

Poland has a very different reputation when it comes to efforts and actions combating climate change and environmental dangers. In the OECD “Environmental Performance Review Poland 2015,” it is stated that the Polish dependency of coal makes the Polish economy one of the most resource-heavy and carbon-intensive economies within the OECD. Furthermore, the air quality within the country when it comes to “health damaging fine particulate matter” concentrations was on average the highest in Europe.\(^\text{18}\) Poland as a nation has a complex relationship with coal which produces over 70% of the electricity in the country\(^\text{19}\), in the southern regions of the country especially the areas around Upper Silesia where most of the polish coal is extracted. The cultural ties to the mining industry are key issues when it comes to voting behavior and political campaigns. Here the public opinion on coal and opening of mines can shift heavily.\(^\text{20}\) The current president Andrzej Duda has on multiple occasions taken opposition to closing Polish coal mines, describing coal as a “national treasure” and expressing the view that decarbonization and the reduction of coal extraction are considered heretical actions contrary to the interests of the Polish state.\(^\text{21}\)

In polls about the environment and climate change, Poles have historically expressed less concern about environmental changes than many other European countries. There has however been an increase in people being concerned about the environment. According to Pew Research Center the amount of people who see climate change as a very serious problem has risen from 19% in 2015 to 53% in 2020.\(^\text{22}\)

\(^{18}\) OECD (2015) p.13
\(^{19}\) Bowen & Saha (2023)
\(^{20}\) Brauers & Oei (2020) p.4
\(^{22}\) Pew Research Center (2020)
2.3 Previous Research

In 2018 Andrzej Ceglarz, Rasmus Benestad and Zbigniew Kundzewicz published *Inconvenience versus Rationality: Reflections on Different Faces of Climate Contrarianism in Poland and Norway.*23 This paper explores and compares attitudes towards climate change in Poland and Norway with a focus on climate contrarianism. The authors identify different drivers of climate contrarianism, showing how they can be present in different arenas (media, research, politics etc.). The results of this study are inconclusive, it does however indicate that while environmental values are important for people in both nations, cultural and geopolitical factors may contribute to some of the discrepancy between the nations.

While not explicitly mentioning the concept of framing within their research there are areas within the study that are of interest to this study and connect to the topic of framing, for example, the authors of the study provide a handful of statements by political actors in Poland, where political framing is apparent.

**Spence and Pidgeon** published a study in 2010 called *Framing and communicating climate change: The effects of distance and outcome frame manipulations.*24 The goal of the research was to examine whether framing information about climate change in terms of potential gains or losses or focusing on local vs distant environmental impacts, influences the perceptions of individuals when it comes to climate change. The result of the study suggests that the manner in which climate change is presented (framed) significantly affects the way the issue is perceived. Promoting positive attitudes toward climate change mitigation can be achieved by emphasizing the gains resulting from mitigation efforts, as opposed to the losses incurred

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24 Spence & Pidgeon (2010)
by not mitigating climate change. They do however state: “we cannot rule out the possibility that more extreme loss (or fear) frames may be superior to gain frames for some perceptions and behaviours.”

In 2015, Wiest, Raymond and Clawson presented further research on how contrasting framing of climate change can impact public perception. Their paper: *Framing, partisan predispositions, and public opinion on climate change* revealed the following findings, illustrating the multifaceted ways in which framing shapes individuals' perspectives on environmental issues:

“Local framing” emerged as a powerful influencer, heightening perceptions of severity and fostering support for local policy action. “Benefit framing” diminishes the perception of problem severity and diminishes support for local policy action. Local framing had a positive impact on individuals' intentions to take measures to address climate change. The study also emphasized that framing effects varied based on partisan predispositions.

While the last two studies, which employed controlled experiments, offer valuable insights into environmental framing and its impact on public opinion, relevant for this study, they do not directly address the focus of this thesis. Unlike these experimental approaches, the purpose of this research uniquely explores instances of framing within real-life governmental political communication.

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3. Theory and theoretical framework

3.1 Framing: An uncoordinated concept

Framing is a concept that has been utilized in different disciplines of science. Apart from political science other examples include psychology, economics, and communications. This has led to difficulties in finding a conclusive all-encompassing definition of the concept. In 1993 this was first noted by communications scholar Robert M. Entman in an article where he characterized framing as a “fractured paradigm”. He argued that in order for framing to become a reliant “research paradigm” it needed a consistent conceptualization. In this context, a research paradigm is described as a general theory that underlies and guides most academic investigations into how a specific system of thought and action functions, as well as its resulting outcomes. The framing paradigm could then be applied in different fields but with similar benefits, for example in political science, psychology and sociology. Nevertheless, a cohesive understanding of framing has proven elusive for researchers across various fields. Britta Brugman & Christian Burgers state that the framing paradigm that Entman argued was fractured still to this day causes debates on how valuable framing is as a theoretical concept.

Jiawei Liu and Dietram Scheufele posit that a challenge arises due to the multidisciplinary roots of framing. Research based in psychology and sociology have different starting points when it comes to framing, creating a dichotomy in its study.

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28 Oxley (2020) p.2
29 Entman 1993 pp.51, 55-56.
30 Brugman & Burgers (2018) p.1
31 Liu & Scheufele (2016)
The dichotomy can be observed by contrasting the two most utilized definitions of framing: “equivalence framing” and “emphasis framing”.32

3.2 Emphasis frames Vs Equivalence frames

The definition of framing that stems from the psychological roots are generally focused on how equivalent information can be presented differently. This type of framing is therefore referred to as “equivalence framing”.33 Equivalence frames can in many instances be thought of in terms of gains and losses.34 A classic example of equivalency framing originates from the research of Kahneman & Tversky (1979, 1984), and centers on the topic of a disease outbreak. Proposals addressing the disease can be presented in terms of the number of lives saved versus the number of people who will die.35 From an environmental perspective, an example of equivalence framing could instead be focused on global warming's effect on glaciers. Proposals addressing climate change could be framed in terms of the amount of ice lost by melting versus the extent of ice saved by preservation. The equivalency arises because the expected outcomes of these proposals are identical concerning the overall impact on glaciers (e.g., out of 600 square kilometers of ice, one frame posits that 200 will melt, while the other suggests that 400 will be preserved). Equivalency framing could also be applied to descriptions of environmental conditions, such as characterizing a region's climate with a 10% increase in temperature versus a 90% stability rate or stating that 50% of a community's ecosystems have been conserved as opposed to 50% that face degradation.

The definition of framing that originates from the sociological branches of science instead delves into the exploration of how messages can be shaped using diverse sets of information to emphasize differing viewpoints on the

32 Oxley (2020) pp.2-3
33 Liu & Scheufele (2016)
34 Brugman & Burgers (2018) p.1
35 Oxley (2020) p.3
same issue. This type of framing is therefore referred to as “emphasis framing”.\textsuperscript{36} An emphasis frame shapes a political issue or decision by highlighting specific relevant aspects while overlooking others. Oxley contextualizes an example of this with the 2016 Brexit campaigns in the United Kingdom. From the remain side, the case for remaining in the EU revolved around the potential hazards associated with departure, encompassing risks to the national economy, personal finances, safety and security, healthcare, and individual rights. On the other hand, the departure from the European Union was portrayed to the public as a chance for the United Kingdom to reclaim sovereignty and assert greater control over aspects such as national borders, immigration, trade policies, legislative processes, and domestic expenditures.\textsuperscript{37} Another example given by Oxley is framing a Ku Klux Klan meeting as “an exercise of free speech versus a potential disruption to public order”.\textsuperscript{38}

In a study conducted by Brugman & Burgers (2018), the prevalence of emphasis vs equivalence frames in studies related to political framing during the 21st century was examined. The goal of the study was to quantify the impact the debates around definitions and conceptualizations of framing have had on political framing research over time. The results of the study revealed that frame preferences differ across disciplines and have hardly changed over time.\textsuperscript{39} They found that an overwhelming majority of studies focused on emphasis frames as only approximately 1 out of 10 frames were equivalence frames. Psychological studies favored equivalence frames to a higher degree than Political science and Communications studies, however, it's important to note that only one-fifth of psychology experiments actually utilized equivalence framing.\textsuperscript{40} The authors conclude that the debate by scholars on

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{36} Liu & Scheufele (2016)
  \item \textsuperscript{37} Oxley (2020) p.1
  \item \textsuperscript{38} Oxley (2020) p.3
  \item \textsuperscript{39} Brugman & Burgers (2018) p.1
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Brugman & Burgers (2018) pp.5-6
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the topic of definition and conceptualization has had little to no influence on previous research across disciplines. Additionally, they argue that the debate over equivalence vs emphasis framing may be overblown as there seems to be such a strong preference towards emphasis frames.41

Interestingly, the two studies presented in the previous research of this paper, that attended to framing effects on environmental issues, can be argued to have incorporated both equivalence and emphasis frames.42 Brugman & Burgers clarifies the difference between the frames in the following way: “equivalence frames (i.e., frames with logical equivalence such as gain and loss frames) versus emphasis frames (i.e., frames that emphasize different dimensions of an issue)”43

The “Loss vs gain frames” were present in both studies and are clear examples of equivalence frames. However, also present in both studies was the “local vs distant frames”.44 While from an initial perspective “local vs distant” may seem to share the same logical equivalence as “loss vs frame” I argue that by describing a problem as local, it changes the dimension of the issue, as the core information of the issue changes. While it is possible to describe something as saving 40% of glaciers vs not losing 60% of glaciers without changing the core information of the issue, when describing something as improving local air quality vs improving global or air quality abroad, it is not equivalent information.

As my research takes its base from the scientific discipline of political science, I argue that emphasis framing is of higher interest and use for my study, thus that will be the research focus later specified in the operational definition. Moreover, this study aims to identify and compare acts of framing

41 Brugman & Burgers (2018) pp.6
43 Brugman & Burgers (2018) p.1
between two different countries' governments, their policy documents and official statements. Since the political communications between the nations are not coordinated, finding instances of equivalence framing, where two completely different texts would have to encompass the same information but framed differently would be highly unlikely.

3.3 Effects of Framing

Studies have observed the possible impact framing has on individuals when it comes to attitudes towards certain issues. When it comes to environmental issues and climate change, multiple studies have shown that the framing of a certain issue not only changes the attitudes of the people exposed to it, but it may also increase the likelihood of individuals taking action to combat effects of for instance climate change. Individuals can be more prone to change their views on climate change when presented with a message highlighting the adverse effects on the local environment, as opposed to reading a message emphasizing global impact. It is also possible that messages framing issues with optimism or emphasizing personal efficacy and the potential of collective actions may be more impactful compared to negative message frames that rely on fear or depict the sacrifices associated with taking action. It is important to consider that not only can framing influence public opinion on political issues, public opinion itself can also influence the framing strategies that actors deploy in political communications.  

46 Scannell & Gifford (2013) p.64  
47 Gifford & Comeau (2011) pp.1303-1305  
48 Entman (2003) pp.419
In a 1997 experiment that investigated news-framing and its impact on tolerance for the Ku Klux Klan, participants were exposed to local news stories in which a Klan rally was framed as either a free speech matter or as a disruption of public order. Those exposed to the free speech frame exhibited greater tolerance for the Klan compared to those exposed to the public order frame.49 The findings from the data suggest that frames impact tolerance by modifying the perceived significance of public order values. However, the accessibility of free speech and public order concepts appeared to remain unaffected by framing.50 These results were replicated in a second experiment that utilized a simulated electronic news service.

Gershkoff & Kushner propose that after the September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States, President George W. Bush benefited greatly from the use of framing.51 According to their research the Bush administration in a successful way strategically framed the Iraq war as an extension of the 9/11 incident and the war on terror. Furthermore, when the president's speeches were covered in the media, particularly in the New York Times, there was little to no debate in the coverage regarding the framing of the war being connected to the war on terror. According to the authors, polling data from various sources indicated that the public opinion in America in regards to support for the Iraq war did not receive high levels of support until it was framed as a connection to the war of terror by the president.52

51 Gershkoff & Kushner (2005)
52 Gershkoff & Kushner (2005) pp.528, 532
Entman presented a model (figure 1) in his 2003 work *Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House’s Frame After 9/11* that visualizes the manner in which a frame arrives to the public.53

Figure 1: Cascading Network Activation (Entman 2003) p.419

*Note.* The feedback loop is manifested in the dotted lines.

In the analogy of cascading waterfalls representing the spread of ideas, each level contributes to the flow, but the effectiveness varies across different levels. Similar to actual waterfalls, it's easier for ideas to move downward than to spread upward. At the top tier, those in authoritative positions possess the greatest influence in shaping and disseminating ideas. Moving down the hierarchy involves less resistance, while moving up necessitates additional effort, comparable to a pumping mechanism.

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53 Entman (2003) pp.419
The model presents 2 salient factors. Firstly the hierarchical order, where the government administration possesses the capability to guide a frame along the cascade. Secondly, the feedback cycle, where the results of news-frames on public opinion, have the ability to influence how the government frames a certain issue.54

3.4 Government Framing

Based on the foundation of the framing theory presented, and a modification of the model presented by Entman, I suggest the following model (figure 2) to visualize government framing; this framework functions as the basis of the analysis of this research. I argue that between each of the presented actors in the model by Entman a specific type of frame can be found. All of these can be considered a type of political framing, the feedback from public opinion can influence the way future frames are presented. This model shows the interactions of framing within the political sphere.

Figure 2: Representation of different types of framing, made by the author, based on the model of Entman (2003) and the theoretical framework presented in this study. The dotted lines represent a feedback loop.

54 Entman (2003) pp.419-420
3.5 Critiques on Framing

When it comes to the concept of emphasis frames, it has been criticized within framing literature due to difficulties in exclusively attributing framing effects to their influence. Criticism has stated that effects of emphasis framing may be intertwined with concepts such as “priming” and “agenda setting”.55 This difficulty in adequately differentiating framing effects from other persuasion effects combined with inconsistencies and peculiarities across various studies, have made it challenging to derive generalizations and impeding further theoretical advancements.56 According to Zoe Oxley, priming is a type of political communication effect where media attention to an issue makes that issue more dominant in people’s judgments of political leaders and affect public opinion. Framing instead is a type of political communication that influences public opinion by presenting an issue in a certain way.57 Framing is more about shaping opinions through presentation, while priming is about influencing judgments through increased issue salience in the media.58

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55 Oxley (2020) pp.10-11
56 Carnahan, Hao, Yan (2019).
57 Oxley (2020) pp.10-11
58 Scheufele & Tewksbury (2006) pp.15-16
4.0 Method and material

4.1 Method

As the primary sources of this study consist of text-based material, a qualitative text analysis, specifically a qualitative content analysis is the most appropriate method in order to fulfill the purpose of this study. Qualitative content analysis is chosen as the most reliable analytical approach for this study, given its suitability for research where answers to research questions are based on the communication content of various actors. The analysis of this study involves identifying governmental frames in political communications connected to environmental issues and comparing how they differ between the governments of Poland and Sweden, thus the method is suitable. According to Göran Bergström & Kristina Boréus (2005) there is a differentiation between the implicit and the explicit in discourse and content analysis. They argue that in the majority of cases, a content analysis should exclude the implicit, even when it may reveal aspects that are pertinent to the analysis. Peter Esiaisson et al. (2017) similarly differentiate between two approaches to analyzing meaning: the latent level, which delves into implicitly stated meaning, and the manifest level, which addresses explicitly stated meaning. In this study, I however argue that both what is implicit and what is explicit is to be analyzed. This since both Bergström & Boréus and Esaiasson et al. acknowledge that the implicit in a political communication still affects the meaning of the statement.

59 Williamson et al. (2018) p.454
60 Bergström & Boréus (2005) p.77
61 Esaissson et al. (2007)
4.2 Material

To conduct this study, official documents and statements from the governments and government agencies of Poland and Sweden have been selected for analysis. The chosen material focuses on environmental issues such as "renewable energy" and "climate change." The selected documents are of similar content and size, ensuring comparability and enhancing the study's validity and reliability. The websites for the “Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise” as well as the “Polish Ministry of Climate and Environment” have been used to collect many of the corresponding sources. These websites produce not only official statements and press releases, they also provide official policy documents, for example when it comes to energy policy. The choice of these official sources facilitates cross-referencing and comparisons.

By utilizing these government-sanctioned outlets, the aim is to capture the most accurate and up-to-date information on the environmental policies of Sweden and Poland.

The inclusion of other official policy documents that are not specifically found on the mentioned ministries websites is however crucial to gain enough material for the research. One example of this occurring is the policy document *The National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021-2030 Objectives and targets, and policies and measures* (2021)\(^2\) published by the Polish Ministry of National Assets that dealt with Poland's national energy and climate plan.

A conscious decision has been made to concentrate on political communications emanating from a single Swedish government and a single Polish government. This decision is driven by the understanding that environmental policies can diverge significantly among governments from

\(^{62}\) Ministry of National assets (2019)
different nations. The chosen material has been produced by the “Kristersson Cabinet 2022-present” and the “Second Cabinet of Morawiecki 2019-2023.” The one exception is Sweden’s Integrated National Energy and Climate Plan (2020).\(^6^3\) This policy document was produced by the previous Swedish government, however I argue that the relevance of this document to this study is high, as this document was produced as an obligation to the European Union following article 18 under Regulation (EU) No 2018/1999 of the European Parliament and the Council Decision on the Governance of the Energy Union and Climate Action. Poland has also produced a document in accordance with this regulation\(^6^4\) and both of those documents were produced within a few months of each other. Therefore this document is of interest to this study.

The policy document Draft updated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) for Sweden. (2023)\(^6^5\) was chosen even though it is a preliminary not finalized document. The reason for this is that it is provided by the European Commission as a general publication.

**In total** 10 different communications have been analyzed, 4 of them being Policy documents, the other have been press releases or equivalent material. The same amount of texts has been chosen for analysis for both countries.

4.4 Operationalization

The operationalization of key concepts is essential for clarifying the scope and methodology of the study. In this section, the operational definitions of "Framing," "Environmental Issues," and the process of "Identifying Framing" are outlined to provide a clear foundation for the research.

\(^6^3\) The Ministry of Infrastructure (2020)
\(^6^4\) Ministry of National assets (2019)
\(^6^5\) Ministry of Climate and Enterprise (2023)
4.4.1 Government Framing

Based on the information presented in the theoretical framework of this study, government framing will operationally be defined as "emphasis framing" specifically employed by governmental actors such as ministers and agencies. Government framing is identified as the deliberate act by government actors to highlight or downplay certain facets of an environmental issue. Emphasis framing, in this context, involves the intentional emphasis on different aspects of the same environmental issue. For instance, it occurs when one government actor emphasizes the economic implications of transitioning to a greener energy alternative, while another highlights the environmental consequences of maintaining the current energy production. Government framing can with this definition only be applied when the political communication comes from a governmental actor, thus it differs from other types of framing such as media framing.

4.4.2 Environmental Issues

The operational definition of environmental issues centers on climate change and energy production, crucial aspects within the broader spectrum of topics related to the natural environment. These key concerns, including climate change impacts and the intricacies of energy production, lay the groundwork for analyzing framing strategies employed by government officials in both Sweden and Poland. The study specifically aims to investigate how government actors frame these multifaceted environmental challenges in their political communications.

4.4.3 Identifying Framing

The methodology for identifying framing involves a systematic examination of political communications, statements, and messages by government actors in both Sweden and Poland. Instances of emphasis framing are recognized by
observing patterns where government actors highlight specific aspects (economic, social, environmental, moral) of environmental issues. The study employs official documents, speeches, press releases, and public statements made by government officials for material analysis. This systematic approach aims to reveal nuances in the emphasis framing of environmental challenges.

4.3 Methodological Critique, Validity and Reliability

The validity of this study is reliant upon if what is empirically analyzed, corresponds to the theoretical assertions made. The importance of measuring the right things, which produces data that can be reproduced, is vital if a study is to have high validity.66

There is a distinction between the internal and external validity of a study. Internal validity pertains to the accuracy and reliability of a study's findings within its specific parameters, ensuring that the study effectively measures what it claims to measure. External validity assesses the broader applicability of the study's results, examining whether they can be extended to different settings beyond the immediate study conditions.67 The external validity is of lesser factor to the validity of this study, as this study pertains only to the governmental framing within certain communications of Poland and Sweden.68 However, the operationalization, which is based on the theoretical framework and the concept of government framing, is a key part in assuring as high of validity as possible. The reliability of the study is based on the absence of systematic and unsystematic errors.69 The methodological approach chosen which is in accordance with the purpose of this study increases the reliability of this study.

66 Esaiasson et al. (2007) p.63
67 McDermott (2012) pp.28,34
68 Esaiasson et al. (2007) pp.63-63,175-177
69 Esaiasson et al. (2007) p.70-71
A critical consideration is related to the amount of material analyzed, acknowledging that a larger sample size could enhance the study's reliability. The boundary of the study is defined by the selected documents and statements. The potential influence of the author's beliefs and biases is recognized, and efforts are made to mitigate these effects.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{70} Esaiasson et al. (2017) p.203
5.0 Analysis

The analysis is divided into 4 sections. The first 2 sections report the findings from the analyzed material from the Polish government and the Swedish government. The third and fourth section tries to answer the research questions of this study based on the reported accounts.

5.1 Poland

Policy documents

*Energy Policy of Poland until 2040. (2020)*

In this policy document published by the Polish Ministry of Climate and Environment and adopted by the Polish Council of Ministers in February of 2021 the framework for Polish energy transition until 2040 is presented.\(^{71}\)

The document contains information about policy objectives, methods of implementing policies and how to create new energy markets or advance already existing ones for example such as hydro-energy, natural-gasses and oil.

While the document focuses on descriptions of the policies etc., government framing manifests itself on a few occasions. Firstly the document is written with a consistent reminder throughout the text, that this framework is based on the European Green Deal as a strategic initiative of the European Commission and the EU. The goals that the framework is aiming to reach are **goals of the EU not necessarily Poland**. Further, it is also portrayed at multiple times as an **ambitious** framework. Poland's support for these ambitious goals is presented as conditional with a "specific national derogation" which takes into consideration that Poland is more dependent on carbon fuels than most other EU member states.\(^{72}\) This is connected to the

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\(^{71}\) Ministry of Climate and Environment (n.d.)

\(^{72}\) Ministry of Climate and Environment (2020) p.4
concept of just transition which is mentioned throughout the document as perhaps the most important aspect of Poland's energy transition.\textsuperscript{73}

The energy transition is based on three foundational pillars; “just transition”, “zero-emission energy system” and “good air quality”.\textsuperscript{74} The most fundamental being the first pillar, as it is repeatedly circled back to within the document.

Just transition refers to a concept that aims to ensure that the shift to a more sustainable and low-carbon economy is fair and inclusive. It recognizes that transitioning away from traditional industries, particularly those contributing to environmental issues like high carbon emissions, can have significant social and economic impacts. The goal of a just transition is to minimize negative consequences for workers, communities, and regions affected by such shifts while promoting environmental sustainability.\textsuperscript{75}

\textit{The National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021-2030 Objectives and targets, and policies and measures. (2019)}

This is a policy document developed by the Polish government in accordance with article 18 under Regulation (EU) No 2018/1999 of the European parliament and of the Council Decision on the Governance of the Energy Union and Climate Action.\textsuperscript{76}

Occurrences of framing is limited as the document predominantly covers objectives, targets, policies and measures taken by Poland in order to adhere to the EU's climate commitments. However framing does occur, Just transition is frequently emphasized, for example when stating that the EU’s climate and energy policies are socio-economically harmful to the regions engaged in coal and lignite production.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{73} Ministry of Climate and Environment (2020)
\textsuperscript{74} Ministry of Climate and Environment (2020) p.7
\textsuperscript{75} Ministry of Climate and Environment (2020) p.7
\textsuperscript{76} Ministry of National Assets (2019) p.3
\textsuperscript{77} Ministry of National Assets (2019) p.61
vulnerable economic and social status when it comes to energy transition is also emphasized when discussing energy security. Energy security is stated as a priority in which the Polish government places utmost importance.

It is also emphasized that according to Regulation 2018/1999, the EU Commission's recommendations are not binding. Furthermore, the goal presented by the Commission when it comes to “a renewable energy share of at least 25%” is presented as too ambitious considering Poland's domestic conditions. Therefore Poland's target is 21-23% and the commitment to the targets presented in the document is dependent on financial support from the EU. It is repeatedly pointed out that while a reduction of coal in the country's energy share until 2030 is possible, the energy sector in Poland needs to be secure and independent from other nations, for that coal is to remain the basic fuel in the Polish energy sector.

Press releases

**Conclusion of the COP27 climate summit. (2022)**

In the press release published on the Polish Government website in December of 2022, which consists of a short summary of Poland's participation in the negotiations of COP27, the Polish Ministry of Climate and Environment stated that the most important thing for many countries was the creation of a new fund designed to provide financial support for the losses and damages resulting from climate change in the most exposed developing nations. However, for Poland, the most important objective was a package of measures to prompt climate action, including urging countries

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82 Ministry of National Assets (2019) p.32  
83 Ministry of Climate and Environment (2022a)
that have not updated their reduction targets, unlike the European Union, to do so. In addition, the importance of just transition and recognizing the social aspect of climate change, and Polands' leading role in previous climate summits resulting in the adoption of the Silesian Declaration on Solidarity and Just Transition was emphasized.

Minister Anna Moskwa: The outcome of today's discussion is not satisfactory. We hope to reach an agreement in the coming days. (2023)

In this press release “the Polish minister of climate and environment; Anna Moskwa, is discussing the “EU Council for Transport, Telecommunications and Energy on 19 June 2023 in Luxembourg.” The framing in this communication again focuses on just transition. Moskva states the following “I emphasise that the initial proposal of the document did not provide adequate conditions for a fair transition and solidarity of all Member States.”

In connection to this statement, it is stated that many member states of the European Union have far too ambitious goals that do not take into consideration the specific conditions of each nation. The minister emphasized that the top priority for Poland is energy security, and coal-fired power plants are an essential part in guaranteeing a secure Polish energy sector.

Energy policy in the era of Russian aggression. (2022)

The press release published in May of 2022, discusses the geopolitical situation after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and how to reduce the EU’s dependency on Russian energy sources. Here the importance of constructing a zero-emission economic system, which aims at mitigating climate change, and can provide energy security is emphasized.
5.2 Sweden

Policy Documents


This policy document was developed by the Swedish government in the same accordance with the EU as the Polish The National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021-2030 Objectives and targets, and policies and measures. (2019) was produced. The document provides detailed insights into Sweden's current energy and climate objectives, policies and measures. Framing within this document is limited. Most of the policies or measures described follow a theme of simply explaining the objective or measure, not why the objective exists. However, there are some examples of framing within the text. The importance of Sweden being a global leader in environmental innovation and energy research as well as the success of the government of Sweden cooperating corporations in environmental solutions is emphasized in the document. The economic risks of not combating climate change are explicitly stated. The Swedish government states that they are of the opinion that reaching the environmental goals set by themselves and the EU is also a crucial stride toward fostering equality as in many countries, women face higher risks from climate change, often working in more exposed environments and experiencing a greater extent of suffering from climate-induced disasters compared to men.

It is also emphasized that the success in reaching the objectives set is influenced by technological developments and to some degree behavioral changes beyond Sweden's control. If other countries in the world choose not to embrace adaptation measures, not only will the economic cost in Sweden to combat climate change increase, but it can also limit

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86 The Ministry of Infrastructure (2020) p.4
87 The Ministry of Infrastructure (2020) p. 39, p.164
88 The Ministry of Infrastructure (2020) p.173
opportunities, such as exporting Swedish climate solutions and environmental technologies globally.  

Draft updated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) for Sweden. (2023)

This is a follow-up report to the previous policy document, which covers the same topics and policies, but from an updated 2023 perspective, by the Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise. The document provides information of 2 policy changes that took place in relation to the changing of government in 2022. The changes entailed a shift from 100% renewable energy in 2045 to 100% fossil-free energy, as well as an increase in predicted energy consumption in 2045. This is connected to nuclear energy, which is framed more positively than in the 2020 document. The document contains very limited framing. It mostly focuses on the policies and goals of the previous document, specifying whether the projections are still the same or if they instead changed.

Press Releases

Climate transition strengthens Sweden’s competitiveness and increases our growth (2023)

In this opinion piece by the Swedish Prime Minister, Minister for Energy, Business and Industry, Minister for Climate and the Environment and Minister for International Development Cooperation and Foreign Trade, published on the Swedish government website, the key issues Sweden will fight for in the upcoming climate conference COP 28, is discussed.

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89 The Ministry of Infrastructure (2020) p.173-174
90 Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise (2023a)
91 Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise (2023a) pp.4-5
92 Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise(2023a) pp.81-85
93 Prime Minister's Office et al (2023)
The representatives of the Swedish Government highlight Sweden's success in achieving major emission reductions alongside significant economic growth since 1990. They assert the compatibility of ambitious climate goals with prosperity. The need for rapid action against climate change is emphasized throughout the text, stating that foreign governments especially outside the EU need to be far more ambitious in their energy transition. The EU climate goals are framed as ambitious, however they emphasize that Sweden's climate goals are even more ambitious and that more states need to follow suit.

**Historic agreement at COP28 (2023)**

This press release discusses the Dubai climate change conference COP28. It was published by the Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise in December of 2023.94 The agreement reached during the conference is described by the Swedish Minister for Climate and the Environment; Romina Pourmokhtari, as a significant milestone when it comes to a global transition away from fossil fuels. However, it is stated that from a Swedish standpoint while the agreement is groundbreaking it is not ambitious enough. Just transition is also emphasized as an important detail in the agreement and the press release further emphasizes Sweden's commitment to supporting poor and developing countries in their endeavor to decrease gas emissions and addressing climate change.

**Government boosting opportunities for international climate investments that reduce global emissions (2023)**

In this press release by the Swedish Ministry of Climate and Enterprise the government's dedication to ensuring a proactive and influential position in global climate action is discussed.95 The ministry draws attention to the ambitious stance Sweden has taken and will continue to have on climate

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94 Ministry of Climate and Enterprise (2023b)  
95 Ministry of Climate and Enterprise (2023c)
change and environmental issues. Furthermore, Pourmokhtari emphasizes that the reduction of emissions in Sweden is not enough when other countries produce emissions, therefore Sweden's environment policy has to continue supporting developing nations with funds and innovation.

5.3 Research Question 1:

*In what way do the framing of environmental issues differ between governmental actors in Poland and Sweden?*

**Differences between policy documents and press releases**

There is a clear difference in the press releases compared to the policy documents when it comes to framing in governmental communications. In general, both countries' policy documents are far less colorful and contain fewer frames, focusing specifically on what the policy goals are and what the measures taken to reach those goals are. In contrast, press releases are more colorful and employ framing more frequently.

Swedish policy documents tend to have fewer instances of framing than their Polish counterparts. When policies are explained the reason for why a policy has been set most often is explained by an effort to reach a certain goal set by the EU or the Swedish parliament. It emphasizes what the goal is and what must be done, not the environmental reason for the measures taken.

The Polish documents more often emphasize why the goal of a certain policy has been set the way it has, and as a result the Polish policy documents also include more examples of framing.

Generally the frames found in press releases and policy documents are of the same nature, it is just the frequency of them that differs.


Differences and similarities between frames

**Ambition:** In Swedish communications, ambition is consistently portrayed in a positive light. Sweden embraces ambitious climate goals, positioning itself as a global leader in setting high standards for environmental sustainability. There is a sense of pride in exceeding not only EU targets but also framing Sweden's goals as even more ambitious. The term "ambition" is associated with a proactive and leading role in combating climate change. Moreover, Sweden critically evaluates global agreements, stating that while they represent significant milestones, they may not be ambitious enough.

In Poland's communication, the term "ambition" appears with a certain level of skepticism or as a challenge. Poland is presented as supporting ambitious EU goals, but this support is conditional. The framing suggests that Poland, due to its higher dependence on carbon fuels, approaches ambitious climate goals with caution. Ambition is portrayed as a factor that requires specific considerations and conditions for Poland to comply effectively. Interestingly however, Poland's communication stresses the importance of climate action globally. In the context of urging countries, outside the EU, to update their reduction targets.

**Just Transition:** In Sweden's framing of a just transition, there's a notable emphasis on supporting poor and developing nations. Sweden positions itself as committed to aiding these nations in their efforts to reduce gas emissions and address climate change. The just transition, in Sweden's narrative, extends beyond its borders, reflecting a sense of global responsibility and solidarity. Polish communication recognises the importance of just transition not only within its borders. However, in the Polish context, just transition is frequently emphasized as a crucial aspect of the country's own energy transition. Poland highlights the socio-economic impacts of EU climate and energy policies, framing them as potentially harmful, particularly for regions
engaged in coal and lignite production. The focus is on minimizing negative consequences and ensuring fairness during the transition.

**Economic concerns:** Swedish communications emphasize that economic growth is compatible with successful climate action. Challenging the notion that environmental policies may hinder economic development. Sweden also asserts that not embracing adaptation measures could result in heightened economic costs. This frame strategically positions climate action as a proactive measure aimed at mitigating potential economic risks linked to the impacts of climate change. Economic concerns in Polish communications tend to again focus on the cost of implementing actions against climate change.

**Equality:** Equality is addressed in the context of climate change impacts. Sweden's government acknowledges that women in many countries face higher risks from climate change, emphasizing the importance of combating climate change globally as a stride toward fostering equality. The framing suggests a broader perspective, connecting environmental goals with social issues and equality. The Polish government, in its communication, does address social and equality issues, but the focus leans more towards socioeconomic equality and ensuring good air quality for all citizens. This framing suggests a commitment to addressing both economic disparities and environmental concerns within the national context, emphasizing the importance of a comprehensive approach to social and environmental justice.

**Goals of the EU, Not Necessarily Poland:** A distinct framing in Polish communication is the reminder that goals presented in policy documents are aligned with the EU's objectives, not necessarily those of Poland. This frame underlines that Poland's goals are influenced by broader EU initiatives, and, at times, they may not entirely align with what the Polish government feels is its specific needs and conditions.
Global Leader: Sweden consistently emphasizes its ambition to be a global leader in environmental innovation and energy research. The framing emphasizes Sweden's success in achieving emission reductions and its commitment to supporting other countries in addressing climate change. This also extends to exporting inventions and solutions as an economic incentive. This ties into the Beyond Sweden's Control Frame: which emphasizes not only the environmental losses if not more countries follow Sweden's example in climate policy. It also emphasizes the possible economic losses Sweden faces since it would be harder to export technology, if other countries show low ambition to take climate action.

5.4 Research Question 2:

*How do the framing strategies align with their actual environmental policies and actions?*

The findings of this study demonstrate alignment between the framing strategies employed by each nation and their respective environmental policies and actions. In the case of Sweden, characterized by stringent climate policies, there is a discernible correlation with a more ambitious framing strategy. This alignment suggests that Sweden, with its commitment to robust environmental measures, strategically emphasizes its proactive role in leading global initiatives. The ambitious framing serves as a communication tool aligning with the nation's actual policies, projecting a sense of responsibility and leadership in climate action.

Conversely, Poland's framing strategy, marked by a more cautious and conditional approach, aligns with its nuanced environmental policies. Poland strategically frames its policies to reflect a balance between environmental goals and socio-economic considerations. The framing mirrors the intricacies of Poland's policies, addressing the need for a just transition and the socioeconomic impacts of transitioning away from traditional industries.
In essence, the observed alignment between framing strategies and actual policies underscores the nuanced relationship between communication and policy implementation.
6.0 Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Discussion

The disparities in framing strategies within policy documents between Poland and Sweden can be primarily attributed to their unique environmental contexts. As highlighted in the study's background, Poland and Sweden exhibit distinct starting points in their environmental policies. Poland grapples with a higher degree of climate change skepticism in the public sphere and a significant reliance on the coal industry.96

In the context of framing theory, it is crucial to acknowledge that framing is not a one-way process; public perceptions can exert influence on government framing strategies.97 Conversely, the Swedish government operates in an environment with a less skeptical public and widespread acceptance of renewable energy and climate-friendly initiatives.98 Consequently, the Swedish government may not feel the same need to extensively justify EU objectives in its policy documents. This dynamic creates a noticeable contrast, resulting in more frequent framing in Polish policy documents.

Examining the observed pattern, it becomes apparent that press releases intentionally use framing more pronouncedly compared to policy documents. The framing in press releases can be argued to work in similar ways as the media-frames and news-frames previously presented in the study. This deliberate emphasis on framing in press releases aligns with the goal of cultivating public support for governmental policies. Press releases emerge as dynamic tools for shaping public opinion and perception, serving as more accessible sources for the average person than formal policy documents.

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96 Pew Research Center (2020) Bowen & Saha (2023)
97 Entman (2003) pp.419
The observed pattern suggests that the purposeful inclusion of framing elements in press releases is geared towards presenting policies in a manner that is both digestible and persuasive, tailored to resonate with a broader audience. By accentuating specific aspects, employing strategic language, and emphasizing key points, press releases may seek to evoke positive responses, garner support, or enhance public understanding. This would align with how framing is employed as a communication strategy.99

In contrast, policy documents, while incorporating framing elements, tend to adhere more closely to a formalized and comprehensive presentation of governmental strategies. This strategy acknowledges the varying levels of accessibility to the general public, recognizing press releases as a more direct and impactful means of communication.

Whereas an explanation to how the identified frames, specifically affect public opinion is of interest, the purpose of this study was to identify concrete examples of frames. Thus the methodology of this study is unable to accurately draw any conclusions on the topic.

6.2 Reflection on Chosen Material

The two Polish documents offered a nuanced perspective due to their slightly different nature, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of framing strategies within the country. Conversely, the Swedish policy documents, addressing the exact same issues with a four-year gap, limited the potential for diverse insights.

In hindsight, opting for 1 of the Swedish policy documents to be distinctly different would have likely enhanced the comparative analysis. Divergent documents would have provided a broader spectrum of framing strategies and potentially revealed evolving patterns over time.

99 Nelson (2019)
Interestingly, while the Swedish government produces far more official press releases related to environmental issues on their website, in terms of policy documents on energy and environment there are more easily available documents provided by the Polish government.

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study sheds light on the framing strategies employed by governmental actors in Poland and Sweden regarding environmental issues. Disparities in framing within policy documents stem from the distinct environmental contexts of the two nations. Poland, grappling with a higher degree of climate change skepticism than Sweden and a reliance on the coal industry, balances environmental goals with socio-economic considerations. Conversely, the Swedish government, in a less skeptical environment, emphasizes a proactive role in leading global initiatives.

The study points out a relationship between public perception, policy implementation and government framing strategies. Notably, the government strategically utilizes framing, within press releases, which plays a vital role in shaping public opinion and perception, surpassing the impact of formal policy documents due to their accessibility.

The results show that the Polish government applies framing strategies to a larger extent in policy documents than the Swedish government does. However both governments use a comparable amount of framing in press releases.

Delving deeper into the intricacies of framing, the following key frames that shape the environmental narratives of these nations have been identified.
Shared frames between nations

Ambition: Sweden portrays ambition positively, exceeding EU targets and setting high global standards, while Poland's ambition is conditional and cautious due to a higher dependence on carbon fuels.

Just Transition: Sweden emphasizes its global responsibility, aiding poor nations in the transition, while Poland focuses more on impacts within its borders, emphasizing its own needs for just transition.

Economic Concerns: Swedish communications challenge the notion that environmental policies hinder economic growth, positioning climate action proactively. In Poland, economic concerns center around the cost of implementing actions against climate change.

Equality: While Sweden connects environmental goals with social issues and gender equality, Poland leans towards socioeconomic equality and ensuring air quality within the national context.

Nation-Specific Frames

Goals of the EU, Not Necessarily Poland: Poland's communication reminds us that goals align with the EU's objectives, not necessarily its own, reflecting a nuanced approach to broader EU initiatives.

Global Leader: Sweden consistently emphasizes its ambition to be a global leader in environmental innovation, tying this to potential environmental and economic losses if other countries show low ambition in climate action.

6.4 Further research

It is essential to acknowledge the limitations in directly linking these framing strategies to their impact on public opinions within the respective countries. The study doesn't delve into the specific ways these frames influence public
perceptions or environmental values. To bridge this gap and gain a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between framing and public opinion, further research is recommended. Conducting experiment-based research could be particularly valuable in unraveling the nuanced dynamics at play. Research similar to that conducted by Spence & Pidgeon and Wiest et al.,\textsuperscript{100} where participants of a study are exposed to the specific frames extracted from governmental communications found in this study, such as \textbf{Ambition} or \textbf{Equality}, could help in understanding how these specific frames shape environmental values. This research would be vital for comprehending the broader societal implications of governmental communication.

In conclusion, while the current study provides valuable insight into framing strategies, further research employing experimental methods would be instrumental in elucidating the direct influence of these frames on public opinions and environmental values within the studied countries. These frames could potentially be expanded to other countries as well.

\textsuperscript{100} Wiest et al (2015), Spence & Pidgeon (2010)
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