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From farm to fork and back again: An analysis of the debate about inclusion of environmental sustainability aspects in dietary guidelines

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Declaration

I, Marte Østbye Larsen declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigation and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature:

Marte Østbye Larsen

Date: 15.05.2024

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Abstract

The transformation of the food system is an essential component of the shift towards a more sustainable future. One way to achieve this transformation is by encouraging people to adopt a more sustainable diet. How we grow, distribute, and consume food affects our well-being and has far-reaching consequences for our planet's environment, climate, and future. Although there is growing awareness about the impact of our dietary choices on the environment, incorporating environmental sustainability aspects into dietary advice remains controversial. This research aims to understand how Norwegian food system stakeholders respond to and perceive the integration of sustainability aspects into dietary advice in the case of Nordic Nutrition Recommendations (NNR) and to grasp how discourses, political interests, and actors influence the policy process of formulating the new national dietary guidelines in Norway. This thesis has a case study as research design and use document analysis of Norwegian newspapers and key informant interviews.

Through my research, I discovered that the dominant discourse among food and agricultural interest groups demonstrated resistance to changing sustainable practices due to the existing political and economic structures in the agri-food system. I call this discourse the status quo discourse. I observed that the debate was driven by political interests rather than scientific evidence, with particularly the political party Senterpartiet and the agricultural organisations exerting political influence over the outcome. I also found that a coalition of actor-networks, epistemic communities, including parts of the research community, and policy entrepreneurs amplified their stance against sustainability, and effectively, steered discussions in their favour, ultimately influencing the policy landscape.

The results of this study offer valuable understanding into the intricate process of incorporating sustainability aspects into dietary recommendations. As a case, it also contributes to broader analyses of contestations in policy processes for sustainable transformation.

Abbreviations

AP	Arbeiderpartiet (The Labour party)
CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
EU	The European Union
FAO	The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FBDGs	Food-based dietary guidelines
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
HOD	The Ministry of Health and Care Service
IPCC	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KLF	Kjøtt-og Fjørfebransjens Landsforbund (The Association of the Meat and Poultry Industry)
LMD	Landbruks- og matdepartementet (The Ministry of Food and Agriculture)
MDG	Miljøpartiet De Grønne (The Green party)
NCM	The Nordic Council of Ministers
NEA	Norwegian Environmental Agency
NIBIO	Norwegian Institute of Bioeconomy Research
NIPH	The Norwegian Institute for Public Health
NMBU	Norwegian University of Life Sciences
NNR	Nordic Nutrition Recommendations
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SP	Senterpartiet (The Centre party)
SV	Sosialistisk Venstreparti (Socialist Left party)
UN	The United Nations
UNEP	The United Nations Environmental Programme

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1. Introduction

The intricate web of connections between environment, sustainability, food production, and dietary choices has come to the forefront of the global sustainability discourse (Da Silva, 2012; IPCC, 2023). Our choices regarding what we eat and how food is produced have profound implications for the health of our planet. Environmental degradation has led the planet to face unprecedented challenges due to human activities. In today's world, where environmental concerns and the pursuit of sustainable living have become paramount, understanding this relationship is crucial. The global food system is a significant contributor to environmental degradation. This is highlighted through the planetary boundaries' framework (Rockström et al., 2009). Planetary boundaries provide a science-based framework that describes the limits of human activities on the earth system and safe operating spaces (Rockström et al., 2009; Steffen et al., 2015). Cultivating food within safe operating spaces is becoming increasingly complex. As Gerten and colleagues (2020) claim, half of the world's food production relies on crossing these planetary boundaries. One of the planetary boundaries that has received substantial attention is climate change. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2023), agriculture, forestry, and other land use activities are responsible for 22 per cent of global Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions. Some estimates even suggest that our food systems account for up to 30 per cent of all GHG emissions (Loken et al., 2019; Crippa et al., 2021).

Furthermore, food production exerts pressure on several other planetary boundaries, including biosphere integrity, biogeochemical flows, land system changes, freshwater use, and novel entities. Research by Richardson et al. (2023) indicates that six of the nine planetary boundaries have already been crossed. Considering these alarming findings, scientists and environmental advocates point to changes in dietary consumption to reduce the global environmental footprint. How we grow, distribute, and consume food affects our well-being and has far-reaching consequences for our planet's environment, climate, and future. In this context, some argue that it is important to make informed dietary choices that align with sustainability goals.

The updated Nordic Nutrition Recommendations (NNR) were published in June 2023, and made available to the public after several debates and public consultation responses. With a mandate from the Nordic Council of Ministers (NCM), a team of appointed scientists undertook the task of formulating recommendations rooted in the latest scientific findings concerning healthy diets, with

a specific focus on growth, energy, nutrition, development, function, and overall health. In addition to these human health aspects, the mandate of the group included, for the first time, the integration of environmental sustainability aspects into these recommendations (Christensen et al., 2020). The sustainability assessment was based on five background reports, in which one is not yet publicly available (Benton et al., 2024; Harwatt et al., 2024; Jackson & Holm, 2024; Meltzer et al., 2024). The NNR committee and appointed researchers and experts, worked on the NNR report for five years, all the while facing mounting pressure to encompass advice on healthy and sustainable dietary practices.

Traditionally, the governments of the member countries of NCM, which includes Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Åland, base their dietary guidelines on the scientific basis of the NNR. However, in August 2023, Ole Henrik Krat Bjørkholt, the state secretary in the Ministry of Health and Care services (HOD), announced that Norway would not include any sustainability aspects in their official dietary guidelines (Mellemstrand & Holtekjølen, 2023). Instead, the government stated that the Norwegian dietary guidelines would exclusively be based on the health effect, and that potential environmental considerations would be discussed in a separate chapter (Helsedirektoratet, 2024). The discussion of interest in this thesis centre on the debate on sustainability in diets, resulting in the decision to exclude sustainability from the Norwegian national dietary guidelines.

Given Norway's commitment to numerous environmental declarations and agreements, including the Paris Agreement, Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative, the European Union (EU) Green Deal, the Montreal Protocol, the use of Pesticides Act, Waste Regulations, and the Pollution Control Act (Regjeringen, 2021a; 2021b; 2023), a perplexing paradox emerges; despite the Norwegian government's support for international agreements aimed at reducing environmental impacts, there appears to be an oversight regarding the significant role of diet in contributing to the national environmental footprint. The agricultural sector is responsible for 9,5% of GHG emissions in Norway, whereas 52% of the agricultural emissions stems from methane emissions from ruminants (SSB, 2023). Reports such as Klimakur 2023, highlight the importance of efficient resource use, reduction of food waste, and adopting sustainable diets for a better future (Miljødirektoratet et al., 2020). According to the Norwegian Environmental Agency (NEA), transitioning from red meat to plant-based diets and fish, along with reducing food waste, can

significantly reduce GHG emissions. By reducing meat consumption to the recommended intake level in the 2012 national dietary advice, a potential reduction of 2.9 million tonnes of Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) equivalents can be achieved between 2021 and 2030 (Miljødirektoratet et al., 2020). In comparison, reduced food waste has a reduction potential of 1,5 million tonnes of CO₂ equivalents in the same period. However, achieving such transformation has proven difficult and has ignited impassioned debates (Nordic co-operation, 2023; Kristiansen, 2023; Johansen, 2023), involving politicians, farmers, interest actors, environmental activists, scientists, and health experts.

This research engages with political views, economic and social interests, sustainability claims, actors, and Norwegian food production. Through an in-depth document analysis of the debate and qualitative interviews, I hope to shed light on reactions to, and perspectives on, the integration of sustainability in dietary advice, and how political interests, actors, and discourses influence reactions and policy outcomes. Based on a review of articles from a broad range of Norwegian newspapers, I analyse opinions about the integration of sustainability aspects in dietary guidelines. This type of data allows for observations on both the current and the changing perspectives of journalists, opinion writers, and other stakeholders and helps categorise patterns and identify actors in the debate. Further, the use of qualitative interviews allows me to further investigate the participant experiences in the debate, uncovering rich and detailed information related to my research questions.

This research is particularly relevant in today's context, where awareness of the effects of dietary choices and their impact on the environment is becoming increasingly significant. This thesis provides a nuanced analysis of the ongoing discourse on dietary guidelines and sustainability in Norway and provides insights for policymakers, academics, consumers, and farmers.

1.1 Aims, objectives, and research questions

The aim of this master thesis is to examine the reactions to and perspectives of stakeholders on the integration of environmental sustainability aspects into dietary guidance as outlined in the NNR. It aims to explore the complex relationship between consumption, dietary advice, and sustainability and agriculture in the policy process. Two overarching research questions guide this study:

- How did Norwegian food system stakeholders respond to the Nordic Council of Ministers inclusion of environmental sustainability aspects in the Nordic Nutrition Recommendations published in 2023?
- How are political interests, discourses, and actors influencing the perceptions and reactions of stakeholders, and how does this affect the policy process?

These questions encompass key elements from the theoretical framework of environmental policy process (Keeley & Scoones, 1999), considering the perspectives of stakeholders, the influence of discourses, actors, and political interests, and the broader implications for health and environmental sustainability. The methods used to address these research questions are document analysis and key informant interviews.

1.2 Background

The growing awareness of environmental and public health concerns related to our diet is a phenomenon that has been increasingly studied for the past decade. This chapter reviews past and present research and policy processes aimed at integrating environmental sustainability aspects in dietary advice. In addition, it explains the details regarding the NNR2023 process and provides an overview of the Norwegian diet's state and the health directorate's goals.

1.2.1 Literature on diets and environment

A considerable amount of literature has been published on dietary and nutrition advice. Such research focuses on food-based dietary guidelines (FBDGs), providing evidence-based recommendations to promote optimal nutrition as a basis for good health (Meltzer et al., 2019; Montagnese et al., 2019; Herforth et al., 2019). The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) states that over one hundred countries have developed national FBDGs to establish a basis for nutrition, health, local food availability, individual eating habits, and culture and traditions (FAO, 2024a). Evidence-based FBDGs are often produced in collaborative research projects. For over 40 years, the Nordic countries - Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, have been cooperating on the NNR (Meltzer et al., 2019). The NNR constitute a scientific basis for national dietary guidelines and nutrient recommendations (Blomhoff et al., 2023).

Over the past ten years, there has been a growing demand for research on FBDGs to expand its scope beyond the impact of consumption on human health to encompass its effects on planetary health. This push follows a trajectory of increasing environmental focus in our food system and the recent recognition that dietary practices can improve sustainability in food systems (Fischer & Garnett, 2016; Willett et al., 2019; IPCC, 2019; Mazac, 2021; James-Martin, 2022).

Global food systems face many challenges, such as land degradation, climate change, overexploitation of natural resources, air, water, and soil pollution, and species decline (Loken et al., 2019; Dury et al., 2019; Mazac, 2021; IPCC, 2023). Additionally, our diets contribute to the challenges of undernutrition, obesity, food insecurity, diabetes, and heart disease (Loken et al., 2019; FAO, 2019). There is increasing focus on the issues related to our food systems and dietary habits among researchers and environmental activists, leading to more efforts to combine research in this area.

1.2.2 The Nordic Nutrition Recommendations process

In 2016, the NCM announced the initiative to update the NNR for the sixth time. In 2019, the NCM appointed scientists to the NNR committee to constitute “the scientific basis for national dietary guidelines and nutrient recommendations in the Nordic and Baltic countries” (Blomhoff et al., 2023). The process of creating the sixth version of NNR involved hundreds of researchers and experts and lasted for over five years (Blomhoff et al., 2023). The NNR2023 focused on recommendations for different food groups and environmental sustainability (Nordic co-operation, 2020). The NNR committee invited experts and scientists to contribute to the research and to propose themes and inputs (Nordic co-operation, 2019). To assess sustainability, twenty-eight authors executed the sustainability assessment spread across background reports from Benton et al. (2024), Harwatt et al. (2024), Jackson & Holm (2024), and Meltzer et al. (2024). As well as one from Trolle et al. (2024) which is yet to be published. In total, 60 background papers were produced before the final NNR report based on the latest scientific findings (Nordic Council of Ministers, n.d.).

The background articles and the draft of the report were open for public consultation, during which individuals could submit input on the scientific recommendations for health and environmental sustainability aspects (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2023). The final report was published in

Iceland in June 2023. The NNR2023 recommended a predominantly plant-based diet, consisting of a large intake of vegetables, berries, fruits, pulses, potatoes, and whole grains, a substantial intake of fish and nuts, moderate low-fat dairy products, and limited red meat and poultry consumption. In addition, the NNR recommended minimal intake of processed meat, alcohol, and processed food with high amounts of salt, sugar, and fats (Blomhoff et al., 2023).

As mentioned, the governments of the NCM traditionally base their national dietary guidelines on the scientific foundation of the NNR. At the time of writing, the new Norwegian national dietary advice is available for public hearing. Figure 1 shows a chronological timeline of the NNR process from 2014 till present day, and the course towards new dietary guidelines in Norway.

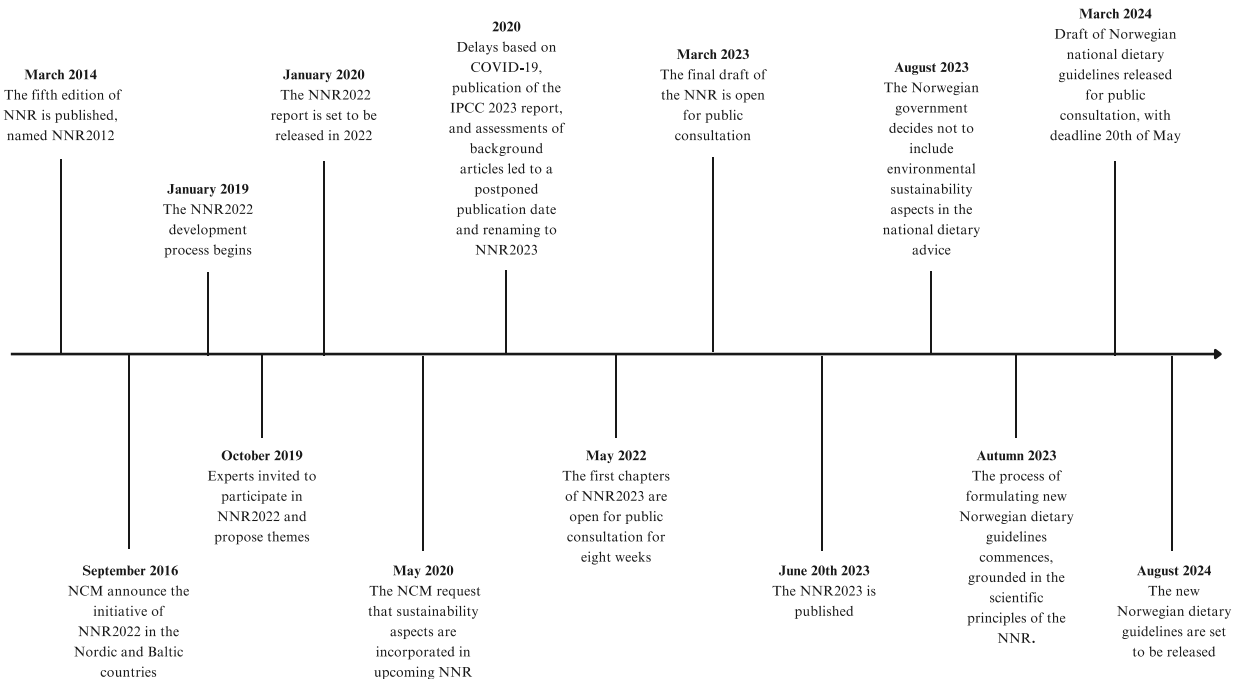


Figure 1: Timeline of the developments in the NNR process and the Norwegian dietary guidelines¹

This figure shows the timeline of developments in the NNR process and Norwegian dietary guidelines from 2014 to the present.

¹ All figures and tables are made by the author.

1.2.3 The state of the Norwegian diet

The Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Service (HOD) is responsible for the formulation of dietary guidelines to improve public health and prevent chronic diseases among the Norwegian population (Helsedirektoratet, 2022). The new dietary guidelines will be published in August 2024 and shall be based on the scientific findings of NNR (see Figure 1) (Helsedirektoratet, 2024). As mentioned, the quantitative advice will focus on the connection between diets and health, while the climate and environmental impact is discussed separately based on the different food groups. The NEA are responsible for discussing the climate and environmental impact of the dietary guidelines in consultation with the HOD. The sustainability review will be based on NNR2023 and any other sources the NEA deems relevant (Helsedirektoratet, 2024).

One of the goals of the HOD is to promote healthy diets for the Norwegian population. The national action plan for 2013-2017 aimed to increase the consumption of whole grains, vegetables, fish, fruit, and berries and reduce the dietary content of saturated fat, sugar, and salt. However, The HOD's goals of increasing the consumption of whole grains, vegetables, fish, fruit, and berries were not met (Helsedirektoratet, 2023), and the Norwegian diet is moving in the wrong direction based on the goals. The inability to meet these goals reflects socioeconomic issues (Helsedirektoratet, 2023; Onsjøen, 2023), such as increasing food prices, limited access to healthy options, and consumer preferences.

Since 2017, the HOD has been reporting on the state of the Norwegian diet. According to the latest data, the consumption of vegetables, fruit, fish, milk and cheese, butter, and grains has decreased, while the consumption of processed potatoes has increased from the previous year (Helsedirektoratet, 2023). Although meat consumption has generally increased over time, it experienced a decline in 2022; however, it remains higher than the levels observed in 2019 (Helsedirektoratet, 2023).

A look at recent survey statistics help demonstrate the state of the diet in Norway. According to a survey from Norstat on behalf of the information office for dairy products (Opplysningskontoret for Meieriprodukter), revealed that only half of the Norwegian population aim to follow the health directorate's dietary advice (Wickman, 2023). However, 76% think they have a healthy diet. The survey also found that those with higher income and education are more likely to follow dietary

advice and view their diet as healthier (Wickman, 2023). Furthermore, a survey conducted on behalf of the HOD by Opinion shows that 56% of the respondents are willing to eat more plant-based food based on health considerations, while 42% are willing to do so based on environmental concerns. Three out of ten people are “very committed” to choosing climate and environmentally friendly diets options, while the same number are not committed to it (Helsedirektoratet, 2023, p. 40).

Overall, the survey data highlight the state of the Norwegian diet and the HOD’s influence on encouraging Norwegians to adopt a healthy diet. It underscores an interest in plant-based diets, although the motivations behind these choices vary, with health apparently being a more dominant factor than environmental concerns (Helsedirektoratet, 2023).

1.2.4 Previous and ongoing efforts to integrate sustainability goals into dietary guidelines

An emerging trend has focused on aligning dietary guidelines with sustainability. Examples stem from many efforts of national governments and international organisations. This chapter provides an overview of previous and ongoing efforts to incorporate sustainability goals into dietary guidelines and mentions some of the critiques this has drawn.

Fischer and Garnett (2016) identify governments that are taking the lead in developing dietary guidelines embedded in sustainability. They point to the efforts done by Brazil, Sweden, Qatar, and Germany as pioneering in the inclusion of sustainability in their FBDGs. In 2014 Brazil was one of the first countries to emphasise the importance of healthy diets through a broad concept of environmental, economic, and sociocultural sustainability criteria (Gabe et al., 2021). The Brazilian government promote avoiding ultra-processed foods, with a high environmental footprint, and recommend food that respects cultural and social conditions (Fisher & Garnett, 2016). Brazil is a large GHG emitter through its agriculture and livestock sectors and its impact on land use and deforestation (Travassos et al., 2020; Tiseo, 2024), and the Brazilian FBDGs aim to lower the environmental impact through a more sustainable diet.

Furthermore, in 2015, Sweden encouraged consumers to eat less meat and more plant foods such as whole grains, vegetables, and fruit through their updated FBDGs with the mantra “find your way to eat greener, not too much and be active” (Livsmedelsverket, 2015, p. 1). The updated FBDGs in Sweden are considered as pioneering in the Nordic region. They follow a trend of

increased consumer interest towards plant-based diets, as per Spendrup and Hovmalm (2022). According to a study by Axfood (2024), 57% of Swedes consume vegetarian meals at least once a week and vegetarian food has become an increasingly common and more natural part of the Swedes' everyday diet. Also, in 2015 Qatar's FBDGs promoted consumers to "eat healthy while protecting the environment" (FAO, 2024b). Qatar's guidelines link effects of the Qatari diet to environmental issues such as land and water use, GHG emissions, and depletion of fish stocks (Fisher & Garnett, 2016, p. 33). The guidelines promote a plant-based, local, and non-processed diet, with a focus on the reduction of food waste (FAO, 2024b).

More recently, in 2021, Denmark released its updated dietary guidelines to promote healthier eating habits and encourage more climate-friendly food choices (Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries of Denmark, 2021). The guidelines suggested a plant-rich, diverse, and balanced diet. The Danish guidelines recommend consumption of more fruits and vegetables, and suggest opting for legumes and fish over meat, choosing whole grains, and avoiding excessive high fat, sugar, and salt foods intake (Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries of Denmark, 2021). The guidelines from Denmark aim to promote a healthy and sustainable diet that benefits human health and the environment (Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries of Denmark, 2021).

Lastly, Germany updated their dietary guidelines in 2024 and outlined the importance of changing consumption towards plant-based eating habits in reaching sustainability goals. The guidelines promote a diet comprising 75% plant-based foods such as fruit, vegetables, whole grains, legumes, nuts, and vegetable oils, and significantly less meat and dairy products. According to the German government this diet promotes healthy lives and protects the earth's resources (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ernährung (DGE), 2024). The DGE recommendations also focus on reducing food waste. Germany's official dietary guidelines follow a trend in Germany where over half of the population consume a "flexitarian", mostly plant-based diet (Rehder, 2023). In addition, there has been increased research focus on the German diet's impact on the environment (Schäfer et al., 2021; Latva-Hakuni et al., 2023), which reflects these changes in the official dietary guidelines.

At the same time as countries are embedding sustainability aspects in their dietary guidelines, international organisations are focusing on the scientific findings that emphasise the importance of these changes. One of these is the EAT-Lancet Commission, a non-profit global food system

initiative, which has played a pioneering role in the research on combining dietary advice with human health and environmental concerns. Through its publication of the article *Food in the Anthropocene* (2019), the EAT-Lancet Commission introduced the term “planetary health diet”, which builds on the framework of planetary boundaries in addressing global food consumption and promoting sustainable food systems. The EAT-Lancet Commission promoted increased consumption of legumes, fruit, nuts, and vegetables and modest consumption of red meat, dairy, sugar, and refined grains (Willett et al., 2019).

The EAT-Lancet diet has been subject to considerable criticisms. Some of the critiques include insufficient attention to the socio-economic aspects of global health and well-being and the diet’s non-affordability for 1,6 billion people (Hirvonen et al., 2019; Tulloch et al., 2023). Furthermore, criticisms include a lack of consideration for cultural values and consumer preferences, and potential nutritional deficiencies in the proposed diet (Hirvonen et al., 2019; Tulloch et al., 2023). In addition, criticisms include lack of transparency and limited potential for replication (Hirvonen et al., 2019; Tulloch et al., 2023). The critique of the EAT-Lancet approach to sustainable diets has been much discussed among scientists, farmers, agricultural industry actors, businesses, and environmentalists. The criticisms that EAT-Lancet has received, illuminate many of the same critiques evident in the debate on NNR and can therefore be seen as a forerunner to the NNR debate.

Furthermore, many international organisations promote the integration of sustainability into food systems, encompassing the role of diets in addressing environmental issues. Through the Farm to Fork strategy, the European commission promotes a “fair, healthy, and environmentally friendly food system” (European Commission, 2024). The point of focus is on sustainable food consumption through improving consumer information, strengthening sustainable food procurements, and fiscal measures that support sustainable food consumption (European Commission, 2024). Moreover, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) focus on sustainable diets that link consumption and production with food and nutrient requirements with the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (UNEP, n.d.). Additionally, the FAO is pioneering in advocating sustainable diets that promote the protection of biodiversity and ecosystems but at the same time are accessible, affordable, and culturally acceptable (FAO & WHO 2019; FAO, 2023).

In conclusion, international organisations such as the EAT-Lancet, European Commission, UNEP, and FAO, as well as the governments of some countries, are playing a crucial role in promoting sustainable diets.

1.2.5 The importance of collaborative efforts and way forward

Many challenges arise despite the pioneering efforts of integrating sustainability into dietary guidelines. A sustainable diet can provide positive synergies, such as health benefits, whereas a diet comprising vegetables, fruits, and grains can reduce the risk of non-communicable diseases (Li, 2014; Thompson et al., 2023; Peña-Jorquera et al., 2023). Additionally, the same diet contributes to environmental benefits, such as mitigation of GHG emissions, water usage, and deforestation (Sabaté & Soret, 2014; Fehér et al., 2020). However, between the synergies of sustainable diets, there are trade-offs such as increased costs, social challenges, nutrition deficiencies, and cultural preferences. These synergies and trade-offs provide a delicate subject matter for scientists, activists, politicians, farmers, citizens, and businesses when debating what is a sustainable diet.

Therefore, the literature points to the importance of collaborative participation in different public sectors such as health, nutrition, agriculture, and education (Fisher & Garnett, 2016; Gabe et al., 2021). Dietary guidelines are a vital component of a coherent food policy (Fisher & Garnett, 2016), and all these sectors must be involved in to transform our food system. While some countries and international organisations are working to incorporate dietary guidelines that support sustainability goals, the debate regarding the feasibility and necessity of this integration persists. This chapter has reviewed past and present research and policy processes aimed at integrating environmental sustainability aspects in dietary advice. Moreover, it has explained the NNR process, and the state of the Norwegian diet.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework for this thesis. First, I will introduce the concept of policy and policy change. Next, I will explain how policy processes can be examined through discourses, followed by political interests and finally, the agency of actors. I aim to explain the relevance of the environmental policy process theory in the case of NNR.

2.1 What is policy and policy change?

The standard definition of policy “constitutes the decisions taken by those with responsibility for a given policy area, and these decisions usually take the form of statements or formal positions on an issue, which are then executed by the bureaucracy” (Keeley & Scoones, 1999, pp. 3-4). This understanding describes the policy process as a linear movement in which individuals make rational choices from a top-down perspective. The policy process, rooted in Harold Lasswell’s (1956) public policy cycle, encompasses five stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation. The policy cycle follows an idealised process that explains how policy is created, assessed, and implemented.

However, rejecting this traditional view, some academics claim that policy does not stem from a linear approach. Instead, policies can be understood as expansive courses of action (or inaction) (Smith, 1976), inherently political processes (Keeley & Scoones, 1999), or a complex network of interconnected decisions that develop gradually during the implementation process (Hill, 1997). Keeley and Scoones (1999; 2003) argue that policy change is primarily the result of interactions between separate groups with differing political interests. By analysing actors’ behaviour towards a policy question, we can better understand their interests and how particular types of knowledge become prevalent.

2.2 The three perspectives of the environmental policy process

Keeley and Scoones’ (1999) focus has extended to a growing body of literature to explain that policy comes from a variety of directions. They explain this by combining three analytical perspectives which highlight the interaction of power and political interests, discourses, and agency of actors. According to Keeley & Scoones (1999) studying these analytical perspectives in isolation is not enough to provide a complete analysis and fails to explain policy change. Therefore, this thesis will incorporate all these perspectives in its analysis.

2.2.1 Policy and political interests and power

First, policy change is explained through political interests and power. It is assumed through a positivist view that scientific knowledge is what drives policy-making and leads to technocratic

decision-making. "Scientists establish the facts about environmental realities, and policymakers come up with policy options in the light of the facts" (Keeley and Scoones, 1999, p. 7). However, criticisms of technocracy draw attention to difficulties in discerning the appropriate instances for technical arguments to impact policy decisions, possibly providing a loophole for politicians to avoid challenging issues. Instead, policy change can be understood as an upshot of interactions between group with political interests (Keeley & Scoones, 1999), where policy contests about knowledge run throughout the policy process from macro-to-micro scales.

The analysis of political interests and power revolves around state-centred accounts and their role in policy change. The first perspective is through the macro-level, where state theorists argue that the state is not neutral in social conflicts, instead they are actively involved in policy shaping (Skocpol, 1985). The second perspective focuses on the specific components of the state (Allison, 1971). It is more concerned with policy emerging from contests between distinct parts of the state, such as the functions of ministries and of agencies based on their agenda and resources from micro-level trade-offs. However, Sabatier (1998) claims that state-centred analyses are not the most valuable unit of understanding policy change; instead, what must be paid attention to is the policy subsystems in what he calls advocacy coalitions, which include both public and private organisations that "are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue, such as agriculture, and who regularly seek to influence public policy in that domain" (p.99). Advocacy coalitions, as defined by Sabatier (1998), are similar to policy networks in that they prioritise interests over knowledge. Instead of relying solely on scientific facts and evidence, advocacy coalitions make arguments based on core beliefs and concerns in the form of discourses. In this thesis, I will follow Sabatier's view to examine advocacy coalitions rather than the state's role.

Furthermore, the analysis of political interests and power focuses on society-centred accounts. With a pluralist view, this attempt to understand policy emphasises the competition between groups in society in the allocation of resources and formulation of rules for social and economic conditions (Truman, 1951; Dahl, 1961; Keeley & Scoones, 1999). This pluralist view uses theories of power to explain that the most resourced and more adept win policy contests (Hill, 1997). Further, according to society-centred perspectives, the state is perceived as one among numerous competing actors across diverse policy domains (Hill, 1997). Within this view, the environmental governance literature emphasises the competing interests in policy-making and the difficulties in

finding a balance (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). With competing social interests, such as agricultural debates or climate change negotiations, one can find core conflicts between environmental, business, consumer, and local interest groups central to the policy process. The society-centred account also reflects on media's role in framing interests and political commitment to a particular campaign (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). With environmental concerns, the media plays a key part in highlighting some issues and excluding others (Burgess et al., 1998). The society-centred accounts will be highly relevant to the analysis of the NNR case. The literature on political interests and power within the environmental policy process theory will be helpful for insight into the case of NNR and the analysis of policy change.

2.2.2 Policy and actors

Second, policy change is understood through actor-oriented approaches. Through four strands of literature Keeley and Scoones (1999) identify actors and interfaces, actor-network theory, epistemic communities, and policy entrepreneurs as influential in the construction of science and policy. Individual actors are in theories of practice and agency, perceived as possessing choice and discretion within social and cultural contexts. This rejects the typical analysis in political science and highlights the significance of agency through repeated practices that yield both intended and unintended outcomes, which can also foster insights and new actions in policy-making (Keeley and Scoones, 1999). The interfaces between different actors can include farms and extension workers and official representatives and international expertise. The actor-network theory underscores the complex details of network establishment and the process of creating actor-networks as a knowledge-establishing mechanism (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Latour's understanding, that "scientific facts are only as strong as the networks that uphold them" (Latour, 1987, p. 20), emphasise the crucial role of key individuals or institutions in sustaining these networks and contributing to an understanding of how knowledge infiltrates the policy process.

Moreover, epistemic communities rooted in political science are actors who advocate specific agendas and share similar assumptions about cause-and-effect relationships, who shape policy conclusions based on shared beliefs (Haas, 1992). Policy entrepreneurs strive to impact policy through the mobilisation of knowledge and expertise and are adept at establishing influential networks (Kingdon, 1984, Keeley & Scoones, 1999; Cairney, 2011). Furthermore, policy

entrepreneurs strategically align themselves with networks of scientists and policymakers, demonstrating sensitivity to policy timing and the ability to respond to trigger events (Keeley & Scoones), with instances of actors from scientific communities, politics, business, NGOs, or the arts.

The actor-oriented approach to policy reveals processes that lead to the establishment of knowledge and policy change (in this case, the push for the exclusion of policy). It has been critiqued based on a lack of a thorough exploration of social relations and micro-level interactions that are involved (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). However, it explains the actions of stakeholders, such as the state, civil society, and scientific establishments, in policy formulation. It is relevant to include in this thesis as a variety of actors have been involved in the NNR debate.

2.2.3 Policy and discourses

Lastly, policy change is explained through discourses. A discourse is defined as “a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (Hajer, 1997, p. 44). For Foucault (1980), discourses are expressions of power and knowledge that frame and define the world in certain ways. Previous analyses of policy have been avoidant on issues of power regarding policy processes. Foucault (1980) understands policies as political technologies, entangled in relations between the power of citizens, political authorities, and experts. Political technologies can create legitimising discourses which are then granted support (Keeley & Scoones, 1999).

Scientific expertise plays a key role in framing debates in environmental policy process (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). However, conceptions of the world and norms in which people are governed are also highly relevant in policy discussions. According to this perspective, discourses are created through language, symbols, and metaphors associated with scientific and political authority, which help to legitimise policies by creating a discourse that supports them (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). The use of rhetoric, not as manipulation, but as a sense of persuasive discourse (Nelson et al., 1987, as cited in Apthorpe, 1996, p. 18), establishes general understandings and plausibility. Rhetoric and language have a significant role in framing narratives and discourses in a policy process. Majone (1989) complements this by claiming that the policy process revolves around the

process of argument rather than problem-solving and that evidence consists in the context of argument. By including Majone's understanding, I analyse discourses in the context of argumentation that follows a specific narrative.

Discourse analysis turns its attention to policy narratives to understand how political interests are framed by actors (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Stone defines a policy narrative as a story that uses characters, a plot, and a moral to construct a reality revolving around a particular issue (Stone, 2002, as cited in Mu et al., 2022, p. 1362). Multiple narratives can be used on the same policy issue, emphasising different constructions of reality (Mu et al., 2022). Narratives use language, symbolic power, and social constructions of storytelling to influence the attitudes of target populations. Kaplan (1986) claims that a narrative can explain why an action is desirable (p. 2). I will focus on the narratives used in the NNR debate to understand how actors frame policy issues based on their interests.

By understanding policy as discourse, focus is on the power underlying the practices of actors in the policy process. This power normalises certain assumptions and beliefs which individuals accept. The literature focuses on power and trust in the environmental policy process and its influence on knowledge production (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Discursive formations can be understood through linguistic and textual styles as ways to empower some and silence others (Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996). The analysis of discourses in the debate on NNR is well suited for the discussion in this thesis.

In conclusion by employing Keeley and Scoones (1999) analysis of environmental policy process as the theoretical lens, this research aims to illuminate the case complexities and contribute valuable insights. The selection of this framework is driven by its aptitude for addressing the intricacies of my research area, providing a robust foundation for analysis and interpretation.

3. Research design and methods

To answer my research questions, I used a case study as the research design and decided to adopt a multimethod qualitative data collection approach that included document analysis and interviews. The use of two qualitative methods is a form of methodological triangulation that is beneficial for providing confirmation of studies, increasing validity, and enhancing understanding

of the studied phenomena (Bekhet & Zauszniewski, 2012). This chapter explains the research design, methods, limitations, ethical considerations, and the trustworthiness of this research.

3.1 Research design

This research employed an intrinsic case study design. A case study is an empirical inquiry examining a contemporary phenomenon in-depth within a real-life context, representing a larger phenomenon (Yin, 2009). Case study design is often associated with qualitative research and is frequently used by researchers (Clark et al., 2021).

This thesis serves as a case study of a national debate, specifically focusing on the Norwegian debate concerning the decision by the NCM to formulate nutrition recommendations that integrate environmental sustainability aspects. As indicated, this case exemplifies a noticeable trend where various organisations, governments, and scientists advocate for integrating sustainability into dietary guidelines. The unit of analysis, which frames what is being studied, is the Norwegian food system actors' and stakeholders' reactions to this decision.

The choice of a case study design was motivated by the desire to gain an in-depth understanding of the case's unique context and internal dynamics, which provide valuable insights into stakeholders' perspectives. With case studies, the case is an object of interest on its own, and the aim is to reveal its unique features (Clark et al., 2021).

There are potential limitations to using a single case study; however, as suggested by Clark et al. (2021), advocates of case study research argue that the results presented in case studies are not constrained by restricted external validity, given that the design does not aim to produce generalisable findings. Instead, the objective is to illuminate informants' understanding of reality, and the research design of a case study enabled me to do so.

3.2 Research methods

The two main methods used in this study is document analysis and key informant interviews. In this chapter I describe the two methods and how they are interlinked in this study.

3.2.1 Document analysis

As mentioned, document analysis was employed to answer my research questions and gain an extensive understanding of the debate on NNR. Document analysis is helpful to survey the landscape of media dialogues and debates. According to Ayoub and colleagues (2016), document analysis is “a process for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world” (p. 15). Document analysis is considered one of the primary tools in analysing meaning in media (Ayoub et al., 2016). Its primary objective is to foster a comprehensive understanding of the various perspectives within a discourse (Clark et al., 2021). Asdal and Reinertsen (2020) contend that documents have four dimensions: they are tools, they are connected to places, they are worked with in diverse ways, and they consist of text that can be read closely.

Asdal and Reinertsen (2020) ask “what is the case” as a starting point, which allows the researcher to examine how the case is described and framed. Further, it can examine how documents are connected and who the actors involved are. Asdal and Reinertsen’s framework advocates for an approach that looks beyond mere documents and focuses on their connections. This framework aligns with my analysis and is helpful for the connection to the theory guiding this thesis. It underscores the imperative to transcend documents and delve into the intricately connected political interests, involved actors, and prevailing discourses.

The documents were analysed through qualitative content analysis. This method has three advantages: it reduces data, it is systematic, and it is flexible (Clark et al., 2021). The document analysis allowed me to reduce the large amount of data written about the NNR and identify core themes. It was systematic through coding and the categorisation of data, and flexible, allowing me to operate inductively. I used inductive reasoning, an approach where the researcher starts with a research question, gathers empirical evidence, and examples of data, and draws general conclusions (Clark et al., 2021).

The scope of this thesis affected the decision to focus only on newspaper media. Although studying social media or audio-visual media could have been relevant, it would have required other types of analysis, as analysing social media requires additional caution, as one must be more attentive in distinguishing genuine sources from fake news. Additionally, it would have been time-consuming to add other types of analysis. Furthermore, analysing newspaper documents aligns better with the

theoretical framework. This is because it is easier to identify what perspective the author is coming from based on the information provided, such as profession and academic background. This information made it easier to identify the political interests and actor groups that were involved in the debate.

My analysis centred on newspaper articles published from January 2020 to December 2023. It is important to note that the work of NNR2023 dates to 2016 when the NCM announced the initiative to update the nutrient recommendations for the Nordic and Baltic countries (Blomhoff et al., 2023). However, the Norwegian media did not acknowledge the NNR until 2020, leading me to identify January 2020 as an appropriate starting point for the analysis. The decision to omit articles published after December 2023 was guided by the research design, which focused on a representative selection of opinions in the newspaper articles from 2020 to 2023. This choice was also influenced by the time constraints associated with conducting interviews.

3.2.2 Document analysis process

To do the document analysis, I executed a keyword search to find relevant newspaper articles using Retriever ATEKST, an online database (Retriever, 2024). The search words were “sustainability” and “dietary advice”, (“bærekraft” and “kostråd” in Norwegian). The search string was chosen as it was specific to my research question, and it excluded articles that included dietary advice more generally and helped me narrow down the results to pieces that specifically mentioned the NNR.

The search string initially identified 513 articles in ATEKST (see Figure 2). These articles were systematically categorised in a spreadsheet. The first step was to skim through the articles that appeared. By doing this, I eliminated articles that (1) appeared several times due to being published in multiple newspapers or printed in the online and paper versions and (2) whose primary focus was not on the sustainability aspect of the NNR. Many newspaper articles have been published discussing the NNR’s recommendation of zero alcohol intake and the ongoing dispute surrounding ultra-processed foods. While these articles often touched upon sustainability, there were other main focuses besides sustainability. Therefore, I decided to exclude these types of articles. As can be seen in Figure 2, the search string initially identified 513 articles in ATEKST, most of which were irrelevant or repeated. I found that 220 out of 513 newspaper articles and opinion pieces (see Appendix A) were relevant for my analysis.

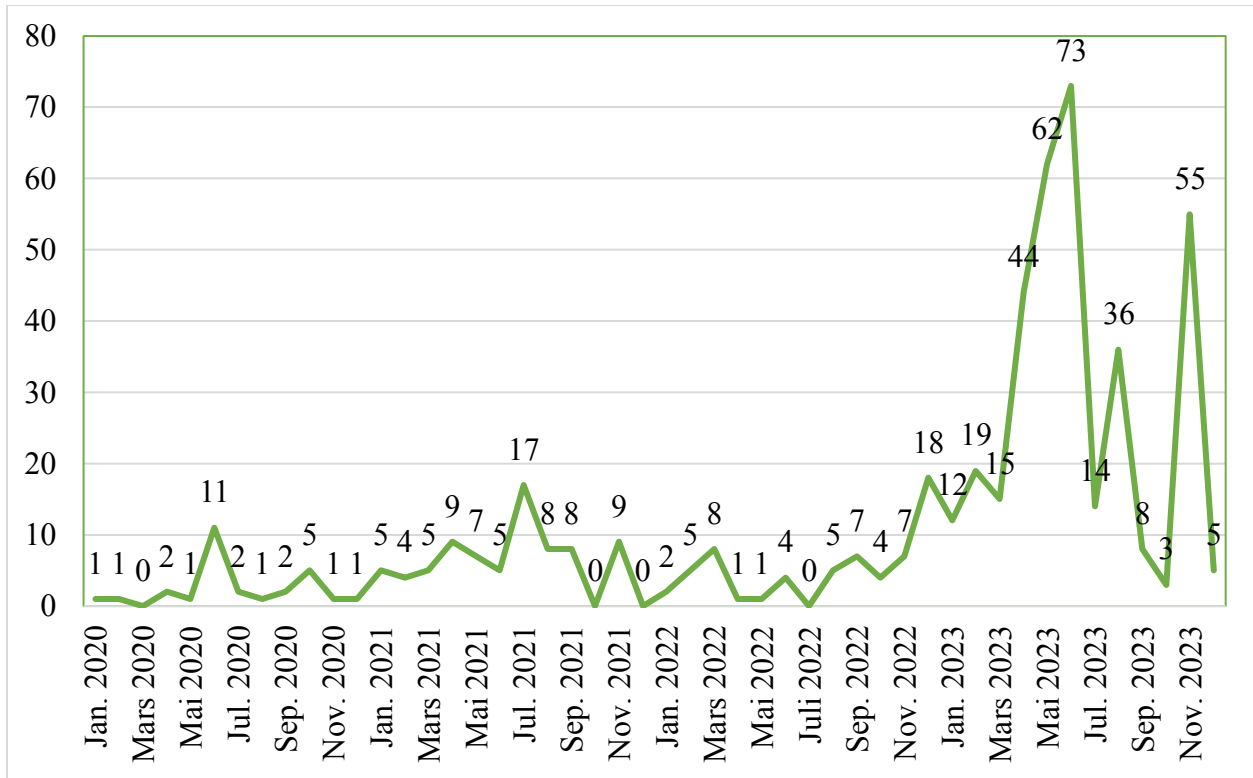


Figure 2: NNR sustainability coverage in Norwegian newspapers

The number of articles (N=513) retrieved in the search engine ATEKST using the search words “bærekraft” and “kostråd” for the months of January 2020 until December 2023.

The second step involved documenting information in Norwegian, and the third was to make small summaries in English. The fourth step was to organise and categorise each article by author, actor category, date, and perspective such as whether their stance regarding incorporating sustainability aspects in NNR was supportive, critical, or neutral. I identified seven actor categories, these were journalists, lobby and advocacy actors, food and agricultural interest actors, NNR authors, scientists, plant-based activists, and politicians based on their background and their role in the debate. The categorisation was based on their fit into the different categories. For instance, if an actor were an author in a newspaper that promotes farmer interests and also a farmer, I would categorise them as a food and agricultural interest actor rather than a journalist. The categorisation is explained further in section 4.3.1.

The fifth step was to code the articles, the two main codes were themes and critiques. The reason for the division between critiques and themes was that it helped distinguish between types of

content in the newspapers. It helped me focus on distinct levels of analysis. The critiques referred to the arguments on NNR used by actors to exclude sustainability aspects in the Norwegian dietary advice, while the themes focused on identifying overarching concepts and trends. The division provided clarity in the findings of the analysis and made it easier to understand the types of content examined and the insights gained from the analysis. Finally, I created overviews through figures and tables based on the collected data, that I used for the results section.

The document analysis process was done based on my interpretation. I analysed whether the author had a neutral, critical, or supportive perspective on NNR's environmental sustainability integration through coding. The coding was done based on analysing arguments used, language, and tone in the newspaper articles. The coding helped me visually see whether an article had many codes based on critiques or whether the author was describing NNR in more general terms. With a large number of critical codes, the articles were granted a critical perspective on sustainability integration, but when there were only one or two critical codes, the articles received a neutral perspective. However, when the article emphasised positive elements of the incorporation of sustainability, the article was categorised as supportive.

3.2.3 Interviews and sampling

The second step in the research process was to conduct key informant interviews. I used the insights gained from the document analysis to formulate interview questions, find overlapping themes, and triangulate findings. I created an interview guide (see Appendix B) in collaboration with my supervisor based on the initial document analysis, grounded in the research questions with the aim to have neutral and objective interview questions. I revised the interview questions with the document analysis which allowed me to triangulate between the methods. When preparing for the interviews I had already examined the interviewees' opinions and perceptions about the topic based on their participation in the media. This prior knowledge served as a valuable tool. It allowed me to cross-check my understanding with their view between the document analysis and interview responses, ensuring triangulation through a comprehensive and balanced research approach. However, this prior knowledge may have potentially influenced my interpretation of the interviewees' opinions. To avoid any potential biases, I asked open-ended questions and

encouraged the interviewees to elaborate on their responses so that I could gain a comprehensive understanding of their perspectives.

For the sampling process, I decided on purposive sampling to interview people who fit specific sampling criteria. As Clark et al. (2021) note, purposive sampling efficiently identifies individuals who serve as information-rich subjects, allowing for in-depth exploration of the participants' experiences and perceptions. The sampling criteria were that the interviewees (1) were identified as active participants in the debate and (2) had expertise in the field, such as education or professional experience.

Based on the document analysis, I made a list of relevant actors in the debate with their contact information, which I found online. This list consisted of 64 relevant people divided into the seven actor categories. Clark et al (2021) state that 20-30 interviews are sufficient for qualitative research. I wanted a sampling close to 20 participants. However, in practice this did not seem feasible based on the time available, so I aimed for a sample size of at least 14 ($n=14$), two to represent each actor category. Although my study design might not result in saturation with regard to current views on the studied matter, it still will be valuable as a pioneer study on the topic which can be elaborated in new studies. I first contacted 19 candidates from the different actor categories through email in January 2024. Initially, 12 people agreed to an interview; I had two declines and five no responses, even with a reminder email. Therefore, I contacted four additional people who fit the sampling criteria to fulfil the sample size. I had 14 interviews planned; however, in the final week of data collection, I experienced one person having to cancel and one no-show. Thus, a total of 12 people were interviewed.

The interviews had a semi-structured approach, which provides flexibility to alter the research direction (Clark et al., 2021). The interview setting and its structure gave flexibility, which allowed for adding follow-up questions. Mosley (2013) states that the benefits of semi-structured interviews allow for qualitative hypothesis testing as comparable questions are asked to all interview subjects, which can be helpful when coding interview transcripts. The flexibility of adding questions during the interviews allowed me to cross-check my understanding from the document analysis with the interviewees' answers.

In interviews, saturation is often a determinant for researchers to decide whether to continue or conclude data collection. Saturation is a methodological principle and denotes the point in the interview process where participants no longer provide new or different information, and further data collection becomes unnecessary (Saunders et al., 2018). In the twelve interviews conducted, I experienced that the interviewees provided somewhat similar understandings to some interview questions, while with others their answers were diverse. Therefore, additional interviews could have provided more perspectives and understandings on the subject and added to the data's richness and diversity, especially in the actor categories that were less represented. Having conducted only twelve interviews, achieving saturation in this research may not have been feasible. As a result, there is a limitation to the quality of the research and the data collected, which could have been improved by obtaining additional responses to reach saturation.

3.2.4 Interview subjects and setting

Twelve interviews were conducted between the 22nd of January and the 23rd of February 2024 at the location preferred by the interviewees in the greater Oslo area or online via teams. Table 1 shows a list of the interviewees and provide relevant information of their background. Although I encouraged the interviewees to meet me face-to-face to maintain rapport with respondents (Clark et al., 2021), I experienced that it was easier for many to conduct the interview online. The reason for conducting primarily online interviews was due to the informants' busy work schedules. Some interviews planned to be in person were changed at the last minute to online, primarily due to hostile weather conditions in Oslo in late January 2024, preventing travelling opportunities for physical meetings.

Online interviews have several benefits: they are time- and cost-saving, convenient, flexible, have fewer safety concerns, and are easy to accommodate (Clark et al., 2021). Additionally, research shows that building rapport through online interviews is not significantly lower than in in-person interviews (Clark et al., 2021). However, limitations of online interviews include a lack of non-vocal cues and potential technological problems such as audio disruptions and poor WIFI connection (Clark et al., 2021). I decided not to focus on non-vocal cues, and I experienced one issue with my WIFI connection, where I had to use data from my phone, which made me unable to use Diktafon and Nettskjema for transcription. I used the Teams recording function and

automatic transcription; however, it did not affect the data security (see section 3.3) as Teams stored the recording on my encrypted Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) login and deleted it automatically after 120 days.

Table 1: Key informant interviews

Detailed overview of the interviews conducted with interview number, date, setting, description of their background, and actor category.

Interview	Date	Setting	Description	Actor
1	22 nd of Jan	Teams interview	Senior scientist on climate and food at a Norwegian institute for climate research	Scientist
2	23 rd of Jan	Teams interview	Senior advisor on sustainable food production in an information and advertising organisation	Lobby and advocate actor
3	23 rd of Jan	Teams interview	General secretary in a non-profit organisation for health	Scientist
4	29 th of Jan	Interviewee's office in Oslo	CEO in an interest and industry organisation for meat	Food and agricultural interest actor
5	30 th of Jan	Interviewee's office in Oslo	Farmer and leader in interest organisation for agriculture	Food and agricultural interest actor
6	6 th of Feb	Interviewee's office in Oslo	Department director in a national government agency, PhD in nutrition	NNR author and scientist
7	7 th of Feb	Teams interview	Elected group leader in a centre left political party	Politician
8	9 th of Feb	Teams interview	Chief editor in one of Norway's largest independent newspapers	Journalist
9	13 th of Feb	Teams interview	Farmer and commentator in a Norwegian newspaper	Journalist
10	14 th of Feb	Teams interview	Special advisor at a bioeconomy-focused research institution.	Scientist
11	16 th of Feb	Teams interview	Activist and influencer promoting plant-based food	Plant-based diet advocate
12	23 rd of Feb	Teams interview	Division director at bioeconomy-focused research institution	Scientist

3.2.5 Interview coding

To transcribe the interviews, I used an online tool called Diktafon, which is connected to Nettskjema and Sikt, that automatically transcribes the interviews (Nettskjema, 2024). After that, I listened to each interview, corrected any errors Diktafon missed, and highlighted responses I found interesting.

To organise the data, I used Excel to get overviews of the answers to each question. I used Excel's table function to create columns for the interview number, instead of names, the Norwegian answer, and its English translated version. I also added a column for interesting quotes. Once the table was set up, I started the coding process using thematic analysis, which involves identifying themes that emerge from the data (Clark et al., 2021). I read the responses, looked for patterns and recurring ideas, and added columns for each identified theme to the table. I used numbers to count the frequency of when a theme was brought up and assigned a code to each theme to represent it visually on the table.

After the initial coding, I reviewed it again to see if themes could be connected and made into fewer themes and whether they were overlapping. I then created a new document that sorted the answers into themes such as sustainability, criticism, interests, politics, and actors and included interesting quotes. The interviewees were asked which actors were involved, and their answers were summarised in a table and used for the result section. Additionally, I used the Excel document to generate Pivot tables, which enabled me to quantify interviewees' responses and convert them into measurable results. These approaches provided a clear visualisation of the extent to which interviewees supported the integration of sustainability in NNR and the consistency of their responses in different interview questions.

Throughout the process, I remained open to new themes that emerged from the data and used both inductive and deductive reasoning to triangulate between my interviews and document analysis. To summarise, this subchapter has outlined the methods used in this thesis.

3.3 Ethical considerations

When conducting social research, it is crucial to consider ethical principles to ensure the safety and well-being of participants. Ethical considerations are vital in ensuring the research is conducted with integrity and fairness. Ethical principles include obtaining informed consent from participants, protecting their privacy, avoiding harm, allowing voluntary participation, maintaining confidentiality, and avoiding deception (Clark et al., 2021; Staksrud et al., 2023; Laryeafio & Ogbewe, 2023). These principles are critical in ensuring that social research is conducted ethically and responsibly, and to respect participants' rights and dignity. In this master thesis, I aimed to follow ethical principles.

In conducting this research, I adhered to the national research ethics guidelines (Staksrud et al., 2023), NMBU's ethical guidelines (NMBU, 2021), and ensured compliance with the Personal Data Act. To manage personal data for this thesis, I submitted a data reporting form for personal data in research to Sikt (Sikt, 2024), guaranteeing safe and secure data handling. I used Nettskjema to store the data and recordings from my interview responses safely. Sikt provided this research with ethical approval (reference number 355468) in January 2024.

Prior to the interviews, I provided participants with an information sheet and invitation (see Appendix C) and consent form (see Appendix D), containing details of the project and asking for written or oral consent to participate. I received written consent from 3 participants and oral consent from 9 participants. The interview subjects were also informed that they could leave the interview at any point, withdraw their consent, and get access to the information stored by the researcher. One interviewee asked for citation check, which he was granted.

Furthermore, I ensured the anonymity and privacy of the interviewees during the data collection and storage. To provide anonymity, I changed the interviewees' names in transcripts to a number (1-12) based on the chronological order of the interviews. As mentioned, the recordings were securely stored through nettskjema.no using the app Diktafon, except in one interview (see 3.2.4.) Nettskjema requires a password connected to the NMBU login and Sikt application and deletes the data stored after a set date. Regarding the data, such as transcripts and coding obtained from interviews, it was communicated that its use was solely intended for the master's thesis. Any related notes and materials were deleted by the 15th of May 2024.

Emphasising the critical ethical principle of safeguarding privacy in social research (Clark et al., 2021), I was committed to shielding participants from potential harm. Even though all the interviewees are public persons with a presence in the media, I wanted to make sure they felt safe and could speak freely without the possibility of their statements being traced back to them. The anonymity and lack of specific details from their interviews in this master thesis reflect that wish. In summary, I aimed to follow ethical principles throughout the research process which helped ensure integrity of the research, which will be discussed more below.

3.4 Trustworthiness and limitations

To achieve trustworthiness in this research, I aimed to follow the four-dimension criteria (FDC) of credibility, confirmability, dependability, and transferability based on Lincoln and Guba (1985) framework (Krefting, 1990; Clark et al., 2021).

3.4.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to internal validity and helps assess how believable findings are in research (Clark et al., 2021). Three criteria can help evaluate credibility: triangulation of data, longitude action in the field, and assessment of divergent cases. In this research, the data was triangulated using multiple methods. Additionally, I included informants from varied backgrounds and reassessed the research and interview questions. As the project went through distinct phases, I cross-checked my findings with my research questions and the data results. Combining document analysis and interviews as methodological strategies helped strengthen credibility (Krefting, 1990). The different triangulation methods helped increase the credibility of this research.

Researchers have different assessments of what fulfils the criteria of longitudinal action in the field (Clark et al., 2021). It is often referred to as continued measures of following individuals over prolonged periods, such as years or decades (Caruana et al., 2015). This research was conducted between October 2023 and May 2024, with the beginning phases stemming back to the spring of 2023. With a 30-credit thesis, the time for this research is relatively short. Although the case study design allowed me to dive deep into the matter, I was not able to study the interviewees over an extended period or observe any changes they might have experienced during the debate. Due to the limited time, the execution of certain activities, such as the interview sampling, was affected,

as mentioned in 3.2.3. Based on this, this research does not qualify for longitudinal action in the field.

The criteria for assessing divergent cases refers to the methodological strategy of finding disconfirming evidence that may challenge research findings (Antin et al., 2015). As part of this process, published literature on sustainability and dietary advice was studied to determine whether changes in dietary patterns lead to environmental benefits, as seen in section 1.2. Additionally, much research has been published on how environmental considerations are discussed in the environmental policy process. However, finding divergent cases proved difficult, as there is little research on policy rejection due to sustainability being incorporated. Therefore, finding disconfirming evidence in this research was limited. To summarise, this research's credibility is weakened by the lack of longitudinal action in the field and the absence of the assessment of divergent cases. However, it is strengthened as it stems from empirical data of lived, perceived human experiences (Krefting, 1990), contributes to new findings, and is triangulated through a multi-method approach.

3.4.2 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to objectivity and assessing whether the researcher's values influenced the study to a high degree (Clark et al., 2021). It refers to more than simply being free from bias, as Clark et al. (2021) recognise "that complete objectivity is impossible but requires the researcher to show that they have acted in good faith" (p. 366). To achieve confirmability, I aimed to have objective interview questions (see Appendix B), and neutrally ask questions to ensure I did not influence the informants' opinions. Additionally, I asked for respondent validation from the interviewees who provided responses that I was unsure of and wanted their confirmation of what they meant. In addition, I ensured honest transcription of the interviews and allowed the individuals who wanted to access their transcripts to alter quotations. Respondent validation ensured that the impressions I got were consistent with the interviewees' views.

The confirmability assessment also refers to the distance between the researcher and informants to reduce potential bias (Krefting, 1990). As the informants were all participants in the debate concerning NNR and, to some extent, public figures, I knew of some of them but did not know anyone personally. I had no opinions about the informants and was neutral in the contact approach.

I aimed not to allow my subjective opinions and experiences to intrude the research, which helped increase the confirmability.

Additionally, prolonged contact, which refers to lengthy periods of contact and observations, helps ensure confirmability (Krefting, 1990; Clark et al., 2021). In this study, contact with the interviewees lasted for a few weeks. I contacted them in January 2024 and informed them about the research. I maintained email contact with all of them for a few weeks, answering their questions and providing them with more details about the study. Some interviewees requested to receive the master thesis after submission, and a few shared documents and relevant sources with me after the interviews. While the option for prolonged contact was available throughout the research process via email, I only contacted the interviewees when I needed respondent validation based on time limitations.

To summarise, this research's confirmability is strengthened as I asked for respondent validation, ensured honest transcription, aimed to be free from bias, and had, to an extent, prolonged contact with the informants.

3.4.3 Transferability

Transferability refers to external validity and the ability of the research results to allow for generalisation in other contexts (Clark et al., 2021). As mentioned in section 3.1, a single case study as a research design can restrict external validity (Clark et al., 2021) and the representation of the studied population. However, this research aimed to illuminate informants' understanding of reality and provide insights into stakeholders' perspectives. It focused more on the unique features of the case than whether the findings apply to other contexts.

In qualitative research, the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the findings are considered more significant than the extent or range of the research. In other words, the depth of the analysis is given more importance than the breadth of the study (Clark et al., 2021). It is questionable that the responses from the sample size of 12 represent all the stakeholders in the debate and reflecting on the sampling process, this presents another limitation of this research. I should have contacted more people to fill the sample size of 14, as the informants are busy people with many priorities. However, due to time constraints, I had to set a deadline for data collection at the end of February,

and I ended up with a sampling size of 12. More interviews could have been beneficial for the transferability of this research.

However, the results from the document analysis are based on a more extensive data set and might provide more generalisable findings that could be applied to other contexts. It is important to note that the discussion on integrating sustainability aspects into dietary advice has not only been debated in Norway but also in other settings and countries. Therefore, comparable results in this research could be found in other debates. While conducting this research many actors stated that the Norwegian debate was more extensive than in other countries, however, this has not been studied thoroughly by me.

To summarise, qualitative research is commonly not claiming to be generalisable to other research contexts, and this research did not aim for that. Rather, the focus was on gaining a comprehensive understanding of stakeholders' perspectives in the specific case of NNR while acknowledging the limitations of a single case study design regarding transferability.

3.4.4 Dependability

Dependability refers to the degree to which the results could be repeated if the study were repeated under similar conditions (Clark et al., 2021). To achieve dependability, the researcher must provide audit trails of the research (Clark et al., 2021). In this chapter, I have aimed to describe the research process and the choices made.

Through clear sampling criteria, descriptive methodology, consistent ethical considerations, and an honest and objective stance (Clark et al., 2021), I have aimed to provide audit trails of this research for other researchers to follow. Any additional material can be found in the appendices section of this thesis, such as the interview guide and document analysis overview. I have aimed for the audit trails to include all the necessary information on data collection, data analysis, and any limitations that may have affected the study's dependability. To conclude, through the methods chapter, I have aimed to provide audit trails to increase the dependability and ability of the results to be repeated.

3.4.5 Summary of trustworthiness

As discussed above, the trustworthiness of this research has some limitations. The research followed the four-dimension criteria of credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability to achieve trustworthiness. The credibility of the research was strengthened through a multi-method approach and empirical data of lived human experiences. However, it was weakened due to the lack of longitudinal action in the field and the absence of divergent case assessments. The confirmability of the research was increased through respondent validation, a neutral contact approach, and prolonged contact via email communication. The transferability of the research was limited due to the specific context and participants involved. Finally, the dependability of the research was ensured through detailed documentation of audit trails and a transparent and systematic approach.

4. Results and discussion

This study aims to understand how Norwegian food system stakeholders respond to and perceive the integration of sustainability aspects into dietary advice. In this chapter, I present the findings of the empirical data, and discuss them in relation to the theoretical framework, elucidating connections between interview responses, document analysis findings, and established theory. Content and thematic analysis were conducted to identify the key themes, and the findings are discussed in detail in the following subsections.

4.1 Discourses in the NNR debate

In environmental policy process theory, discourses are explained as expressions of knowledge and power that influence humans by the definitions imposed on them (Foucault, 1980). Discourses do not originate from individuals but result from cumulative practices. In this subchapter, I use empirical data results to analyse the discourses based on critical and thematic narratives, framings, and understandings.

4.1.1 Critical narratives

Identifying and analysing the different co-existing narratives about a policy is a central part of a policy process analysis. In the document analysis, I analysed 220 newspaper articles to find

narratives. A narrative is a re-representation of reality from a particular perspective (Hazel, 2007), and such narratives can be framed as critiques of a particular case. In this section, I will focus on these critiques when presenting the narratives in the NNR debate. The relevance of discussing these critiques stems from their use by policy actors in constructing narratives and discourses.

The findings show that more than half (52%) of the newspaper articles (115 out of 220) had an overall critical perspective of the decision to include environmental sustainability aspects in the NNR2023 (see Figure 3). Moreover, 70 (32%) were neutral, and only 35 (16%) of the articles were positive (Figure 3). The categorisation was based on an evaluation of tone, language, and content in the articles conducted by the author in the document analysis (see section 3.2.2). Figure 3 shows the distribution of how many articles used supportive, neutral, or critical language to discuss the case of NNR and illustrates how the media contributed to the debate with the proceeded construction of critical narratives. Further, when the interviewees were asked about whether the process of NNR had been critique-worthy, seven out of twelve said yes, three said no, and two were unsure and stated that they needed more knowledge to decide whether this was the case or not.

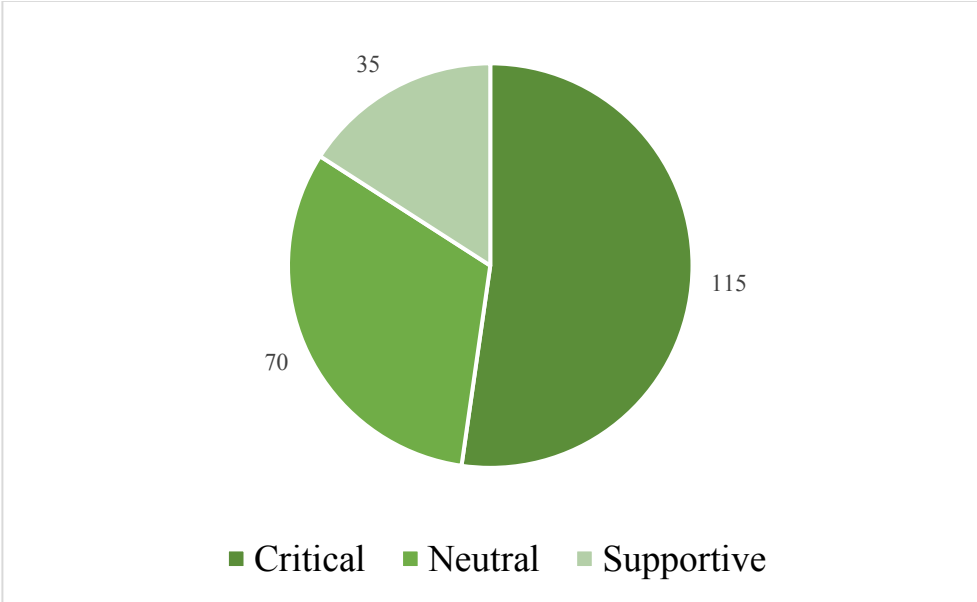


Figure 3: Categorisation of perspectives on inclusion of sustainability in the NNR

The categorisation was based on an evaluation of tone, language, and content in the articles conducted by the author in the document analysis of 220 newspaper articles.

Furthermore, the language used in the debate was primarily critical, using specialised language and terminology. Table 2 displays the process-oriented critiques that were found and shows the distribution between the frequency of critiques mentioned in the newspaper articles. Such process-oriented critiques referred to the NNR committee's process, methods, rigour, and sources, as well as potential adverse outcomes, as highlighted by the document analysis results in Table 2. The most critiqued aspect was the simplified sustainability approach of the NNR, with the decision to only examine environmental sustainability aspects. This is an interesting process-oriented critique as the mandate of NNR was to only focus on environmental sustainability. Critique of the NNR mandate can be seen in this debate to divert attention and resources beyond the scope of the research of NNR and contribute to diluting the effectiveness of the propositions given in the NNR report.

Also, a prevalent critique was based on the NNR recommendations on reduced consumption of red meat, poultry, and dairy, where actors argued that these recommendations lacked a solid scientific foundation and criticised the lack of citations to support the scientific findings in the NNR (see Table 2) (Angelo, 2023; Hals, 2023). Additionally, some actors argued that the NNR did not provide a balanced view of positive trade-offs with livestock (Table 2). For example, it did not recognise the benefits of carbon storage or the potential negative impact on biodiversity if grassland were reverted to forest instead of pastureland (Korsæth & Bardalen, 2023). Furthermore, another criticism was that sustainability statistics in NNR were derived from a global context rather than a Norwegian context, with a lack of focus on the Nordic and Norwegian agricultural conditions (Molland, 2023).

Table 2: Summary of process-oriented critiques

Frequency of critiques in the 220 newspaper articles, analysed using Excel.

Critiques	Times mentioned
Narrow & simplistic sustainability approach	58
Unscientific claims & too few citations and studies	40
Lack of balanced view of the positive trade-offs of livestock	38
Sustainability assessments based on regional & global context	31
Decreased self sufficiency	28
Decreased food security	24
Researchers withdraw	24
Methodology	20
Lack of trust	16
Use of Chatham House as authors	15
Doubtful credibility of experts	13
Lack of scientific expertise	9
Lack of inputs listened to	5
Lack of clear hypothesis	3
Lack of transparency	2
Lack clearly defined goals	2
Unprecise research	2

Note: Summary from document analysis in Excel

Another process-oriented critique revolved around the lack of transparency from the NNR committee and authors. One issue I identified is that when the report was published, multiple articles were still undergoing peer-review and were not yet accessible. As of May 2024, one

background article from Trolle et al. (2024) on sustainability, as well as two articles concerning burden of disease and ultra-processed food, were still in the peer-review process and had not been made publicly available. This lack of transparency neglects the wishes of individuals who want to access the background information and underscores the critique found in the newspaper articles.

In summary, most newspaper articles expressed a critical perspective of the inclusion of sustainability aspects in NNR, I therefore conclude that the dominant media narrative towards the NNR2023 was critical. It may be asserted that the prevalence of critiques in the media influenced the decision to exclude sustainability in the Norwegian dietary advice, and this will be discussed subsequently in this thesis.

The interviewees were also asked about what they found critique-worthy about the NNR process and the assessment on sustainability. Five people emphasised the lack of Norwegian data and research, arguing that the approach looked at global data on emissions and environmental considerations when writing the sustainability articles. Four people mentioned the authors involved, arguing that they had lack of expertise in sustainability and claiming that many of the researchers involved were nutrition scientists, not environmental scientists. Additionally, multiple informants questioned the methodology of the NNR committee, stating that there had not been a straightforward methodology to follow, changes throughout the process from three to five sustainability articles, unclear use of planetary boundaries framework, and overall lack of transparency.

Further, several interviewees mentioned the NNR committee's use of the British think tank Chatham House as authors. Chatham House is a research institute that describes its mission as to "help governments and societies build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world" (Chatham House, n.d.). One journalist informant even questioned the ideology and plant-based lifestyle of multiple authors involved, referring specifically to Helen Harwatt, co-author of two background articles and employee of Chatham House (Benton et al., 2024; Harwatt et al., 2024) and her support of plant-based diets on X/Twitter. The informant argued that Harwatt and others' subjective opinions affected the result of the sustainability focus of NNR, stating that:

"If you are part of a committee tasked with proposing new dietary guidelines and happen to be a vegan, I don't think that automatically disqualifies you. If it becomes a growing

trend, if people are actively involved against the meat industry, whether due to animal welfare concerns or for any reason, but if you are actively against the industry that actually feeds people, it eventually ends up affecting the outcome”² (Interviewee 9).

Overall, the concerns raised by the journalist informant emphasise the potential influence of certain authors and their impact on the NNR committee’s recommendations, showing how the process-oriented critiques to gained momentum in the debate.

In summary, this subchapter has revealed numerous process-oriented critiques in the newspaper articles and interviews on integrating sustainability in the NNR2023. It has highlighted specific critiques on the committee’s mandate, methodology, sources and data, and authors involved. The findings contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and controversies surrounding the sustainability focus in the NNR and the narratives and discourses that evolved during the debate.

4.1.2 Thematical narratives

In addition to being analysed based on critiques (as shown in Table 2), the 220 newspaper articles were also analysed based on broader themes. The broader themes found in the media discussion about sustainability integration in NNR are presented in Table 3. When Table 3 is examined, it can be seen that a variety of themes are involved when discussing dietary advice and sustainability pointing to the complex dynamics of elements involved. It is not just a case discussing healthy food choices, but also the intricate relationship between agricultural production, culture, habits, politics, and sustainability aspects.

² The author has translated all quotations from Norwegian to English, modifying words as needed to ensure coherence while preserving the original meaning.

Table 3: Summary of broader themes

Frequency of themes in the 220 newspaper articles, analysed using Excel.

Themes	Times mentioned
Political views	54
Importance of local food production compared to import	43
Benefits of eating less meat and more environmentally friendly	18
Food traditions & culture	15
Swedish approach to dietary guidelines	14
Possibility of increasing plant-based products	13
Health linked to diets	13
Personal choice	12
Denmark changing advice on red meat	13
Health vs. environmental aspects	10
EAT-Lancet	5
Food waste	5
Land use	2

Note: Summary from document analysis in Excel

The most prominent theme discussed in the newspaper articles was political views, highlighting the political nature of the agricultural and environmental discussions. Furthermore, the articles frequently emphasised the significance of local food production and Norwegian food traditions, advocating for the preservation of Norway's culture and traditions. The actors in the newspaper articles emphasised their concern of increased reliance on import if the NNR were to influence the Norwegian dietary guidelines. Emphasising that Norway has 3,5% arable land (NIBIO, 2024), and therefore limited resources to drastically change today's production beyond grains, vegetables, fruits, and grass-fed livestock production.

Another central theme was the importance of personal choice when it comes to dietary habits. During the interviews, a politician interviewee (Interviewee 7), highlighted this by emphasising the role of individual actions and choices in this matter. According to the interviewee, consumption habits are a personal matter for many people, and they pointed out that people have a tradition of making their own choices when it comes to diets. This observation regarding personal choice reflects the overall discussion on the effect of dietary guidelines; emphasising that dietary guidelines from health authorities are “just” advice, and that the consumers still need to decide based on their preference.

Moreover, those supporting sustainability integration highlighted the importance of reducing meat consumption and promoting environmentally friendly food choices. They pointed to the many alternative ways of agricultural production in Norway. Such themes emphasised the possibility of increasing the production of more vegetables and plant-based products in Norway, and health being linked to consumption and diets. In addition, many articles point to the actions of neighbouring countries. Such as Denmark altering their national dietary guidelines to reduce meat consumption (Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries of Denmark, 2021; Jakobsen, 2021), and Sweden rejecting the sustainability aspects of NNR and deciding to just focus on health impacts (Sunde, 2023; Engeseth, 2023). Overall, many broad themes were brought up in the newspaper articles, and the findings show that many diverse topics were involved in discussing sustainability in dietary advice pointing to the complex topic of discussion.

4.1.3 Sustainability discourse

Delving into the examination and analysis of discourses within policy process analysis shows the shift from an overarching concept of policy to recognising that how issues are discussed carries substantial significance across diverse policy domains (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Examining individuals' perspectives on sustainability provides valuable insights into their attitudes and beliefs regarding environmental understanding. These perceptions also help influence language, narratives, and frames used to describe sustainability issues and problems (Keeley & Scoones, 1999).

When the informants were asked about their understanding of sustainability, most respondents (8 out of 12) said that sustainability is based on the three pillars of economic, social, and

environmental criteria. They emphasised that these criteria must be included in any discussion about sustainability. This was a dominant theme picked up in the document analysis which identified the NNR's narrow and simplified approach to sustainability as the most critiqued element of the debate (see Table 2), focusing solely on environmental sustainability, with a primary focus on GHG emissions. The accounts offered during the interviews underscored the importance of a holistic understanding of sustainability. One scientist informant (12) emphasised the role of the sustainability understanding by critiquing the NNR committee, stating that:

“When it comes to the work of NNR, first of all, the mandate was unfavourable in the first place. Because the NCM said that they should only look at environmental sustainability. Doing a sustainability analysis where you only look at part of the whole is not really possible. Then you won't get a proper sustainability assessment” (Interviewee 12).

The quote from the scientist informant reflects how sustainability is understood among most of the informants. Other interview respondents, saw the Brundtland Commission's sustainable development definition as the best way of understanding sustainability. A food and agricultural interest informant expressed their perspective on sustainable development by stating: “you shall leave the farm in a better state than when you received it” (Interviewee 5), emphasising the importance of agricultural sustainable development. While another stated that “we don't inherit the earth; we borrow it from our children” (Interviewee 3), which corresponds with the foundation of the Rio Earth Summit message (Meakin, 1992). These insights align with the importance on sustainable resource use those three interviewees underlined.

Furthermore, one informant's unique commentary on sustainability in relation to diets stands out, “a process can be sustainable, but a product cannot; therefore, a sustainable diet is a meaningless expression. Sustainable food production may lead to a sustainable diet, but a diet itself cannot be called sustainable” (Interviewee 12). This perspective adds a layer of complexity to the broader discourse on sustainability, urging a nuanced exploration of the understanding of sustainability and its usage in academic contexts. The quote underscores the discourse that integrating sustainability in dietary advice is complicated.

The framing of sustainability issues often points to different usage and understanding of sustainability (Salas-Zapata & Ortiz-Muñoz, 2019). Although the interviewees mostly agreed on

how they understand sustainability, it became clear that the definition of sustainability used by the NNR committee was, according to actors in the debate, inadequate in addressing a holistic, sustainable approach. Therefore, stakeholders in the debate used the argument for sustainability to be used more coherently, to influence the policy process, and to frame the issues of the NNR process.

4.1.4 The influence of discourses

Through discussing discourses, Keeley and Scoones (1999) argue that “knowledge finds its way into policy through the prolonged reiteration of these programmatic tales of cause and effect” (p. 27). As seen above, it can be said that the reiteration of process-oriented critiques by actors in the media allowed the narrative of critique-worthy elements of NNR to be easily communicated and for doubts to be cast on the process and thus supported the exclusion of sustainability aspects in the Norwegian dietary advice.

Multiple researchers point to rhetoric and argumentation styles when discussing discourses in policy processes (Majone, 1989; Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996; Keeley & Scoones, 1999; Russell & Greenhalgh, 2011). Majone (1989) states that the policy process is more about the process of argument than the problem-solving technique. The process-oriented critiques were used to argue for the flaws of the NNR mandate and process and shows how argumentation styles influence policy processes. According to Juntti et al. (2009) evidence-based argumentation is used to provide knowledge in policy processes. In the NNR debate process-oriented critiques was put forward as evidence helped creating a mobilising legitimising discourse (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). This played a significant role in framing the policy debate around the rejection of NNR’s sustainability aspects in Norwegian dietary advice.

Through statistical and evidence-based frames, stakeholders can talk of an issue in a common-sense appeal, which provides shared morality and creates an opportunity to engage people (Russell & Greenhalgh, 2011). This can be seen as a narrative, where evidence is put forward to create a story that influences the attitudes of the people involved (Mu et al., 2022). Such narratives provide assumptions about political dilemmas, which help decide how to act towards a policy question (Lowndes, 2016). In terms of the debate on the NNR process, the dominant narrative in the debate was that it was flawed based on many process-oriented critiques. Stakeholders with a critical stance

were able to engage a large group of people to pursue this narrative, whether it be journalists, farmers' unions, agricultural producers, or organisations. Gasper and Apthorpe (1996) see that evidence and arguments are integrated into narratives as casual stories, which include information and messages that convey plausibility (p. 8). With evidence, stakeholders pointed to arguments of critique-worthy elements of the NNR, which have flowed as casual stories reiterated by the media since 2020.

Discourse analysis focuses attention on the webs of power underlying the practices of different actors (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). An example of this was that in January 2021, before the draft of the NNR rapport was published, the trustworthiness of dietary advice came under scrutiny (Eide, 2021), with questions asked about the effect of combining dietary advice with sustainability and its potential credibility. This theme of trust continued to be used as an argument by other stakeholders and as a narrative by politicians, agricultural producers, and scientists. Rhetorical analysis "alerts us to these critical moments in discussion and the influence they have" (Russel & Greenhalgh, 2011, p. 58). Such moments can be said to have a snowball effect, which can provide "an intuitively compelling case for action" (Griffiths and Hughes, 1994, as cited in Russel & Greenhalgh, 2011, p.58). This is one of many examples where a moment in the debate has had a snowball effect on the reiteration of discourses.

Furthermore, environmental policy process researchers point to the literature on trust and public perceptions of science (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). The public starts to lose trust in evidence when science is questioned, such as with the debate on NNR. A relevant example of distrust of scientific pronouncements stems from the handling of mad cow disease (BSE) in the UK. Here, the public lost trust in public authorities and scientific experts who had reassured them that BSE would not affect human health (Lanska, 1998; Price-Smith, 2020), leading to a legitimacy crisis for governmental officials. With the NNR debate, the distrust in science has been apparent, and the increasing amount of critique could lead to a decreased trust in the HOD as a governmental institution, as the science foundation HOD base their dietary guidelines has been questioned in the NNR debate. Although, the trust level of HOD has been steady at 70% trust for the last four years (Helsedirektoratet, 2023), this debate could lead to fewer people following dietary advice and a decline in the perceived legitimacy of the HOD.

As Keeley and Scoones (1999) point out, “the broad point is that it is impossible to talk about policy neutrally” (p 26). Policy discussions carry assumptions, personal beliefs, connections, and morals, which have been evident in the debate regarding NNR. The language in which a policy debate is framed is significant (Keeley & Scoones, 1999), and language used in this debate has been critical in discussing the NNR.

The discourse that received the most support in the debate on NNR is a discourse I call the status quo discourse. It refers to the narratives and arguments that support the existing state of affairs in Norway. The status quo discourse reflects the opinions of food and agricultural interest actors that benefit from maintaining the current structures and practices and are resistant to change. The agricultural production system in Norway is a political system where farmers depend on the state’s monetary support to continue production. Norway is among the highest OECD countries for subsidy support, with and high tariff protection (OECD, 2022). Additionally, agriculture in Norway is not subject to CO₂ tax and does not participate in the European carbon emissions trading system (OECD, 2022). As Norway aims to be a low-carbon economy by 2050, GHG emissions reduction by 80-85% is needed compared to the 1990-level (OECD, 2022).

The primary resistance to change in agriculture stems from concerns about sustainability, potential consequences, income loss for farmers, and reduced rural settlement as seen in the document analysis and interviewees. Given the prevalence of the status quo discourse and the current agricultural policies, a transformative shift is unlikely to occur unless the agricultural sector proactively embraces change, and political authorities take decisive steps to facilitate the potential necessary changes in agricultural production. The NNR debate vividly illustrates how the status quo discourse, with its inclination to perpetuate existing power dynamics, acts as a significant barrier to change.

To summarise, it is essential to consider the underlying discourses and language used in policy debates to understand the arguments presented and their implications. The status quo discourse has gained prominence through arguments and narratives in the NNR discussions.

4.2 Political interests and power in the NNR debate

Political interests and power dynamics are relevant when discussing policy processes, as it is crucial to understand how certain actors and knowledge claims become powerful in policy process (Junitti et al., 2009). In this subchapter, I present the results that reflects political interests and power and discuss them based on relevant theory.

4.2.1 Navigating the political currents

Analysing political dynamics in a policy process may lead to insights into how interests and power influence the policy outcome. Many political dynamics have been observed in the debate regarding NNR. I found political views in over a quarter of the articles (Table 3), stemming from politicians, agricultural actors, activists, academics, and journalists. However, politicians serve as the most essential actors in the debate regarding political views. It was apparent that representatives from a few political parties had been involved in the debate, with mainly Senterpartiet (SP) politicians taking an outspoken critical stance on NNR and casting doubts on the process. This correlates with their political agenda of representing rural and agricultural interests.

For instance, former agricultural minister Sandra Borch, current agricultural minister Geir Pollestad, and parliamentary representative Jenny Klinge from SP, actively participated in many newspaper articles, contributing comments and statements to journalists, and writing opinion pieces. Borch especially received much attention by saying that “meat-free dinner is no dinner” in the spring of 2023 (Gilbrant & Suvatne, 2023). Her statement referred to the debate on meat consumption and the potential change in advice from 500 grams of red meat to 350 grams a week in the NNR. Her statement was met with dismay by political opponents and support from food and agricultural interest actors.

Moreover, SP representatives used politics to emphasise the importance of livestock for food security in Norway, referring to the tradition of the Norwegian diet and critiquing the portrayal of meat as an enemy in the face of emerging dietary recommendations emphasising sustainability aspects. In summary, the voice of political parties like SP was evident in the debate and could be said to have influenced other stakeholders for the direction of the debate.

When asked about political actors' influence on the debate, one politician interviewee pointed to the importance of votes from agricultural stakeholders and the public for SP (Interviewee 7). This claim emphasised the necessity of SP's political stance to represent the sentiment of Norwegian agricultural producers and farmers to secure votes. Another interviewee voiced that SP's influence was evident and stated, "That is 100 per cent sure, Senterpartiet has been a vital actor in this debate" (Interviewee 11). The interviewee stressed SP's position in government with the power to decide that sustainability aspects would be excluded in the Norwegian dietary advice.

Another journalist informant who criticised the SP politicians in the media stated that he was irritated by politicians in government and agricultural supporters' handling of environmental and climate issues. The interviewee reasoned that:

“[Environmental issues] are always swept under the rug for a greater good... [that] farmers earn poorly, we must have people who live in the rural areas, and [that] other things are more important than the environment and climate. I have a fundamentally different opinion. If we agree that the climate threat is our greatest threat, then the farmers also live in this world and must deal with the climate crisis” (Interviewee 8).

These three informants emphasised the importance of political action in addressing environmental problems and SP's lack of initiative and willingness to change evidenced by their advocacy of livestock agricultural producers in Norway. The statements emphasise how environmental issues are discussed in the public sphere and how important political interests and governmental leadership are in the debate on sustainability.

However, I found in the newspaper articles that some political parties choose other strategies in the debate on NNR. The political parties of Rødt, Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV), and Høyre chose to refrain from commenting on the government's decision to exclude sustainability from the dietary advice and they remained silent during the debate (Ruud, 2023). In contrast, Miljøpartiet de Grønne (MDG) and Venstre parties expressed strong disagreement with the government's decision and criticised SP for questioning the science before NNR was published.

As mentioned in section 4.1.1, those supportive of the integration of sustainability in NNR, were represented by fewer voices. Plant-based activist interviewee 11 stated that they had talked to

people in parliament and government who deliberately avoided the debate because strong opinions on climate, environment, and agriculture could potentially lead to losing votes. Again, this claim suggests that political interests were highly involved in the discussion around NNR and highlights the complexity when discussing environmental issues in a political setting. Overall, the types of involvement of politicians in the debate about NNR highlights how their involvement shape policy.

4.2.2 Exploring interests and power dynamics

How different actors act towards policy questions reflects their interests (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). In the debate, it was clear that stakeholders had interests going into this debate. Table 2 shows that opponents of NNR argued that implementing environmental sustainability aspects in dietary advice in Norway would result in decreased food security, decreased self-sufficiency, and a higher reliance on imported products. Multiple interviewees also mentioned potential consequences if the dietary guidelines were to change the advice on red meat from 500g to 350g per week, citing the possible severe financial consequences for farmers and decrease in food-security. One lobby and advocacy actor interviewee also pointed to the potential reluctance of farmers to continue in agriculture if meat continued to be “demonised” (Interviewee 3). The monetary interests in this case are also relevant as farmers income is settled annually through the agricultural settlement (Jordbruksoppgjøret in Norwegian) (Landbruks-og Matdepartementet, 2020) and a potential advice on reduced meat and dairy intake would affect the subsidies of Norwegian farmers and their collaborators.

One scientist interviewee claimed that the interest in continuing today’s production method is “strongly integrated into the Norwegian food system” (Interviewee 1). Based on the media coverage, this fits with the claims used by the stakeholders involved and the emphasis on the importance of Norwegian agricultural production. The document analysis and interviews demonstrate the interests of continued agricultural production in Norway and the potential impact of altered dietary guidelines. Three informants claimed that these interests amounted to lobbying and argue that sustainability aspects being excluded from the Norwegian dietary guidelines, was a “win” for the stakeholders in the meat industry. They argued that the food and agricultural interest actors employed lobbying and strategic alliances with politicians from SP to shape the policy outcome. Additionally, the interviewees claimed that such agricultural actors, by ignoring

substantial environmental evidence on the need to reduce meat consumption, were effectively wielding their power.

When discussing influence and power, numerous interviewees stated that the NNR committee, led by the project's leader, held considerable influence and power throughout the process. One journalist interviewee claimed that the project leader came off as categorical, dismissive, and spoke with 'great seriousness' (Interviewee 9). The interviewee noted that the NNR committee had barely addressed the criticisms of their work, except in a few newspaper articles, and did not seem open to discussing the critique with other stakeholders. This was evident in Debatten on NRK in April 2023, when the project leader refused to discuss the proposed recommendations with critics (NRK, 2023). However, when the project leader commented on the criticisms, he argued that it came primarily from industry stakeholders with vested interests associated with the meat industry: "it is worth noting that many of the strongest critics are linked to vested interests, while in impartial academic circles, there is significant consensus" (Aarseth, 2023). He also argued that the NNR was supported by robust scientific research and that methodology rigour, and process were described in depth in the background articles and the final report and were based on extensive peer-reviews by international experts (Blomhoff, 2023).

Furthermore, some interviewees argued that the NNR committee held power by rejecting inputs from experts on the sustainability background articles, referring to the mandate, examples used, methodology, use of planetary boundaries, and experts involved (see section 4.1.1). It was said in the interviews that there was little receptivity and willingness from those in charge of the NNR process to alter the research direction. The debate on NNR demonstrates a case where the actors involved did not comment on their power and influence but were quick to assert others that power. This highlights the importance of recognising power dynamics in decision-making processes, especially those related to crucial issues such as sustainability. The NNR case serves as a reminder that power and influence can be subtle and crucial in policy decision-making.

4.2.3 The influence of political interests and power

Keeley and Scoones (1999) argue that knowledge is established through policy contests based on a reflection of actor interests. As seen in the results above, many political dynamics were observed in the debate. The political dynamics in the debate regarding NNR created policy contests between

the imperative to alter dietary guidelines in favour of sustainability aspects versus the importance of continued production and consumption for Norwegian self-sufficiency and food security.

The literature focuses on pluralist, society-centred accounts, in which there is competition between groups in society over allocating resources and formulating rules for social and economic conditions (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Pluralism acknowledges the state's role but argues that state actors are just one of many competing actors on policy issues. In the case of NNR, different interest groups came together to cooperate, and it is possible to identify core conflicts between environmental and industry interest groups in the media and interviews. This is relevant for environmental governance, where research points to the issues of balancing competing social interests when discussing environmental issues (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). The question that underscores this debate refers to the mandate of the NNR committee on whether environmental considerations should have been included in research foundation on nutrition recommendations in the first place. Many actors have pointed this out through the criticism of an environmental assessment that ignores social and economic sustainability – and therefore ignores their interests.

Sabatier (1998) states that studying state-centred accounts is not the most valuable unit of understanding policy change. Instead, what must be paid attention to is the policy subsystems in what he calls advocacy coalitions, which include both public and private organisations that “are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue, such as agriculture, and who regularly seek to influence public policy in that domain” (Sabatier, 1998, p. 99). Instead of relying solely on scientific facts and evidence, advocacy coalitions make arguments based on core beliefs and concerns; this can be seen in the case of interests and politics, how the elected governmental actors incorporated the critique of stakeholders (and potential voters) into policy change regarding the NNR.

With SP in government, policy change occurred, as they, in collaboration with Arbeiderpartiet (AP), decided to exclude sustainability aspects from the Norwegian dietary advice (Mellemstrand & Holtekjølen, 2023). Keeley and Scoones (1999) claim that policy change results from the interaction between groups with different political interests. The interests of these groups determine how they act towards a policy question, and understanding policy as a consequence of political interactions can help explain why certain knowledge domains are prioritised (Keeley &

Scoones, 1999). In this case, the SP's interests were to secure votes from the public and maintain a positive attitude towards the importance of agriculture in Norway. The interviewees shed light on this and revealed how political interests influenced the debate. Additionally, the agricultural representatives also had apparent interests, both financial and social, and used these to influence the political sphere, as seen with the themes in the document analysis (section 4.1.2). As policy is a consequence of political interaction (Keeley & Scoones, 1999), SP actors' and food and agricultural industry actors' contribution to the debate was highly relevant to policy change.

Further, the main focus of environmental policy process is not the role of media, still, it acknowledges the media's part in framing issues and developing political and public commitment to certain policy issues (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). As mentioned, the analysis of newspapers found that the dominant media narrative of NNR2023 was critical (section 4.1.1) based on the content provided by the different actors in the debate. How environmental concerns are represented in the media helps highlight certain issues, both those included in their coverage and those that are excluded. (Burgess et al., 1998). The media contributed with click-worthy headlines that polarised the debate but also provided an outlet for many stakeholders to be involved (see appendix A). Only Norway extensively debated the topic, while Sweden briefly discussed it, and Denmark, Finland, and the Baltic countries did not discuss it at all (Kristiansen, 2023). The project leader of NNR called it a "unique Norwegian discussion" (Kristiansen, 2023; Johansen, 2023). This may point to the long traditions of agricultural production and integrated stakeholders and interests within agricultural discussions in Norway. However, it could also point to the issue of environmental denial, with Norway being one of the most climate-sceptical nations in the world (Perita, 2022; NTB, 2022; Delebekk & Flem, 2023). Approximately one in four people in Norway does not believe that climate change is caused by human activity (Delebekk & Flem, 2023). Researchers attribute this to Norway's reliance on oil, which is essential for the country's economy, workforce, and funding of the welfare state (Delebekk & Flem, 2023).

The debate presented a dynamic where two main coalitions engaged in the discussion, each asserting that the other held interests and wielded power, all while failing to acknowledge their own interests and power. This interplay sheds light on a common phenomenon of interpersonal dynamics and rhetorical strategies deployed in debates, and by understanding these interests, we

can understand how particular types of knowledge prevail (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). A way to understand power is based on the pluralist view of policy contests, where interests are declared and more adept and better resourced parties “win” (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Based on the responses from some of the interviewees, the interests were seen in lobbying and strategic alliances between agricultural stakeholders and politicians in SP. In environmental policy process theory, researchers point to how actors yield power in a policy debate by utilising advocacy coalitions and media to raise awareness and pressure decision-makers.

To conclude, the debate on NNR illustrates a complex battleground where policy change is not driven by scientific evidence but by a dynamic interplay of various political, social, and monetary interests. It highlights the tension between environmental considerations and the imperatives of national self-sufficiency, food security, and political dominance. The outcome is influenced heavily by political manoeuvring and media narratives and underscores the role that vested interest and power dynamics play in shaping policy discussions. In the following section I will discuss which actors were involved and their roles in the policy process.

4.3 The role of actors in the NNR debate

Researchers have given significant attention to the role of actors in the policy process (Keeley and Scoones, 1999). They have highlighted how actors influence the processes that drive the establishment of knowledge and policy change. Keeley and Scoones (1999) state that policy change reflects actor-networks’ actions. In this subchapter, I present the findings of different actors involved in the debate, the actor-networks, experts involved, and policy entrepreneurs that emerged, and analyse them through the lens of environmental policy process theory. I aim to highlight the actors’ role in the debate regarding NNR.

4.3.1 Unveiling key actors

The analysis of the media debate revealed a diverse array of actors involved, each contributing distinct perspectives and representing their interests. As mentioned in the methods chapter, I labelled seven key actor groups in the newspaper articles: journalists, scientists, politicians, NNR authors, food and agricultural interest actors, lobby and advocacy actors, and plant-based diet advocates. Table 4 summarises which actors were involved in the media debate. The results show

that out of the 220 newspaper articles, most authors were journalists. It is important to note that the term “journalist” is used loosely to include professional writers employed by Norwegian newspapers, opinion writers, private individuals, and communication experts. The journalist actor category includes anyone not associated with a particular organisation, business, or who does not fit into the other categories. The food and agricultural interest actors were the authors of 52 articles (Table 4). This category includes actors from farmers’ unions, agricultural producers, industry representatives such as Tine, Nortura, Kjøtt-og Fjørfebransjens Landsforbund (KLF), and Norsvin, as well as some authors from newspapers such as Nationen and Bondebladet. The decision to exclude certain authors from these newspapers from the journalist category was based on specific information. This information included the fact that some of these authors were farmers, their agenda was focused on promoting agriculture in Norway, and these newspaper articles played a significant role in the discussion on agriculture and sustainable food transformation.

Table 4: Summary of actors involved in the newspaper articles

The categorisation was based on the background of the authors and their role in their debate.

Actor	Number
Journalists	121
Food and agricultural interest actors	52
Politicians	15
Scientists	14
Lobby and advocacy actors	9
NNR authors	6
Plant-based diet advocates	3
<i>Note: Data taken from document analysis</i>	

The interviewees were also asked what actors were involved in the debate, and their answers were thematically analysed and quantitatively summarised in Table 5. Seven informants mentioned the NNR authors and the NCM. Six interviewees pointed to agricultural producers, emphasising the

cooperatives Tine and Nortura, and five claimed farmers’ unions were essential actors. Furthermore, five stated that health authorities such as the HOD and the Norwegian Institute for Public Health (NIPH) were involved, and four pointed to politicians as vital actors. Moreover, the inclusion of businesses, the media, the EAT-Lancet commission, Matprat (information office for eggs and meat and communication company), and NGOs underscores the diverse range of actors contributing to the discourse on NNR. It is noteworthy that the actors identified by the informants closely align with the broader categories established in the document analysis, reaffirming the comprehensiveness of the analysis.

Table 5: Summary of actors involved

The categorisation of actors involved based on the responses from the interviewees.

Actors	Number
NNR authors & the Nordic Council of Ministers	7
Agricultural producers, Tine & Nortura	6
Farmers unions	5
Health authorities	5
Nutritionists	4
Politicians	4
Businesses	3
Media	3
Scientist that withdrew	2
Gunhild Stordalen & EAT-Lancet	2
Matprat	2
NGOS	2
<i>Note: Data taken from interviews</i>	

Furthermore, two interviewees mentioned the Norwegian researchers from Norwegian Institute of Bioeconomy Research (NIBIO) who withdrew from the NNR background articles on sustainability, as essential actors (Korsæth, 2023; Korsæth & Bardalen, 2023). Despite their desire to avoid triggering a media debate this decision received significant attention during the debate, and in the media with 24 newspaper articles mentioning the withdrawal of these experts (Table 2). It was first featured in *Nettavisen* (Molland, 2023), and subsequently used as an argument by other stakeholders to highlight the perceived issues with the NNR. One interviewee stated that, besides the two Norwegian scientists, two Swedish researchers withdrew from the sustainability articles (Interviewee 12). Another interviewee stated that more than 40 scientists have withdrawn from the NNR research process, not just in relation to sustainability assessments (Interviewee 4). However, the interviewee could not provide evidence to support this claim or verify the information. In the case on NNR, it is interesting to analyse how the withdrawal of such influential actors has affected the debate, and this will be discussed further below.

4.3.2 Actor-networks, epistemic communities, and policy entrepreneurs

Keeley and Scoones (1999) point to literature of actor-networks, epistemic communities, and policy entrepreneurs when analysing the role of actors. The analysis of the media debate shows that two distinct actor-network emerged, each advocating for a different stance. One network argued for a policy change through rejection of the NNR sustainability approach in Norway, pointing out its flaws. While the other advocated for its inclusion in the Norwegian dietary recommendations, stressing its importance for environmental benefits. One interviewee state that:

“Those who stand on the barricades to prevent climate change, they have indeed joint forces with those who wish for dietary guidelines to be sustainable. In addition, different farmers organisations and agricultural stakeholders have joined forces and have created an impression that if we must eat less meat, it’s game over for them” (Interviewee 6).

This quote helps understand the development of actor-networks and how knowledge was established through these networks.

Additionally, one interviewee commented on the actor-networks and stated that: “sustainability would not have been removed from the [Norwegian] dietary advice if they [agricultural actors]

had not protested more than one and a half years before the report was done” (Interviewee 11). This quote suggests that sustainability considerations were side-lined due to the prolonged and vocal opposition from agricultural actors. This sheds light on the dynamics inherent in actor-networks, where certain groups possess the ability to influence the trajectory of policy outcomes.

Figure 4 provides a general view of the actor-networks involved in the debate and the perspective on whether to include or reject the NNR advice on sustainability in the Norwegian dietary advice. It is worth mentioning that the classification presented in Figure 4 is based on the author’s interpretation of the debate and should be taken as such. Additionally, it is essential to remember that not all actors behind these institutions may share the same views on the matter.

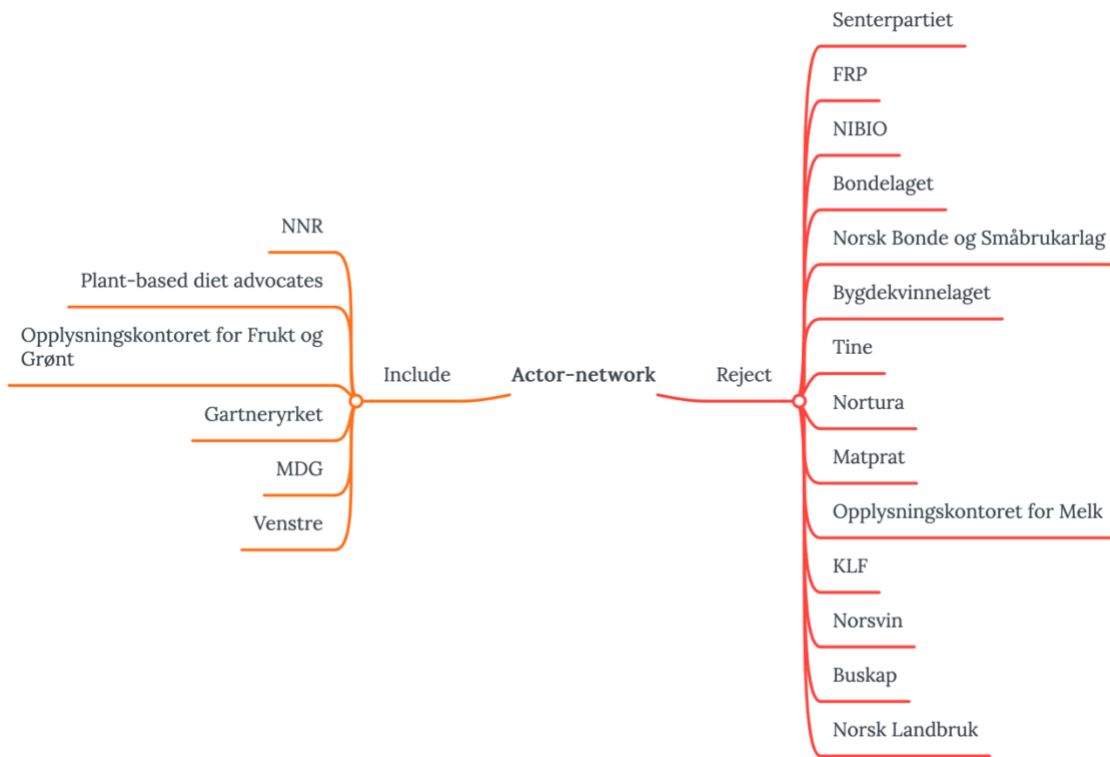


Figure 4: Actor-networks

This figure displays a stakeholder mapping of actor-networks. The author has classified actor-networks based on representations from various actor groups in newspaper articles and interview insights.

One scientist interviewee said they noticed a coalition of institutions like Bondelaget and Småbrukerlaget, NIBIO, The Ministry of Food and Agriculture (LMD), and partly NMBU that were influential in promoting research that emphasised the limited opportunities for change in Norway and advocated for maintaining production based on these constraints (Interviewee 1). In contrast, the other coalition prioritised addressing climate, biodiversity, environmental, and health concerns as facilitators of changes in production methods and consumption and they highlighted numerous opportunities for transformation in these areas (Interviewee 1). The response from the interviewee match with what Keeley & Scoones (1999) calls epistemic communities, defined as knowledge elites that share similar assumptions about cause-and-effect relationships.

Another noteworthy aspect was how certain actors were particularly active in the media in pushing for specific policy outcomes. Representatives from organisations such as Matprat, KLF, Bondebladet, and farmers' unions participated in the hearing rounds of NNR2023, providing input and writing newspaper articles to emphasise their arguments. Matprat provided a list of one hundred reasons why integrating sustainability into NNR failed (Matprat, 2023). Additionally, KLF contributed through forums, opinion pieces, and statements in the media. These actors significantly contribute to the policy debate and can be seen as policy entrepreneurs. This will be discussed further in the section below.

In summary, this subchapter has demonstrated the participation of several actors in the debate concerning the integration of sustainability into the NNR2023. It has highlighted what actors participated in the debate, which actor-network was established and showed what scientific experts and policy entrepreneurs were involved. Below, these findings will be discussed further.

4.3.3 The influence of actors

The third approach to understanding the policy process focuses on the role of actors (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Seven actor categories were identified in the newspaper articles, and the actors in the debate on NNR2023 formed actor-networks emphasising a specific agenda (Figure 4). The network that emphasised the rejection of sustainability in Norwegian dietary advice, based on the criticism of NNR2023, was substantially more robust with a larger actor group. The literature emphasises that when particular networks are established, this can help understand how knowledge is established. The actor-network that promoted policy change (or rejection) became the dominant

coalition and can explain both why this became such an extensive debate in Norway and the political decision to exclude addressing sustainability aspects in the Norwegian dietary advice.

Schaub's (2021) research on public constation over agricultural pollution states that coalitions and actors interested in defending a suggested policy, such as the integration of sustainability in dietary guidelines, avoid participation in the public debate. Comparably, actors interested in policy change participate more vocally in providing attention to the policy issue, which reflects what has been established in section 4.1. with discourses and 4.2 with power and political interests. Schaub's (2021) understanding of actors and participation in debates echoes what was seen in the interviews and media, with one actor-network being very vocal in the debate by emphasising the criticisms and building actor-networks that try to influence against NNR2023 and maintaining the status quo discourse (see section 4.1.4). At the same time, supporters of the inclusion of sustainability have been significantly less active and have had little media presence, as seen in the section on narratives in 4.1.1.

Furthermore, within actor-network literature, Keeley and Scoones (1999) argue that if key individuals or institutions withdraw their support from a policy process, then the power of the facts weakens. As seen above, the withdrawal of the NIBIO scientists from the NNR2023 gained much attention, and other actors utilised their critique-based participation as evidence. Latour's (1987) statement that "scientific facts are only as strong as the networks that uphold them" (p. 20) highlights the importance of their withdrawal and ultimately strengthens the criticisms based on flaws within the NNR work. This emphasises individual actors' importance of participation in the policy processes. Without the participation of these esteemed scientists in the debate, the critique-based discussion would have had less of an impact. The scientists who participated in the NNR2023, but withdrew due to the flaws previously discussed, highlight the importance of individual actors' participation and support or opposition towards a policy issue.

Furthermore, scientists and expert figures significantly influenced the discourse surrounding NNR2023, represented as epistemic communities. Haas (1992) defines an epistemic community as a network of professionals with recognised competence in a particular domain and shared normative beliefs and values that push similar agendas. As one interviewee pointed out, the research institute of NIBIO played a role in the research that emphasised the importance of

maintaining livestock production to ensure production all over Norway, the benefits of livestock on landscape, and self-sufficiency. This view is often representative of agricultural actors, which emphasise the importance of maintaining livestock over the need of transformation in food systems. Therefore, this view was used as an argument against NNR's sustainability aspects, which did not focus on self-sufficiency and food security (section 4.2.1). The perspective of the interviewee illuminates a much larger debate that concerns agriculture and sustainability in Norway, than what the NNR mandate initially focused on, which comes to show how complicated sustainability in food systems are.

Finally, policy entrepreneurs aim to push policy in particular ways with the use of knowledge and expertise (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Kingdon (1984) was pioneering in popularising the term policy entrepreneurs; he stated that the defining characteristic of policy entrepreneurs is “their willingness to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money – in the hope of a future return” (Kingdon, 1984, p. 122). Policy entrepreneurs can be different actors such as elected politicians, leaders of interest groups, and spokespeople for particular causes (Cairney, 2011). During the discussions regarding NNR, policy entrepreneurs from organisations such as Matprat, KLF, and farmers' unions, who represent the meat industry, developed their networks of influence and took advantage of the policy spaces opening up. They used knowledge, power, and evidence to convince policymakers (i.e. the government) to exclude sustainability aspects from Norwegian dietary advice based on their use of the status quo discourse and process-oriented critiques. With the amount of time and energy spent discussing the NNR2023, policy entrepreneurs steered the policy agenda towards their interests. The role of such policy entrepreneurs was vital for the continuation of the debate. It influenced the policy outcome, highlighting the importance of mobilisation of actors in policy-making processes.

In conclusion, this subchapter has explored the pivotal role of various actors in the debate on NNR. The actor-oriented approach to policy reveals how knowledge is established and policy change occurs (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). By forming actor-networks, fostering epistemic communities, and using policy entrepreneurs, the coalition opposing the integration of sustainability into Norwegian dietary guidance emerged as the predominant force. Consequently, this coalition guided the political decision to exclude sustainability from dietary advice. This chapter highlights

the power of actor-networks and the role of policy entrepreneurs, who deploy their resources to steer debates and influence policy decisions according to their interests and agendas.

In the next chapter, I will examine the synthesis of the three perspectives on the environmental policy process.

4.4 Synthesis of discourses, political interests, and actors

Although environmental policy process can be studied from various perspectives, such as discourse, political interests, and actors, a joint analysis of these perspectives provides significant insights and understanding into how policy change. This analysis rejects the traditional linear policy process approach, which follows sequential stages of problem emergence, agenda setting, consideration of policy options, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation (Benson & Jordan, 2015). The analysis of the policy process through the different conceptual lenses emphasises the interplay between discourses, political interests, and actors' agency (Keeley & Scoones, 1999).

As seen above, the findings show that discourses were used to frame the policy in question of the NNR, and a range of actors, interests, politics, and power were involved. In the debate, two main coalitions emerged, one promoting rejection and the other supporting integration of environmental sustainability aspects into Norwegian dietary advice. Hajer (1993) points to discourse coalitions, which are “a group of actors who share a social construct” (p. 45) to explain how actors and discourses are connected. Hajer (1993) claims that actors try to impose their views of reality on others through debate and persuasion. By using institutional and discursive practices such as economic discourse and science, coalitions are formed to articulate a shared narrative. Coalitions come together to express a common storyline (Hajer, 1993). As seen in the media, a similar storyline of financial consequences, self-sufficiency, food security, challenges for farmers, and poor scientific quality was used by actors to pressure policymakers to reject the sustainability integration in the Norwegian dietary advice and emphasise the status quo discourse.

Further, for actor-network literature, power is associated with the strength of the created networks (Keeley & Scoones, 1999) - the more actors that agree with a particular discourse, the more persuasive the network. The actor-network against integrating sustainability was found to be

substantially larger than those in favour and therefore held more power. The actor-network theory also points to the importance of already established networks exercising more agency and power. The agricultural networks in Norway have a long history through the establishment of farmers' unions such as Bondelaget and Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukarlag, agricultural cooperatives such as Tine and Nortura, and private actors such as KLF and Matprat. These actors created networks promoting agricultural interests and were seen as involved in the debate on NNR. Therefore, the power associated with the actor-network promoting a rejection is seen to hold more power in the discussion of the integration of sustainability in dietary advice in Norway.

The power of a particular discourse is not static, but a dynamic entity that evolves based on the sum of micro-practices in which power is exercised (Keeley and Scoones, 1999). This evolving sum of practices empowers the discourse by shaping how people behave, think, and act about a particular issue. In the case of NNR, there was a dynamic and extensive debate through opinion pieces, reader's letters, televised discussions, forums, seminars, and public hearing rounds. As the debate progressed, process-oriented critiques gained momentum, and the actions of various stakeholders in the debate, as illustrated above, reinforced the status quo discourse, leading to the rejection of sustainability aspects in Norwegian dietary advice.

4.5 Summary of results and discussion

My research highlighted that multiple actors were involved, and political and socioeconomic interests influenced the debate. Through my research, I discovered that the dominant discourse among food and agricultural interest groups clearly demonstrated resistance to change in the agricultural sector in embracing sustainability, which I call the status quo discourse. I observed that the debate was driven by political interests rather than scientific evidence, with SP and agricultural actors exerting political influence over the outcome. Further, a coalition of actor-networks, epistemic communities, and policy entrepreneurs amplified their stance against sustainability, and effectively, steered discussions in their favour, ultimately influencing the policy landscape.

This thesis has endeavoured to comprehend how Norwegian food system stakeholders reacted to and interpreted the incorporation of sustainability aspects into dietary guidelines, with a focus on the case of the NNR debate. As evidenced, the stakeholders reacted to this development by

engaging in an extensive debate concerning the knowledge foundation, research methods, and potential consequences of the NNR. This thesis emphasises the intricate interconnections among food systems, sustainability, and nutrition. It explores the synergies and trade-offs inherent in these areas, pointing to the challenge of integrating all the relevant elements within a research process such as NNR. The findings of this research highlight how different stakeholders perceived the NNR debate.

4.6 Limitations of environmental policy process theory

Keeley and Scoones' (1999; 2003) understanding of environmental policy process rejects the linear approach to policy process and focuses on the integrated explanations of actors, discourses, and political interest and their role in policy change. Their understanding has been subject to critique based on its actor-oriented approach, which does not thoroughly explore social relations and micro-levels (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Additionally, it has been critiqued based on the lack of engaging with divergent worldviews of actors in the policy process (Knowler, 2007).

Furthermore, Keeley and Scoones's 1999 paper, which underpins this theory, can be perceived as an oversimplification of the policy process. By focusing primarily on discourses, actors, and political interests, it overlooks the significance of historical contexts and cultural norms, which are pivotal factors in comprehending a specific case. While I observed that the theory effectively encapsulates the principal elements of discourses, actors, and political interests when applied to the NNR case, it inadequately acknowledges the historical and local context within which discussions on dietary advice and sustainability occur in Norway. Additionally, it neglects the consideration of cultural norms and traditions deeply integrated into the Norwegian agriculture and food systems. Although certain aspects of these elements emerged in interviews and document analysis, a more comprehensive examination of historical context and cultural norms could have provided significant benefits.

I acknowledge the inherent limitations of the environmental policy process theory. However, I maintain that the examination of the NNR case, particularly its role in influencing dietary advice in Norway, has been valuable in elucidating the discourses, actors, and political interests inherent in this debate.

5. Recommendations for future research

This thesis sheds light on the challenges of incorporating sustainability aspects into dietary recommendations. It highlights an ongoing debate shaped by several strong political influences and socio-economic interests involving multiple actors with varying perspectives. The findings highlight the importance of having open discussions that consider the diverse perspectives of all stakeholders when discussing dietary advice and sustainability. Future research should concentrate on acknowledging and balancing the interests of multiple parties in environmental debates. Additionally, it should promote collaboration among stakeholders to enhance the effectiveness of sustainability efforts.

6. Concluding remarks

This thesis has a twofold aim: to comprehend how Norwegian food system stakeholders responded to and perceived the Nordic Council of Ministers' inclusion of environmental sustainability aspects into dietary advice in the case of NNR, and to grasp how discourses, political interests, and actors influence these reactions and influence the policy process of formulating dietary guidelines in Norway. The research draws on the environmental policy process in its analysis, highlighting the practical implications of the study on the policy formulation process. Through a case study design, with the methods of document analysis and key informant interviews I was able to analyse stakeholder reactions.

I found that the status quo discourse was the most dominant discourse, where food and agricultural actors demonstrated resistance to change of the current agricultural system. Further, I revealed that the debate was driven by political interests rather than scientific evidence, and that the political party SP and agricultural actors highly influenced the debate and exerted political dominance over the outcome. Lastly, I found that actors in the debate created a coalition of actor-networks, epistemic communities, including parts of the research community, and policy entrepreneurs, who amplified their stance against sustainability and effectively steered discussions in their favour, ultimately influencing the policy landscape.

Overall, this research contributes to the ongoing research and policy conversation about attempts to include sustainability aspects in dietary recommendations. Understanding and addressing the

contestations around such attempts is an essential part of the way forward for national and international efforts to transform food systems. As a case, it also contributes to broader analyses of contestations in policy processes for sustainable transformation.

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³ Using APA 7 reference style

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Appendices⁴

Appendix A: Overview document analysis

Source	Title	Date	Author	Actor	Attitude of author on NRR	Link
Sjømatnorge	Slik kan du bidra med mindre matsvinn	08.10.2020	Øyvind André Haram	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://sjomatnorge.no/slik-kan-du-bidra-til-mindre-sjomatsvinn-webinar-med-sjomat-norge/
Kjøttbransjen	Tøffe, men oppnåelige, klimakrav til matprodusentene	08.01.2021	Svein-Erik Eide	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://kjottbransjen.no/toffe-men-oppnaelige-klimakrav-til-matprodusentene/
Forskning	Klima har blitt en del av de nye kostholdsradene i Danmark	21.01.2021	Siw Ellen Jakobsen	Scientist	Supportive	https://www.forskning.no/mat/klima-har-bli-ett-del-av-de-nye-kostholdsradene-i-danmark/1800939
NRK	Danskene endrer «kjøttrådene» – ikke mer enn dette per dag	21.01.2021	Tiril Mettesdatter Solvang	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nrk.no/norge/danskene-endrer-kjottradene--ikke-mer-enn-dette-per-dag-1.15334150
NRK	MDG vil halvere kjøttforbruket	25.01.2021	Syed Ali Shahbaz Akhtar & Hilde Torgersen	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nrk.no/rogaland/mdg-vil-halvere-kjottforbruket-1.15342657
Regjeringen.no	Omsetning av jordbruksvarer i EU fram mot 2030	09.03.2021	Magnar Sunfør	Politicians	Neutral	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/lmd/nyheter/2021/mars-21/omsetning-av-jordbruksvarer-i-eu-fram-mot-2030/id2837647/

⁴ Some links are only accessible through retriever.

NMBU	Er maten som er bra for kroppen, også den beste for miljøet?	05.07.2021	Tonje Lindrup Robertsen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nmbu.no/fakulteter/fakultet-kjemi-bioteknologi-og-matvitenskap/er-maten-som-er-bra-kroppen-ogsa-den-beste
Kjøttbransjen	Nye kostholdsråd i horisonten	06.07.2021	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://kjottbransjen.no/nye-kostholdsrad-i-horisonten/
Rbnett	Hva har prosessert mat å si for helsen? Eksperten svarer.	09.07.2021	Silje Dyregrov	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.rbnett.no/sport/spek/i/JEEAp4/hva-har-prosessert-mat-aa-si-for-helsen-eksperten-svarer?
Stavanger Aftenblad	Arbeidet med nye kostråd er i gang	11.07.2021	Mette Estep	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.aftenbladet.no/forbruker/i/pppRIR/arbeidet-med-nye-kostraad-er-i-gang
Elle	Intellectuals solve problems. Geniuses prevent them	20.08.2021	Charlotte Sørvald	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.elle.no/baerekraft-gunhild-stordalen-intervju/intellectuals-solve-problems-geniuses-prevent-them/355317
Norden.org	Webinar: Endre matsystemer ved hjelp av bærekraftig nordisk kosthold	26.08.2021	No author	NNR author	Neutral	https://www.norden.org/no/news/webinar-endre-matsystemer-ved-hjelp-av-baerekraftig-nordisk-kosthold
Norsvin	Klima og bærekraft	20.01.2022	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://norsvin.no/klima-og-baerekraft/

Moss avis	I år kommer nye kostråd - det mener ida er bra- Kan bli mye informasjon der ute	14.02.2022	Pia Charlotte Fredriksen & Line Stensland Haglund	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.moss-avis.no/i-ar-kommer-nye-kostrad-det-mener-ida-er-bra-kan-bli-mye-informasjon-der-ute/s/5-67-1454280?key=2023-11-24T12:22:40.000Z/retriever/e946920cd2d8aff4d45cadbd83201f47fe40fd74
Buskap	Grønmerking eller grønnvasking	25.03.2022	Kristin Malones	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://www.buskap.no/article/2022/04/Grønmerking-eller-grønnvasking
Norden.org	Webinar: Siste nytt om de nordiske ernæringsanbefalingene	18.05.2022	No author	NNR author	Neutral	https://www.norden.org/no/news/webinar-siste-nytt-om-de-nordiske-ernaeringsanbefalingene
Dagbladet	Nå haster det	25.05.2022	Katrine Lekang	Lobby and advocacy actor	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.info.com/prod?a=3665&d=0550072022052539376d9db2444d79ec7147411b1f0a47&s=55007&sa=1019747&x=a008c5e559774b857b35ffc7adbc500e&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1700828677
Bondebladet	Forventer jordnære kostholdsråd for Norden	30.06.2022	Anders Sandbu	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://nogo.retrieve.info.com/prod?a=3665&d=05525320220630303756&s=55253&sa=1019747&x=c3247463c7496e0ba4028fae0d79d40b&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1713262918
Aftenposten	Vi må unngå danske tilstander i kostholdsrådene	10.08.2022	Malén Gudbrandsgard	Lobby and advocacy actor	Neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/7dExzK/vi-maa-unngaa-danske-tilstander-i-kostholdsraadene

KK	Ikke mer enn to egg i uka	27.08.2022	Berit B. Njarga	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.kk.no/helse/ikke-mer-enn-to-egg-i-uka/76978042
Forskning.no	Nå skal bærekraft inn i kostrådene	30.09.2022	Trine Nickelsen	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.forskning.no/mat-om-forskning/na-skal-baerekraft-inn-i-kostradene/2085672
Nettavisen	Fra «distrikts psykopat» til bypuddel på ett år?	25.10.2022	Jenny Klinge	Politicians	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/fra-distriktspsykopat-til-bypuddel-pa-ett-ar/o/5-95-720866?key=2023-11-27T08:44:49.000Z/retriever/7cccaa6233d2296344225b4b515fcaaa96ea0875
Nationen	Nye kostholdsråd kan bli dramatiske for norsk selvforsyning	27.10.2022	Camilla Mellemstrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/nye-kostholdsrad-kan-bli-dramatiske-for-norsk-selvforsyning/s/5-148-23805
Dagbladet	Nye kostholdsråd: - Kan få store konsekvenser	27.10.2022	Oda Ording & Caise Linea Hagfors	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/nye-kostholdsrad-kan-fa-store-konsekvenser/77575343
Document	Nye kostholdsråd fra Nordisk Ministerråd kan bytte ut kjøtt- og melkeproduksjon med plantebasert mat i Norge	28.10.2022	John Martin Johansen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.document.no/2022/10/28/nye-kostholdsrad-fra-nordisk-ministerrad-kan-bytte-ut-kjott-og-melkeproduksjon-med-plantebasert-mat-i-norge/
Journalen oslomet	Oppfordrer til plantebasert kosthold	02.11.2022	Vebjørn Munkvold	plant-based diet advocates	Supportive	https://journalen.oslomet.no/2022/11/world-vegan-day

Kjøttbransjen	Alvorlige svakheter avdekket i prosessen	03.11.2022	Elise Feiring Myrtrøen	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=020166202211039d634ad873c853dbcc505b6ae4c77377&s=20166&sa=1019747&x=f6041cee81ca5a1e705b036dbe3a2e5c&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701079595
Nationen	Nordiske bondeorganisasjoner bekymret for nye kostholdsråd	15.11.2022	Camilla Mellemstrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/nordiske-bondeorganisasjoner-bekymret-for-nye-kostholdsrad/s/5-148-54162
Bondebladet	Gode råd må være gode	16.11.2022	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/gode-rad-ma-vare-gode/o/5-150-9006
Aftenposten	Det er alvorlige svakheter i arbeidet med nye kostholdsråd	17.11.2022	Dag Henning Reksnes & Tor Arne Ruud	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/13nnRy/det-er-alvorlige-svakheter-i-arbeidet-med-nye-kostholdsraad
Forskeronen	Kjøttforbruket må reduseres	18.11.2022	Marit Klemetsen & Bon van Oort	Scientist	Supportive	https://www.forskeronen.no/klimatekronikk-matproduksjon/kjottforbruket-ma-reduseres/2109926
Nationen	Mener halvert kjøttforbruk kan øke norsk selvforsyning	21.11.2022	Camilla Mellemstrand	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nationen.no/mener-halvert-kjottforbruk-kan-oke-norsk-selvforsyning/s/5-148-32148
Bondebladet	Nordisk landbruk står sammen mot bærekraftsartikkelen	22.11.2022	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/nordisk-landbruk-star-sammen-mot-barekraftsartikkelen/f/5-150-9249

Nationen	Vil at denne sirkelen skal lære danskene å spise "riktig" - innfør kjøttfriedager	26.11.2022	Lars Bilit Hagen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/vil-at-denne-sirkelen-skal-lare-danskene-a-spise-riktig-innfor-kjottfrie-dager/s/5-148-22881
Aftenposten	Ikke rart at tilliten til kostholdsråd svekkes	27.11.2022	Lars Magne Sunnarå	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/3E1qV9/ikke-rart-at-tilliten-til-kostholdsraad-svekkes
Avisen Agder	Sirdal Bondelag i positiv utvikling	02.12.2022	Agnar Klungland	Journalist	Critical	https://www.avisenagder.no/sirdal-bondelag-i-positiv-utvikling/s/5-99-1184305?key=2023-11-29T11:26:28.000Z/retriever/aba4deb10eb6b26eafabbca589c00c51aa06e946
Kjøttbransjen	Tilliten til nye kostholdsråd er fraværende	08.12.2022	Per Arne Sleipnes	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://fagpressenytt.no/artikkel/tilliten-til-nye-kostholdsraad-er-fravaerende
Buskap	Kostholdsråd på ville veier	09.12.2022	Rasmus Lang-Ree	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve.r-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=020178202212091aee61f48286be158cf1dec6bc4427c6&s=20178&sa=1019747&x=5778fa6244292ed76d72a7c26942a3cd&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701258335
Aftenposten	Kritikken av husdyrbasert mat er unyansert og går for langt	17.12.2022	Birger Svihus	Scientist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/Q7rAXq/kritikken-av-husdyrbasert-mat-er-unyansert-og-gaar-for-langt

ABC Nyheter	Paradoks i klimaregnskapet: Hvorfor er ikke kua og sauen klima-nøytrale?	18.12.2022	Thomas Vermes	Journalist	Critical	https://www.abcnyheter.no/stemmer/2022/12/18/195890755/hvorfor-er-ikke-kua-og-sauen-klima-noytrale
Norges Bondelag	For snevert om bærekraft, mener Bondelaget	04.01.2023	Guro Bjørnstad Heimly	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/for-snevert-om-barekraft-mener-bondelaget
Nationen	Bondeorganisasjonene til tvinnereim bærekraftig matproduksjon handler om mer enn klima	05.01.2023	Camilla Mellemstrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/bondeorganisasjonene-til-tvinnereim-barekraftig-matproduksjon-handler-om-mer-enn-klima/s/5-148-40059
Aftenposten	Hva betyr egentlig «bærekraftig mat» i norsk sammenheng?	08.01.2023	Anna Milford	Scientist	Supportive	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/zEMmzO/hva-betyr-egentlig-barekraftig-mat-i-norsk-sammenheng
Norden.org	Sunt og bærekraftig kosthold: Siste nytt om de nordiske ernæringsanbefalingene	11.01.2023	No author	NNR author	Neutral	https://www.norden.org/no/news/sunt-og-barekraftig-kosthold-siste-nytt-om-de-nordiske-ernaeringsanbefalingene
Bondebladet	Bondelaget: For snevert om bærekraft	12.01.2023	Linda Sunde	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/bondelaget-for-snevert-om-barekraft/f/5-150-20433
Norges Bondelag	-Fortsatt bekymret for prosessen	12.01.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/fortsatt-bekymret-for-prosessen
Norges Bondelag	Nye kostholdsråd (NNR): -Skaper ikke tillit	19.01.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/nye-kostholdsrad-nnr-skaper-ikke-tillit
Bodøposten	Dette er mattrendene i 2023	24.01.2023	Gunnar Andreassen	Journalist	Neutral	https://bodoposten.no/dette-er-mattrendene-i-2023/

Bondebladet	Bonde bladet om rapport- Meningsløst å lage en felles bærekraftsdefinisjon	02.02.2023	Linda Sunde	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/bondelage-t-om-rapport-ubrukelig/f/5-150-2577
Nettavisen	Nye kostråd: Full krangel om kupromp og søtpoteter	07.02.2023	Erik Molland	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/okonomi/nye-kostrad-full-krangel-om-kupromp-og-sotpoteter/s/5-95-900430
Tidens Krav	Bærekraft og nye nordiske kostholdsråd	09.02.2023	Ildri Hals	Politicians	Critical	https://www.tk.no/barekraft-og-nye-nordiske-kostholdsrad/o/5-51-1300743?key=2023-12-04T13:52:12.000Z/retriever/64a1b4014ffaef0077528625c791178ffff00aa
Nettavisen	Vesentlige svakheter i råd om hva som er bærekraftig å spise	10.02.2023	Eli Johanne Gjerlaug Enger	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/vesentlige-svakheter-i-rad-om-hva-som-er-barekraftig-a-spise/o/5-95-910351?key=2023-12-04T13%3A59%3A57.000Z%2Fretreiver%2F16887ed8f3528da16428631329a784dba90d9fff
Kjøttbransjen	– Nye kostholdsråd motarbeider landbruket	14.02.2023	Per Arne Sleipnes	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://kjottbransjen.no/nye-kostholdsrad-motarbeider-landbruket/
Nationen	Nibio-eksperter trekker seg fra arbeidet med nye kostråd: – Har aldri opplevd maken	17.02.2023	Jarand Benjamin Hernes Vogl	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/nibio-eksperter-trekker-seg-fra-arbeidet-med-nye-kostrad-jeg-har-aldri-opplevd-maken/s/5-148-4029

Nationen	Synet på bærekraft er for snevert	22.02.2023	Bjørn Gimming	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/synet-pa-barekraft-er-for-snevert/o/5-148-194870
Nettavisen	Nye kostholdsråd svekker tilliten	24.02.2023	Katrine Lekang	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/nye-kostholdsrad-svekker-tilliten/o/5-95-935387?key=2023-12-04T14:04:59.000Z/retriever/a0ecd20f84c9421693897ca7a4c3a1cc170f5d17
Kjøttbransjen	Fravær av tillit til de nye kostholdsrådene	03.03.2023	Per Arne Sleipnes	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://kjottbransjen.no/fravaer-av-tillit-til-de-nye-kostholdsradene/
Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukerlag	Kostrådsprosessen: Anbefaler tilskudd og beriking	13.03.2023	Nora May Engeseth	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.smabrukarlaget.no/aktuelt/nyheter/kostraadsprosessen-anbefaler-tilskudd-og-beriking/
Dagsavisen	Nye kostråd: Vi trenger oppskriften på et bærekraftig norsk matsystem	27.03.2023	Katrine Lekang	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://www.dagsavisen.no/debatt/2023/03/27/nye-kostrad-vi-trenger-oppskriften-pa-et-baerekraftig-norsk-matsystem/
Norden.org	Nye nordiske ernæringsanbefalinger ute på høring	31.03.2023	Jonathan Eng and Elisabeth Skylare	NNR author	Neutral	https://www.norden.org/no/news/nye-nordiske-ernaeringsanbefalinger-ute-pa-horing
Østlendingen	Ei hel ku gjennom et nøkkelhull	31.03.2023	Oddrun Merete R Sagevik	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.ostlendingen.no/ei-hel-ku-gjennom-et-nokkelhull/o/5-69-1465192?key=2023-12-04T14:14:38.000Z/retriever/5c4885bae03c97eac011207223666e2647e6b964
Aftenposten	Klinge angriper nye kostråd: Truer norsk matberedskap	03.04.2023	Andreas Bakke Foss	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/Llmpd1/klinge-angriper-nye-

						kostraad-truer-norsk-matberedskap
Aftenposten	Politikerne må forholde seg til forskernes kostholdsråd, mener rektor ved UiO	04.04.2023	Vilde Skorpen Wikan	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/LlmA69/politikerne-maa-forholde-seg-til-forskernes-kostholdsraad-mener-reaktor-ved-uo
Nettavisen	Kjøtt-skam: Dropp biffen, men spis påskelammet med god samvittighet	05.04.2023	Gunnar Stavrum	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/kjott-skam-dropp-biffen-men-spis-paskelammet-med-god-samvittighet/o/5-95-1020879?key=2023-12-06T09:48:10.000Z/retriever/4b22d17ae6fbc98935374df9fc9e6a8240facda
Document	Sp's Jenny Klinge mener kostholds-råd truer matberedskapen	05.04.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.document.no/2023/04/05/sps-jenny-klinge-mener-kostholdsrad-truer-matberedskapen/
Nettavisen	Sps Jenny Klinge mener kostholds-råd truer matberedskapen	05.04.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/inne-nriks/sps-jenny-klinge-mener-kostholdsrad-truer-matberedskapen/s/12-95-3424366132
Nettavisen	Lettvint om kjøtt og kjøttuer fra Stavrum	06.04.2023	Jenny Klinge	Politicians	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/lettvint-om-kjott-og-kjottuer-fra-stavrum/o/5-95-1023313?key=2023-04-20T10:34:37.000Z/retriever/5cf552c651c722eca0f0f2ce69e60bcfde3313b7

Hamar Arbeiderblad	Jeg må legge ned dersom disse rådene blir fulgt	09.04.2023	John Arne Holmkund	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.h-a.no/jeg-ma-legge-ned-dersom-disse-radene-blir-fulgt/s/5-139-1192815
Aftenposten	Kostrådene skal oppdateres – anbefaler drastisk kutt i nordmenns forbruk av rødt kjøtt	09.04.2023	Kjetil Magne Sørenes	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.fvn.no/nyheter/lokalt/i/dwj5Gq/kostraadene-skal-oppdateres-anbefaler-drastisk-kutt-i-nordmenns-forbruk-av-roedt-kjoett
Aftenposten	Forsker– Vi har ikke gode nok data til å si at 350 gram rødt kjøtt er en god grense	11.04.2023	Ole Alexander Saue	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/zEk4V1/forsker-ikke-gode-nok-data-til-aa-si-at-350-gram-roedt-kjoett-er-en-god-grense
Nationen	Mener kostholdsrådene bruker tre ganger for høyt tal for utslipp fra norsk svin	12.04.2023	Carl Anders Sørheim	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/mener-kostholdsradene-bruker-tre-ganger-for-hoyt-tall-for-utslipp-fra-norsk-svin/s/5-148-339997
Bergens Avis	Foreslår mindre kjøtt på kommunens tallerken: – Nå må vi slutte å være kjøttthuer	13.04.2023	Aksel Hallan Halmøy	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.ba.no/foreslar-mindre-kjott-pa-kommunens-tallerken-na-ma-vi-slutte-a-vare-kjotthuer/s/5-8-2211262?key=2023-12-06T12%3A22%3A22.000Z%2Fretreiver%2F1307a01c647e1a3c892d3c294048c2a27d2e4589
Aftenposten	Borch i blodtåka	13.04.2023	Joacim Lund	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kommentar/i/bgej0v/borch-i-blodtaaka

Gudbrandsdølen Dagingen	Mange kokker, mye søl og tvilsomme råd	13.04.2023	Jostein Hernøs	Journalist	Critical	https://www.gd.no/mange-kokker-mye-sol-og-tvilsomme-rad/o/5-18-1743453?key=2023-12-06T12:27:09.000Z/retriever/a4c11139a4ecb12e13b40e691e2c93564e61ee09
Gudbrandsdølen Dagingen	Nye forslag til kostråd ut mot rødt kjøtt - dramatisk for Gudbrandsdalen	13.04.2023	Kjesti Haugtrø	Journalist	Critical	https://www.gd.no/nye-forslag-til-kostrad-ut-mot-rodt-kjott-dramatisk-for-gudbrandsdalen/s/5-18-1742680?key=2023-12-06T12:29:49.000Z/retriever/cb2421f1842b4ff015b49fcee8483759ea49d3d
Energi og Klima	Ny strid om kosthold og kjøtt, klima og bærekraft	15.04.2023	Anders Bjartnes	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.energiogklima.no/mening-er-og-analyse/klimalederen/ny-strid-om-kosthold-og-kjott-klima-og-baerekraft
Altinget	Vi må endre kostholdet vårt – og det er viktig at Norden går foran	17.04.2023	Karen Ellemann	NNR author	Supportive	https://www.altinget.no/artikkel/karen-ellemann-vi-ma-endre-kostholdet-vart-og-det-er-viktig-at-norden-gar-foran
Avisa Valdres	Hva er egentlig et bærekraftig kosthold?	20.04.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://www.avisavaldres.no/hva-er-egentlig-et-baerekraftig-kosthold/o/5-54-823041
NordNorsk debatt	Beitedyra – en svært viktig del av matberedskapen	21.04.2023	Eva Narten Høberg, Marianne Vileid Uleberg & Jo Jorem Aarseth	Scientist	Critical	https://www.nordnorskddebatt.no/beitedyra-en-svart-viktig-del-av-matberedskapen/o/5-124-240421

Subjekt	De nye kostholdsrådene er mer politiske enn kunnskapsbaserte	21.04.2023	Mikkel Ihle Tande	Journalist	Critical	https://subjekt.no/2023/04/21/de-nye-kostholdsradene-er-mer-politiske-enn-kunnskapsbaserte/
Morgenbladet	Flere i kostholdsdebatten hadde hatt godt av å kjøle seg ned med en is	21.04.2023	Ove A Vanebo	Politicians	Neutral	https://www.morgenbladet.no/ideer/kommentar/2023/04/21/flere-i-kostholdsdebatten-hadde-hatt-godt-av-a-kjole-seg-ned-med-en-is/
Aftenposten	Vitenskapen bak nye kostråd står fjellstøtt	25.04.2023	Rune Blomhoff	NNR author	Supportive	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/wA0AgP/vitenskapen-bak-nye-kostraad-staar-fjellstoett
Adresseavisen	Jeg tar meg en øl uansett hva staten sier	26.04.2023	Jonas Skybakmoen	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.adressa.no/midtnorskdebatt/i/RGX2mW/jeg-tar-meg-en-ol-uansett-hva-staten-sier?
Aftenposten	Matministeren ut mot nye kostholdsråd. Uaktuelt å kutte i norsk kjøttproduksjon.	26.04.2023	Kjetil Magne Sørenes	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/politikk/i/pQIJ7V/matministeren-ut-mot-nye-kostholdsraad-uaktuelt-aa-kutte-i-norsk-kjoettproduksjon
Nettavisen	Nettavisens sjefredaktør sitt angrep på kjøtt retter baker for smed	27.04.2023	Axel Krogvig	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/nettavisens-sjefredaktor-sitt-angrep-pa-kjoett-retter-baker-for-smed/o/5-95-1060695?key=
Nettavisen	Går hardt ut mot Klinge: – Vi spiser ikke variert i Norge	27.04.2023	Eline Lurud Dahl	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/gar-hardt-ut-mot-klinge-vi-spiser-ikke-variert-i-norge/s/5-95-1063578?key=2023-12-06T14:09:21.000Z/retriever/c7a12540f9c2bdf8866bc24bdade5f9d2c54cf8

NRK	Ekspertgruppe mener nordmenn bør spise mindre rødt kjøtt	27.04.2023	Philippe Bédos Ulvin	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nrk.no/klima/ekspertgruppe-mener-nordmenn-bor-spise-mindre-rodt-kjott-1.16389753
NTB/Matprat	Nordiske kostholdsråd på sviktende grunnlag	28.04.2023	Jonas Eide Hollund	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://kommunikasjon.ntb.no/pressemedling/17965407/nordiske-kostholdsrad-pa-sviktende-grunnlag?publisherId=17847931
Aftenposten	Sjefen for norske kostråd ut mot Sandra Borch (Sp)	28.04.2023	Kjetil Magne Sørenes	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/politikk/i/dwba6A/sjefen-for-de-norske-kostraadene-ut-mot-sandra-borch
Byavisa Tønsberg	Kostholdsråd innlemmer bærekraft med svak vitenskapelig forankring	28.04.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://www.byavisatonsberg.no/kostholdsrad-innlemmer-baerekraft-med-svak-vitenskapelig-forankring/
Nationen	Vi måler ikke om vi lykkes med landbrukspolitikken i antall bønder	29.04.2023	Fredrik Holtekjølen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/i-strupen-pa-sp-vi-maler-ikke-om-vi-lykkes-med-landbrukspolitikken-i-antall-bonder/s/5-148-353143
Nationen	Støre tar Borch i forsvar i kjøttdebatten	02.05.2023	Andrea Ånestad & Tone Magni Finstad Vestheim	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/store-tar-borch-i-forsvar-i-kjottdebatten/s/5-148-353672
Hamar Arbeiderblad	Kjøttet er en ressurs i graslandet Norge	03.05.2023	Jenny Klinge	Politicians	Critical	https://www.hama.no/kjottet-er-en-ressurs-i-graslandet-norge/o/5-139-1212400
Dagens Næringsliv	DN mener: La oss ikke være kjøttthuer	03.05.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.dn.no/leder/sandra-borch/jordbruk/kjottindustrien/dn-mener-la-oss-ikke-vare-kjottthuer/2-1-1443941

Klassekampen	Den nye sydebukken	04.05.2023	Bjørn Vassness	Journalist	Critical	https://klassekampen.no/artikkel/2023-05-04/den-nye-sydebukken
Nationen	Forsvarer rødt kjøtt: – Skremselspropaganda	04.05.2023	Lars Bilit Hagen	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/forsvarer-rodt-kjott-skremselspropaganda/s/5-148-353855
TV2	Stor FN-rapport: Slår et slag for egg, kjøtt og melk	07.05.2023	Simen Hunding Strømme & Karl Biehl	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/slar-et-slag-for-egg-kjott-og-melk/15710079/
Nationen	En av tre sier de følger kostholdsradene de fleste tror de spiser sunnere enn de gjør	08.05.2023	Thorleif Moe Bratval & Lars Bilit Hagen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/n-av-tre-sier-de-folger-kostholdsradene-de-fleste-tror-de-spiser-sunnere-enn-de-gjor/s/5-148-354442
Kjøttbransjen	Matindustrien viktig for beredskap og sikkerhet	11.05.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve.com/prod?a=3665&d=02016620230511bb7c066b1a570789434400403f4850a2&s=20166&sa=1019747&x=937207af9e067284776da1dc778c77e1&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701877544
Alstå	Et mangelfullt kosthold kommer ikke fordi noen er vegetarianer	12.05.2023	Åsalinn Artzen Dale	plant-based diet advocates	Supportive	https://www.altstano/2023/05/12/et-mangelfullt-kosthold-kommer-ikke-fordi-noen-er-vegetarianer/
Aftenposten	Kostholdsråd Fjellstø vitenskap?	14.05.2023	Audun Korsøth & Arne Bardalen	Scientist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/eJXq7O/ko-stholdsraad-fjellstoe-vitenskap

Nationen	Flere kjenner seg ikke igjen i anbefalingene Ekspertgruppe reagerer på nye kostråd	15.05.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-r-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=05501720230515163f7bea142dd1a0dd91816dfce1a518&s=55017&a=1019747&x=22c9fdb94fba1d0e96060027cacd2e55&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701880568
Nationen	Hvorfor er Sandra redd for grønnsaker?	16.05.2023	Harald Moskvil	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://www.nationen.no/hvorfor-er-sandra-redd-for-gronnsaker/o/5-148-361868
Gudbrandsdølen Dagingen	Kostholdsråd ingen trussel for norsk jordbruk!	16.05.2023	Johannes Christian Wahl Gran	Politicians	Supportive	https://www.gd.no/kostholdsrad-ingen-trussel-for-norsk-johttps://www.nationen.no/flere-forskere-har-trukket-seg-fra-arbeidet-med-kostholdsradene/s/5-148-362588rdbruk/o/5-18-1762475?key=2023-06T16:38:48.000Z/retriever/9e4168dd5bad95356526115395a1267bc0d3efc3
Nationen	Flere forskere har trukket seg fra arbeidet med kostholdsradene	18.05.2023	Benjamin Hernes Vogl	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/flere-forskere-har-trukket-seg-fra-arbeidet-med-kostholdsradene/s/5-148-362588
Altaposten	Saken er også biff	19.05.2023	Rolf Edmund Lund	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.altaposten.no/meninger/i/q1Xnbg/saken-er-ogsaa-biff
Altinget	Bård Hoksrud: Vi er ikke imot folkehelse. Vi synes det er spennende	22.05.2023	Solveig Ruud	Journalist	Critical	https://www.altinget.no/artikkel/baard-hoksrud-vi-er-ikke-imot-folkehelse-vi-synes-det-er-spenndende

Tidens Krav	Mat, helse, bærekraft og matsikkerhet	02.06.2023	Øybind Lyngås	Politicians	Critical	https://www.tk.no/mat-helse-barekraft-og-matsikkerhet/o/5-51-1365715?key=2023-12-06T17:01:54.000Z/retriever/87ecd9d7b5bb3137ae418bc871047fa5869ea6bb6
ABC Nyheter	Sandra Borch om vegetar-uttalelsen: – Skulle drukket øl	05.06.2023	Inga Vinje Engvik	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.abcnyheter.no/nyheter/politikk/2023/06/05/195927252/sandra-borch-om-vegetar-uttalelsen-skulle-drukke-ol
Stortinget	Møte onsdag den 7. juni 2023	07.06.2023	Kathrine Kleveland	Politicians	Critical	https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Referater/Stortinget/2022-2023/refs-202223-06-07/
Nationen	Borch avviser at kjøttkutt redder klimaet – kua er også en stor del av løsningen	07.06.2023	Tone Magni Finstad Vestheim & Fredrik Holtekjølen	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/borch-avviser-at-kjottkutt-redder-klimaet-kua-er-ogsaa-en-stor-del-av-losningen/s/5-148-371960
Varden	Å nekte eldre og syke kjøtt er tøv. Alle vi andre bør derimot tenke oss om	10.06.2023	Tom Erik Thorsen	Journalist	Critical	https://www.varden.no/meninger/i/mQWp31/aa-nekte-eldre-og-syke-kjoett-er-toev-alle-vi-andre-boer-derimot-tenke-oss-om
NNN arbeideren	Matråd skaper hodebry	15.06.2023	Erlend Angelo	Journalist	Critical	https://nnn.no/matrad-skaper-hodebry/
Kjøttbransjen	Må tilpasses norsk produksjon og befolkning	15.06.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-r-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=0201662023061572add26ec87788d04dfe962cc73c6f60&s=20166&sa=1019747&x=1d146a33e6d1bc0c2aa0a993f93cbca9&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701887470

Bergens Avis	Kjøttseiger om nye kostråd mennesker er skapt for å spise kjøtt	20.06.2023	Aksel Hallan Halmøy & Katrine Ferguson	Journalist	Critical	https://www.ba.no/kjottseiger-om-nye-kostrad-mennesker-er-skapt-for-a-spise-kjott/s/5-8-2291320?key=2023-12-07T08:40:00.000Z/retriever/38f41a4bb4435dd4c00c26c914184a70324d051e
Nettavisen	Fedon Lindberg kritisk til nye råd: – Anbefalinger man vet ikke vil bli fulgt	20.06.2023	Anders Lohne Fosse	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/fedon-lindberg-kritisk-til-nye-rad-anbefalinger-man-vet-ikke-vil-bli-fulgt/s/5-95-1171669?key=2023-12-07T08:54:29.000Z/retriever/444b0c4541688d4c78df29e6cfbace2e3e47f2ef
NTB	Nordiske kostholdsråd: Bør spise «betydelig mindre» enn 350 gram rødt kjøtt i uka	20.06.2023	Anne Marjatta Gøystdal	Journalist	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.r-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=05501320230620TB1a4e39540ec24e04a984225de14c2e8600&s=55013&sa=1019747&x=6162c5279b13db329008aa9280ccd3f&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701887922
Nationen	Kostholdsrådene: - Bra for lommeboka	20.06.2023	Camilla Mellestrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/gimming-om-kostradene-forventer-at-regjeringa-gjor-som-svenskene/s/5-148-378396
Nationen	Vi må ete meir sesonggrønnsaker	20.06.2023	Camilla Skjær Brugrand	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nationen.no/vi-ma-ete-meir-sesonggronnsaker/s/5-148-378651
Dagbladet	De nordiske ernæringsrådene 2023	20.06.2023	Elisabeth Dalseg & Halldor Hustadnes	Journalist	Supportive	https://dinside.dagbladet.no/okonomi/kostholdsradene-bra-for-lommeboka/79611176

Oppland Arbeiderblad	Forsker på Kapp trakk seg fra kostholdsrapporten	20.06.2023	Hanne Reppen Kvikstad	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aa.no/forsker-pa-kapp-trakk-seg-fra-kostholdsrapporten/s/5-35-1773476?key=2023-12-07T08:32:25.000Z/retriever/bdc5bb8f1ff5549a5e56676409028e270672a352
Nationen	Matimport fra vest	20.06.2023	Hans Bårsgård	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/matimport-fra-vest/o/5-148-377747
Bondebladet	Nortura leder: Rart at rådene går så hardt på kjøtt	20.06.2023	Linda Sunde	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/nortura-leder-rart-at-radene-gar-sa-hardt-pa-kjott/s/5-150-51151
FRP	Frykter mer formynderpolitikk etter nye kostholdsråd	20.06.2023	No author	Politicians	Critical	https://www.frp.no/nyheter/frykter-mer-formynderpolitikk-etter-nye-kostholdsrad
Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukerlag	Nye kostråd kan svekke norsk beredskap	20.06.2023	Nora May Engeseth	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.smabrukarlaget.no/aktuelt/nyheter/nye-kostraad-kan-svekke-norsk-beredskap/
Aftenposten	Tirsdag kom det nye kostråd. Ett av dem får bonden Unnsteinn til å frykte for fremtiden.	20.06.2023	Silje Dyregrov	Journalist	neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/sprek/i/LlXMy4/tirsdag-kom-det-nye-kostraad-ett-av-dem-faar-bonden-unnsteinn-til-aa-frykte-for-fremtiden
Kjøttbransjen	Bransjen stiller seg kritisk til NNR-rapporten	20.06.2023	Svein-Erik Eide	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://kjottbransjen.no/bransjen-stiller-seg-kritisk-til-nnr-rapporten/
Østlendingen	Dette blir som å gå med ræva først inn i framtida	20.06.2023	Sverre Viggren	Journalist	Critical	https://www.ostlendingen.no/dette-blir-som-a-ga-med-rava-forst-inn-i-framtida/s/5-69-1511533

NRK Innlandet	Hans Robert frykter nye kostholdsråd vil gå utover levebrødet	20.06.2023	Viktorija L. Hellem-Hansen, Kristina Hågensen, Anders Bakkerud Larsen & Mari Ranheim	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nrk.no/innlandet/bonder-mener-nye-kostholdsrad-ikke-tar-hensyn-til-norsk-landbruk-1.16451866
Jærbladet	Bonde Knut Åge reagerer på anbefaling om å spise mindre kjøtt -kostholdsrådene bommer	21.06.2023	Alise Lea Tiller	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.jbl.no/bonde-knut-age-reagerer-pa-anbefaling-om-a-spise-mindre-kjott-kostholdsradene-bommer/s/5-103-921176?key=2023-12-07T09:03:15.000Z/retriever/acdd52a29b74baaf432906363535db292e9c697f
Nationen	Fem om dagen lettmeik og oslofrokosten slik har kostholdsrådene endret seg på 100 år	21.06.2023	Käthe Friess	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/fem-om-dagen-lettmeik-og-oslofrokosten-slik-har-kostholdsradene-endret-seg-pa-100-ar/s/5-148-377920
Adresseavisen	Varsler omkamp om ernæringsanbefalingene: – Kortsiktig partipolitikk, mener lederen for rådene	21.06.2023	Silje Dyregrov	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.adressa.no/sport/sprek/i/kExM49/varsler-omkamp-om-ernaeringsanbefalingene-kortsiktig-partipolitikk-mener-lederen-for-raadene?
Nationen	Advarer regjeringen mot å tale med to tunger til bondene om kjøttkutt	21.06.2023	Tone Magni Finstad Vestheim & Thorleif Moe Bratval	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/advarer-regjeringen-mot-a-tale-med-to-tunger-til-bondene-om-kjottkutt/s/5-148-374058
Fædrelandsvennen	Svar til Vidar Udjus om landbruk, klima og kjøtt	22.06.2023	Anja Ninasdotter Abusland	Politicians	Critical	https://www.fvn.no/mening/kronikk/i/8JVOMG/svar-til-vidar-udjus-om-landbruk-klima-og-kjoett

Nationen	Nye kostholdsråd risiko for massenedleggelse av jordbruket og svekket matsikkerhet	22.06.2023	Camilla Skjær Brugrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/nye-kostholdsrad-risiko-for-massenedleggelse-av-jordbruket-og-svekket-matsikkerhet/s/5-148-379184
Nationen	Kostrådene mangler balanse	22.06.2023	Erik Ham, Magnus Dårth & Bjørn-Ole Juul-Hansen	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/kostradene-mangler-balanse/o/5-148-378981
Nationen	Kostholdsråd virker som ekspertenes syn på bærekraft er blottet for geografisk kontekst	22.06.2023	Fredrik Ranheim Lange	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/kostholdsrad-virker-som-ekspertenes-syn-pa-barekraft-er-blottet-for-geografisk-kontekst/s/5-148-378806
Klassekampen	Mattrøbbel	22.06.2023	Mari Skurdal	Journalist	Critical	https://klassekampen.no/artikkel/2023-06-22/leder
Baker og Konditor	De nye ernæringsrådene anbefaler mer grove kornprodukter	22.06.2023	No author	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.bakerkonditor.no/artikler/2023/de-nye-ernaringsradene-anbefaler-mer-grove-kornprodukt/
Finansavisen	Bønder mot kostholdsråd	22.06.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.info.com/prod?a=3665&d=020122202306220c3c8cd7631685dafa619be9daa3e54e&s=20122&sa=1019747&x=b89e0fce2a0deebc9558424b4a789173&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701942341
Haugesunds Avis	Mindre kjøtt og alkohol i nye kostråd tror ikke det er så mange som følger dem	22.06.2023	Tone Lütcherath	Journalist	Critical	https://www.h-avis.no/mindre-kjott-og-alkohol-i-nye-kostrad-tror-ikke-det-er-sa-mange-som-folger-dem/s/5-62-1549151?key=2023-12-07T09:51:10.000Z/retrieve/e2c9e6108

						22b987fd39803a53099d3b85240a6a8
Universitet i Stavanger	Slik spiser du sunt, godt og billig	23.06.2023	Elin Nyberg	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.uis.no/nb/om-uis/slik-spiser-du-sunt-godt-og-billig
Dagen	Katolsk prest møter kostholdsrad med «katolske lynne»: - Pils i solen trumfer alle råd	24.06.2023	Karl Andreas Jahr	Journalist	Critical	https://www.dagen.no/nyheter/katolsk-prest-moter-kostholdsrad-med-katolske-lynne-pils-i-solen-trumfer-alle-rad/
Aftenposten	Kostholdsradene splitter: Tror nordmenn har fått «burgerskam»	25.06.2023	Idun Kjøl Wiig	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/5BeLeX/kostholdsraadene-splitter-tror-nordmenn-har-faatt-burgerskam
Aftenposten	Kostholdsradene er ikke pålegg	25.06.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/leder/i/veG8Kp/kostholdsraadene-er-ikke-paalegg
Forskeronen	Derfor trakk han seg fra kostråd-rapporten: – Ikke mulig å få artikkelen opp på et nivå som jeg kunne stå inne for	27.06.2023	Audun Korsøth	Scientist	Critical	https://www.forskeronen.no/baerekraft-helse-kostrad/derfor-trakk-han-seg-fra-kostrad-rapporten-ikke-mulig-a-fa-artikkelen-opp-pa-et-niva-som-jeg-kunne-sta-inne-for/2218118

Nettavisen	Kjøttdebatten: MDG ut mot Sandra Borch "kulturkrig"	28.06.2023	Henrik Heldahl	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nettavisen.no/okonomi/kjoettdebatten-mdg-ut-mot-sandra-borchs-kulturkrig/s/5-95-1186006?key=2023-12-07T10:44:04.000Z/retriever/2226b075dd2eab7314cccee37119df3f8a794748
Morgenbladet	Kostråd mange av kritikerne har særinteresser tilknyttet kjøttindustri	28.06.2023	Mathilde Becker Aarseth	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2023/06/28/kostrad-mange-av-kritikerne-har-saerinteresser-tilknyttet-kjoettindustrien/
Matprat	100 grunner til at integrering av bærekraft i kostrådsanbefalingene har vært feilslått	28.06.2023	No author	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://www.matprat.no/darlig-vurdering-av-barekraft-i-nnr/
Frifagbevegelse	Nye kostholdsråd kan få store konsekvenser – frykter for arbeidsplasser	29.06.2023	Erlend Angelo	Journalist	Critical	https://frifagbevegelse.no/nnnarbeideren/nye-kostholdsrad-kan-fa-store-konsekvenser--frykter-for-arbeidsplasser-6.158.970358.7c2ca96ef7
Tidsskrift for Den Norske Legeforening	Hva kreves av kunnskap før man gir kostholdsråd?	29.06.2023	Jøran Hjelmesæth, Liv Elin Torheim & Erik Kristoffer Arnesen	Scientist	Critical	https://tidsskriftet.no/2023/06/debatt/hva-kreves-av-kunnskap-man-gir-kostholdsrad
Nationen	Kostrådene må først og fremst handle om helse	02.07.2023	Bjørn Gimming, Anne Berit Aker Hansen & Peter Haas Brubakk	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/kostradene-ma-forst-og-fremst-handle-om-helse/o/5-148-381726

Haugesunds Avis	Vi skal skape verdens mest bærekraftige landbruk	05.07.2023	Kristian Nordgård	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.h-avis.no/vi-skal-skape-verdens-mest-barekraftige-landbruk/o/5-62-1555462?key=2023-12-07T11:06:30.000Z/retriever/f247fab85566b0bb4fe52048ea49197b80413cfe
Klassekampen	Svartmaling av en grønnere framtid	05.07.2023	Maria Turøy	Journalist	Critical	https://klassekampen.no/artikkel/2023-07-07/debatt-svartmaling-av-en-gronnere-framtid
Fremover	Vi trenger ren mat på norske ressurser	06.07.2023	Margrethe Haarr	Politicians	Critical	https://www.fremover.no/vi-trenger-ren-mat-pa-norske-ressurser/o/5-17-1128321?key=2023-12-07T11:09:19.000Z/retriever/e4c66d3d9d864dafb61ffcb821bdcd6a8a903332
Norsvin	Er det bra for helsa og klimaet å redusere konsumet av svinekjøtt?	11.07.2023	Eli Gjerlaug Enger	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.mynewsdesk.com/no/norsvin/news/er-det-bra-for-helsa-og-klimaet-aa-reducere-konsumet-av-svinekjoett-469730
Gartneryrket	Nye kostholdsråd til glede og besvær	13.07.2023	Katrine Røed Meberg	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://nogo.retrieve.com/prod?a=3665&d=0201872023071223711d1bb9670b0b32252afe10c496c8&s=20187&sa=1019747&x=6652310382b78c3cc944532a7f07ecf5&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701948163

Østlands-Posten	Kostholdsråd til å leve med	14.07.2023	Kathrine Kleveland	Politicians	Critical	https://www.op.no/kostholdsrad-til-a-lev-med/o/5-36-1460627?key=2023-12-07T11%3A21%3A45.000Z%2Fretreiver%2Fed28d659cba6b76ff85e32a68adf0c08ddb59a
Adresseavisen	Å redusere kjøttforbruket er ikke «bare bare»	15.07.2023	Maren Grøthe	Politicians	Critical	https://www.adressa.no/midtnorskdebatt/i/KnKOB4/aa-reducere-koettforbruket-er-ikke-bare-bare
Forskning.no	Matkultur og matopplevelser	19.07.2023	Oskar Puschmann & Eva Narten Hlberg	Scientist	Critical	https://blogg.forskning.no/blogg-matkultur-og-matopplevelser-kostrad-mat/de-nye-kostholdsradene-kan-pavirke-norsk-natur/2228543
Fiskeribladet	Fiskeribladet: Viktige kostholdsråd må bidra til økt fiskeforbruk	21.07.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Supportive	https://www.fiskeribladet.no/leder/fiskeribladet-viktige-kostholdsrad-ma-bidra-til-okt-fiskeforbruk/2-1-1478248?zephroott=E6CKZW
Finansavisen	Foretrekker defensive aksjer	25.07.2023	Thomas Hilmersen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.finansavisen.no/finans/2023/07/24/8024440/obligo-forvalter-er-fremdeles-forsiktig?zephroott=TwhYtU
Gudbrandsdølen Dagingen	Kostholdsråd på feil premisser	30.07.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://www.gd.no/kostholdsrad-pa-feil-premisses/o/5-18-1811095?key=2023-12-07T11:52:44.000Z/retriever/be99a0f892f377bf146453637900dcc2e7d54ed1

Bergens Tidende	Økende appetitt på norsk tradisjonsmat	31.07.2023	Andreas Brattpker Støyva	Journalist	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=0200212023073164c3982651a71a8fb1b131e9&s=20021&sa=1019747&x=9396f55d17b22e5de4d2959e5ea651e0&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701950038
Bergens Tidende	Bør hunder og katter spise mindre kjøtt?	31.07.2023	Thea Økland	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.bt.no/article/bt-Mo2Vb5.html?mon_ref=retriever-info.com
Telen	Riktig kosthold og inntak av rødt kjøtt er viktige næringskilder og matberedskap!	02.08.2023	Henrik Bakke	Journalist	Critical	https://www.telen.no/riktig-kosthold-og-inntak-av-rodt-kjott-er-viktige-naringskilder-og-matberedskap/o/5-75-686141?key=2023-12-07T12:02:14.000Z/retriever/3bd86b503a5ee72b1032f9454e87a724de1129a0
Inderøyningen	Er det likegyldig hvilke matvarer du og jeg og det offentlige putter i handlevogna	02.08.2023	Ragnhild Vennes	Journalist	Critical	https://www.inderoyningen.no/er-det-likegyldig-hvilke-matvarer-du-og-jeg-og-det-offentlige-putter-i-handlevogna/o/5-119-117354?key=2023-12-07T11:59:48.000Z/retriever/ae3bcce8da8554745a45b5b4251c3a4e35642b4c
VG	400 grams biff hver dag i 5 år: Det eneste han spiser	06.08.2023	Eirik Wichstad	Journalist	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=020019202308060d917470b766743447e4bb66d19b6ecf&s=20019&sa=1019747&x=206d321aa6914dc4226bc7645be33801&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701950613

Kjøttbransjen	Storsatsning førte til plastkutt, mindre matsvinn og mer dyrevelferd	09.08.2023	Andrea Dahl Viggen	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://kjottbransjen.no/storsatsning-pa-baerekraft/
Nationen	Stordalen og Småbrukarlaget: – Dette er den største trusselen mot framtidig matsikkerhet	14.08.2023	Camilla Skjær Brugrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/stordalen-og-smabrukarlaget-dette-er-den-storste-trusselen-mot-framtidig-matsikkerhet/s/5-148-401372
Bondebladet	Het debatt om nordiske kostholdsråd	15.08.2023	Marie Hatlevoll	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://www.bondebladet.no/het-debatt-om-nordiske-kostholdsrad/s/5-150-53676
Nationen	Han trakk seg ut av arbeidet med kostholdsrådene bra at bærekraft tas ut	16.08.2023	Camilla Mellestrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/han-trakk-seg-ut-av-arbeidet-med-kostholdsradene-bra-at-baerekraft-tas-ut/s/5-148-402738
Nationen	De nye, norske kostholdsrådene skal ikke inkludere bærekraft	16.08.2023	Camilla Mellestrand & Fredrik Holtekjølen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/de-nye-norske-kostholdsradene-skal-ikke-inkludere-baerekraft/s/5-148-402524
Nationen	Mener mangel på helhetlig politikk går utover matsikkerheten. Stordalen og Solberg med felles front	16.08.2023	Camilla Skjær Brugrand	Journalist	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.info.com/prod?a=3665&d=05501720230816fbb746e974eed2ccf30cb8931faffd3&s=55017&sa=1019747&x=9fc6fd9acdf320c3ff8e8887ea6ecbaa&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701951203
Nationen	Ernæringsråd for kroppen, ikke kloden	17.08.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/ernaringsrad-for-kroppen-ikke-kloden/o/5-148-403106

Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukerlag	Norske kostråd skal kun omhandle helse	17.08.2023	Nora May Engeseth	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.smabrukarlaget.no/aktuelt/nyheter/norske-kostraad-skal-kun-omhandle-helse/
Switch	Regjeringen sier nei til klima i de nye norske kostholdsradene	17.08.2023	Preben Carlsen	Journalist	Neutral	https://switch.no/mat/regjeringen-sier-nei-til-klima-i-de-nye-norske-kostholdsradene/
Nationen	Ernæringsråd for kroppen, ikke kloden	17.08.2023	No author	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/ernaringsrad-for-kroppen-ikke-kloden/o/5-148-403106
Aftenposten	Ernæringsråd for kroppen, ikke kloden	17.08.2023	Marian Kjellevoid, Maria Wik Markhus, Kjell Nedreaas	Scientist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/mQwR5p/varden-faar-ikke-nok-av-fisk-fra-norge-men-hva-med-oss-selv
Nationen	En befrielse for hele regjeringen å få bærekraft ut av kostrådene	18.08.2023	Camilla Mellestrand	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/en-befrielse-for-hele-regjeringen-a-fa-barekraft-ut-av-kostradene/s/5-148-403929
Norges Bondelag	Sterke reaksjoner på regjeringens føringer for nye kostråd: – Spinnvilt uansvarlig	18.08.2023	Guro Bjørnstad Heimly	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.alinget.no/artikkel/sterke-reaksjoner-paa-regjeringens-foeringer-for-nye-kostraad-spinnvilt-uansvarlig
Gudbrandsdølen Dagingen	Magrere tider for bonden	18.08.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.gd.no/magrere-tider-for-bonden/o/5-18-1827966?key=2023-12-07T13:10:43.000Z/retriever/7326c75749c9a20419ea1f383e81855a4c1f2b6c
Altinget	Sterke reaksjoner på regjeringens føringer for nye kostråd: – Spinnvilt uansvarlig	18.08.2023	Silje Sjursen Skiphavn	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.alinget.no/artikkel/sterke-reaksjoner-paa-regjeringens-foeringer-for-nye-kostraad-spinnvilt-uansvarlig

Altinget	Dropper hensynet til klima og miljø i de nye kostrådene	18.08.2023	Solveig Ruud & Silje Sjursen Skiphavn	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.alinget.no/artikkel/dropper-hensynet-til-klima-og-miljoe-i-de-nye-kostraadene
E24	Fersk statsråd på Arendalsuka: – Alle de andre er elite, og så er det meg da	19.08.2023	Malene Emilie Rustad	Journalist	Critical	https://e24.no/energi-og-klima/i/P4B230/fersk-statsraad-paa-arendalsuka-alle-de-andre-er-elite-og-saa-er-det-meg-da
Norges Bondelag	Vil levere bærekraftig mat og energi utan CO2-avgift	22.08.2023	Hildegunn Gjengedal	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/vil-levere-berekraftig-mat-og-energi-utan-co2-avgift
Nordlys	Nye muligheter for bær- og grøntprodusent er i Nord-Norge	24.08.2023	Frøydis Gillund, Anne Linne Hykkerud	Scientist	Neutral	https://www.nordlys.no/nye-muligheter-for-bar-og-grontprodusenter-i-nord-norge/o/5-124-262503?key=2023-12-07T13:23:03.000Z/retriever/2939aab35c00e459359c9181f968e702733d0e11
Kjøttbransjen	Kritisk blikk på kostholdsråd med store svakheter	24.08.2023	No author	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve.com/prod?a=3665&d=020166202308245bc9444cbfd92426cbcaeaac1d5f6745e&s=20166&sa=1019747&x=993dfd2573286623b368032cda175c7a&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701955332
Forskning.no	Det er bare i Norge vi krangler om kostholdsradene	29.08.2023	Nina Kristiansen	Journalist	Neutral	https://forskning.no/forebyggende-helse-mat-mat-og-helse/det-er-bare-i-norge-vi-krangler-om-kostholdsradene/2241436

N247	Valg 2023: Høyre vil gjøre Agder til landets fremste matfylke	29.08.2023	Torun Ostad	Politicians	Neutral	https://www.n247.no/innsendt-valg-2023/valg-2023-hoyre-vil-gjore-agder-til-landets-fremste-matfylke/522094
Document	Han ledet arbeidet med de nye kostrådene: – Bare nordmenn som krangler	30.08.2023	John Martin Johansen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.document.no/2023/08/30/han-ledet-arbeidet-med-de-nye-kostradene-bare-nordmenn-som-krangler/
Nettavisen	Senterpartiet slår fenalår-alarm i Oslo: – Mange spurte hva det var	31.08.2023	Even Hye T. Barka & Vetle Ravn Viken	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/senterpartiet-slar-fenalar-alarm-i-oslo-mange-spurte-hva-det-var/s/5-95-1294350?key=2023-12-07T13:33:14.000Z/retriever/b5d1b5b03308254bbc45a6bb2b6a23f5b63774cd
Bondebladet	Miljøhensyn påvirker ikke kostrådets anbefalte kjøttmengde	31.08.2023	Marie Hatlevoll	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://www.bondebladet.no/miljohensyn-pavirker-ikke-kostradets-anbefalte-kjottmengde/s/5-150-53744
Altinget	Verken Rødt, SV eller Høyre har kritisert regjeringens føringer om kostholdsråd. Dette er grunnen	01.09.2023	Solveig Ruud	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.altinget.no/artikkel/verken-roedt-sv-eller-hoyre-har-kritisert-regjeringens-foeringer-om-kostholdsraad-dette-er-grunnen
Norsk Landbruk	Kjøttlobbyisten	07.09.2023	Dag Idar Jøsang	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.norsklndbruk.no/kjottlobbyisten/s/5-152-48820
Adresseavisen	Klar, ferdig du utenfor!	09.09.2023	Inge Johnsen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.adresseavisen.no/midtnorskdebatt/i/76Gw73/klar-ferdig-du-er-utenfor

NNN arbeideren	Kostråd uten bærekraft	14.09.2023	No author	Journalist	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=0202922023091465aa6831964d5d226dfcd5634fde08e0&s=20292&sa=1019747&x=cf07a7ce7920e46df847460eacf0081f&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701956847
Kjøttbransjen	Kostholdsråd med store svakheter	14.09.2023	Per Arne Sleipnes	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://kjottbransjen.no/kostholdsrad-med-store-svakheter/
Aftenposten	Folk må få spise hva de vil	15.09.2023	Joacim Lund	Journalist	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kommentar/i/Kn9V0G/folk-maa-faa-spise-hva-de-vil
Adresseavisen	Jeg har full oversikt over hva jeg setter på matbordet	16.09.2023	Kari-Anne Aarvåg	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.adressa.no/magasinet/i/LlgJkp/jeg-har-full-oversikt-over-hva-jeg-setter-paa-matbordet?
Norsk Landbruk	Ny leder bruser med fjøra	09.10.2023	Øystein Heggdal	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://www.norsklndbruk.no/ny-leder-bruser-med-fjora/s/5-152-54729
Norsvin	Riktige klimatall?	12.10.2023	Eli Johanne Gjerlaug Enger	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://norsvin.no/nyheter/riktige-klimatall/
Aftenposten	Kjøttbransjen må ut av skolepensum	17.10.2023	Hanne-Lene Dahlgren	plant-based diet advocates	Supportive	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/132bxL/kjoettbransjen-maa-ut-av-skolepensum
Tidsskrift for Den Norske Legeforening	Spis plantebasert – for kloden og for helsa	17.10.2023	John Georg Riisdal	Scientist	Supportive	https://tidsskriftet.no/2023/10/debatt/spis-plantebasert-kloden-og-helsa
Aftenposten	Kjøtt, egg og kunnskap i skolen	20.10.2023	Jonas Eide Hollund	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/P4J12p/kjoett-egg-og-kunnskap-i-skolen

Tidsskrift for Den Norske Legeforening	Tilsvaer fra Matprat: Naar fakta og fordommer kolliderer	24.10.2023	Katrine Lekang	Lobby and advocacy actor	Critical	https://tidsskriftet.no/2023/10/debatt/tilsvaer-fra-matprat-nar-fakta-og-fordommer-kolliderer
Romsdals Budstikke	Spis maks 350 gram roedt kjoett i uken, raades vi. Na faar anbefalingen sterk kritikk i ny rapport	02.11.2023	Silje Dyregrov	Journalist	Critical	https://www.rbnett.no/sport/sprek/i/Knx8Be/spis-maks-350-gram-roedt-kjoett-i-uken-raades-vi-naa-faar-anbefalingen-sterk-kritikk-i-ny-rapport?
Bondebladet	Hadde jeg faatt bestemme kostradene hadde det vaert bra a vaere storfeprodusent	10.11.2023	Anders Sandbu	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://www.bondebladet.no/hadde-jeg-fatt-bestemme-kostradene-hadde-det-vart-bra-a-vare-storfeprodusent/s/5-150-59036
Bondebladet	Kjoettavgift ikke pa menyen	10.11.2023	Stian Eide	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://www.bondebladet.no/kjoettavgift-ikke-pa-menyen/s/5-150-58979
Nationen	Pollestad: Svensk grep helt nodvendig for a utrydde villsvin i Norge	15.11.2023	Camilla Skjær Brugrand	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.nationen.no/pollestad-svensk-grep-helt-nodvendig-for-a-utrydde-villsvin-i-norge/s/5-148-452447
Forskning.no	Ekspertutvalg: Bondene boer sta for mesteparten av utslippene vaere i 2050	15.11.2023	Marte Dæhlen	Journalist	Neutral	https://www.forskning.no/klima-landbruk-mat/ekspertutvalg-bondene-boer-stand-for-mesteparten-av-utslippene-vare-i-2050/2281765
Bondebladet	Ingen grunner til a bygge ned norsk landbruk, Pollestad pa Storfe 2023	16.11.2023	Anders Sandbu	Food and agricultural interest actors	Critical	https://nogo.retrieve-r-info.com/prod?a=3665&d=05525320231116c461eed936457a735e4595ff0a099d50&s=55253&sa=1019747&x=1c0845174417b93c377e72066d494db7&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701958309

Budstikka	Inviterer til åpent møte om matvaner	17.11.2023	Per O. Aukner	Journalist	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.com/prod?a=3665&d=02007920231117face2b31c0f6db73baa34b3dbd694126&s=20079&sa=1019747&x=a0ca d7fab971a28e33c60dc0ea59d74f&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1701958377
Dagsavisen	Jordbruket synder mest	20.11.2023	Harald N. Røstvik	Scientist	Supportive	https://www.dagsavisen.no/debatt/2023/11/20/jordbruket-synder-mest/
E24	Anbefaler Reitan å bli en stiftelse og åpne «Rema 2000»	03.12.2023	Hans M. Jordheim	Journalist	Neutral	https://e24.no/i/VPndk6
NTB	Ber Reitan radikalt redusere salg av kjøtt, ta miljøvernere inn i styret og etablere klimastiftelse	04.12.2023	Reitan Retail	Journalist	Neutral	https://kommunikasjon.ntb.no/pressemedling/18023015/ber-reitan-radikalt-reducere-salg-av-kjott-ta-miljovernere-inn-i-styret-og-etablere-klimastiftelse?lang=no
Nationen	Kutte utslipp, ikke kjøtt	13.12.2023	Hans Bårsgård	Journalist	Critical	https://www.nationen.no/kutte-utslipp-ikke-kjott/o/5-148-467452
Kjøkkenskrivern	Hva betyr kostråd og bærekraft for den daglige driften på kjøkkenet?	19.12.2023	Elisabeth Strøm	Food and agricultural interest actors	Neutral	https://nogo.retrieve.com/prod?a=3665&d=020209202312196fe521e55ecd0e42d1fa565167fa6fa7&s=20209&sa=1019747&x=7ea63e3bea037bd9be347d3a64eee0bb&tz=Europe/Oslo&t=1705666404
NRK	Ber folk kutte kjøttforbruket – får trusler og hets	20.12.2023	Henning Rønhovde	Journalist	Supportive	https://www.nrk.no/osloogviken/hannelene-dahlgren-ber-folk-kutte-kjottforbruket--far-trusler-og-hets-1.16631030

Forskeren	Kostråd: Så hva kan vi egentlig spise til jul, da?	21.12.2023	Xiang Yi Kong, Ida Gregersen & Jacob Juel Christensen	Scientist	Supportive	https://www.nettavisen.no/norsk-debatt/kostrad-sa-hva-kan-vi-egentlig-spise-til-jul-da/o/5-95-1534554?key=2024-01-19T12:03:13.000Z/retriever/ff4eac78765bc0c2a2ec71c959248016ac1e0765
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Appendix B: Interview guide for key informant interviews

1. Kan du kort presentere deg selv og dele din bakgrunn?
2. Hvor lenge har du arbeidet med dette?
3. Hva var grunnen til at du begynte å jobbe innen dette feltet?
4. Hva betyr bærekraft i kostholdsanbefalinger for deg?
 - a. Videre, er bærekraft sosial, økonomisk og/eller miljømessig?
5. Hvordan ser du forholdet mellom kostholdsanbefalinger og miljømessig eller sosial bærekraft?
6. Hvor kjent er du med konseptet bærekraft i sammenheng med kostholdsanbefalinger, spesielt i de nordiske kostholdsrådene?
7. Er det ifølge deg viktig å vurdere bærekraft når man formulerer kostholdsråd?
8. Ser du spesifikke muligheter eller fordeler ved å inkludere bærekraft i kostholdsråd?
9. Ser du spesifikke konsekvenser ved å inkludere bærekraft i kostholdsråd?
10. Det har vært mye debatt rundt prosessen til NNR og den vitenskapelige evidensen, metodene som brukes, og forskerne som er involvert. Hva tenker har vært kritikken av NNR?
11. Hvilke aktører har du forhold deg til i debatten rundt dette?
12. Hvordan tror du kostholdsråd påvirker forbrukeratferd når det gjelder bærekraftige matvalg?
 - a. Hva tror du kan gjøres?
13. Hvilke initiativer tror du ville være effektive for å fremme bevissthet og forståelse av bærekraftige spisevaner?
14. Helsedirektoratet er nå i ferd med å utarbeide de norske kostholdsrådene. Ser du for deg at Norge vil fokusere på bærekraft i matindustrien fremover?
15. Hvilke endringer eller fremskritt vil du gjerne se innen dette området?
16. Er det noe annet du ønsker å legge til angående integrasjonen av bærekraft i de nordiske kostholdsrådene?

Appendix C: Information sheet and invitation

Invitasjon til å delta i masterprosjekt – Informasjonsskriv

Vil du delta i forskning?

“From farm to fork and back again: An analysis of the debate about inclusion of environmental sustainability aspects in dietary guidelines”.

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å belyse reaksjoner og perspektiver, samt hvordan beslutninger tas angående kostholdsråd og bærekraft i Norges offentlige sfære. I dette dokumentet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål:

Formålet med dette prosjektet er å undersøke reaksjoner og perspektiver knyttet til integreringen av bærekraftshensyn i kostholdsråd, med spesielt fokus på de nordiske kostrådene (NNR). Oppgaven har som mål å etablere forbindelser mellom den pågående debatten, utformingen av retningslinjer og den overordnede bærekraftsforståelsen. Prosjektet, som utgjør en masteroppgave på 30 studiepoeng, oppfyller omfattende de faglige kravene som forventes på masternivå, og viser dybde i forskning, analytisk rigor og faglig bidrag i samsvar med programmets standarder. Det ansvarlige instituttet for dette prosjektet er Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet (NMBU).

Ansvar:

Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet er ansvarlig for personopplysningene som behandles i prosjektet. Institutt for landskapsarkitektur og planlegging er ansvarlig for prosessene der Marte Østbye Larsen har ansvaret for gjennomføringen av forskningsprosjektet og den daglige administrasjonen av data, med støtte fra veileder Ola Westengen.

Hvorfor blir du bedt om å delta?

Målet er å fange opp ulike synspunkter angående integreringen av bærekraftsprinsipper i kostholdsråd. Ditt unike perspektiv, markert av din deltakelse i tidligere eller pågående debatter rundt NNR og din ekspertise på området, gjør deg til en ideell deltaker. Intervjuene vil ha en semi-strukturert tilnærming, slik at det er rom for å utforske ulike meninger grundig. Dette formatet er valgt for å sikre en grundig forståelse av dine erfaringer, innsikter og perspektiver.

Deltakelse:

Din deltakelse er avgjørende for å bidra til dybde og rikdom i studien. Ved å dele dine tanker og erfaringer, vil du spille en avgjørende rolle i å fremme forståelsen av integrasjonen av bærekraftsprinsipper i kostholdsrådgivning.

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, vil din deltakelse primært bestå av å delta på intervju. Denne prosessen forventes å ta omtrent 1 time. Intervjuet vil omfatte spørsmål om din synsvinkel på inkluderingen av bærekraft i kostholdsråd, dine innsikter i utfordringene knyttet til matproduksjon i Norge, og dine forslag til handling for å håndtere disse utfordringene.

Databehandling:

Intervjuet vil bli tatt opp og transkribert. Etter transkripsjon vil de originale opptakene bli slettet. Transkripsjonene vil bli lagret trygt og anonymisert, og de vil bli slettet senest ved innlevering av masteroppgaven. Dette sikrer konfidensialitet og personvern for ditt bidrag.

Samtykke:

Deltakelsen din i denne fasen av studien er helt frivillig, og du har rett til å trekke deg når som helst uten noen konsekvenser. Hvis du velger å delta, indiker samtykke ved å signere nedenfor.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – Hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

De personopplysningene du oppgir, vil kun bli brukt til de formålene som er beskrevet i dette dokumentet, og vil bli behandlet i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Dine personopplysninger vil behandles konfidensielt, og kun prosjektleder og masterstudenten vil ha tilgang til dataene. Deltakelsen din i prosjektet skal ikke være sporbar gjennom publikasjoner. Selv om sitater eller beskrivelser kan være gjenkjennelige for deltakere generelt, vil de ikke kunne spores til enkeltpersoner.

Med vennlig hilsen,
Ola Westengen
(veileder)

Marte Østbye Larsen
(Master student)

Jeg har mottatt og forstått denne informasjonen om prosjektet. Jeg har hatt muligheten til å stille spørsmål, og jeg samtykker i å delta basert på de beskrevne vilkårene.

(Signert av deltaker, dato)

Appendix D: Consent form for interviewees

Samtykkeskjema

Ytterligere informasjon om personvern – hvordan vi lagrer og bruker dine opplysninger:

De som vil ha tilgang til dine personopplysninger er masterstudenten Marte Østbye Larsen og veileder Ola Westengen. For å sikre at ingen uautoriserte personer kan få tilgang til dine personopplysninger, vil ditt navn og kontaktinformasjon erstattes med en kode. Nøkkelen til koden vil bli lagret på en separat navneliste, adskilt fra annen data. Det vil ikke være mulig å identifisere deg i den endelige rapporten eller eventuelle publikasjoner som følger av prosjektet. Alle data vil anonymiseres under og før eventuelle publikasjoner.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle dine personopplysninger?

Vi behandler informasjon om deg basert på ditt samtykke. På vegne av NMBU har personverntjenestene ved Sikt – tjenesteleverandøren for kunnskapssektoren, vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Dine rettigheter:

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til å:

- Be om innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg og få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene.
- Få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende.
- Få slettet personopplysninger om deg.
- Sendte klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Vi vil gi deg en begrunnelse hvis vi mener at du ikke kan identifiseres, eller at rettighetene ikke kan utøves.

Hva skjer med dine personopplysninger når forskningsprosjektet avsluttes?

Prosjektet er planlagt å avsluttes når masteroppgaven godkjennes, forventet i juni 2024. Etter prosjektslutt vil all data som inneholder dine personopplysninger, inkludert lydopptak og transkripsjoner, slettes. Hvis du velger å trekke deg fra prosjektet når som helst, vil all data som gjelder deg bli slettet umiddelbart.

Spørsmål:

Hvis du har spørsmål om studien eller ønsker å lære mer om eller utøve dine rettigheter, vennligst kontakt:

- Marte Østbye Larsen, e-post: marte.ostbye.larsen@nmbu.no, telefon: +4790218577

- Ola Westengen, e-post: ola.westengen@nmbu.no

Vårt personvernombud: Hanne Pernille Gulbrandsen, e-post: personvernombud@nmbu.no, telefon: +47402 81 558

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til vurderingen som er gjort av personverntjenestene fra Sikt, kan du ta kontakt via e-post: personverntjenester@sikt.no eller telefon: +4773984040.

Samtykkeerklæring:

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet “From farm to fork and back again: An analysis of the debate about inclusion of environmental sustainability aspects in dietary guidelines” og har hatt muligheten til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- Å delta i intervju

Jeg samtykker i behandlingen av mine opplysninger til prosjektet er fullført sommeren 2024.

(Underskrevet av prosjektdeltaker, dato)



Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
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