



Discursive limitations and opportunities in environmental media communication

– A critical discourse analysis of the Preemraff Lysekil debate

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Abstract

In 2017, Preem started the process for applying for an expansion of their oil refinery, Preemraff Lysekil. The announcement of their plans sparked debate in the media, where environmental organizations opposed the project and appealed the application for expansion. Simultaneously, Preem produced a written advertisement campaign that was published in various Swedish newspapers. The campaign focused on positive effects of an expansion of Preemraff Lysekil, as well as other commitments to sustainability taken on by Preem, and was criticized by environmental organizations for greenwashing. Preem ultimately withdrew their application before it had been approved, but stated that it was not for environmental reasons but rather economical. Despite their lack of environmental concerns in their decision to withdraw their application, Preem has since been voted Sweden's greenest fuel brand, indicating that their brand is associated with sustainability. I have researched the use of discourses between three different actors involved in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil; Preem, Greenpeace and Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC). The focus of this study has been to gain a deeper understanding of how the different actors used language during the debate and how change knowledge was expressed by the mentioned actors. The thesis shows that Preem has possessed more discursive opportunities in their communication compared to Greenpeace and SSNC, and that Greenpeace and SSNC may have been restricted by overarching social practices in their responses to Preem.

Keywords: preemraff lysekil, critical discourse analysis, climate change knowledge

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Abbreviations

CAB	County Administrative Board
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
FES	Friends of the Earth Sweden
SEPA	Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
SSLE	Sweden's Supreme Land- and Environmental Court
SSNC	Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

1. Introduction

1.1. Sweden's goals regarding greenhouse gas emissions, Preem's plans for expansion and the debate that followed

By 2045, Sweden should have no net emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. According to the government, all environmental goals need to be met and going forward, Sweden will work for fossil-free transportations, development of rail roads and promotion of biking (Regeringskansliet 2018). In a press release in 2019, the government stated that the global climate change-development is concerning, and that the welfare of humanity as well as the earth's eco systems require a stable climate. The statement concludes that warnings from researchers cannot be ignored and that failure to find a way out of dependency on fossil fuels will have dire consequences (Regeringskansliet 2019).

At the same time, in 2019, a debate regarding fossil fuels took place between Preem and environmental organizations such as Greenpeace, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) and Friends of the Earth Sweden (FES). The debate was centered around Preem's plans of expanding one of their oil refineries, Preemraff Lysekil. The environmental organizations ran various campaigns against Preem mainly out of two concerns; firstly, arguing that an oil refinery expansion is incompatible with the Swedish government's climate ambitions (Greenpeace 2020b; Lexén & Sandahl 2020), and secondly to create public awareness about how Preem uses communication to "greenwash" their business plans in order to legitimize them in regards to the environmental goals (Greenpeace 2020a). Preem's plans for expansion were met by accusations of greenwashing by both Greenpeace and FES. Greenwashing is a term presently well-known both within the world of research and among the general public. First mentioned in the 1960's as a result of growing environmental engagement and activism (Balluchi et al., 2020), greenwashing has since become a well reported academic subject explained through different definitions. According to Balluchi et al. (2020), greenwashing can be defined as companies conducting misleading communication about their environmental efforts and commitments, aiming to strategically influence stakeholder perceptions. Other definitions suggest that greenwashing is the act of businesses conducting incorrect communication regarding the environmental performance of its products (Torelli et al, 2019). According to environmental organizations opposing Preemraff Lysekil, Preem has conducted misleading communication regarding their

environmental commitments and performance (Greenpeace 2020, Jordens Vänner 2019).

Friends of the Earth Sweden (FES) awarded Preem the 2019's *Swedish Greenwashing Award*, stating that their plans to expand Preemraff Lysekil would increase their emissions from 1,7 ton to 3,4 million ton yearly, while simultaneously describing their business to be working for sustainability, to preserve the environment for future generations (Jordens Vänner 2019). Greenpeace stated that Preem engaged in greenwashing by communicating about climate benefits and using a well-known public figure in one of their televised communication campaigns to advertise what they call "green diesel". Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) also stated that Preem has invested heavily in making the expansion seem environmentally friendly, despite it going against goals set by the Paris-agreement and Swedish climate goals (Lexén & Sandahl 2020).

Sweden's Supreme Land- and Environmental Court (SSLE) approved the application for expanding the refinery in the June 2020. SSLE motivated their decision by stating that EU law and directives regarding emissions trading to be superior to the Swedish environmental code and climate legislation. SSLE further accused the government of adopting the climate legislation despite dissuasions due to its unprecise nature, which in the case of Preem disabled it from legally rejecting the application. Plans for expanding Preemraff Lysekil had thus been approved by both Sweden's Environmental Court and Sweden's Supreme Land- and Environmental Court, whose decisions were to advise the government on how to rule in the final decision (Sveriges Natur 2020).

Preem, however, ultimately withdrew their application before a government decision was made and decided not to move forward with the expansion. In a press release, Preem stated that the project no longer was economically profitable, mainly due to COVID-19's effects on the global economy. The decision to liquidate the project behind the planned expansion of Preemraff Lysekil was made on commercial grounds based on a contexture of the project's profitability and feasibility (Preem, 2020i). Environmental organizations celebrated the decision: FES praised Preem for listening to the criticism (Jordens Vänner 2020), SSNC (Naturskyddsöreningen 2020) stated it was the greatest victory for the environment in 2020 and Greenpeace (2020b) called the decision a victory for democracy.

1.2. Problem formulation and research questions

Despite Preem's withdrawal of the application to expand Preemraff Lysekil and the environmental organization's celebrations over this decision, Preem has made no mention of environmental factors weighing in on their decision in their communication (Preem 2020i). The withdrawal is according to themselves made for economic reasons, and no environmental arguments, similar to those of the NGOS are reflected in the decision. Instead, Preem has shifted the media focus to their production of renewable diesel and aviation fuel, which is now described to be the future for the company (Preem 2020i), despite earlier criticism from Greenpeace (2020b) that biofuels and "green" aviation fuel is no sustainable solution. Preem appear untouched by the debate around their supposed greenwashing, and was recently awarded "Swedens greenest brand" in the fuel

industry-category in Differ's yearly survey, a competition where the Swedish people vote for which brand is considered to be the most environmentally friendly (Preem 2021). This indicates that in the eyes of the public, Preem may be considered a sustainable business, which poses the question of how Preem has communicated about climate change during the debate, that has led them to go from being accused of greenwashing to being a brand now associated with sustainable development.

Using Critical Discourse Analysis following the statements made by Preem in their press release about the withdrawal and the responses made by environmental organizations, my thesis will investigate which different discourses has been utilized by the mentioned actors in their communication during the period of the application process, how they describe climate change and what different factors has contributed to their ability to express knowledge about climate change. The thesis is based on written material created by Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC published in newspapers between 2019 and 2020, during the time of the public debate on Preemraff Lysekil.

1.2.1. Research questions

1. Which discourses can be found in the texts and how do they describe Preemraff Lysekil and climate change?
2. How do Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC commit to statements about climate change?
3. Which factors has affected Preems, Greenpeace and SSNC's discursive expression of climate change-knowledge in their texts?

I have now outlined the background to this thesis, the problem formulation and research questions. In the following sections I will account for some previous research on discursive use in climate change communication. In chapter 2, I present the background to the debate about Preemraff Lysekil in more detail and then move on to present the theoretical framework in chapter 3. In chapter 4, the methodological outline of Critical Discourse Analysis is presented as well as the material upon which the analysis is based. In chapter 5 the analysis is presented answering the first two research questions, followed by a discussion in chapter 6 to answer the third and final question. Lastly, my final conclusions are presented in chapter 7 followed by a reflection on limitations and further studies.

1.3. Existing research

In this section I will briefly summarize previous research on the study of discourses in climate change communication as well as previous research on the Preemraff Lysekil debate. By describing how previous studies have researched this topic I hope to outline what my research can contribute with.

1.3.1. Existing research on discourses in climate change communication

Discourse- and Critical Discourse Analysis within climate change communication is a broad field that encompasses large quantities of research. According to Atanasova & Koteyko (2016), investigating discourses within climate change communication puts emphasis on the situated study of stakeholder's involvement in climate change communication. Because of the sociocultural focus and political context, the study of discourses is relevant to climate change communication as it has the potential of uncovering ideological dimensions of stakeholder beliefs and the spreading of climate change-related information in the media (Atanasova & Koteyko 2016).

Dryzek (1997) has contributed to environmental studies from a governance perspective by studying environmental discourses. In his research, he organizes environmental discourse in three groups; reformist problem-solving discourses, sustainability discourses and radical discourses. The first group contains *administrative rationalism* where the state and technical expertise are constituted to environmental problem-solvers. *Democratic pragmatism*, believing in the mobilization of citizens and social groups to influence policy-making. *Economic rationalism*, privileging market forces in directing environmental problems. The second group of sustainability discourses, according to Dryzek (1997) includes *sustainable development* and *ecological modernization*, which both attempt the inclusion of environmental protection, economic growth, social justice and safeguarding rights of future generations. *Ecological modernization* also focus on green technology and policies can generate wealth. Within the last group, Dryzek point out green romanticism, arguing for a change in human awareness and green rationalism discourse, suggesting that environmental problems can only be solved by structural changes and different policies.

Ereaut & Segnit (2006) has argued that discursive representations of the environment fall into two main groups; *alarmist* and *optimistic*. The alarmist portrays climate change as an awesome problem beyond human control, and the optimistic suggests that environmental problems will somehow be alright. A study conducted by Calvarho & Pereira (2008) investigates the use of discourses in the Portuguese public sphere through the media, and explain that climate change is a multifaceted and complex issue that can be discursively constructed from different perspectives.

1.3.2. Existing research on discourses in the Preemraff Lysekil debate

The specific context of the Preemraff Lysekil has, before the start of this thesis, been the subject of one paper regarding how different discourses are used in the debate, a masters-thesis written in the fall of 2020 by Blad (2020). The thesis investigates the role of discourse in our understanding of environmental issues, using an argumentative discursive analysis focusing on the debate around Preemraff Lysekil. The thesis has its starting point in the involved actors use of the same argument regardless of being for or against the expansion, and finds four dominant discourses in the debate; reformist, pragmatic, legalist and industrialist. The

investigation also finds that the actors involved in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil all use the same main argument about climate change despite being for- or against, and that Preem through their advertisement campaign is adapting to increasing public awareness about the environment. It concludes that the complex nature of climate change as a subject contribute to different understandings of it, indicating that despite the actors using the same arguments about climate change regardless of being for- or against Preemraff Lysekil, their understanding of those arguments still varies (Blad 2020).

1.3.3. Contributions of this thesis

This thesis relates to Blad (2020) in that I will investigate which discourses has been used in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil. My investigation of discursive use within different actors in the Preemraff Lysekil-debate also connects to previously identified discourse in sociopolitical contexts where ideas of climate change is constructed. To place this thesis in a wider context, I hope to give deeper insight into how constructions of climate change as a subject in the media is given different pre-requisitions dependent on actor and context.

2. Background

2.1. Preemraff Lysekil

The oil refinery in Lysekil is described to be the largest oil refinery in the Nordic region in terms of capacity (Corral Petroleum Holdings 2019) and has been operational since 1975, currently employing 600 people. According to Preem (n.d.) Preemraff Lysekil is a complex refinery. It means that, besides a regular refinery-process where crude oil is converted to gas, petrol and heavy oil, the refinery in Lysekil is constructed to accommodate further ennobling of oil to extract as much light fuels as possible from the crude oil. The reason for this is the light fuels having a higher price on the market compared to heavy oils. According to Preem (n.d.), the complex nature of the refinery enables opportunities to process high-sulfur crude oils and from these produce sulfur-free vehicle fuels and light raw materials for the petrochemical industry. The facility is constructed to convert the sulfur from the desulphurization plant to liquid form and which be recycled to 99,9 percent. Preemraff Lysekil has its own harbor, considered Sweden's biggest oil-harbor, receiving approximately 1500 calls per year. Most of the oil refined in Lysekil is high-sulfur crude oils from Russia, but also receives natural gas from Norway that is used to produce hydrogen. The refining-process creates excess heat that, through a district heating system can supply the municipality of Lysekil with hot water. It is stated by Preem (n.d.) that the facility has a capacity of 800 GWh, enough to also cover the heat demand for other municipalities in the area.

2.2. Plans for expansion

Plans for expanding Preemraff Lysekil began in 2017. Preem applied to the Land and Environmental Court for a new permit for both the continuation of existing operations and initiation of expanded operations (Naturvårdsverket 2020). The application for expanded operations was intended for pursuing the Residue Oil Conversion Complex-project (ROCC). The expansion would according to Preem themselves increase their emissions of greenhouse gas from 1,7 ton to 3,4 ton annually (Carlén & Wikman 2020). ROCC aims to convert heavy oil into petrol and diesel which is described to have reduced effects on the environment as it lowers the content of sulfur in the oil (Forsman 2019). The expanded refinery in Lysekil would also work with reducing environmental effects in other areas such

as increased production of renewable fuels and carbon capture, also known as carbon capture and storage (CCS) (Carlén & Wikman 2020).

The Land and Environmental Court approved the application in November 2018, after which a number of different actors appealed the decision, including SSNC, Greenpeace and private citizens, both local residents from the Lysekil and from other parts of the country. An online petition to stop the petition received 5000 signatures, and Preem's plans for expansion became what media called "an infected conflict" where jobs and large investments were set opposite the local environment and climate change. In June 2019 the Supreme Land and Environmental Court ruled that the case would be taken up for review, postponing the expansion to the future (Carlén & Wikman 2020). The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) and SSNC announced that they wished the government to review Preem's application as well, in addition to the Supreme Land and Environmental Court (Carlén & Wikman 2020).

The debate initiated by Preem's application for expansion led Preem to promise a decrease of the planned expansion by 20 percent and that the new facility would work exclusively with renewable raw materials, exemplified as used car tires, plastic bags and pine-oil. Preem also announced the goal of becoming climate-neutral by 2045. The County Administrative Board (CAB) for Västra Götaland, the county to which Lysekil belongs, announced in December 2019 that they were positive to the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil as long as Preem committed to higher environmental ambitions in becoming climate neutral. CAB specifically sought for Preem to achieve zero-emissions by 2040 (Carlén & Wikman 2020). Preem themselves stressed the importance of the expansion being approved in order for the company to develop sustainable solutions, the refinery as it was could not accommodate production of renewable fuels (Preem 2019n).

A three-day negotiation with the Supreme Land and Environmental Court took place in March 2020, an event sparking demonstration at the same time as those in favor of the expansion organized supportive manifestations (Carlén & Wikman 2020). In August 2019, the government decided to reserve the admissibility review of the planned expansion which meant that it was up to the government to decide whether or not the expansion could be permitted (Naturvårdsverket 2020). The Supreme Land and Environmental Court further asked SEPA to pronounce whether or not an expanded facility could be permitted, after which they announced their reply in December stating that the existing and expanded operations of Preemraff Lysekil could be allowed provided that the admissibility is limited to December 31 2040 and that the annual throughput consisting of crude oil, petroleum oils and natural gas only can amount to certain set levels (Naturvårdsverket 2019).

In June 2020, the Supreme Land and Environmental Court declared that expanded operations at Preemraff Lysekil can be allowed. Their pronouncement was handed over to the government for the final decision to be made. The court stated that the current climate law does not have a legal effect when trying permits for private activities such as Preem's, and that the court therefore has no legal ground to deny them the permit needed to continue the expansion (MÖD M 11730-18).

2.3. Advertisement campaign

In addition to the application process, Preem worked with creating public opinion through communication campaigns; one visual television campaign and one written newspaper campaign. The television campaign focused on Preem's "green diesel" and utilized a well-known public figure who talked about the environmental benefits of pine-diesel (Greenpeace 2019). The newspaper campaign consisted of bought advertisement space in various Swedish newspapers to spread information about their plans for Preemraff Lysekil, collaboration with the forest- and air industry and various technical solutions for making their business more sustainable, among other things. The specific type of advertisement used by Preem is called "native advertising", which is advertisement in newspapers that follows the publishing platforms own format and style, thus making it appear as a regular article, but marked with "advertisement" (Readpeak, n.d.). When using native advertising, a company does not need to contact each newspaper directly, but can instead go through a media agency specializing in helping companies with advertisement-solutions (Viva Media 2019).

2.4. Opposition

While the application for expanded operations was in process, citizens and different environmental organizations opposed the project and engaged in advocacy work against Preem as a business as well as the specific plans for Preemraff Lysekil. The most prominent environmental organizations lobbying against Preem was Greenpeace, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) and Friends of the Earth Sweden (FES). Greenpeace created what they chose to call "Preemwashing", a database consisting of all of the newspaper-ads published by Preem as part of their communication campaign, with the purpose of spreading awareness about how Preem uses bought advertisement space to mislead the public. In addition to this, Greenpeace organized demonstrations and civil disobedience-actions and published debate articles in major newspapers (Greenpeace 2020). SSNC was present during the Supreme Land and Environmental Court's main hearing about Preemraff Lysekil, published debate articles in major newspapers and sent notifications to the government regarding effects of the expansion (Naturvårdsverket 2020). FES awarded Preem their annual greenwashing price for 2019 (Jordens Vänner 2019), and organized manifestations against the expansion as well as an activity week in august 2020 aimed at creating strategies for a fair transition to a more sustainable society not dependent on oil (Jordens Vänner 2020).

2.5. Withdrawal

In September 2020, Preem announced their withdrawal of the permit for expansion of Preemraff Lysekil. Their press release stated that the board had, in light of the future financial prospects, decided that the ROCC-project would be discontinued

and that the allocated resources would now be freed to accelerate production of renewable fuels (Preem 2020). The ROCC-project was described as innovative in regards to its possibilities for reducing production of sulfur-rich heavy oil in favor of low-sulfur products, such as diesel and petrol, but also technically challenging and resource-intensive. With effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the global financial market, ROCC was no longer considered a tenable investment (Preem 2020). In an interview with SVT (2020) Magnus Heimberg, President and CEO of Preem, stated that the withdrawal has been made purely on commercial grounds and that demonstrations and protests from environmental organizations has had no influence on their decision.

Greenpeace described the withdrawal as a victory for the climate, democracy, for the environmental movement and for our joint future, and that the time of combustion technology has passed (Greenpeace 2020b). SSNC also described the withdrawal as one of the biggest victories for the environmental movement and said that the decision shows that the insistent commitment of the movement pays off (Naturskyddsföreningen 2020). FES commented Preem's announcement by stating that it is a democratic victory and shows that the environmental movement can make a difference and create change by organization (Jordens Vänner 2020).

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilized both as a theoretical and methodological framework in this thesis. CDA is in part founded upon post-structuralism which considers social structures to be constructed, reproduced and changed through the use of language. This idea enables the study of written language, how it is affected by social structures and how social structures are shaped by written language. The idea of discourse both constituting and being constituted by society is central for CDA-theory (Jorgensen & Philips 2002).

By utilizing Fairclough's (2010) theoretical framework on CDA I will discuss the discursive use of Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC, and its effect on the production of climate change-knowledge in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil. The definition of the term *discourse* is central for CDA and this thesis will follow that of Norman Fairclough (2010), who describes that discourse is used firstly in a very general way to describe language use as a social practice. Secondly, it is used to describe the kind of language used within a specific field, for example that of the media. Thirdly, discourse is used as a noun to describe a specific way of speaking, written or verbal, which gives meaning to experiences and certain perspectives. I have chosen to place particular importance on the definition of discourse as language used within specific fields. According to Jorgensen & Philips (2002), Fairclough lays forward that discourses contributes to social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning which in turn give discourse three functions; an identity function (similarities within a group, practice or individuals), a relational function (the way in which two or more things are connected) and an ideational function (formation of ideas or concepts within a group or practice). Discourse also relates to power in that an individual can draw upon multiple discourses in a situation dependent on the individual and the context, and some individuals may be freer to draw upon different discourses than others.

According to Jorgensen & Philips (2002) language, whether written or spoken, is the basis for CDA, but the term *discursive practices* are fundamental for being able to discuss the use of language in a bigger perspective. Discursive practices are the processes through which texts are created and received. They are considered an important form of social practice that contributes to the constitution of the social world, where identities and social relations are constructed. Discursive practices can be further described as the mediator between text and social practice. It is therefore only through discursive practice, where people *use* language to produce and consume text, that text shape and are shaped by social practices. Jorgensen & Philips (2002) further explain that it is in part through discursive practices, the production and interpretation of text, that social reproduction and change takes place. The aim of using CDA is then to elucidate the relation between linguistic

(language) and discursive dimensions of social phenomena and change processes by asking the question of *how discursive processes linguistically operate in specific texts*.

According to critical discourse-theorists, discursive practices can contribute to creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, which within CDA is understood as ideological effects. Focus is both on discursive practices that construct representations of the world, social subjects and social relations and the role that these discursive practices have in furthering the interests of particular social groups, thus creating structures of power (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). Discourses are a form of practice that both *constitutes* the social world and is *constituted* by other social practices. They contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures, but they also reflect them and those reflections can be found in text (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). The term social structure is described by Fairclough (2010) as social relations existing both in society as a whole but also in specific social institutions.

Two aspects are particularly important within CDA-theory; *the communicative event* meaning for example a newspaper article, document or video, and the *order of discourses* meaning the configuration of *discourse-types* used within a social institution or field. Within each order of discourse then exist certain *discursive practices* through which the text is produced, consumed and interpreted (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). For example, within a hospital's order of discourse, some of the discursive practices are doctor-patient consultations, the scientific staff's technical knowledge (written and spoken) and the hospital's PR-officials communication in a promotional language. Every discursive practice here, the production and consumption of written and spoken language, use discourse types in certain ways (Jorgensen & Philips 2002).

Order of discourse can thus be described as the sum of all discourses existing within a specific social domain, for example a hospital. The relationship between the communicative event and order of discourse is, according to Fairclough (in Jorgensen & Philips 2002), dialectical. The discourse order is not a structured system which means that the communicative events not only produce but change the orders of discourse. Change is created when actors draw on existing discourses in new ways, however possibilities for change are limited by power relations which determine access of different actors to different discourses. Within orders of discourse, certain discourses can be more dominant than others. For example, some discourses are more dominant within the media, which is exemplified by Fairclough (1992, in Jorgensen & Philips 2002) who states that purely academic discourse often has greater difficulty being taken up in the media compared to hybrid discourses. Orders of discourse can also be seen as a domain of probable cultural hegemony through the struggle between dominant groups over the claim over and within orders of discourse (Jorgensen & Philips 2002).

To analyze how a text contributes to constructing a certain version of reality and social relations through the treatment of events, Fairclough (2010) present the term modality. Modality within discourse is the speaker or writer's connection to his or her statements. Within written discourse, formulations such as "it is", "I think it is" or "perhaps it is" are different ways of expressing oneself about something. The different formulations represent different modalities by which the writer commit to their statements to varying degrees. The statement "it is" constitutes a specific type

of modality which is *truth* where the writer fully commits to the statement thus presenting a certain knowledge claim. By using *hedges*, the writer moderate knowledge claims in the text by using formulations such as “maybe” or “perhaps”, thus not committing fully to the statement. Different forms of modality can be found in different discourses such as the occurrence of interpretations presented as facts within media discourse. Using such modality can both reflect and reinforce authority and ultimately creates knowledge through interaction where common truths are constructed, but also creates competition about what is true and false (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). Modality is used in this thesis to investigate in what way Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC commits to statements involving climate change. By looking for modality relating to *truth* and *hedges* I hope to gain insight into how the mentioned actors has treated the subject of climate change.

3.2. Discourse and knowledge production

Discourse relates to conditions of power in the sense that language can be used as a tool to practice power, and existence of power structures also relates to discourse in the sense that power structures are embedded in certain discourse (Foucault 1988). French philosopher Michel Foucault theorizing on power derives from postmodernism and has influenced the field of discourses, power and knowledge. According to Foucault (1988), “power is everywhere”, thus not only existing as a tool of enforcement, but instead that it is embodied in discourse and knowledge and can in accordance be utilized discursively. In Foucault’s theorizing, power is connected to discourse by stating that “a regime of truth” can be found within societies and groups that steers which discourses are true and which are not and how discourses ultimately are evaluated. The regime of truth, according to Foucault (1998), is certain types of discourses within a society which it accepts and is given the function of true knowledge.

Knowledge is further described by Foucault (2002) as consisting of several elements. It is what can be spoken about within a discursive practice, and also the field of coordination and subordination of statements that create, define, apply and transform concepts. Knowledge is ultimately defined by the use and appropriation offered within the discourse where the knowledge is articulated, meaning to which degree a specific discourse allows or restricts expression of knowledges. Lastly, Foucault (2002) express that no knowledge can exist without a certain discursive practice, and discursive practices are in turn defined by the knowledge that it forms. According to Foucault (1988), to study the relationship of power and knowledge, then, is not simply to study power itself, but “the subject who knows, the objects to be known, and the modalities of knowledge” (Foucault 1977, p. 27), in this case meaning to study who authors the texts, what each text specifically claims to say and how it is said.

4. Method and material

4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The methodological approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA) proposes a way to analyze the dialectical relations between discourse and other social practices (Jorgensen & Philips 2002) and is founded on symbolic constructivism where language is conceived as an irreducible part of social life (Fairclough 2010). Conducting analysis using CDA then means to alternate between closely inspecting the chosen text and investigating its engagement with the social context it is situated within. The methodology sets out to explain the role of language as a source of power relating to ideology and sociocultural change, described by Bryman (2012) as a tool to uncover representation within discourses. This is further explained by Wodak (1999) as the main purpose of CDA; to uncover ideologically imbued and obscured power-structures, political control and dominance in language.

I adopt Fairclough's (2010) three-dimensional model in this thesis in order to conduct a systematic analysis of my chosen texts including linguistic features, discursive use and sociopolitical context.. The model builds on the notion that texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation, it can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and to social context. Thus, the analysis involves three interrelated dimensions of discourse:

1. *Text* - The object of analysis including verbal and visual text where fragments of discourse can be found focusing on vocabulary.
2. *Discursive practice* – The process within a societal context where the text is produced and received.
3. *Social practice* - The socio-historical conditions which govern the processes where discourse is created, the power-relations behind discourse and social practices.

Each dimension requires different tools. The text-dimension requires a descriptive text-analysis examining the linguistics features of the text, in this case specifically visual text, as no verbal text is included in the material. The discursive practice-dimension requires an interpretative analysis where the processes through which discourses are produced are displayed to create an understanding of how collective knowledge is produced. The social analysis-dimension requires an explanatory analysis of which social practices govern the production and interpretation of discourses, and which ideologies are embedded within those practices (Fairclough 2010).

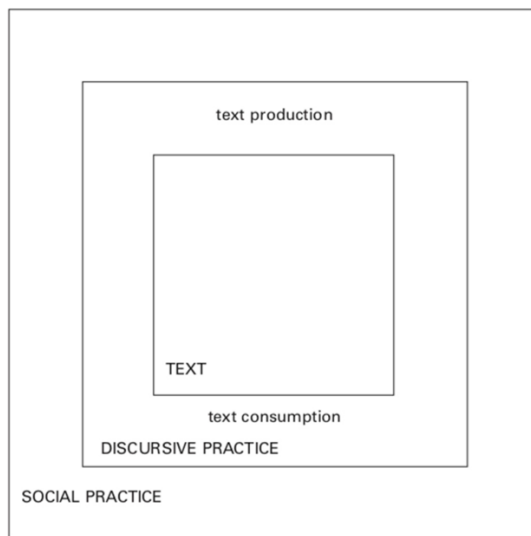


Figure 1. Fairclough's three-dimensional model (Fairclough 2010)

According to Fairclough (2010), the three-dimensional framework enables the investigation of which signifiers that constitutes the written material, meaning for example images, symbols or certain words that alludes to meaning. The framework also enables investigation of the linguistics and the layout, for example how the author commits to different statements, choice of words and how the text is structured. It also requires the recognition of texts being instances of socially regulated discourses, and that the production and reception of these are socially constrained. Fairclough (2010) further describe discourses as both being part of the action, meaning the writing or speaking, and also part of the representations in different social practices such as identity. The meaning-making created in texts depends both on what is explicitly said in a text and what is assumed. What is said in a text always rests upon unspoken assumptions, and the analysis of texts thus involves uncovering these assumptions. The world *critical* in CDA aims to question how these assumptions, identities and meaning-making processes are connected to other, overarching societal structures.

Firstly, the model will enable a linguistic description of each texts in this thesis and its modalities. Secondly, the model offers an in-discursive analysis of which discourses that are drawn upon in the texts. Lastly it unveils the relationships between the discourses in the texts and overarching sociocultural practices. The analysis of linguistic text will inevitably involve analysis of discursive practices, as well as the analysis of discursive practices will inevitably involve linguistic text. Despite this, they are two different dimensions and the three-dimensional analysis must thus systematically separate them (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). Analysis of discursive practices focus on how the authors, when creating a text, draw on already existing discourses and how receivers of text in turn also apply available discourses in the consumption and interpretation of them. In this thesis, however, analysis of how the texts is interpreted is difficult since the analysis focuses solely on texts and thus does not involve studies of people receiving them. This analytical step will therefore in this thesis evolve around analyzing the particular situations where the texts are produced (Jorgensen & Philips 2002).

The analysis of Preem, SSNC and Greenpeace follow the three-dimensional model. Important to note is that for a CDA-analysis neither of the analytical steps offers adequate insights on their own, but rather inform each other and together create a web of analytical information. Further, the analysis is not necessarily linear following the above-mentioned steps, but can instead flow between the different steps as they inform each other (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). The first research question of which discourses can be found in the texts and how climate change is described relates to the dimension of discursive practice. Here, focus will be on *interdiscursivity*, meaning how language from other fields are borrowed, combined and articulated in the texts (Jorgensen & Philips 2002). Analysis of the first research question is based on the following analytical questions:

- Which discourses are found in the texts?
- How is the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil described by Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC?
- How is climate change described by Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC?

The second research question of how the actors commit to statements about climate change connects to the textual dimension of the three-dimensional mode. Here, I choose to focus particularly on *modality*; how Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC's commitment to statements about climate change in the texts. Modality is connected to identity (Jorgensen & Philips 2002), as actor's commitment to certain things is part of who they are. Investigation of the textual element connected to the second research question is based on the following analytical questions:

- With which modalities do Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC commit themselves to statements in the texts?
- What are the statements regarding?

The last research question of which factors have affected Preems, Greenpeace and SSNC's expression of climate change-knowledge is connected to the broader sociocultural dimension of CDA. Here, I focus particularly on how the specific discourses used by the actors has affected how knowledge about climate change is produced in their texts. The analysis is guided by the following question:

- How does the discourses utilized in the texts allow or restrict Preems, Greenpeace and SSNC's expressions of climate change-knowledge?

Lastly, before initiating the analysis, there are two common ways of conducting CDA-analysis; the researcher can either first identify common discourses with the help of theory and then conduct the analysis by looking for them in the material, or the researcher can establish which discourses are present throughout the analysis and continuously analyze them using theory (Hansson 2018). In this thesis I adopt the latter strategy and will thus let the research be guided by the investigation of which discourses can be found in the material, the results of which will be analyzed with the help of theory.

4.2. Material

In this section I list the material on which the analysis is based. It includes a total of 32 articles; 25 advertisement articles included in Preem's written communication campaign, 4 debate articles published by SSNC and 3 debate articles published by Greenpeace. The material has been limited to include communication produced during the time period of the application for expansion of Preemraff Lysekil. The material is further limited to written material published in newspapers, thus eliminating press releases and other information published on the actor's websites, a choice made in regards to time limitation. The choice of excluding visual communication was not an intended choice, but was made because I have not received permission to incorporate images in regards to copyright. Initially, the analysis material was meant to include publications made by FES as well, however they have not published any articles of their own during this time and were therefore excluded. In total, 58 pages have been analyzed. The newspaper-articles are written in Swedish and have therefore been translated for this thesis. The articles are presented below with original title and the name of the newspaper.

Preem

- Så kan dina utslitna bildäck bli bensin och diesel, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Här är sanningen om Preems utbyggnad i Lysekil, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Hon säkrar Preems framtid när oljan fasas ut, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Här är företagen som är redo att fånga in koldioxid, Expressen
- Oljeexperten: "Vi är mer oljeberoende än vi tror", Dagens Nyheter
- Lars genidrag fick storbolagen att investera miljoner, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Majoriteten svenskar är positiva till biobränsle från skogen, Expressen
- Norska trärester blir svensk bensin och diesel, Expressen
- Tack för förslaget – men vi kan inte gräva ner tjockoljan, Expressen
- "Elbilen är inte alltid bäst ur klimatsynpunkt", Expressen
- Så ska den svenska skogen rädda landsbygden, Dagens Nyheter
- Preem om striden om utbyggnaden: Man gör både Sverige som nation och klimatet en otjänst", Expressen
- Missförstånden är många - här är sanningen om utbyggnaden, Lysekilsposten
- Preem: "Vi ska bli klimatneutrala till 2045", Ny Teknik
- När krisen kommer till Sverige, Expressen
- "Skattelättnader riskerar ohållbar skogsskövling", Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Bruna pulvret som får forskarna att jubla, Dagens Nyheter
- Framtidens drivmedel: Här testar forskarna framtidens "soppa", Expressen
- Så funkar det: Fånga och lagra koldioxid – lär dig allt om vinterns stora klimatsnackis, Dagens Nyheter
- Preems vd om klimatmålet: "Oljan har ingen framtid", Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Nu återförs koldioxiden till underjorden: Här är de hetaste exemplen, Dagens Nyheter
- Nya bränslet som gör att vi kan flyga utan ångest, Göteborgs-Tidningen

- Ny studie: Preem har läst koldioxidutsläpp i Europa, Dagens Nyheter

Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

- M griper efter halmstrån så att Sverige ska öka utsläpp, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- M vill ge Preem rätt till rekordutsläpp, Svenska Dagbladet
- Återkalla Preemraffs tillstånd, Dagens Industri
- Preems gröna argument ekar tomma, Svenska Dagbladet

Greenpeace

- Sas och Preem använder biodrivmedel som grönt alibi, Göteborgs-Tidningen
- Preem har spenderat miljoner på att vilseleda allmänhet och beslutsfattare, Göteborgsposten
- Preem spelar falskt om att rädda klimatet, Expressen

Every text has been read five times and color coded in categories and themes. The texts were first read one time without coding which gave me an understanding of which events are described in each text. I then re-read the texts a total of two times to apply two different coding-categories based to Faircloughs (2010) three-dimensional model; *Discursive use* and *textual features*. The texts were then re-read another two times to form themes within each category. Following my first two research questions, I actively looked for two different things. One; narratives on Preemraff Lysekil's environmental impact and climate change in a wider context, and two; linguistic features within those descriptions relating to modality found in the authors statements. In the discourse category I identified a total of three language-themes in the descriptions of Preemraff Lysekil and climate change; *Promotional*, *Political* and *Technical* discourse. In the category of textual features, I could identify one dominant use of modality; *truth*. The analysis of the above listed material is presented in the following two sections with the help of my chosen theory.

5. Analysis

In this chapter I present my analysis. The presentation of the analysis is based by the first two research questions. Firstly, I present which discourses have been found in the texts and how they describe Preemraff Lysekil and climate change and secondly, I present how the actors commit to statements about climate change in the texts. The results of the analysis of Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC are presented separately.

5.1. Articulation of discourses and descriptions of climate change

5.1.1. Preem

My analysis, through coding and identification of themes, found a total of three discourses in the material; Promotional, technical and political. Preem utilize all three of them in their advertisement articles. The discursive articulation that has been found in the texts can, using Faircloughs (2010) theory on CDA, can be considered to create a high level of intertextuality. The process of text production behind the articulation of discourses is a particular form of communication called “native advertisement”, paid space in newspapers that follows the publishing platforms own format and style, making it appear as a regular article marked as advertisement (Readpeak 2021). Using native advertising does not require contacting each newspaper directly. Instead, Preem uses a media agency specializing in helping companies with advertisement-solutions (Viva Media 2019). The discourses are presented below, starting with the promotional as it has been found to be prevailing over the others.

Promotional discourse

The texts created by Preem is part of an advertisement campaign where a native-advertisement strategy is used in order to create awareness about their business and therefore draw upon different kinds of promotional language that is part of a discursive advertisement-practice.

Through my analysis of how the language that Preem use in their texts connects to specific fields, according to Fairclough’s (2010) methodology, I find that Preem describes their business in the context of climate change using two traditional promotional tactics; establishing a niche/unique selling point and product differentiation. Preem has established the goal of becoming the world’s first climate-neutral oil company (Preem 2019a), something that stands out in comparison to other companies in the oil-industry. Their goal is emphasized in a total of six of their articles in connection to their planned expansion of Preemraff Lysekil. According to Preem (2019a), the expansion is a crucial step for increasing

production of renewable fuels. In an article in Ny Teknik, Preem (2020, p.1) elaborate on their goal of climate-neutrality;

“Many people probably think of petrol stations and a well-known green and orange bear when you hear Preem, but the fuel company does much more than that. At their refineries in Gothenburg and Lysekil, a daily journey is underway to make the business more sustainable” (Preem 2020e, p. 1)

Product differentiation occurs through Preem's comparison of their refineries to those of other international oil companies, where Preem highlight their own business as better compared to other European refineries in regards to climate impact (Preem 2019a, p. 1). In an article published in Dagens Nyheter, with the headline “*New study; Preem has the lowest co2-emissions in Europe*” (Preem 2019b, p. 1), Preem state that their two refineries are in among the world's best in regards to co2-emission efficiency, the Gothenburg refinery is ranked the best among over 300 refineries that have been examined (Preem 2019). Another of Preem's advertisement-articles explains that according to a new study, “*Preem runs the most environmentally optimized refineries in Europe*” (Preem 2019b, p. 1). In another article aimed at responding to some of the critic's arguments, Preem further build on the differentiation of their refineries compared to others; “*Preem's refineries are two of the world's most co2-efficient today. It means that nowhere else on earth is petrol and diesel manufactured in a more climate-adapted way*” (Preem, 2019o, p. 2). Preem concludes the article by stating that “*With today's conditions, it is thus less harmful for the climate if the products are produced at Preem, compared to other refineries*” (ibid, p. 3).

These promotional features play into cementing an overall positive tone regarding climate change in Preem's texts. Also, part of the texts articulation of advertisement discourse is the use of a collective “we”/“us”/“you” that panders to the readers sense of inclusion in Preem's work regarding climate change. One distinct example of this is the headline “*The new fuel that enables us to fly without anxiety*” (Preem 2020h, p. 1), that insinuates that Preem and the readers of the text are part of the same group and that Preem's actions is not just for their own gain, but for everyone. In an article about using old car tires into fuel, Preem addresses the reader in the headline; “*This is how your worn-out tires can become petrol and diesel*” (Preem 2019d, p. 1), speaking directly to the reader. The articles utilize group-values that might typically be associated with those that are environmentally conscious, such as not wanting to fly, in order to promote their business. This is further illustrated in the quote below, from the article where Preem presents a technique for converting different kinds of raw material;

“The climate issue is at the top of the agenda for many. At a time when more and more people are becoming aware of that our lifestyle is closely linked to global warming it is highly demanded to be able to fill up the car with fuel that gives as little environmental impact as possible. What if it were possible to convert raw materials such as used car tires and sawdust into renewable petrol and diesel?” (Preem 2019d, p.1)

The general description of climate change is focused on the climate in direct relation to Preem's business. All of the descriptions of climate change that are constructed

in Preems texts occur in connection to Preems own strategies for accelerating their work with sustainable development, and climate change is mentioned in regards to how Preem can make a positive impact.

Technical discourse

I have through my analysis found that Preem uses technical language in their advertisement articles. It is characterized by the absence of human agents in parts of the texts as well as information presented in a highly factual manner that has the style of a report rather than advertisement material. The technical features in their language can be connected to the wider social practice of business-management, the language is pragmatic and treats the subject of climate change as an integrated part of Preems business. A total of 3 articles has no human agents and instead focus on facts regarding the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil and techniques for CCS. In the analysis I also found that in these articles, Preem talk about themselves in third person which further cement the technical tone in the texts, which is illustrated below;

“The Swedish tax breaks for the so called highly mixed biofuels slows domestic production of biofuels, and also risk bringing with it environmental problems, such as unsustainable deforestation” (Preem 2019m, p.1).

In this sentence, the human agent is missing, which suggests that *tax breaks* are the actor who is responsible for potentially causing problems to the environment, not human agents engaging in certain activities. Other example of removing the human agent is calling themselves “the company” in third person form, which also suggests that it is someone else that does the writing rather than themselves.

“The company invests multi-million sums in increasing the production of renewable fuels – from approximately 250 000 cubic meters today to 5 million cubic meters in 2030” (Preem 2020b, p. 3)

My analysis found 3 articles written by Preem that completely excludes human agents, the remaining 22 articles include a mix of human and non-human agents. The information provided in the article’s rests upon technical information and references to political bodies such as the Swedish government and the UN;

“One way to reduce the industry's environmental impact is the technology for capturing and storing carbon dioxide, CCS. It is seen by many, including the UN Climate Panel IPPC, as one of the major keys to limiting global warming” (Preem 2019k, p. 1)

“If the court and the government approve the environmental permit that Preem has applied for, the refinery in Lysekil will also be able to process renewable raw materials – which is not permitted today. An increased production of renewable products would mean that Preem can decrease the emissions from Sweden’s transports by several million ton of co2. That is more than double the emissions from the refineries” (Preem 2019o, p. 1)

In an article promoting Preems co2 efficiency, Preem states the following; “*Studies show that Preem is one of the most climate-efficient refineries in the world*”, “*The Solomon Study 2018 rank Preems refineries in Lysekil and Gothenburg as the best in Europe, The Middle East and Africa*” (Preem 2019b, pp. 1-2). These two sentences refer to studies which indicate that they are facts who speak for themselves, without entailing more specific information about what “climate-efficient” means or why Preems refineries are ranked the best. Such information is pervading for Preems communication campaign that alternate between being promotional and stating facts, the facts are being used to back up their descriptions how they can contribute to reducing climate change. Preem also uses interviews with university-researchers, whose expertise weigh heavy in the article’s credibility, to back their statements;

“A world without oil, is it possible? Mikael Höök, a researcher in fossil fuels at Uppsala University, believes so. - But we are more dependent than we think. In Sweden, we use an average of 150 oil-based products every day, he says” (Preem 2020b, p. 1)

Within the technical discourse, climate change is described as a matter that has given rise to a demand for new solutions that enables us to uphold certain lifestyle choices rather than changing them, for example through the headline “*The new fuel that enables us to fly without anxiety*” (Preem 2020h, p. 1). CCS, bio- and renewable fuels are mentioned in a total of ten articles and is in this analysis interpreted as another sign of how lifestyle choices can be taken into account in regards to climate change. Examples of this is statements such as “*All increase of local emissions will be compensated by either decreasing emissions in the user level or through emission-reducing measures such as CCS*” (Preem 2019o, p. 1), or descriptions of how our driving habits can be compensated.

Political discourse

When analysis of the discursive articulation in Preems texts, the background of the text production is important (Fairclough 2010). My analysis shows that, being in the midst of a debate around their application for expansion of Preemraff Lysekil, Preem competes for the right to keep their business running by targeting the public, which also traces back to the discursive advertisement practice in which the texts are produced. The criticism received from environmental organizations and local citizens after the announcement of their expansion plans are part of their advertisement campaign for the purpose of countering this critique;

“Preems wish to expand the refinery in Lysekil has created clamor and is now being tried by the Supreme land and Environmental Court. But what is really true and false in the reporting? We sort out some of the misunderstandings” (Preem 2019o, p.1)

In order to compete with environmental organizations in the debate, Preem uses the communication campaign to build arguments that can counter those of the opposition in order to widen the discussion about which businesses can operate in a sustainable way. The quote above belongs to an article titled “*Here is the truth about Preems expansion in Lysekil*” (ibid, p. 1), which is one of two articles in their

advertisement campaign dedicated to directly answering to the criticism brought up by those opposing the ROCC-project.

According to Fairclough (2010), discourses can be alluded by finding certain language that give meaning to events, and my analysis shows that Preem use features of political discourse to emphasize the importance of expanding Preemraff Lysekil. Preem utilize a theatrical tool in their texts that gives the reader an idea of what Preem values in the climate change-transition. The heading “*This is how the Swedish forest will save the countryside*” (Preem 2019h, p. 1) to an article about how residue from the forest industry can be used in fuel production, Preem builds on the image of the countryside being threatened, making themselves its savior. Using the following rhetorical question to start the article “*How can the Swedish countryside flourish in the future?*” (ibid, p. 1) Preem are able to first signal their motivation to support the countryside and its residents and second, using the article to argue for why their collaboration with the forest-industry is valuable in the context of climate-adaption.

Further, Preem’s use of political discourse has become visible in my analysis through their personification of different actors that are mentioned in their texts. Linda Werner, head of New Innovations at Preem is presented in one of their texts about how they work towards a fossil-free society. She is described “*A down-to-earth forest-loving värmlänning in exile, with a great love for animals and nature*” (Preem 2019c, p. 2). In a different article, Preem discuss the role of Preemraff Lysekil in climate change adaption and Christer Mattsson, a Preemraff Lysekil employee of 32 years is part of the article that elaborates on why the survival of Preemraff Lysekil is important. Preemraff Lysekil is more than just a refinery, it is also home to many long term-employees: “*He commutes the 50 kilometers from Kungshamn to his workplace every day*”, “*I have walked the floors all hours of the day, been there on Christmases. Now I feel that my workplace is threatened, despite that I see us as the government’s biggest solution for the climate in Sweden*” (Preem 2019n, p. 1). The emphasis of how a specific individual is affected by the debate is part of the political discourse, it alludes to recognition of the reader, creating personal connections between the speaker and its audience. To highlight individuals using names, photographs and personal information is an effective tool for building on Preems identity and legitimization.

Proverbs are also found, such as “*You have to aim for the stars to reach the treetops*” (Preem 2019c, p. 1), or “*Nothing is black and white. There is a big grey area that needs to have a greener shade*” (Preem 2020d, p. 3). In the analysis, I have found that proverbs are part of the fortification of the political tone in Preems communication as they are often used in public political speech to convey messages in an easy, graspable way.

Conclusively, the analysis of Preems descriptions of climate change that are articulated through their use of political language centers around how climate change affects groups and individuals and how strategies for dealing with climate change also needs to account for citizens lives and seeks to give the wellbeing of individuals more space in the debate.

5.1.2. Greenpeace

Greenpeace texts take the form of debate-articles, sent to various newspapers for publishing. They draw mainly upon one discourse that is dominating in their texts; political discourse, signaling a low level of interdiscursivity (Fairclough 2010). The discursive features of Greenpeace political language are presented below.

Political discourse

My analysis of Greenpeace text-production has its starting point in background conditions for their communication (Fairclough 2010), where I have come to find that Greenpeace has an agenda in their opposition of Preemraff Lysekil. The production of debate articles is made in order to affect the perception of decision makers and engaging the public in the debate against Preem which permeates how Greenpeace structures their written communication. I base this statement on two things; one, the description of Greenpeace as an organization whose purpose is to protect the environment and its societies and hold authorities and companies accountable in regards to this (Greenpeace 2021) and two, on how they formulate themselves in the debate articles. What Greenpeace describes as their organizational purpose (ibid) aligns with what in their articles is said to be the purpose of opposing Preemraff Lysekil, which is to “[...] *prevent the oil companies' short-term profit interests from taking precedence over our welfare, societal development and environment*” (Wronski 2020a, p. 3).

The existence of political discourse connects to Greenpeace belonging to environmentalist- and activist genres and has its starting points in directing critique at Preem in order to downgrade their status in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil and spreading awareness among the public and decision makers. My analysis of how language is drawn upon by Greenpeace shows that they place themselves in the position of an oppositional party whose identity lies in questioning the party in power;

“Sweden would find it difficult to achieve our commitments in the Paris Agreement and push for increased climate ambitions in the EU. To influence the public and decision-makers, Preem has used an editorial design in their many advertisements in DN and Expressen. It is misleading in itself. In addition, Preem makes claims that are directly false and do not shy away from playing on people's fears of terror, war and disaster” (Wronski 2020a, p. 1)

“The truth is that Preem's planned expansion of the oil refinery in Lysekil would increase Sweden's emissions by one million tons and thus make the business Sweden's single largest source of emissions” (Wronski 2020a, p. 1)

The political language in Greenpeace texts is also characterized by the use of certain words that downgrades Preem's knowledge about climate change and sustainability. Another feature that my analysis found to be common in Greenpeace texts is that Preem *claim* certain things; “*Preem claims that Sweden needs to increase its domestic oil production and that their refinery is "climate efficient", but this is not true*” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020b, p. 1) which insinuates that Greenpeace believes

Preems statements not to be true, or that Preems ambitions are *unrealistic* and that Preems frequent use of words such as *bio* send incorrect signals regarding climate effects;

“But regardless of whether the word ‘bio’ or forest sounds better than Russian heavy oil - biofuels from the forest is not a solution to the climate problems” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 3)

Another word that is reoccurring in Greenpeace communication is *incorrect*, it is frequently used to counter the described benefits of Preem’s plans for Preemraff Lysekil and their collaboration with other actors such as the airline SAS. The benefits of the latter are described by Greenpeace in one of their articles to be *made up* by Preem rather than based on facts, further signaling incompetence on the part of Preem (Schlyter & Wronski 2020). When describing climate change, emphasis is put on what we *cannot* do certain things in contrast to Preems focus of what we *can* do in order to mitigate emissions. Below are two quotations from Greenpeace texts where they address some of Preems suggestions in this manner;

“The forest is already mortgaged far above the treetops as it will capture carbon dioxide, deliver biofuels, replace plastics, concrete and a range of other materials. The least effective of all is to set it on fire” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 3)

“Biofuels are not a sustainable climate-solution. We cannot refuel with the forest” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 1)

“A green or sustainable flight is not something that can realistically happen in the near future” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 3)

Greenpeace descriptions of climate change centers around its severity and the texts focus on the future negative effects that will occur if we do not do enough, describing the issue of climate change as urgent;

“To deforest and replant, in practice means a greenhouse gas emissions loan, a loan that will only eventually be repaid with net reductions only after a very long time. Time that we, in regards to the climate, do not have, and which also comes at the cost of an irreversible loss of biodiversity and destroyed ecosystems, a price we cannot afford” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 3)

Words such as irreversible and destroyed signal the severity of the current state of the climate, using the metaphor of climate change-effects being a price we cannot afford to state the urgency of the matter. Through this, Greenpeace utilize political discourse to give meaning (Fairclough 2010) to their opposition of Preemraff Lysekil.

5.1.3. SSNC

The texts created by SSNC take the form of debate articles that are sent to various Swedish newspapers for publishing in their debate sections. The analysis shows the

use of two dominant discourses; technical and political, thereby giving the texts a lower expression of interdiscursivity (Fairclough 2010).

Technical discourse

The technical discourse has its starting points in SSNC being a non-profit organization, described by themselves to be started by a group of scientists and are currently Sweden's biggest environmental organization (Naturskyddsföreningen, n.d.-b). I have through the analysis found that SSNC's background as an organization founded by scientists may contribute to how they produce their texts of the texts (Fairclough 2010) in that technical features, such as presentation of facts, steer SSNC's arguments in their texts. It is also based in how SSNC address themselves and the reader, which also affects how the other discourse is articulated. A low prevalence of words such as "we" "our" "us" creates an absence of human agents in the texts. Agents found in SSNC's texts are their organizations as a whole, the climate, nature, the forest and other non-human entities that occur in climate change-mitigation, which is illustrated in two quotes below;

"The fact that Preem wants to invest in increased capacity for fossil fuels sends a worrying signal. The Swedish climate goals and the new climate law are not taken seriously. Companies do not seem to believe in politics" (Sandahl 2019, p. 1)

"If Preem receives permission for its plans to expand its Preemraff oil refinery just north of Lysekil, it will be the largest single source of emissions in Sweden. These are extremely extensive emissions, an additional one million tons of carbon dioxide per year, corresponding to the annual exhaust gases from 465,000 Swedish cars. This at the same time as the plant has already increased its emissions by 45 percent since 2007. The emissions would be so large that it would be very difficult to reach the ambitious climate goals set by the Swedish Parliament with broad support in the parliament [...]" (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b, p. 1)

In these sentences, Preem, climate goals, climate law, companies, Preemraff and emissions are agents, putting the non-human at the center of SSNC's descriptions of climate change rather than the human. The technical features are visible in the dialogue in SSNC's communication, it steers the possibilities of dialogue in the texts. Because the language is dominated by the use of "we" only in third-person form which occurs a total of five times in two out of their four articles and the traditional dialogue where an "I" speaks to a "you" is absent;

"Global greenhouse gas emissions must be halved in just a decade if we are to have a chance to avoid very dangerous climate change" (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b, p. 1)

"We are in an acute climate crisis. To, in that situation, expand fossil fuels which would make it more difficult to achieve our climate goals, goes against everything we need to do today" (Lexén & Sandahl 2020, p. 2)

SSNC's description of climate change within the technical discourse has its starting point in a scientific view of the climate where human actions have inevitable effects that can only be remedied through behavior change and sacrifices on our part. The

fact-focused descriptions of climate change are presented in statements which cements the one-way communication;

“Both the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and the Climate Policy Council state that Sweden is about to fail to meet its climate goals, and that a permit for Preemraff would further complicate the fulfillment of the goals. The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, like the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, has notified the government of this. Now the government must act and mark that the climate goals and Sweden's promises under the Paris Agreement stands. The permit for Preemraff must be revoked” (Sandahl 2019, p. 1)

Political discourse

The political discourse used in SSNC's texts has its starting points in, like Greenpeace, their role as an opposing party in the debate about Preemraff where they have declared that their aim is stopping the expansion (Sandahl 2019). My analysis shows that the political discourse is closely connected to the technical language, the political discourse is steered by technical features that SSNC use to back up their statements about why Preem is wrong;

“[...] taking CCS as revenue in order to increase fossil emissions is neither serious nor credible. Nor is it in line with what, according to research, is required to meet the Paris Agreement” (Lexén & Sandahl 2020, p. 2)

SSNC's express that the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil cannot proceed, as global emissions must be halved during the coming decade to avoid effects of climate change and that “[...] then neither Sweden or other countries can make new investments in fossil energy” (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b, p. 1). SSNC (2020) describe climate change as *dangerous* (Sandahl 2019, p. 1) and that global greenhouse emissions must be halved in just a decade in order for us to have a chance at avoiding the negative effects;

“The climate impact at stake is so extensive that the government has decided to take over the issue. Namely, the government has the opportunity to test the permit on the basis of the Climate Act and not just the Environmental Code. When the Supreme Land and Environmental Court has delivered its opinion, it is up to the government to make the decision” (Lexén & Sandahl 2020, p. 1)

“There are elements about how emissions can be reduced in Preem's plans, but these are loose in the contours and surrounded by a long series of disclaimers "if economic conditions exist" and the like. They therefore want a strict, legally binding permit to expand Preemraff into Sweden's largest emitter of carbon dioxide - in exchange for perhaps later, if it is profitable, reduce emissions again” (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b, p. 1)

The language used in the quotes above show how SSNC, as an actor in opposition, questions Preem's credibility in the debate as well as stressing the urgency of reducing effects of climate change as its impacts are severe.

This concludes the analysis of the first research question and in the next section. I will now move on to the presentation of the analysis of the second research

question, which relates to the linguistic features of the texts through which the actors commit to climate change in their texts.

5.2. Commitment to climate change in the texts

In my analysis, I have found one dominant form of modality regarding climate change that occurs in Preems, Greenpeace and SSNC's texts; *truth*. This means that the commitment to statements about climate change in the texts by all three actors is high. This is presented in more detail below.

5.2.1. Preem

Truth-modality, which Fairclough (2010) describe to a full commitment to one's statements occur throughout Preems descriptions of climate change as an important issue and about what their business can do for climate change. From what is found in their texts, Preem commits fully to statements regarding their contributions to a more sustainable society, helping to reduce changes to the climate. Words such as *is* and *are* occur in their statements about their business in connection to climate change which is a way of expressing high truth-level.

“An expansion would initially increase carbon dioxide emissions in Lysekil, but is in the long run directly necessary for Sweden to achieve the climate goals” (Preem 2019n, p. 2)

Another example is gathering the major arguments that environmental organizations have used against them in order to explain why the arguments are incorrect under the headline “*Here is the truth about Preems expansion in Lysekil*” (Preem 2019o). Throughout the communication campaign, Preem argue that they have the power to create a market for renewable fuels and that it would be harmful to the environment not to give them approval to expand Lysekil, as this would mean that the production would then be moved to refineries with higher environmental impact;

“The production of environmentally friendly fuels is a matter of survival for Preem and a prerequisite in the transition to a sustainable society” (Preem 2019n, p. 2)

“You do both Sweden as a nation and the climate a disservice, when we as the country's largest producer of fuel do not even get the conditions to get the ball rolling” (Preem 2019 n, p. 2)

Apart from committing to their own intentions regarding sustainable development, Preem also express a high level of commitment in the statements that can be found regarding climate change as a global problem, and acknowledge an ongoing climate crisis;

“Mankind is contributing to increasing the earth's average temperature at a rapid pace. Now we begin to anticipate its consequences “(Preem 2019k, p. 1).

Commitment to statements about how the oil-business as a whole affects climate change are also high, Preem states that oil *has* no future and that companies in the industry stands for some of the world's highest point sources of emissions;

“The fossil fuel sector is doomed. And the biggest problem is not that oil is a finite resource. The alarm reports about the effects of the warming as a result of human carbon dioxide emissions are like rods on the slopes - and by now most people know that the oil companies are responsible for some of the largest point emissions” (Preem 2019a, p. 1).

5.2.2. Greenpeace

Greenpeace has a high commitment to statements that evolves around climate change as a serious issue, as well as what should or shouldn't be done to reduce its effects. The modality of truth is high in the descriptions of how Preemraff Lysekil negatively affect climate change, signaling that they commit fully to the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil would mean a negative development in regards to the climate. Wordings such as *will be*, *must be*, *are not*, constitutes the strong commitment to their statements (Fairclough 2010). These types of formulations are found in sentences that describe Preemraff Lysekil, climate change and what Greenpeace believe should be done instead; “[...] *bio-fuels are not a sustainable climate-solution*” (Schlyter & Wronski 2020a, p. 3). Greenpeace also express a high level of commitment to what they believe should be done as opposed to Preem; “*We must simply reduce the volume of flying and prioritize other solutions for travel and transportation of goods*” (ibid, p. 3)

Greenpeace express themselves in a harsh manner regarding how we must radically reduce emissions and how Preem meet those reductions. Wording such as “*the truth is*”, “*we must*” or “*we cannot*” are used to strengthen their statements and express a high level of truth-obligation (Fairclough 2010);

“The truth is that the planned expansion of the refinery in Lysekil would increase Sweden's emissions with one million ton thereby making it Sweden's single largest source of emissions” (Wronski 2020a, p. 1).

5.2.3. SSNC

SSNC's use of modality (Fairclough 2010) express a high level of truth in statements regarding overall effects of climate change and statements about which impact the expansion of Preemraff Lysekil would have. Words such as *is*, *are* and *will be* occur frequently in these statements, which are illustrated below;

“Air pollution from shipping is a major environmental problem and sulfur emissions must be reduced. But it is not possible to solve an environmental problem by creating even greater environmental problems. A complete decommissioning of fossil fuels solves both climate emissions and sulfur emissions, there is no other way” (Sandahl 2019, p. 1)

“If Preem are allowed to expand their oil refinery in Preemraff just north of Lysekil, it will be the biggest source of co2-emissions in Sweden” (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b, p. 1).

The analysis also shows, however, that when SSNC comment on the technical solutions that Preem present as part of their communication campaign, such as CCS, bio fuels and used car tires, SSNC express a lower degree of commitment. Here, SSNC use *hedges* rather than truth; Preem's argument that an expansion in Lysekil is beneficial as it would knock out other, less environmentally friendly facilities, is countered by SSNC who writes that it is "*not at all certain*" that this would happen (Lexén & Sandahl 2020, p. 2). They further write that "*How much renewable fuel the new refinery in Lysekil can produce is uncertain*" (Lexén & Sandahl 2020, p. 2). Words expressing uncertainty, lower level of affinity with statements has consequences for the discursive construction of knowledge (Fairclough 2010) which is shown through the analysis to be enabling SSNC's communication of how they believe Preem to be untruthful when it comes commitments to climate change. The climate change-knowledge constructed by SSNC through truth-commitment evolves around Preem's statements being less truthful than themselves.

This concludes the presentation of my analysis that is concerned with the first two research questions. In the next section I will conduct a discussion in order to answer the third and final question.

6. Discussion

In this section I will answer the final research question of which factors has affected the expression of climate change-knowledge in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil. This question is connected to the sociocultural dimension of CDA where other theory is needed to explain findings from the analysis. I will thus discuss the discourses I have found to be articulated in the texts using theory on CDA (Fairclough 2010) and power-knowledge (Foucault 2002) in order answer which factors has affected Preems, Greenpeace and SSNC's expressions of climate change-knowledge.

6.1. Factors affecting the discursive expression of climate change-knowledge

Based on my analysis of discourses in the texts written by Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC, and my theoretical framework, I have identified two major factors in connection to CDA that has contributed to how climate change-knowledge has been expressed in their advertisement- and debate articles; the *discursive*- and *social practices*. Below I will elaborate more on how my analysis of these practices and how they have affected the actors' expressions of climate change-knowledge through the discourses.

Preems texts are produced through a discursive advertising practice, within a social practice of business management. Preem is a private business and in therefore operate within a larger social reality (Fairclough 2010) of business-management. My analysis has shown that Preem utilize different discursive elements from promotional language that are articulated together with technical and political language. In all discourse-types, strains of management practice are visible; speaking of their investments (Preem 2020b), placing emphasis on the work of their employees (Preem 2019n) or on the benefits of their manufacturing processes (Preem 2019b). My analysis shows that the use of the different kinds of discourses allows Preem to focus on different aspects of climate change, their texts both acknowledge climate change as a serious and important issue and places importance on individual freedoms such as driving, flying or having job opportunities. Placing my analysis in the context of Fairclough's (2010) theory on CDA, the different discourses drawn upon by Preem is part of the discourse order that exists within the wider business-management practice. According to this, Preem may then be seen as being allowed to draw upon different discourses within the social practice of management to which they belong. The discursive practice through which these different discourses are then articulated also reflects what can be spoken about and ultimately which knowledge can be expressed (Foucault 2002). Preems texts are produced through an advertisement practice. Placing the result of my analysis in the context of Foucault's (2002) theory then show that the advertisement practice is what allow Preem to express climate change-knowledge that relates both to risks

of climate change (Preem 2020d), technical solutions for mitigation (Preem 2019k), possibilities for reducing the impact of our lifestyle (Preem 2019d) and Preem's own efforts for becoming climate-neutral (Preem 2020b). Preem's mix of discourses shows a high level of interdiscursivity which, according to Fairclough's (2010) theory also means expressing a higher level of social change. I connect the statement of social change on Preem's part to Fairclough's (2010) idea of creative discursive practices in which discourses are articulated in new, complex, ways. In their articles, Preem describe their own industry as having no future and places importance on sustainable development. Being a company, whose entire business evolves around oil and gas, so clearly communicating that oil as a resource has no future (Preem 2019a) is according to my analysis seen as a sign of change towards wanting to be more legitimate in the context of climate change, and that through the discursive advertisement practice, they are allowed to express this. Having the opportunities of expressing different discourses and constructing a broad communication regarding climate change may then have contributed to how Preem, after the end of the Preemraff Lysekil debate, has become associated with sustainability in that they have been awarded Sweden's greenest fuel-brand (Preem 2021).

Greenpeace and SSNC, on the other hand, are part of a wider environmental practice, being organizations that work with environmentally-related issues. They produce their text through a discursive practice of environmental advocacy when they, through their articles, debate against Preemraff Lysekil for the sake of the environment. Connecting this to Fairclough's (2010), Greenpeace and SSNC both draw upon orders of discourse used within environmental practice, my analysis has found that Greenpeace draw upon political discourse and SSNC upon political- and technical discourse. Their texts are produced through the discursive practice of debate-articles, as the nature of producing the texts is debating against Preem's plans for expansion. The discourses drawn upon by Greenpeace and SSNC in the context of debate articles results in more narrow descriptions of climate change; my analysis has showed that Greenpeace and SSNC's expressions of climate change-knowledge through the discourses focus largely on the dangers of climate change (Alarik & Sandahl 2020b; Schlyter & Wronski 2020a), and the negative effects of Preemraff Lysekil (Wronski 2020; Sandahl 2019). According to Foucault's (2002) theory, the discursive practice may therefore affect the articulation of climate change knowledge. Further I also connect Greenpeace and SSNC's discursive articulation to Foucault's (2002) theory of regimes of truth. The wider environmental practice to which Greenpeace and SSNC as organizations belongs may function as their regime of truth, what is best for the climate is considered to be the truth and therefore affects how climate change-knowledge can be constructed in their texts, responding to Preem's plans for expansion. I also connect this statement to Greenpeace and SSNC's lower level of interdiscursivity that my analysis has found. According to Fairclough (2010) this may be seen as a sign of reproduction of social order rather than change. What is valued to be true within the wider environmental practice in which Greenpeace and SSNC operate could therefore also contribute to cementing already existing social order within that practice, restricting expressions of climate change-knowledge in Greenpeace and SSNC's communication that goes beyond Preem's negative effects on the environment.

My analysis has found that Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC all commit to statement involving climate change, however what those statements specifically claims to say is different between the actors. Preem's statements where modality is found evolve around how they work to increase their environmental efforts and how Preemraff Lysekil, if expanded, will have a positive impact on climate change. Greenpeace and SSNC both commit fully to statements about the severe state of climate change as well as how an expansion of Preemraff Lysekil would increase the negative effects. All three actors also express a high level of truth-modality to statements about what effects Preemraff Lysekil will have on climate change, however Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC has different understandings of what those effects will be. Preem state that it will be necessary to transition to a more sustainable society, Greenpeace and SSNC state that it will contribute to increased emissions.

The modality that is found in the texts by all three actors helps construct a version of reality where addressing climate change is important (Fairclough 2010), but is also a way to assert power in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil. The use of modality can both reflect and reinforce authority (Jorgensen & Philips 2002) and, based on their social practices, I link Greenpeace and SSNC modality to their reflection of authority as well-known environmental organizations. Greenpeace and SSNC can be seen to reflect authority both through their communication about the severity of climate change and to Preem being wrong or untruthful in their efforts to expand Preemraff Lysekil. Preem's use of modality and high commitment to their statements about climate change can, on the other hand, be seen as a sign of them reinforcing authority in a debate within which they previously have no real authority, being a business operating in a sector that is not typically associated with sustainability. I observe this in the use of researchers to back up some of their statements within the technical discourse (Preem 2020b), or the promotion of their refineries low co2-emissions (Preem 2019b). Based on the term modality (Fairclough 2010), Preem's, Greenpeace and SSNC's way of communicating may therefore also be seen as a power struggle about what can be true and false in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil, where the social- and discursive practices that I have discussed above ultimately may play a role in their expressions of climate change-knowledge. This can be further connected to the differences in interdiscursivity between the three actors, where Preem possess a higher level which may give them greater freedom in expressing what they consider climate change knowledge in the debate about Preemraff Lysekil.

6.2. Limitations and further studies

CDA as a method is in its nature aimed at unveiling inequalities and right social wrongs (Fairclough 2010) which does not necessarily mean it is limiting, however it brings forth a need for transparency. The method inevitably creates partiality in looking for rights and wrongs and the choices made by the researcher has consequences on the research-process. I have tried to be as impartial as possible in my choice of material and reflecting on my role as a researcher. It has, however, been a difference in the number of texts included in the analysis of Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC, Preem offering a greater number of articles which may have had an effect on the result. Further, all texts that are part of this thesis have also

included pictures which I have not made part of the analysis due to copyright reasons. To take this research further, it could therefore be beneficial to both include more material from environmental organizations as well images produced by all actors. This research could also be taken further by studying how the texts are received by the audience, something that can be conducted as part of the discursive dimension in CDA (Fairclough 2010). Studying how the texts have been interpreted on the receiver end could give insights to how the discursive construction of the texts has impacted how the debate about Preemraff Lysekil is understood by the readers, but was not included in this thesis due to time limitations.

7. Conclusions

This thesis has showed that Preem utilizes a discursive mix of promotional, political and technical language in their advertisement articles. They produce knowledge about climate change that relates to not only dangers of failing to stop dangerous change, but also to opportunities of increasing sustainable development in different aspects such as driving, flying and in the management of industries. Greenpeace and SSNC both utilize political discourse, as well as technical language on SSNC's part. The climate change-knowledge produced through Greenpeace and SSNC's texts focus on climate change as a severe and dangerous issue, as well as the negative effects of Preemraff Lysekil. This thesis has also showed how Preem, Greenpeace and SSNC has been affected by wider social practices, in which they operated during the Preemraff Lysekil debate, as well as the specific discursive practices that has produced the different texts. By being part of a wider social practice of business-management, producing their text through advertisement, Preem is able to utilize a larger mix of discourses compared to Greenpeace and SSNC that may signal the production of change regarding their interactions with climate change within the practice of business management. According to this thesis, Greenpeace and SSNC both reproduce language that is traditionally used within environmental practices and processes of advocacy in the production of debate articles, resulting in the lower level of interdiscursivity which may restrict how they are able to express knowledge regarding climate change. The discursive opportunities possessed by Preem through their production of advertisement articles may also have contributed to how they have become associated with sustainability.

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