

RESEARCH ARTICLE

‘Degrowth’ in British and German leading quality print media: Patterns, trends and influencing factors

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Abstract

‘Degrowth’ is increasingly relevant as a transdisciplinary research and political discourse field. This makes it a key journalistic topic, especially with regard to climate and economic policy. Ultimately, media discourse shapes its political implementation, making examining this discourse relevant.

This research analyses 389 articles from 27 different daily and weekly newspapers and political magazines using critical discourse analysis (CDA); in turn, determining the patterns, trends, and influencing factors informing the media discourse on degrowth in leading British and German print media sources between 2015 and 2023. This discourse was analysed using general structural features such as publication frequencies, time trends, sections, and outlets. Then, the sentiment of articles concerning degrowth was analysed, considering variables of political orientations of the media, their section (e.g. ‘Economy’, ‘Environment’), the gender identities of the authors (derived from the names), and frequent writers’ respective institutional backgrounds. Overall results showed the prevalence of degrowth discourse is growing, albeit predominantly in superficial terms. Degrowth-negative articles are most likely to be written by men in conservative media, especially in the ‘Economy’ sections. By contrast, positive articles are most likely to be written by women in progressive media, especially in the ‘Environment’ sections. In addition, within the first few years of this timeframe (2015-2019), there were more articles on degrowth featured in leading progressive print media than in their leading conservative print media counterparts. However, from 2020 onwards leading, conservative print media dominated the discourse with degrowth-negative articles. In Germany, degrowth opponents in leadership positions at leading conservative print media outlets shape the degrowth discourse in the media landscape. This can be interpreted as a structural barrier to a positive media discourse on degrowth. In British outlets, there were fewer frequent writers on degrowth, which is a barrier at the agenda-setting level. In this article, the influence of mainstream economics, economic education, and cultural gender bias are discussed as possible causes for these results.

1. Introduction

In the face of multiple global ecological crises, debates concerning a critique of ‘growth’ – measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – are highly relevant for journalistic media. With regard to sustainability, can these crises be resolved within an economic system structurally dependent on increasing GDP growth?

The ‘planetary boundaries’ framework illustrates the diversity and urgency of the crises by defining a safe operating space for humanity based on nine variables, including climate change, biodiversity, biochemical flows and others. However, six out of nine boundaries have already been exceeded (Richardson et al., 2023). In order to avoid dangerous and irreversible ecological tipping points, global GDP growth processes must be sufficiently decoupled – in timely fashion – from any consequential environmental impacts in the most absolute terms. The release of CO₂ and other emissions – as well as global resource consumption overall – must fall sufficiently in order to return to safer conditions for humanity. Whether this can be achieved simultaneously with an overall GDP growth is increasingly being called into question: attempts to do so via so-called ‘green growth’ strategies are based on controversial modelling and locally-limited successes. Additionally, there is no empirical evidence to such a *sufficient* degree as to decouple GDP from CO₂ emissions or resource use (Vadén et al., 2020; Vogel & Hickel, 2023). GDP-critical approaches are increasingly being discussed within the scientific community, and among the general public, under the term ‘degrowth’. This approach could be characterised as “a planned reduction of total energy and material use to bring the economy in line with planetary boundaries, while improving people’s lives by distributing income and resources more fairly” (Hickel, 2019). Degrowth is part of a broad social and political post-growth discourse (Kallis et al., 2025), and an increasingly transdisciplinary research agenda, with growing public popularity (Hickel, 2023). Moreover, it has been discussed in the 2022 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2022) – once again, emphasising that degrowth has arrived in the international sustainability debate.

Since the term ‘degrowth’ covers the most far-reaching proposals – some of which are critical of capitalism – discourse surrounding this term is particularly revealing in terms of how

structural social changes are discussed. ‘Degrowth’ is an ‘umbrella term’ (Barca, 2017, p. 3) that bundles various concepts and encompasses different currents (Schmelzer et al., 2022). It is not about a general shrinking of ‘the economy’ or the goal of reducing GDP; rather, degrowth regards the selective growth of meaningful areas (Kallis, 2019; Schmelzer et al., 2022), new prosperity indicators (Domazet et al., 2020), sustainable business models (Nesterova, 2020) and care practices (Barca et al., 2023). However, as lower GDP could be a side effect of a consistent sustainability policy for the Global North (Fanning & Hickel, 2023; Likaj et al., 2022, p. 18), degrowth scholars emphasise the precondition to restructure the economic system *independently* of aggregate GDP growth (Büchs et al., 2024; Michaelis et al., 2024). GDP growth is not considered necessary *per se* to ensure wellbeing in rich countries (Vogel et al., 2024).

Despite growing popularity, the question of the political feasibility of degrowth approaches remains (Giuntoli et al., 2023, p. 25). Journalistic media plays an essential role in how the subject is discussed and interpreted in the public sphere, and can influence a scientific and political paradigm shift (Latour, 1998; Ötsch et al., 2018, p. 10). So far, there is hardly any research on the perception of degrowth in journalist-led media (see, e.g. Capasso, 2021; Haikola et al., 2021). Studies indicate that degrowth is virtually overlooked or marginalised by mainstream news media. Using examples, Knauß (2015) showed how the term ‘economic growth’ gained importance and was mainly uncritically defended in leading German media in the 20th century and beyond. Lohs (2020) examined the popular German news broadcaster ‘tagesschau’ within two time periods (1994-1996 and 2015-2017). While the news broadcasts sometimes emphasized the necessity of more social growth within the second period, there was no overall reflection or critique on the growth paradigm itself.

Some studies have addressed reporting on GDP and alternative wellbeing indicators (e.g. Morse, 2011, 2013). For instance, a recent study analysed the media discourse in newspapers, radio, and TV in Scotland and Italy in 2017-2021 and 2018-2021. Yet overall media coverage of wellbeing metrics has been very low, only mentioned occasionally, “whereas GDP is an ordinary component of both countries’ public debate that is constantly mentioned proactively” (Battaglia, 2023, p. 542). Other studies show adverse reporting of degrowth-related topics, e.g. debates on limited or sustainable tourism in South Tyrol (Italy). A

moratorium (which is a degrowth proposal) on sustainable tourism was predominantly characterised as ineffective, inappropriate and unfair (Kielar & Scuttari, 2024).

The mainstream economic paradigm of ‘ecological modernization’ – the idea of achieving sustainability and progress through green growth, efficiency and technological innovation – dominates media coverage of low-carbon housing (Cherry et al., 2015). Further discourse studies criticise a lack of diverse economic perspectives informing news content (including those of experts presented) in German media (e.g. Teschendorf & Otto, 2022; Theine, 2022).

Notably, no study has focused on placing the term ‘degrowth’ at the centre of a media analysis. This paper examines degrowth discourse in leading print quality media in the United Kingdom (UK) and Germany, analysing 27 daily and weekly newspapers and political magazines across a nine year period (2015-2023). With various recommendations across different policy areas and levels (Fitzpatrick et al., 2022), degrowth is a cross-sectional discourse and is, therefore, relevant for economic (policy) journalism, environmental-, sustainability-, and climate journalism.

The case study of the media discourse in these two countries is appropriate, due to degrees of reach, journalists’ autonomy, and state regulations (Brüggemann et al., 2014). In addition, essential contributions to the international degrowth discourse have been made in both countries. In general terms, the beginnings of the growth-critical discourse can be traced back to the 1970s when ecological economics was developed (Georgescu-Roegen, 1971); the Club of Rome report *Limits to Growth* was published (Meadows et al., 1972), and the French term ‘décroissance’ (degrowth) was used for the first time by the philosopher André Gorz (D’Alisa et al., 2015, p. 1; Parrique, 2020, p. 172). In Germany, the then-newly founded Green Party had already discussed many degrowth policies that were currently being debated (Muraca & Schmelzer, 2017, 185f). However, the degrowth discourse only gained momentum and wider prominence after the 2008 Financial Crisis; when the German growth-critical movement contributed to the discourse at several major conferences, such as the International Degrowth Conference in 2014, with around 3,000 participants (Bendix, 2017). Since then, the term ‘degrowth’ within the growth-critical debate has been well-established in Germany (Parrique, 2020, p. 197). For a long time, prevailing German discourse was mainly

characterised by a sufficiency-oriented critique of growth, according to Nico Paech (Paech, 2013; Parrique, 2020, p. 187); somewhat controversial in the international degrowth discourse, as sufficiency is predominantly conceptualised as an individual strategy to reduce consumption over addressing transformation of institutional structures (Schmelzer et al., 2022, p. 184). However, the discourse is now broader; for example, with capitalism-critical research and education institutions like *Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie* (Burkhart et al., 2017), or social reformist post-growth research (Petschow et al., 2018).

Degrowth discourse was not deeply-established across English-speaking countries (such as the United Kingdom) until an international degrowth conference in 2008 (Parrique et al., 2020, p. 172). Subsequently, authors from the UK contributed to the discourse with key works such as *Prosperity without Growth* by Tim Jackson (2009) or Kate Raworth's *Doughnut Economics* (2017). While Raworth criticises the term 'degrowth' on the one hand (Raworth, 2015), her concept can be seen as a post-growth approach – although a 'Degrowth Doughnut Framework' (Domazet et al., 2020) was developed based on her work. In 2016, a British All-Party Parliamentary Group on Limits to Growth was founded with the aim of “creating the space for cross-party dialogue on specific economic risks related to environmental and social limits” (Parrique, 2020, p. 214). Moreover, Scotland and Wales became members of the *Wellbeing Economy Alliance* (WeGo, 2023). The UK and Germany are among the top three countries producing research regarding degrowth policy proposals (Fitzpatrick et al. 2022). This paper aims to compare both countries' media discourse and include further comparative variables.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows: section two specifies the research questions and describes the methodological approach, particularly the sampling strategy, the search terms used, the databases, and the analysis procedure. Section three presents the results of the discourse analysis in terms of general frequencies and sentiment on degrowth and influential variables. Section four discusses how the results can be explained and interpreted. Section five concludes.

2. Methodological approach

2.1. Research questions

This paper aims to answer the following research questions:

Which patterns characterise the degrowth discourse in leading UK and German quality¹ print media? How has this discourse evolved? What factors have influenced it?

To do so, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed. CDA is transdisciplinary, and its strength lies in the possibility of integrating different reference theories and methodologies (Fairclough, 2013, 6f). CDA criticises when knowledge is presented as 'objective' and supposedly immovable 'constraints' are asserted (M. Jäger & Jäger, 2007, p. 20). Hence, the aim is to analyse discourse as comprehensively as possible to examine which discourses are delegitimised and marginalised, and which can be regarded as dominant or hegemonic (Fairclough, 2013). This is important as discourses are 'carriers' of valid knowledge that can influence behaviour (M. Jäger & Jäger, 2007, p. 20). CDA makes a complementary distinction between structural and detailed analyses (S. Jäger, 2015, Chap. 6; Linström & Marais, 2012). This study focuses on assessing qualitative aspects towards a general structural analysis. Building on CDA, therefore, the focus lies mainly on a series of key elements of discourse:

(a) The political leaning of the media

The political leaning of a medium is a key part of the general structural analysis (M. Jäger & Jäger, 2007, p. 298). Empirical research has confirmed it as a central influencing factor, e.g. on climate journalism across countries (Schmid-Petri, 2017). Research on the discourse on wealth and inheritance tax in Germany (a degrowth-related topic), for example, also shows the political leaning of the media is a particularly relevant shaping factor (Theine & Grisold, 2022). Moreover, from the perspective of critical political economy, progressive topics can counter the economic interests of media companies. Profit orientation, dependence on advertising revenue, or ownership structures can play a role (Dammerer et al., 2023); more

¹ The focus on quality media excludes broadsheet media (see section 2.2).

plausible still, given some owners of powerful media companies – who appoint Editors-in-Chief of publications – can be found on lists of the most rich (Ferschli et al., 2019, 3f).

(b) Section

Coverage of a topic can also vary significantly depending on the content sections of each publication; their editorial teams may have different political preferences. As an example: the general reporting of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) is considered rather left-liberal, but neoliberal positions are considered strong in the 'Economy' section (Wolter 2016, p. 252). At the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), the 'Economy' Editorial Office has historically played an important role in legitimising ordoliberal economic policy in Germany (C. Schäfer, 2017, p. 9).

(c) Gender

As a field, feminist and gender media studies – alongside feminist critical discourse analysis – examine how discourses constitute gender norms and, conversely, the extent to which gender norms influence discourses. From a feminist perspective, social practices are not seen as neutral, but gendered (Lazar, 2007). Gender is not understood as ahistorical and isolated from social and cultural norms; rather, as open, changeable, and connected to other social categories such as race, ethnicity, or class (Lazar, 2007; Mendes & Carter, 2008, p. 1701). However, this in-depth intersectional and structural perspective cannot be analysed here. The terms 'male' and 'female' are not meant to be totalising (Lazar, 2007, p. 141), and it should be made clear that this dual distinction does not do justice to other gender identities. However, the distinction between 'male' and 'female' journalists is a category of difference (Hofmeister et al., 2013, p. 47), which can make certain inequalities visible (e.g. a lower proportion of female than male journalists). The gender category does not imply that biological sex determines or characterises a view of being for or against degrowth. Instead, it is about the extent to which specific patterns reveal gender norms and structures that influence journalistic practice and, thus, the discourse. Gender as a research category has so far been little analysed in the context of the degrowth debate. However, a study by Drews and Van den Bergh (2017, p. 95) shows that female researchers are more likely to believe in an end to economic growth.

(d) Frequent writers and networks

Since the 2000s, the pluralisation of the media landscape and the climate crisis have fundamentally diversified the perception of roles in (climate) journalism, which has impacted reporting (M. S. Schäfer & Painter, 2021). The trend is moving away from the role of ‘neutral observers’, who ‘objectively’ cover both sides of the (climate) discourse – thus contributing to a ‘false balance’ perception with an ‘uncertainty frame’ – towards more reporting by ‘interpretive journalism’; which, however, tends to be rather weakly advocative regarding certain approaches to solutions (Brüggemann, 2017; Painter et al., 2022). Frequent writers are potentially not only opinion leaders in the media coverage itself, but can also influence the views of internal colleagues (Brüggemann, 2017) (whether as role models or through positions of power) or those of other media outlets, especially for specialised topics (Bach et al., 2012). Since the degrowth discourse is closely interwoven with the discourse on the climate crisis (see introduction), and is also a specialised topic on which there may only be a few experts in an editorial team, the influence of frequent writers is potentially high.

In addition, frequent writers are permanently embedded in relative social contexts. Their (power) position within their respective editorial teams, and integration into institutional networks outside the workplace, can indicate the presence of factors influencing the discourse. Therefore, ‘discourse communities’ are an essential sociological concept within CDA. According to M. Jäger and Jäger (2007, p. 31), these groups recognise and follow relatively homogeneous ‘systems of statements’, doctrines, ideologies, or ‘truths’, and are thus held together. A similar term used in narrative research is ‘discourse coalitions’. They are described as a network of cooperating actors, and have a common problem narrative with an identity-forming effect (Viehöver, 2001, p. 185, reference to Hajer, 1995). In addition, from a social network analysis (SNA) perspective, social action and discourses are characterised by individuals and networks. There are different theoretical foundations of SNA (e.g. actor-network-theory, sociological theories) (Stegbauer & Häussling, 2010, p. 237). In media research, networks of journalists and economists and their influence are being examined (Krüger, 2019; Ötsch et al., 2018). If actors are connected in a network by specific characteristics or commonalities, this does not necessarily mean an *intentional* strategy or coordination; such cannot be proven without providing additional qualitative evidence. However, SNA can make it possible to discover structures not recognised by all the actors

involved; but whose form informs us about underlying social mechanisms (Lemercier, 2012, 20f). An analytical focus is relevant if there are relationships between actors, especially when they exert a performative influence on areas of society – such as through politics – or when significant social developments can be observed in the course of their work (Ötsch et al., 2022, p. 155). This is the case here: the authors analysed their work as journalists in their respective editorial offices, or in writing guest articles for a newspaper; significantly shaping the media discourse. Overlaps with other institutions do not necessarily mean a more extensive network of relationships ('strong ties'), but they do highlight the potential for this (Krüger, 2019, p. 116). Similarities or differences in the economic-political leaning of these institutions may give an insight into the political preferences of the authors or raise preliminary theses. However, to speak of a discourse coalition, not even a common institutional background is necessary – only the reference to a common narrative (Viehöver, 2001, p. 187). As this paper does not analyse narratives, it is limited to discussing the sentiment towards degrowth.

2.2. Sampling

Sampling was based on two aspects: firstly, leading, and secondly, quality print media were selected. A medium is considered to be *leading* because of its high circulation. If it reaches elites and opinion leaders, it can influence other mass media and public opinion (C. Schäfer, 2017, p. 5, reference to Wilke, 1999). Additionally, quality media can be regarded as particularly influential. Although tabloid / broadsheet media sometimes has higher circulation than quality media, tabloids are also perceived as less reputable and trustworthy in the UK and Germany (Newman et al., 2019, p. 68, 86).

Traditional and independent news media and publishing houses are now confronted with reduced budgets and financial losses due to increasing online and social media competition, where content is often distributed free-of-charge. Nevertheless, they continue to play a central role in (climate) journalism for example (Simon & Heinrich, 2023, p. 9, 60). Furthermore, content from traditional news media is now also shared via social media – reaching a broad audience there – and it is seen as comparatively reputable and trustworthy in both the UK and Germany (Newman et al., 2019). According to a survey in the UK, 66% of respondents consider newspaper media to be trustworthy, but only 40% consider social

media to be trustworthy (Ofcom, 2023, p. 11). In addition, articles now mostly appear in both print and online formats.

The five most important national daily newspapers were selected from both countries – including their weekly Sunday editions, supplement magazines, and weekly newspapers with high circulation but without daily equivalents. Furthermore, three essential political magazines were included for the UK and Germany, respectively.²

Classifications of the respective political leanings of the media analysed should not be seen as too rigid; rather, these are informed judgements based upon identifiable tendencies towards particular political alignments. However, research shows some clear orientations (overviews: Schmid-Petri, 2017, p. 558; Theine & Grisold, 2022, p. 198). Here, the media was classified according to different scientific or journalistic sources, as having a conservative or a progressive political leaning. Nevertheless, it would be possible to differentiate within the spectrum.

Overall, articles in 10 daily newspapers, nine weekly newspapers, and eight (political) magazines were analysed, mainly including online content (13 British and 14 German outlets). Daily and weekly newspapers from the same outlet were analysed together (e.g. *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*). Accordingly, a distinction is made between 17 different outlets when presenting the results (eight British and nine German outlets). Nexis Uni was predominantly used as the database, and other outlet-specific archives were used. Tables 1 and 2 show an overview of the sample (Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix A are more detailed, with sources on the media's political orientation and the databases used).

² As it was considered to include a broad and balanced spectrum of political leaning of media publishers, the specialised conservative *Handelsblatt* is excluded despite its relatively high reach, and the less wide-reaching, progressive *Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)* included.

Table 1: Sample – British outlets

Outlet (as in the results section)	Newspaper	Online content included	Type
(rather) progressive media			
Guardian	The Guardian	Yes	Daily
	The Observer (Guardian)	Yes	Weekly
Independent	The Independent	Yes	Daily
	The Sunday Independent	No	Weekly
Week	The Week	Only online content	Weekly (Magazine)
(rather) conservative media			
Times	The Times	Yes	Daily
	The Sunday Times and Saturday review	Yes	Weekly
Daily Telegraph	The Daily Telegraph	Yes	Daily
	The Sunday Telegraph	Yes	Weekly
Financial Times (FT)	The Financial Times	Partly	Daily
	FT Weekend Magazine	Partly	Weekly (Magazine)
Spectator	The Spectator	Partly	Weekly (Magazine)
not classifiable			
Economist	The Economist	Partly	Weekly (Magazine)

Table 2: Sample – German outlets

Outlet (as in the results section)	Newspaper	Online- Content	Type
(rather) progressive media			
Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	Partly	Daily
	SZ am Wochenende	Partly	Weekly
Tageszeitung (TAZ)	die Tageszeitung (TAZ)	Partly	Daily
	taz. am wochenende	Partly	Weekly
Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)	Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)	Partly	Daily
Zeit	Die Zeit (without Z+)	Yes	Weekly
	Zeit Magazin	No	Weekly (Magazine)
(rather) conservative media			
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Yes	Daily
	Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung	Yes	Weekly
Welt	Die Welt	Yes	Daily
	Welt am Sonntag		Weekly
Spiegel	Spiegel (including Spiegel+)	Yes	Weekly (Magazine)
Stern	Stern (including Stern+)	Yes	Weekly (Magazine)
Focus	Focus Magazin	Partly	Weekly (Magazine)

2.3. Search term

For the research in Uni Nexis and other databases (see above), articles between the 1st of January 2015 (the year of the Paris Climate Agreement) and the 31st of December 2023 were collected. The databases were searched for two different spellings ('degrowth' OR 'de-growth'). Where it was possible (e.g. UniNexi), the asterisk (*) was used because, in German, there are terms like 'Degrowth-Bewegung' (degrowth movement) or 'degrowthers' (degrowth proponents). In terms of content, duplicate articles were excluded, i.e. published in the Daily *and* Sunday newspaper, or online. Articles with the search terms in the title or body of text were included. Texts were excluded when the terms were outside the text, e.g. only in the CV of the author, as part of an event announcement, or in a table of contents. Overall, from 519 hits, 130 texts were excluded, and 389 texts were included.

This study focuses on the discourse referring explicitly to the term 'degrowth'. It does not analyse the broader debate that could be found with terms such as 'post-growth' (in German: 'Postwachstum'), 'doughnut economics', 'wellbeing economy', 'growth independence', etc. In the international debate, 'degrowth' has established itself as an umbrella term and linchpin for numerous growth-critical approaches and social movements – even if there is ongoing controversy about the effectiveness of the term (Drews & Reese, 2018; Tomaselli et al., 2021). There is no suitable translation; the term is also used in German. Furthermore, content-related reasons support explicitly examining discourse surrounding the term 'degrowth': articles with the term 'degrowth' are likely to contain the most far-reaching proposals for socio-ecological transformation. Such approaches explicitly include perspectives critical of capitalism (Saitō, 2023), whereas many 'post-growth' or 'a-growth' approaches are positioned much more cautiously (van den Bergh, 2017). Despite significant overlaps in content, it makes sense to make an analytical distinction between these discourses. Moreover, because the term itself is controversial among those favouring degrowth, examining the sentiment in the media discourse is valuable. Finally, this focus makes the detailed analysis of the discourse strand manageable in practical research terms.

2.4. Procedure of the analysis

All analyses used MaxQDA (qualitative coding, analysis of code patterns, etc.) and Excel (tables, pivot charts, graphs). Gephi was used to visualise results for the network graphics.

First, an article's title and beginning were read to identify and cluster the thematic entry points. Afterwards, sections with the term 'degrowth' included – along with the end of each respective article – were read to classify the scope of reference to degrowth (short – medium – detailed). In cases of ambiguity, the whole text was read. A qualitative sentiment analysis was carried out (for examples, see Appendix A, Table 3). It was decided if the articles were explicitly or implicitly degrowth-negative or positive. Articles that weighed different arguments, or had no precise positive-or-negative evaluation or framing, were categorized as 'ambivalent'. Articles with less argumentative content, no description of degrowth, or no evaluation or sentiment were categorized as 'undetermined' (this was only the case with short articles). The sentiment of the medium and detailed articles was classified by reading the articles completely and coding positive, negative, or undetermined statements qualitatively. As some of the newspapers have a larger, variable number of section designations, these were summarised for a clearer presentation.³ The (presumed) gender of the authors was assigned based on their names and, therefore, may differ from the authors' self-assignment.

Frequent writers were identified by coding all names of article authors and interviewees. A 'frequent writer' was identified as someone who had written at least three articles on degrowth. Some authors also shaped the discourse through interviews – which is why these were counted. This approach of focusing on influential authors with three or more articles can be found, for example, in the media analysis by Wolter (2016, p. 287) and the systematic literature analysis on degrowth by Engler et al. (2022, p. 16). While three articles in nine years is, admittedly, not significant when viewed in isolation, it is essential to consider that someone who has written on a topic more often than others may be advising colleagues. Moreover, someone in a management position who is hostile to a topic could also act as a gatekeeper; in turn, making it more challenging to take up a topic (Krüger, 2019, p. 108). For this reason, each professional's position within the period-under-investigation, along with other relevant biographical information, was also recorded via a background enquiry.

³ For example, book reviews, art and culture were summarised under 'Feuilleton/Feature'. The TAZ articles in the 'Economy and Environment' category were assigned to the 'Environment' section, as the articles were more comparable with articles published in other newspapers under 'Environment' or 'Green'.

Educational backgrounds, journalism awards, and memberships in political think tanks, foundations, or (journalistic) institutions were collected here, also. These can provide information about social contexts, influences, and political or social commitment. They are, therefore, collected independently of the timeframe under analysis. The characteristics are similar to the approach of a positional analysis from empirical elite research (Krüger, 2019, p. 108, reference to Bürkling et al., 1997). The approach also ties in with the media analysis by Wolter (2016), who compiled the biographical information described and identified patterns concerning positions in editorial offices, educational backgrounds, and journalism awards. Journalism prizes can, for example, be awarded by organisations with a specific political or ideological orientation and thus indicate the political stance of frequent writers.

The biographical information was collected using internet research (using the search engine Startpage). The official newspapers' respective websites were mainly used here. All sources can be found in Table 1 (Appendix B). A similar procedure was carried out by Pühringer & Beyer (2021) analysing the backgrounds of economists in media debates.

3. Results

3.1. General frequencies

Degrowth discourse in the UK and German leading quality print media analysed was not particularly pronounced: 389 relevant articles within nine years (2015-2023), with about two-thirds briefly referencing degrowth. However, almost 50% of these relevant articles were published in the last two years, indicating a strong upward trend: degrowth is becoming increasingly relevant in media reporting in both countries (see Figure 1).

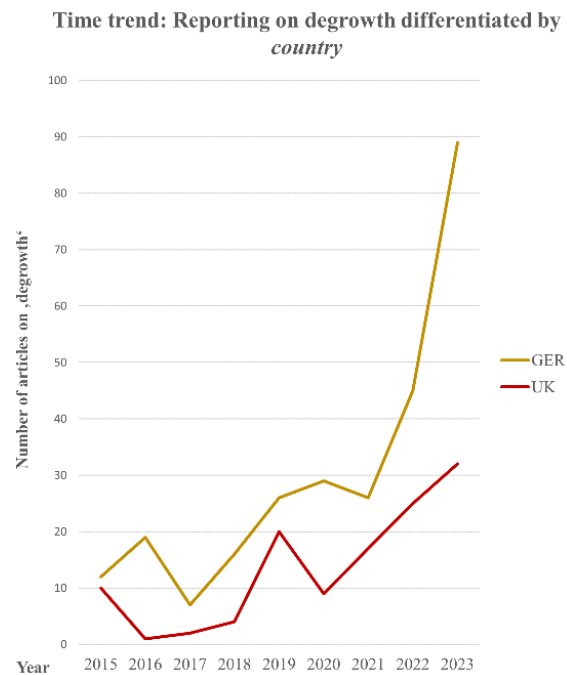


Figure 1: Temporal trends: Reporting on degrowth differentiated by country (own depiction)

Although ‘degrowth’ is an English term; of the media analysed, more than twice as many articles were in German than British leading quality print media (see Table 3). This either suggests the media discourse on degrowth is less pronounced in the British media, or is conducted under other terms (such as ‘post-growth’). In many respects, the political alignment informing discourse in the UK and Germany is similar: across nine years, there was more reporting in progressive than conservative leading quality print media. Looking at the time trend, however, it is clear that conservative leading quality print media outlets presently dominate discourse in the UK and Germany (see Figure 2).

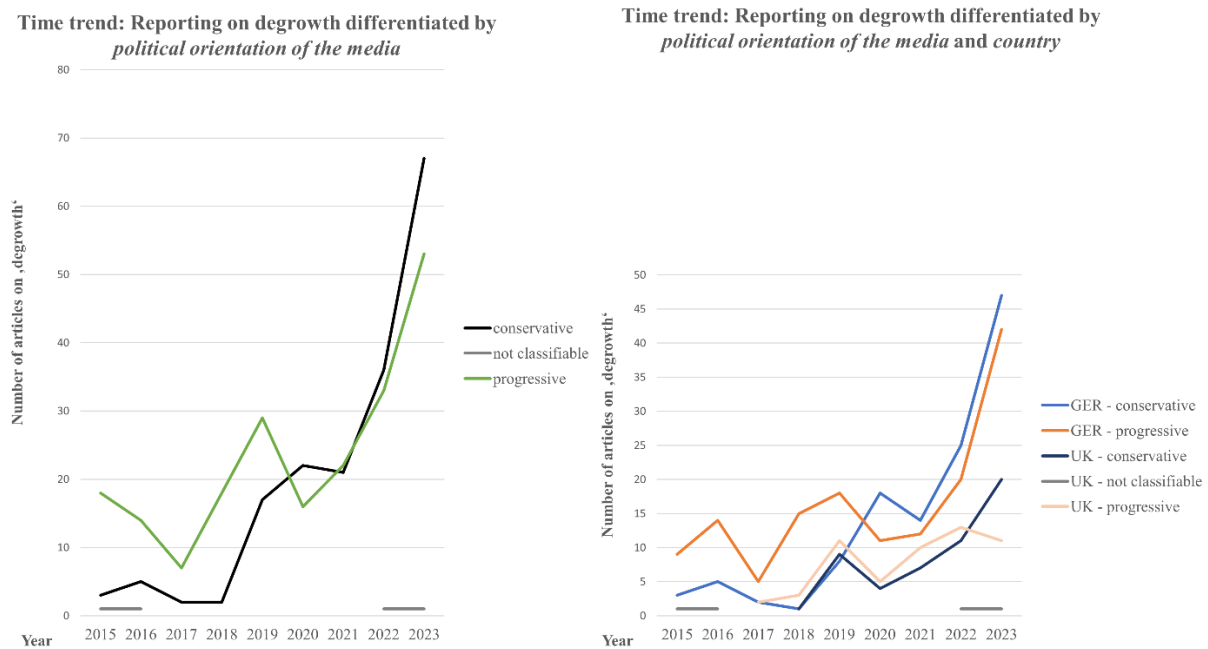


Figure 2: Temporal trends: Reporting on degrowth differentiated by the political orientation of the media and country (own depiction)

Furthermore, men dominate the discourse in both countries – around two-thirds of articles were by authors or interviewees with male names. This is even more pronounced in conservative leading quality print media, and to a somewhat stronger degree in the UK. Overall, around 80% of articles in conservative leading quality print media analysed were written by male authors.

Men were also predominant as frequent writers. Across 389 articles, 314 different authors or interview partners were identified. Only 25 frequent authors wrote three or more articles (see Table 1, Appendix B). Only six of those individuals were women (writing for progressive media). Regarding frequent writers, in the German leading quality print media, 20 frequent writers wrote 92 articles. Those frequent writers wrote over a third of all articles on degrowth that appeared in German leading quality print media. This indicates a discourse-shaping effect. Furthermore, the vast majority of the aforementioned articles were published in conservative media. By contrast, only 16 of the articles were written by five individual authors in the UK; in total, only around 13% of the articles being written for British leading quality print media. 16 articles within nine years does not indicate an especially discourse-shaping effect.

All authors surveyed usually wrote exclusively for conservative or progressive newspapers, respectively. There is only one exception here: Mathias Schmelzer, who has published in progressive (*TAZ*, *FR*) and conservative (*FAZ*) newspapers.

Degrowth is a cross-cutting issue across many different topics (see Appendix A, Table 4). The most common entry points were debates about the climate crisis, climate protests, or criticism of growth-critical concepts in general. In addition to climate debates, degrowth was also discussed in the context of acute crises: the Coronavirus pandemic; the Russian aggression against and resulting war in Ukraine; broader energy policy, and economic debates. Climate or degrowth conferences were as important an introduction to the topic as new, relevant publications addressed via book reviews. Degrowth was frequently mentioned in interviews and the 'Letters to the Editor' sections of several publications, respectively.

Accordingly, the Degrowth discourse is cross-sectional. Articles were frequently found in 'Economy', 'Environment', 'Feuilleton/Feature', 'Opinion', 'News', and 'Politics' sections. Notably, in German leading quality print media analysed, degrowth was mentioned more frequently in the 'Opinion' and 'Politics' sections, on the front page, or as part of a cover story. In British leading quality print media analysed, degrowth was only mentioned twice as part of a cover story, and only once in a 'Politics' section. That said, there were numerous articles in the 'News' section of British publications, whereas there were hardly any articles in the German publications (see Table 3).

In both countries, degrowth discourse was predominantly centred in a few publications: in the UK, 42% of the articles came from the progressive *The Guardian*, with 41% from the conservative *The Telegraph*, *The Financial Times*, and *The Times*. The remaining four newspapers and magazines (*The Independent*, *The Week*, *The Spectator*, *The Economist*) only accounted for the remaining 17% of articles. In Germany, 42% of the articles came from the progressive *TAZ* and *FR*, and 38% from the conservative *FAZ* and *Welt*. Only 20% of the articles were published in the remaining five newspapers and magazines (*Spiegel*, *Focus*, *Stern*, *Zeit*, *SZ*).

Table 3: General Frequencies

	Overall	United Kingdom (UK)	Germany
Articles	389	30.9% (120)	69.1% (269)
Reference to degrowth	Short: 67.7% Medium: 19.5% Detailed: 12.9%	68.4% 8.5% 23.1%	69.2% 12.9% 17.9%
Political Leaning of the Outlets	Progressive: 53.9% Conservative: 45.1% Not Classifiable: 1%	58.8% 42.9% 3.4%	53.9% 46.1% -
Different Authors/Interviewees	314 (+ 25 no info) Male Names: 69.7% (219) Female Names: 30.3% (95)	80 (+ 14) 80% (64) 20% (16)	234 (+ 11) 66.2% (155) 33.8% (79)
Frequent Writers and the Number of Their Articles Published	Writers: 25 – articles: 108 Male Names: 19–85 Female Names: 6–23 In Conservative Media: 14–64 In Progressive Media: 12–44	Writers: 5 – Articles: 16 Writers: 4 – Articles: 13 Writers: 1 – Articles: 3 Writers: 2 – Articles: 7 Writers: 2 – Articles: 9	Writers: 20 – Articles: 92 Writers: 17 – Articles: 72 Writers: 5 – Articles: 20 Writers: 12 – Articles: 57 Writers: 9 – Articles: 35
Gender Overall	Male Names: 72.7% Female Names: 28.1% No Information: 6.6%	72.1% 16.2% 11.7%	66.1% 29.8% 4.1%
Gender in Conservative Media	Male Names: 77% Female Names: 19% No Information: 4%	79% 10% 12%	76% 23% 1%
Gender in Progressive Media	Male Names: 61% Female Names: 32% No Information: 6%	71% 23% 5%	58% 35% 7%
Sections	Other: 105 Economy: 69 Environment: 38 Feuilleton/Feature: 37 Opinion: 32 News: 31 Politics: 28 Reader's Forum: 23 Cover Page/focus: 18	22 21 14 16 6 28 1 9 2	83 47 24 29 26 3 27 14 16
Number of Articles by Media Outlet	Conservative UK: 52 Conservative GER: 123	<i>The Telegraph</i> : 18 <i>FT</i> : 17 <i>The Times</i> : 14 <i>The Spectator</i> : 3	<i>FAZ</i> : 64 <i>Welt</i> : 37 <i>Spiegel</i> : 15 <i>Focus</i> : 6 <i>Stern</i> : 1
	Progressive UK: 64 Progressive GER: 146	<i>The Guardian</i> : 50 <i>The Independent</i> : 10 <i>The Week</i> : 4	<i>TAZ</i> : 82 <i>FR</i> : 30 <i>Zeit</i> : 17 <i>SZ</i> : 17
	Not Classifiable: 4	<i>The Economist</i> : 4	

3.2. Sentiment on degrowth and influential factors

Overall, articles with a negative stance on degrowth predominated. In this regard, there are only marginal differences between British and German leading quality print media (see Table 4). Degrowth-negative articles tended to be more superficial: over 70% of them were classified as degrowth ‘dropping’, with only 16% as ‘detailed’. Conversely, 35% of degrowth-positive articles were detailed; only 50% were short articles. 2019 represents a turning point: from there, negative reporting dominated for the first time, before increasing sharply since then. This development is mainly (but not only) attributable to conservative quality print media in Germany (see Figure 3). The *FAZ* and *Welt*, in particular, played a decisive role: degrowth discourse in *Welt* (with one exception) only began in 2020, and almost exclusively with articles that refer negatively to degrowth.

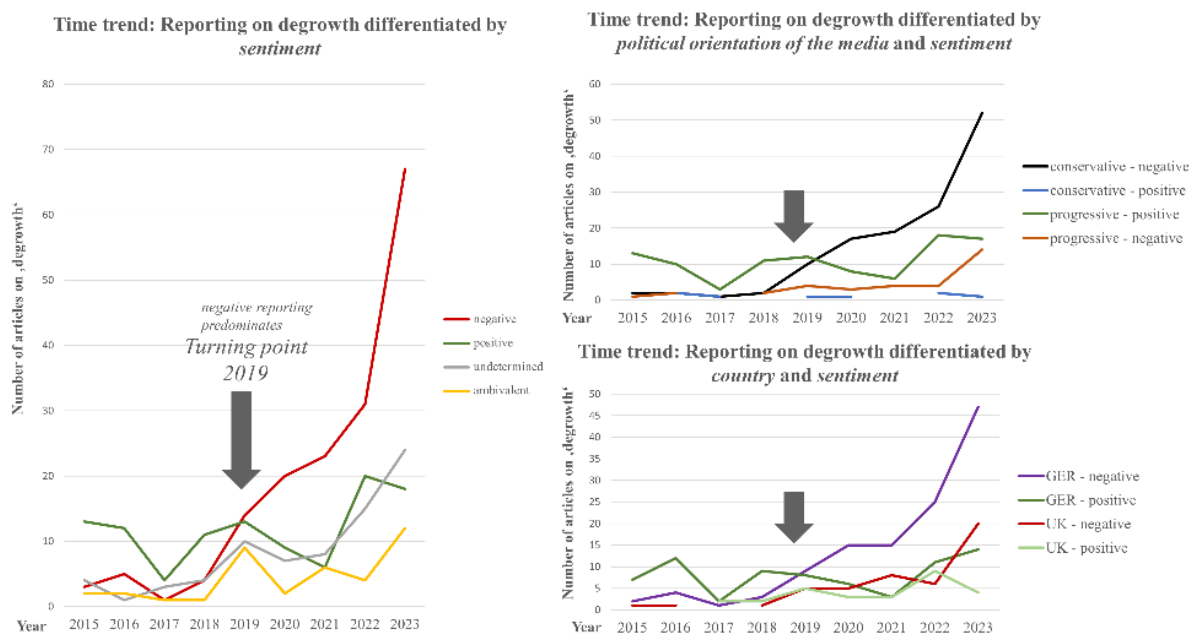


Figure 3: Temporal trends: Reporting on degrowth differentiated by sentiment (left graph), in combination with the political orientation of the media (top right) and country (bottom right) (own depiction)

Regarding individual outlets (see Figure 4), 70% of degrowth-positive articles in the UK were from *The Guardian* and 15% from *The Independent*. Around 40% of degrowth-negative articles appeared in *The Telegraph* and around 20% in *The Times*. In Germany, degrowth-positive articles appeared predominantly in the *TAZ* (around 55%) and the *FR* (25%), whereas negative articles were predominantly published in the *FAZ* (40%) and *Welt* (around 30%).

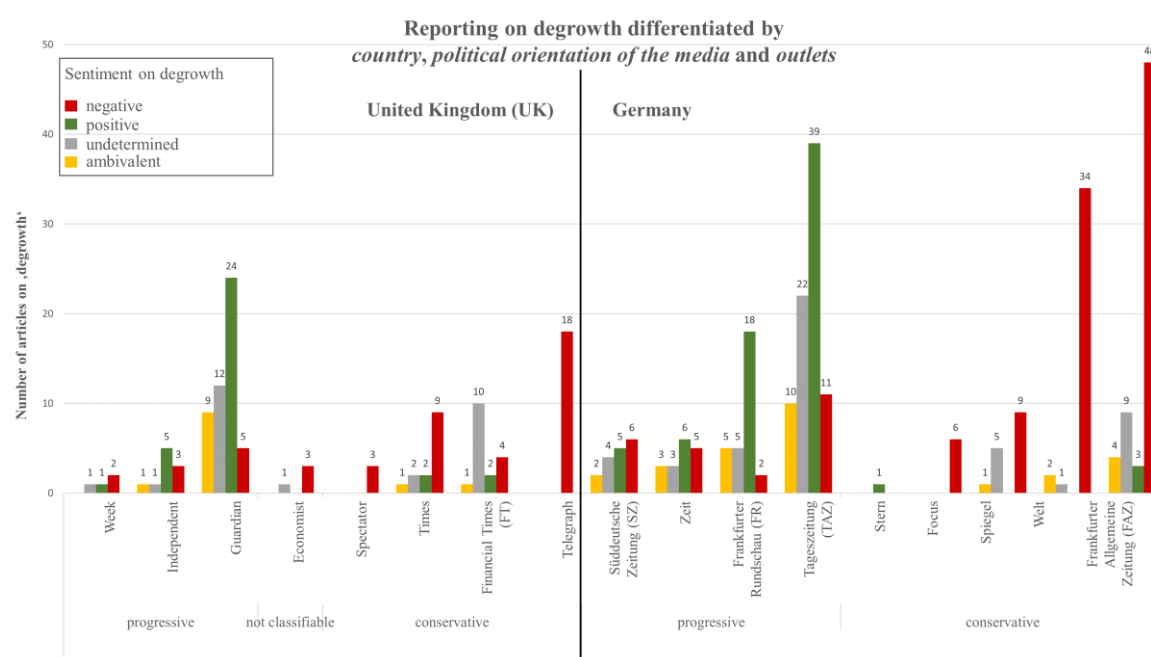


Figure 4: Reporting on degrowth differentiated by country, political orientation of the media and outlets (own depiction)

As mentioned prior, the UK-Germany comparison showed some differences; illustrated above all by the absolute numbers of relevant articles. Even more significant factors influencing the degrowth discourse were the political orientation of the respective media, the sections in which relevant articles appeared, and the genders of the authors (see Table 4 and Appendix A, Table 5). Degrowth-negative articles were most likely to be found in conservative leading quality print media in the ‘Economy’ section, usually written by men: around 90% of articles by male authors in the ‘Economy’ section of conservative media were negative. Conversely, degrowth-positive articles were most likely to be found in progressive leading quality print media, usually written by women for an ‘Environment’ section – 75% of articles by female authors in an ‘Environment’ section were degrowth-positive. In addition, frequent writers played an essential role, especially those in management positions, and particularly in conservative media (see below).

The various patterns are analysed in more detail below (see Table 4 for examples and Table 6, Appendix A in more detail):

- *Political Leaning of the Outlets:* Progressive leading quality print media outlets published predominantly positive or balanced articles about degrowth, while conservative leading quality print media outlets predominantly published articles taking a negative stance. In conservative media, 75% of articles were degrowth-negative – in the UK, 65%, and in Germany, almost 80%. On the other hand, in progressive media, 47% of articles in both the UK and Germany were degrowth-positive.
- *Sections:* Various sections of publications showed substantial differences in sentiment towards degrowth (see Appendix A, Tables 5 and 6). The most evident contrast could be illustrated by comparing the ‘Economy’ with the ‘Environment’ sections (see Figure 5 and Table 4).

Over 70% of articles in the respective ‘Economy’ sections were degrowth-negative. This is partly influenced by the political leaning of the outlets: around 90% of the articles in the ‘Economy’ sections of analysed publications from conservative media outlets were negative; by contrast, only 36% of articles from progressive media publications analysed were negative. However, looking at articles from all but the ‘Economy’ sections of progressive media, only 13% were negative articles. By contrast, the ‘Economy’ sections in progressive media were much more critical of degrowth than other sections of said media. ‘Environment’ sections contained predominantly degrowth-positive articles (over 50%). However, with one exception, these came exclusively from progressive media. Nevertheless, looking at all sections except the ‘Environment’ sections, only 24% of articles were degrowth-positive. In addition, there are anomalies regarding other sections: articles in ‘Feuilleton/Feature’ sections were most balanced. ‘Opinion’ and ‘Politics’ sections – most of these articles came from German media sources – were more degrowth-negative, at around 50% of all articles each; as were the ‘Cover Page’ or ‘Title Topic’ sections, at over 60% of all articles. The ‘News’ sections – with most articles from UK media sources – were also somewhat negative, at around 50% of all articles. Apart from the ‘Environment’ sections, only the ‘Readers’ Forum’ sections were degrowth-positive – with over 60% of all articles reflecting this.

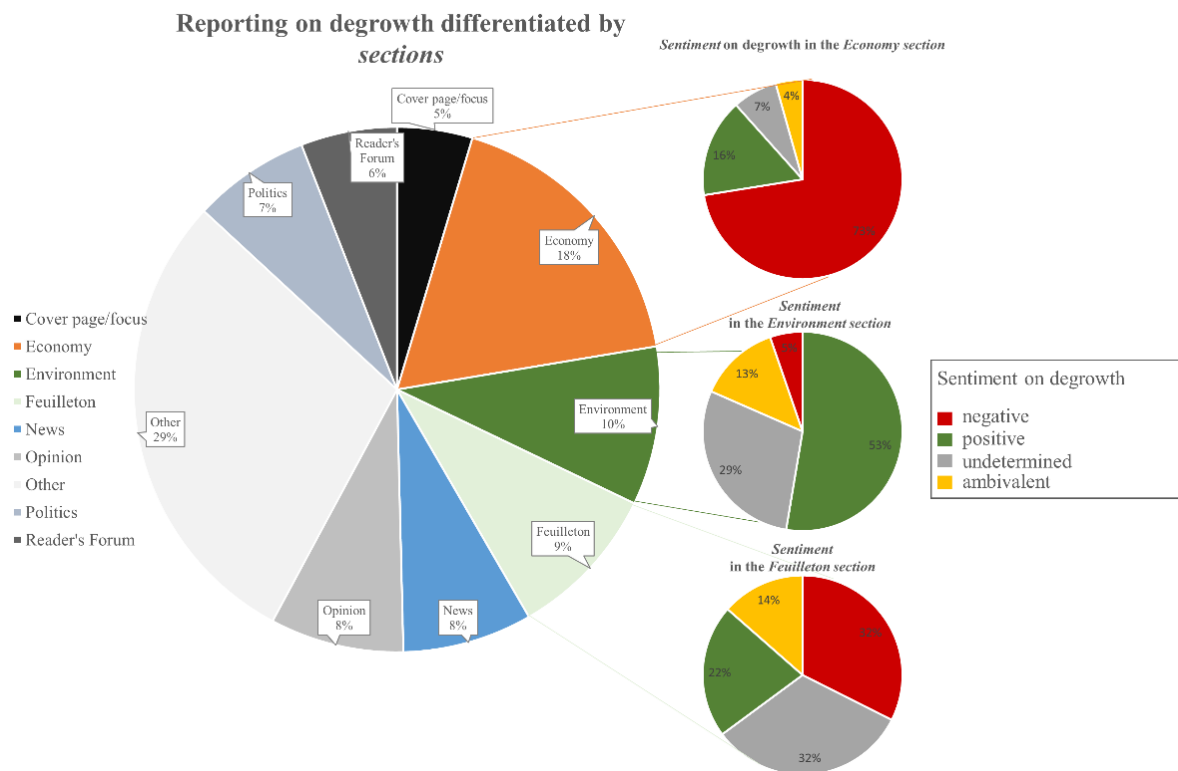


Figure 5: Reporting on degrowth differentiated by sections (own depiction)

- *Gender:* The genders of authors or interviewees also played a significant role. For example, 50% of articles by men were positioned against degrowth. In contrast, the most frequently-determined sentiment of articles by women were degrowth-positive; by a factor of 37% of articles.

In conservative media, around 80% of relevant articles by men were degrowth-negative, while only around 60% of relevant articles by women were degrowth-negative. This difference of 20 percentage points illustrates the significance of the gender effect. In progressive media, over 50% of relevant articles by women were degrowth-positive. Of articles by men, only 37% were degrowth-positive.

- *Frequent Writers and Networks:* For the conservative media publications surveyed, frequent writers on degrowth were mainly men, with around 85% writing negatively about degrowth. There were no frequent woman writers on this subject.

Background research showed some notable patterns regarding the professional position and, in some cases, institutional backgrounds of frequent writers. As there were fewer frequent writers in the UK (five persons), results mainly concerned German frequent writers (20 persons) (see Figure 6 and Table 1, Appendix B). Three frequent British writers were journalists (Economics Editors) for conservative outlets. They wrote predominantly negatively; occasionally undeterminedly, or ambivalently (Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, Larry Elliott, Ed Conway). The two remaining frequent writers positioned themselves positively: one is a degrowth researcher (Jason Hickel), and the other is a reader (Barbara Williams).

Overall, almost all frequent writers who referred negatively to degrowth (in some cases, occasionally ambivalently) were part of their respective publishing newspaper's editorial team; most of them even holding leadership positions. Therefore, they can potentially have a powerful influence on reporting. Furthermore, they wrote predominantly in 'Economy' sections. The German publication, *FAZ*, stands out here: six men in positions of responsibility, including the publisher of the *FAZ* since 2019 (Gerald Braunberger) and the Economics Editor since 2018 (Johannes Pennekamp). At the conservative *Welt*, the editor-in-chief since 2016 (Ulf Poschardt) has written the most degrowth-negative articles, at 14. At *Spiegel*, the Head of the Capital City Office between 2016 and 2019 (Michael Sauga) is also a frequent writer.

Progressive newspapers show a similar, albeit weaker, pattern. Within newspaper editorial offices, hardly any journalists have written degrowth-positive articles. Some journalists in leading positions write negatively (e.g. Lisa Nienhaus, who had responsible positions at *Zeit* and later at *SZ*). Other journalists in progressive editorial offices position themselves rather ambivalently.

Only three female journalists frequently write degrowth-positive content here. One writes as a freelancer (Leonie Sontheimer), one as an external contributor (Ruth Fulterer), and only one as a Political and Climate Editor (Friederike Meier). Those who wrote positively about degrowth in progressive media were not journalists but degrowth researchers (Jason Hickel, Matthias Schmelzer) or degrowth activists (Nina Treu). In addition, one female reader wrote letters to the Editor. There are a few similar institutional

backgrounds here, such as the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) as a research institution (Hickel, Schmelzer), the NGO *Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie* (Schmelzer, Treu), and the NGO Greenpeace (Treu, Sontheimer – although only for a short time or voluntarily, and without any recognisable connection in terms of content or time).

Some journalists' educational backgrounds are remarkable: five studied economics at the University of Cologne, graduating from the Cologne School of Journalism for Economics and Politics. These five hold positions of responsibility at their associated newspapers: three at the *FAZ* (Patrick Bernau, who is also a member of the Cologne School's board; Marcus Theurer, and Johannes Pennekamp), one at *Spiegel* (Michael Sauga), and one previously at *Zeit* and now at *SZ* (Lisa Nienhaus, who also previously worked at the *FAZ*).

Notably, many authors who have written articles for conservative media in Germany are, or were, involved in neoliberal or liberal economic institutions; for example, through membership in various political think tanks or foundations. Examples include the *Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft* (Thomas Straubhaar) and the *Zentrum für liberale Moderne* (Ralph Fücks).

Many journalists (Poschardt, Straubhaar, Krohn, Nienhaus, Bernau, Hank, Sauga) were honoured with the Ludwig Erhard Award for Economic Journalism from the Ludwig Erhard Foundation, or with the Hayek Medal (Hank). These are considered neoliberal awards. Hank was also a jury member of the Erhard Award 2014, the same year Bernau was awarded.

These results are fascinating in contrast to the background of further empirical research, which is referred to in the next section; where the significance and interpretation of the results are discussed.

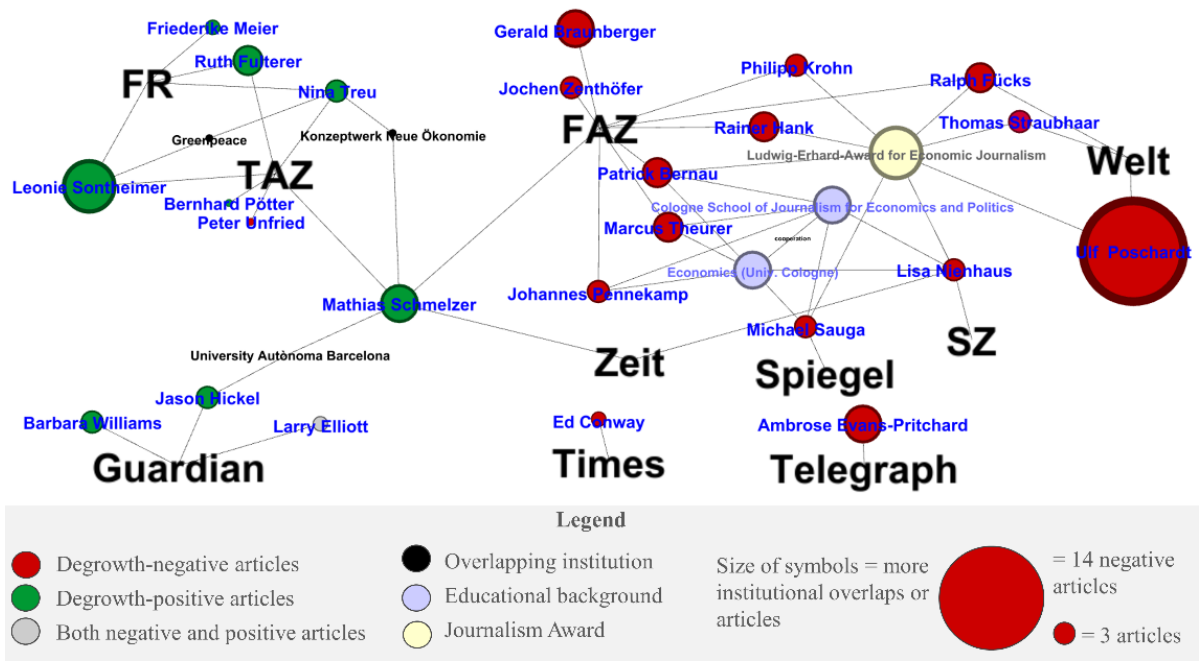


Figure 6: Frequent writers with institutional overlaps and sentiment towards degrowth (only degrowth-positive or negative articles included)

Table 4: Sentiment on degrowth (concise examples)

	Overall	United Kingdom (UK)	Germany (GER)
Sentiment on degrowth	Negative: 43.2%	38.7%	45%
	Positive: 27.2%	28.6%	26.8%
	Undetermined: 19.3%	22.7%	17.8%
	Ambivalent: 10.3%	10.1%	10.4%

(In brackets: absolute numbers if these are very low.)

Articles Rather Pro-Degrowth or Balanced				Articles Rather Contra Degrowth			
	Overall	UK	GER		Overall	UK	GER
'Environment' Sections Progressive Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 0%	0%	0%	'Economy' Sections, Conservative Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 88%	91%	87%
	Positive: 75%	50% (2)	83%		Positive: 0%	0%	0%
	Undetermined: 6%	25%	17%		Undetermined 7%	9%	7%
	Ambivalent: 19%	25%	0%		Ambivalent: 5%	0%	7%
Frequent Writers, Progressive Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 13%	0%	15%	Frequent Writers, Conservative Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 84.4%	85.70%	85.70%
	Positive: 82.6%	100% (3)	80%		Positive: 3.2%	0%	1.80%
	Undetermined: 4.4%	0%	0%		Undetermined: 2.2%	0%	3.60%
	Ambivalent: 0%	0%	5%		Ambivalent: 9.4%	14.30%	8.90%
Frequent Writers, Progressive Outlets.	Negative: 11%	11%	11%	Frequent Writers, Conservative Outlets.	Negative: 78%	86%	75%
	Positive: 64%	78%	60%		Positive: 3%	0%	3%
	Undetermined: 9%	11%	9%		Undetermined: 3%	0%	8%
	Ambivalent: 16%	0%	20%		Ambivalent: 9%	14%	8%
'Environment' Sections', Progressive Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 9%	14%	7%	'Economy' Sections, Conservative Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 60% (3)	100% (1)	50% (2)
	Positive: 55%	43%	60%		Positive: 0%	0%	0%
	Undetermined: 27%	29%	27%		Undetermined 20% (1)	0%	25%
	Ambivalent: 9%	14%	7%		Ambivalent: 20%	0%	25%

4. Discussion

4.1. Frequent writers in leading positions, networks, and ownership structures

In both the British and German newspapers analysed, progressive media tended to write about degrowth in a relatively positive or balanced way. The progressive media had a more balanced ratio between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ articles; only 15% wrote with an ambivalent sentiment on degrowth. This suggests a journalistic role perception of a relatively neutral knowledge provider. In contrast, conservative media publications positioned themselves clearly against degrowth. At the same time, in the last few years, there has been a strong upward trend in conservative media to reporting on degrowth – with comparative representation being much weaker in progressive media. The reasons for this are discussed in more detail below. As explanatory approaches, the significant influence of frequent writers in leading positions within editorial offices (especially in ‘Economy’ sections), and their embedding in institutional networks, is emphasised. Moreover, the ownership structure of conservative media is examined.

A media discourse on degrowth mainly depends on those advocates (and critics) who introduce degrowth as a topic into the discourse. Mostly, degrowth was taken up in climate debates (apart from debates on news of acute catastrophes, a relatively long-term social issue) and, overall, is a cross-cutting issue (see Table 4, Appendix A). This means degrowth runs counter to specific media logic – such as short-term current events, a delimited geographical focus, and precise categorisation in one specific (thematic) section (Brüggemann, 2017, p. 3). Even science journalism follows less scientific norms than journalistic attention logics that focus on personalised, topical, or conflictual stories (e.g. Dunwoody, 2014, p. 19) – or on attributes such as novelty, elite players, or proximity (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017, p. 59, reference to Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Except via conferences or new publications, degrowth is not linked to current events – not to mention links to conflicting, personalised stories. It takes the active initiative of journalists to take up degrowth as a topic in the context of a climate issue.

There are almost no frequent writers on degrowth in the British newspapers analysed; moreover, only one is recognisable as an advocate – degrowth researcher Jason Hickel.

However, he is not part of a publication's editorial team and, therefore, has no structural influence in said team – even if he is invited to make guest contributions.

In the German newspapers analysed, degrowth discourse was more pronounced, with more frequent writers on degrowth. However, the sentiment of articles was predominantly negative or ambivalent towards degrowth. Proponents were mostly not part of the editorial teams for their respective publishing outlets. In this regard, the structural conditions for a positive degrowth discourse are poor. In German leading quality print media, opponents of degrowth mainly shaped the discourse as frequent writers. Many of them were identified in leading positions at their respective associated publications and, therefore, could and can potentially act as gatekeepers. An aspect that cannot be explored here is highlighted by a study in which journalists in leading positions position themselves more conservatively than their colleagues, according to self-assessments (Dietrich-Gsenger & Seethaler, 2019, p. 65). However, it is unclear if and why a leadership position may promote a more conservative attitude – or to what extent conservative-leaning journalists are more likely to be promoted. After all, two frequent writers in leading positions at *TAZ* wrote ambivalently about degrowth; in turn, putting it on the agenda.

A coordinated anti-degrowth effort cannot be readily inferred from the available data. However, it is noticeable that, from 2020-21, there was a strong upward trend in the conservative newspapers *FAZ* and *Welt* towards publishing negative articles about degrowth. This could be interpreted as a backlash against the increasing popularity of degrowth in scientific discourse. In addition, the institutional embedding of the authors in neo- or economic-liberal think tanks via memberships or journalism awards is striking.

In the case of the *FAZ*, this also reflects its history, closely linked to neoliberal networks (Wolter, 2016, p. 284). The 'Economy' department of the *FAZ* played a significant role in the implementation of Ludwig Erhard's ordoliberal economic policy from the 1950s onwards (Ötsch et al., 2018, p. 173; Ptak, 2004, p. 256; C. Schäfer, 2017, p. 9).⁴ In more recent history,

⁴ According to Kutzner (2014, p. 491), there was a close cooperation developed between the *FAZ*'s 'Economics' department and the German Ministry of Economics due to personal acquaintance of Co-Editor Erich Welter

it can be shown that the *FAZ* supported the so-called ‘Lambsdorff paper’⁵ in 1982 and neoliberal reforms of the welfare state in Germany from 2005 onwards (Wolter, 2016, p. 134). Here, research by Wolters (2016, p. 285) shows that the authors with eloquent neoliberal commentaries held key positions at the *FAZ*, and were all awarded the Ludwig Erhard Award. This can also apply, in part, to the sum of those journalists represented at *Welt* and *Spiegel*.⁶ The results presented here, relative to the degrowth discourse, show a similar pattern.

In his study, Wolter concludes that declared opponents of neoliberal positions would likely have found it challenging to get a job in the ‘Economy’ sections of the major ‘quality newspapers’ (Wolter, 2016, p. 285). Further qualitative research would be necessary to determine to what extent journalists could be considered ‘gatekeepers’ here. However, Ulf Poschardt as editor-in-chief (*Welt*) and Gerald Braunberger (*FAZ*) as publisher, can both significantly shape the direction of their respective newspapers.

In an assessment of experienced journalists in Germany based on qualitative research, it is stated that the political instrumentalisation of editorial offices is most likely to take place in the *Axel Springer* publishing house and owner-managed regional newspaper publishers (Krüger et al., 2023, p. 262). *Welt* is a subsidiary of *Axel Springer SE*. Some indications suggest slowing down the media discourse on climate policy could be in the interests of *Axel Springer SE*. Notably, the CEO, Mathias Döpfner, is said to have considered climate change a good thing (Gilbert & Stark, 2023). Stefan Aust, editor of *WeltN24* (Welt, 2024), made statements in several interviews questioning the human influence of climate change or opposing climate policy (Aust, 2019, 2023). In addition, the US investment group KKR & Co. Inc. is one of the main shareholders⁷ of *Springer SE* (Fells, 2019). According to a report by the Private Equity Climate Risks project, KKR holds “one of the largest fossil fuel energy portfolios among private equity firms” (Moore et al., 2023, see Global Energy Monitor, 2024). Furthermore, the articles

with the Minister of Economics (later Chancellor), Ludwig Erhard. This ranged from personal editing of articles to ‘beer evenings’ between Erhard, his staff and *FAZ* journalists.

⁵ The ‘Lambsdorff Paper’ is regarded as an important position paper that heralded a change of course from Keynesian demand-oriented to neoliberal supply-oriented economic policy (Ötsch et al. 2018, p. 229).

⁶ It is important to note that since the 1980s, economic policy reporting has not only become more neoliberal in conservative newspapers, but also in some *TAZ*, *SZ* or *Zeit*, although this trend later declined again (Krüger et al. 2021; Schaal et al. 2016; Wolter 2016).

⁷ KKR intends to divest Springer's media business in 2025 (Deckwirth and Eschmann, 2024).

of the *Welt* have an almost exclusively negative sentiment on degrowth (a factor of 92%), with the editor-in-chief as the most frequent writer of the sample.

To summarise, it can be said that the discourse is not (only) shaped by the political leaning of the media as an abstract influencing factor. Rather, media houses with a particular political leaning offered a stage used by individuals integrated into scientific and political networks. Degrowth advocates seemed to have little access to leading media – they mainly wrote as guest authors. Journalists in potential gatekeeping positions wrote ambivalently at best about degrowth. In contrast, degrowth-negative reporting – especially in Germany – was characterised by degrowth opponents occupying editorial positions of power.

4.2. Economics and economic education

The contrast in reporting between ‘Economy’ and ‘Environment’ sections can be seen as a reflection of the discourse in communities around scientific disciplines. ‘Degrowth’ is inter- and transdisciplinary, but originates from heterodox economic currents like ecological economics; strongly connected to natural sciences (Muraca & Schmelzer, 2017), and seldom part of mainstream economic approaches (Lange, 2018). Depending on the (economic) research current, scientists have an opposing understanding of the desirability and possibility of (endless) growth (Drews & van den Bergh, 2017, p. 101). Researchers from the natural sciences, environmental sciences, and social sciences are twice as likely to favour degrowth when compared to economists and formal scientists (King et al., 2023).

Controversies can also arise from misunderstandings – degrowth is sometimes wrongly referred to as the ‘shrinking’ of the entire (global or local) economy (Naudé, 2023; Nyangchak, 2022). This can be explained by degrowth being marginalised as a heterodox approach while orthodox or partly market-fundamental economic education is widespread (Egerer & Sagvosdkin, 2021; Rommel & Urban, 2022). A keyword search in some of the most widely used textbooks (Egerer & Rebhan, 2018; Rebhan, 2017) illustrates that ‘degrowth’ does not appear; the terms ‘state’ (2,000 times) and ‘democracy’ or ‘democratic’ (46 times) are also marginalised. However, ‘growth’ (1,500 times) and especially ‘market’ (10,800), are used throughout (see Appendix A, Figure 1).

Studies show similar course structures characterise economics education in the UK: the use of essentially identical international textbooks (Wigstrom, 2016), a neoclassical mainstream (Earle et al., 2017), and the relegation of heterodox research to other disciplines (Stockhammer et al., 2021). Numerous studies also show that, in Germany, currents of an economics mainstream still dominate: in research, policy advice, and (even more so) in economic education (curricula and textbooks). Though there are also certain developments (for example, there is talk of an ‘empirical turn’), these are predominantly described as a pluralisation *within* a specific mainstream (overview study: Rommel & Urban, 2022).

Economics journalists in Germany usually acquire their economics expertise through Economics degree programmes (Sagvosdkin, 2021), while Journalism schools have not yet taken advantage of the opportunity to cooperate with pluralistic educational programmes (NPÖ, 2024). The background analysis of frequent writers on degrowth in Germany⁸ shows, once again, the possible influence of Economics education in the journalistic space; as mentioned prior, five degrowth opponents with leading positions in various newspapers studied Economics at the University of Cologne and graduated from the Cologne School of Journalism for Economics and Politics. A closer look at these institutions is, therefore, relevant – especially as this pattern was also evident in the study on journalists with neoliberal messages (Wolter, 2016, p. 290); furthermore, that the Cologne School is particularly influential. Regarding the latter, alumni work in different publishing houses – many in conservative media like the *Welt*-group and the ‘Economy’ section of the *FAZ* (Kölner Schule, 2023; Sagvosdkin, 2021, 43f). Patrick Bernau, a *FAZ* Economics Editor, is also a board member of the Cologne School. Journalist trainees from the Cologne School are required to study in parallel at the University of Cologne, mainly in Economics (Sagvosdkin, 2021, p. 46) – categorised as clearly orthodox by several studies (Beckenbach et al., 2016, p. 202f), especially in the shaping basis modules (Sagvosdkin, 2021, p. 67f; see also Bäuerle et al., 2020). Moreover, the University is the most frequent employer of members of central (economic) advisory bodies of the German Federal Government; those who collectively advocate for austerity policies (also in leading media) and have links to neoliberal think tanks such as the Ludwig Erhard Foundation (which awards the above-mentioned journalism award), the Hayek

⁸ No information on the educational backgrounds of frequent writers (journalists) from the UK could be found.

Society and others (Plehwe et al., 2024). Overall, these studies point to an Economics education's potential influence on journalists; that make a negative attitude towards degrowth approaches more likely. However, this aspect needs to be researched further.

4.3. Gender bias

The results show that female authors are underrepresented in the degrowth discourse, and that there is a specific correlation between gender and the sentiment of articles on degrowth. This can be explained by structural barriers to women – referring to the field of Economics and a cultural gender bias.

Women are generally underrepresented in journalism in Germany and the UK (Worlds-of-Journalism, 2019).⁹ In Germany, fewer women are employed in the 'Economy' and 'Politics' departments of print media publications than on average.¹⁰ In the UK, no department-specific data could be found. However, studies show that, in various UK quality newspapers, women are less visible as experts (below 20% of the total when compared to male experts) (Jones & Baeckstrom, 2020). Other large-scale studies of English-language media also show that "[t]he domains where women are more present include fashion and entertainment, while men are more associated with business and politics" (Jia et al., 2016, p. 8). This is, again, a reflection of economics, where women are strongly underrepresented at various levels in both countries (Auriol et al., 2022a, 2022b).

As women do not differ significantly from their male colleagues concerning journalistic roles and epistemological convictions (Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2012, p. 208), there seems to be an influence of differing educational backgrounds here. In the sense of a cultural gender bias, issues relating to the economy and economic policy might be perceived as 'male' topics and are, therefore, less accessible to women for institutional and structural reasons.

⁹ In the UK, 38% of journalists are female (Nomis 2024), in Germany around 31% (Dietrich-Gsenger and Seethaler 2019, p. 54).

¹⁰ In Germany, 37,5% of the 'Economy' sections and 30,8% of the 'Politics' sections feature women as contributors – in the 'News' sections the figure is above average at 45,5% and in the 'Education' and 'Science' sections at 50%, in the 'Feuilleton' section 38,9% (Dietrich-Gsenger and Seethaler 2019, p. 56, p. 280).

The strong rejection of degrowth approaches could be interpreted in terms of a dominant masculine culture (regardless of whether female or male authors appropriate it). However, technological or solutionist approaches also tend to be associated with ‘masculine’ characteristics – thus, people with a ‘male’ socialisation or educational background could thus tend towards preferring them. The ecofeminist Plumwood (1993, p. 43) points out that Western thinking is characterised by dualistic opposites, such as ‘male’ vs. ‘female’ or ‘human’ vs. ‘nature’. Rational qualities are connoted as ‘masculine’; emotional or ‘natural’ qualities as ‘feminine’. Accordingly, the Global Media Monitoring Report (GMMR) shows that “women reporters [are] more likely to be working on celebrity, lifestyle and social beats and men working on [the] politics and economics desk” (GMMR, 2020). Women are globally underrepresented as subjects or sources in business and economic news (Macharia, 2020, p. 301). The gender bias could be explained by the fact that ‘degrowth’ is linked to ‘environment’ and ‘care’ and is, therefore, perceived as more ‘female’ – while ‘economy’ and ‘growth’ are seen as a more ‘male’ issue.

4.4. Limitations

This paper aims to analyse general patterns and influencing factors regarding degrowth discourse in the media. In analysing texts according to sentiment, subjective elements cannot be completely ruled out; for example, when deciding whether a text should be categorised as relatively positive or ambivalent overall if different statements are given (see Appendix A, Table 3). Incorporating several researchers could further increase intersubjectivity. Further qualitative research is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of how strongly which individual factors, e.g. within editorial offices, characterise reporting. It also remains partially underexposed whether different media systems and cultural or editorial factors play a role when comparing countries. The network analysis should also examine, in greater depth, the extent to which institutional overlaps play a role – alongside the extent to which there is a coordinated anti-degrowth agenda. As degrowth-negative reporting predominates, the analysis focuses on factors that can explain this. It would also be interesting to ask what prompts journalists to write positive or ambivalent articles; furthermore, to what extent progressive places of education can be identified and associated with them, via a larger sample. An intersectional perspective on the media degrowth discourse would be desirable:

to look at the authors and their different backgrounds, as well as their role conceptions and motives.

5. Conclusion

This paper analyses which patterns characterise the degrowth discourse in British and German leading quality print media, how this discourse evolved, and what factors influenced it. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), ten daily newspapers, nine weekly newspapers, and eight (political) magazines were analysed (mostly including online content) across a period of nine years of publication (2015-2023).

Degrowth was discussed across sections of publications in the context of many topics – but particularly with regard to debates on climate protection and politics. Although the discourse was not especially pronounced – with 389 articles analysed overall – there was a strong upward trend towards prominence. Most articles analysed refer to degrowth only superficially, especially those with a negative sentiment. Relevant discourse initially took place predominantly in progressive media; near-presently, conservative media, male authors, and adverse reporting appear to dominate. This can be interpreted as a reaction and a counteraction to the growing popularity of degrowth approaches.

Overall, degrowth-negative reporting dominated at 43% of the total articles surveyed, as compared to around 27% being degrowth-positive, 10% ambivalent, and 19% undetermined in their respective leanings. However, sentiments differed relative to political orientation of the respective media outlets, content sections which degrowth-related articles appeared in, and the gender identities of authors. Progressive outlets tended to write in a rather positive or balanced way; conservative reporting was characterised by a clear negative sentiment. Degrowth-negative articles were most likely found in conservative media's 'Economy' sections, written by men. Conversely, degrowth-positive articles were most likely found in progressive media's 'Environment' sections, written by women. Degrowth discourse in both countries usually varied only marginally. However, there were significantly more articles in Germany, where frequent writers characterised the discourse. They were predominantly male; from conservative media; holding a potential gatekeeping position as a leader at leading

print media publications, and mostly writing articles with a negative sentiment on degrowth. Some frequent writers (especially external writers) were identified as members of neoliberal or economically liberal institutions. Many were previously honoured with the journalism award of the neoliberal Ludwig Erhard Foundation.

The few frequent writers in progressive media who referred positively to degrowth usually wrote as guest authors. This means that structural conditions for a positive degrowth discourse are poor. Editorial offices offered degrowth researchers a platform through guest contributions; thus, ensuring degrowth approaches are described in correspondingly high quality, even if degrowth researchers may not be perceived as 'neutral' (as the term 'degrowth' is sometimes used as an activist slogan). Contributions by journalists may, therefore, be perceived as more 'objective'.

The influence of Economics and Economics education, alongside a potential cultural gender bias, were discussed as explanations for the results. Since degrowth is now being discussed by internationally-influential political groups and their associated representatives (e.g. in the context of the IPCC), a more pronounced and detailed degrowth debate in the leading media seems appropriate. GDP-critical or degrowth approaches are marginalised in mainstream economics; this particular discipline significantly influences economic expertise for journalists. For a proper journalistic treatment of a transdisciplinary topic such as degrowth, further journalistic training, exchanges with experts, and cooperation between researchers and journalists from different specialist areas would appear to make sense.

Future research could examine the post-growth discourse. There are also examples where degrowth research is taken up in the media or growth is discussed critically without using degrowth or related terms (e.g. Monbiot, 2019). Investigating such articles – e.g. by searching for citations of degrowth researchers – would be a fruitful addition. A qualitative narrative analysis follow-up study could show which narratives characterise the discourse and (de)legitimise degrowth approaches.

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Appendix A

Table 1: Sample – British outlets (detailed version)

Newspaper	Online-Content	Type	Political orientation	Sources Political orientation	Reach & average circulation	Database
(rather) progressive media						
<i>The Guardian</i>	Yes	Daily	Lean-left/ left-centre fairly left-wing	AllSides, 2013; Media Bias Fact Check, 2024c; Smith, 2017	26% 98k-121k	Nexis Uni*
<i>The Observer</i> (<i>Guardian</i>)	Yes	Weekly	Center/ left-centre/ left-leaning/ liberal	AllSides, 2023; Media Bias Fact Check, 2023; Schmid-Petri, 2017, p. 558		
<i>The Independent</i> **	Yes	Daily	lean left/ left-centre/ (slightly left-of) centre/ left-leaning/ liberal	AllSides, 2017, 2024; Media Bias Fact Check, 2022a; Schmid-Petri, 2017, p. 558; Smith, 2017	5%-	
<i>Sunday Independent</i>	No	Weekly				
<i>The Week</i>	Only online content	Weekly (Magazine)	lean left/ left-centre	AllSides, 2014; Media Bias Fact Check, 2022d	15%-	The Week Website
(rather) conservative media						
<i>The Times</i>	Yes	Daily	Center/ slightly right- of-centre or fairly right-wing centre/ right-centre	AllSides, 2021; Media Bias Fact Check, 2022c; Smith, 2017	17% 328k	Nexis Uni*
<i>Sunday Times</i> and <i>Saturday</i> <i>review</i>	Yes	Weekly				
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Yes	Daily	Lean right/ right/ right-leaning or conservative/ fairly or very right-wing	AllSides, 2016; Media Bias Fact Check, 2024a; Schmid-Petri, 2017, p. 558; Smith, 2017	14% 233k	
<i>The Sunday Telegraph</i>	Yes	Weekly				
<i>Financial Times</i>	Partly ***	Daily	Centre/ balanced/ rightwing/ conservative	AllSides, 2018; Media Bias Fact Check, 2024b; Schmid-Petri, 2017, p. 558	7% 114k	
<i>FT Weekend Magazine</i>	Partly ***	Weekly (Magazine)				
<i>The Spectator</i>	Partly ***	Weekly (Magazine)	moderate to right- wing/right-center- right	AK, 2005; Media Bias Fact Check, 2022b	11%-	
not classifiable						
<i>The Economist</i>	Partly ***	Weekly (Magazine)	Lean-left/ radical centre/ balanced	AllSides, 2012; Media Bias Fact Check, 2016	14%-	Gale research complete
*According to Nexis Uni certain freelance articles might not be included ** The Independent: The last print edition was published on 26 March 2016 and since then the newspaper has only been available in digital format. *** Many articles from the print edition are available online. Articles which are exclusively published online cannot be found in the Databases. Sources reach (print & digital): Freedman 2023; Jigsaw Research, 2023						

Table 2: Sample – German outlets (detailed version)

Newspaper	Online-Content	Type	Political orientation	Sources Political orientation	Reach per edition (varies in sources)	Database
(rather) progressive media						
Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	Partly**	Daily	rather left-liberal, economic policy positions strongly neo-liberal	Wolter, 2016, p. 252	1.7% 1.2-1.26 Mio	SZ Archive
SZ am Wochenende	Partly**	Weekly				
die Tageszeitung (TAZ)	Partly**	Daily	green or left-wing alternative	Groll, 2012	No data 0.31 Mio	Nexis Uni*
taz. am wochenende	Partly**	Weekly				
Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)	Partly**	Daily	left-liberal; readership sees itself predominantly in the political centre	Göpfert, 2019; Statista, 2023, p. 25	No data for '23	
Die Zeit (without Z+)	Yes	Weekly	rather left-liberal	Wolter, 2016, p. 152	2.8% 1.96 Mio	
Zeit Magazin	No	Weekly (Magazine)			1.8% 1.25 Mio	
(rather) conservative media						
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Yes	Daily	as liberal-conservative and more market-liberal in terms of economic policy	Wolter, 2016, p. 234	1.2% 0.84-0,89 Mio	FAZ library portal
Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung	Yes	Weekly			1.2% 0.84 Mio	
Die Welt	Yes	Daily	conservative with a liberal economic policy stance	Wolter, 2016, p. 160	0.6% 0.43-0,96 Mio	Nexis Uni*
Welt am Sonntag		Weekly			1.5% 1-1.07 Mio	
Spiegel (including Spiegel+)	Yes	Weekly (Magazine)	conservative and neoliberal	Wolter, 2016, p. 117	7.2% 4.17-5.01 Mio	
Stern (including Stern+)	Yes	Weekly (Magazine)	right-wing or conservative	ET, 2023	5.6% 3.77-3.89 Mio	
Focus Magazin	Partly**	Weekly (Magazine)	right-wing or conservative	ET, 2023	3.6% 2.55-3.07 Mio	
not classifiable						
The Economist	Partly ***	Weekly (Magazine)	Lean-left/ radical centre/ balanced	AllSides, 2012; Media Bias Fact Check, 2016	14%-	Gale research complete
*According to Nexis Uni certain freelance articles might not be included ** Many articles from the print edition are available online. Articles which are exclusively published online cannot be found in the Databases. Source Reach per edition: agma, 2023; AWA, 2023.						

Table 3: Coding the sentiment on degrowth statements in articles (examples)

	GER	UK
Negative	• „Entwachsen geht nicht“ (SZ Piper 2016, p.1). • „Degrowth-Fans streuen mit ihrer These von der schrumpfenden Wirtschaft den Leuten Sand in die Augen (TAZ Zügel 2018, p. 1)	• “So by all means let's measure economic growth better. Let's ensure our growth is even cleaner. Let's share it out more equally. But for heaven's sake let's not actively try to stop it” (TIMES Conway 2019, p. 2) • “Why we must put our faith in ‘fairy tales of eternal economic growth’” (TELEGRAPH Warner 2019, p. 1)
Positive	• „Degrowth oder Postwachstum steht nicht für Verzicht und Rückschritt, sondern für progressive Alternativen zum Wachstumsdiktat“ (FAZ Schmelzer 2016, p. 1) • „Orientierung bieten allein Entwicklungsszenarien vom Typ "Postwachstumsökonomie" oder "Degrowth". Dies setzt global gerechtigkeitsfähige, also genügsamere Lebensstile voraus“ (FR Paech 2015, S. 2)	• “It's time for a social movement that pressures governments and businesses to prioritize quality of life over economic growth” (GUARDIAN Kliemann 2023, p. 1) • “Opposing this trend, communities such as Christiania pursue ‘degrowth’ by prioritising human relations over market relations; maximising sharing, togetherness, social justice and the health of the planet” (INDEPENDENT Jarvis 2018, p. 1)
Ambivalent	• „Degrowth ist nicht selbst ein legitimes politisches Ziel, sondern eine (mögliche) Nebenwirkung der zur Erreichung legitimer politischer Ziele ergriffenen Maßnahmen. Aber darum geht es in der Wachstumsdebatte nicht mehr. Sie ist längst in der Logik des allgemeinen Kulturkampfes aufgegangen: Niemand weiß etwas, aber alle haben eine Meinung. Wir sollten einfach nicht mehr über Wachstum reden“ (ZEIT Schieritz 2023, p. 2)	• “Perhaps ‘degrowth’ wouldn't be the end of the world for a wealthy country like ours. But consider other countries that aren't so fortunate” (TIMES Conway 2022) • “Is it time to end our fixation with GDP and growth?; It has become central to economic planning, yet some think our priorities should be more sustainable” (GUARDIAN Partington 2019, p. 1)
Undetermined	• „Am tief greifendsten stellt sich die Frage des Verzichts in der politisch-ökonomischen Bewegung der Wachstumskritik und des Degrowth. Das ist neu: Wenn Verzicht in der Moderne bisher ein Thema war, dann als ein vorübergehendes Sparen, um sich in der Zukunft zu verbessern. Aber beim Verzicht in der Spätmoderne geht es um etwas anderes: darum, bestimmte Lebensoptionen nicht temporär, sondern auf Dauer aufzugeben. Der Traum von »Überfluss und Freiheit« scheint zu platzen“ (SPIEGEL Reckwitz 2022, p. 3)	• ““I wondered if the programme had invited me to tick the box of ‘personal’ as opposed to the other panellists (a climate scientist, a population degrowth campaigner) who were there as experts,’ she muses” (INDEPENDENT Klotz 2022)

Table 4: Hanger/entry points

Several hanger/entry points per article are possible (e.g. Book Review on degrowth research).

	Overall	GER	UK
Other categories	100	70	30
CLIMATE (change/crisis/policies etc.)	89	62	27
Interview	47	47	
Postgrowth concepts (wellbeing etc.)	32	21	11
Criticism of degrowth or the movement	28	22	6
Climate protests	22	20	2
Coronavirus	20	16	4
Book review	19	13	6
Growth/recession	18	11	7
Conference (degrowth/climate/world economic forum)	16	12	4
Letter to the editor	15	7	8
Elections	13	9	4
New publication	12	9	3
Prosperity/progress debate	6	6	
Energy policy	6	4	2
Green New Deal concepts	5	2	3
War against Ukraine	3	3	

Table 5: Sentiment in different sections

	Overall	GER	UK
<i>... in the 'Feuilleton/Feature' Section</i>	Negative: 32% Positive: 22% Undetermined: 32% Ambivalent: 14%	34% 21% 34% 10%	31% 13% 44% 13%
<i>... in the 'Opinion' Section</i>	Negative: 50% Positive: 31% Undetermined: 9% Ambivalent: 9%	58% 35% 4% 4%	17% 17% 33% 33%
<i>News</i>	Negative: 48% Positive: 16% Undetermined: 23% Ambivalent: 13%	33% (1) 33% (1) 33% (1) 0%	50% 14% 21% 14%
<i>Politics</i>	Negative: 46% Positive: 14% Undetermined: 25% Ambivalent: 14%	48% 11% 26% 15%	0% 100% (1) 0% 0%
<i>Reader's Forum</i>	Negative: 17% Positive: 61% Undetermined: 17% Ambivalent: 4%	14% 64% 14% 7%	22% 56% 22% 0%
<i>Cover Page/Focus</i>	Negative: 61% Positive: 22% Undetermined: 6% Ambivalent: 11%	69% 19% 0% 13%	0% 50% (1) 50% (1) 0%
<i>'Economy' Section, Progressive Media</i>	Negative: 36% Positive: 50% Undetermined: 9% Ambivalent: 5%	38% 46% 8% 8%	33% 56% 11% 0%
<i>'Environment' section, Conservative Media</i>	Negative: 0% Positive: 100% (1) Undetermined: 0% Ambivalent: 0%	-	0% 100% (1) 0% 0%

Table 6: Sentiment on degrowth (overview)

	Overall	United Kingdom (UK)	Germany (GER)
Sentiment on degrowth	Negative: 43.2%	38.7%	45%
	Positive: 27.2%	28.6%	26.8%
	Undetermined: 19.3%	22.7%	17.8%
	Ambivalent: 10.3%	10.1%	10.4%

Sorting: The higher up in the table, the more frequent positive sentiment (left side) or negative sentiment (right side) predominate. In brackets: absolute numbers if these are very low.

Articles rather pro degrowth or balanced				Articles rather contra degrowth			
	Overall	UK	GER		Overall	UK	GER
Frequent Writers, Female Names.	Negative: 13% Positive: 83% Undetermined: 0% Ambivalent: 4%	0% 100% (3) 0% 0%	15% 80% 0% 5%	„Economy“ Section, Conservative Outlets.	Negative: 89% Positive: 0% Undetermined 7% Ambivalent: 4%	92% 0% 8% 0%	88% 0% 6% 6%
Frequent Writers, Progressive Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 13% Positive: 82.6% Undetermined: 4.4% Ambivalent: 0%	0% 100% (3) 0% 0%	15% 80% 0% 5%	„Economy“ Section, Conservative Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 88% Positive: 0% Undetermined 7% Ambivalent: 5%	91% 0% 9% 0%	87% 0% 7% 7%
„Environment“ section Progressive Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 0% Positive: 75% Undetermined: 6% Ambivalent: 19%	0% 50% (2) 25% 25%	0% 83% 17% 0%	Frequent Writers, Conservative Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 84.4% Positive: 3.2% Undetermined: 2.2% Ambivalent: 9.4%	85.7% 0% 0% 14.3%	85.7% 1.8% 3.6% 8.9%
Frequent Writers, Progressive Outlets.	Negative: 11% Positive: 64% Undetermined: 9% Ambivalent: 16%	11% 78% 11% 0%	11% 60% 9% 20%	Frequent Writers, Conservative Outlets.	Negative: 78% Positive: 3% Undetermined: 3% Ambivalent: 9%	86% 0% 0% 14%	75% 3% 8% 8%
„Environment“ Section, Progressive Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 9% Positive: 55% Undetermined: 27% Ambivalent: 9%	14% 43% 29% 14%	7% 60% 27% 7%	Conservative Outlets, Male Names.	Negative: 78% Positive: 4% Undetermined: 11% Ambivalent: 6%	68% 10% 17% 5%	82% 2% 9% 7%
„Environment“ Section.	Negative: 5% Positive: 53% Undetermined: 29% Ambivalent: 13%	7% 50% 29% 14%	4% 54% 29% 13%	Conservative Outlets.	Negative: 75% Positive: 5% Undetermined: 15% Ambivalent: 5%	65% 8% 24% 4%	79% 3.2% 12.1% 5.6%
Female Names, Progressive Media.	Negative: 11% Positive: 53% Undetermined: 20% Ambivalent: 16%	0% 46% (6) 31% (4) 23% (3)	14% 54% 18% 14%	„Economy“ Section.	Negative: 72% Positive: 16% Undetermined: 7% Ambivalent: 4%	67% 24% 10% 0%	74% 13% 6% 6%
„Environment“ Section, Progressive Outlets.	Negative: 5% Positive: 51% Undetermined: 30% Ambivalent: 14%	8% 46% 31% 15%	4% 54% 29% 13%	Frequent Writers, Male Names.	Negative: 66% Positive: 13% Undetermined: 7% Ambivalent: 14%	54% 31% 8% 8%	68% 10% 6% 15%
Frequent Writers, Progressive Outlets, Male.	Negative: 8.3% Positive: 50% Undetermined: 16.7% Ambivalent: 25%	16.7% (1) 66.67% 0% 0%	6.7% 33.4% 20% 40%	„Economy“ Section, Conservative Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 60% (3) Positive: 0% Undetermined 20% (1) Ambivalent: 20%	100% (1) 0% 0% 0%	50% (2) 0% 25% 25%
Progressive Outlets.	Negative: 16% Positive: 47% Undetermined: 22% Ambivalent: 15%	16% 47% 22% 16%	16% 47% 23% 14%	Conservative Outlets, Female Names.	Negative: 57% Positive: 6% Undetermined: 29% Ambivalent: 9%	40% (2) 0% 60% (3) 0%	60% 7% 23% 10%

Male Names, Progressive Outlets.	Negative: 17% Positive: 46% Undetermined: 20% Ambivalent: 18%	18% 48% 18% 18%	16% 45% 20% 18%	Frequent Writers.	Negative: 55% Positive: 28% Undetermined: 6% Ambivalent: 12%	44% (7) 44% (7) 6% (1) 6% (1)	56% 25% 5% 13%
Female Names.	Negative: 27% Positive: 37% Undetermined: 23% Ambivalent: 13%	11% 33% 39% 17%	30% 38% 20% 13%	Male names.	Negative: 48% Positive: 24% Undetermined: 15% Ambivalent: 12%	43% 29% 18% 11%	50% 23% 15% 12%

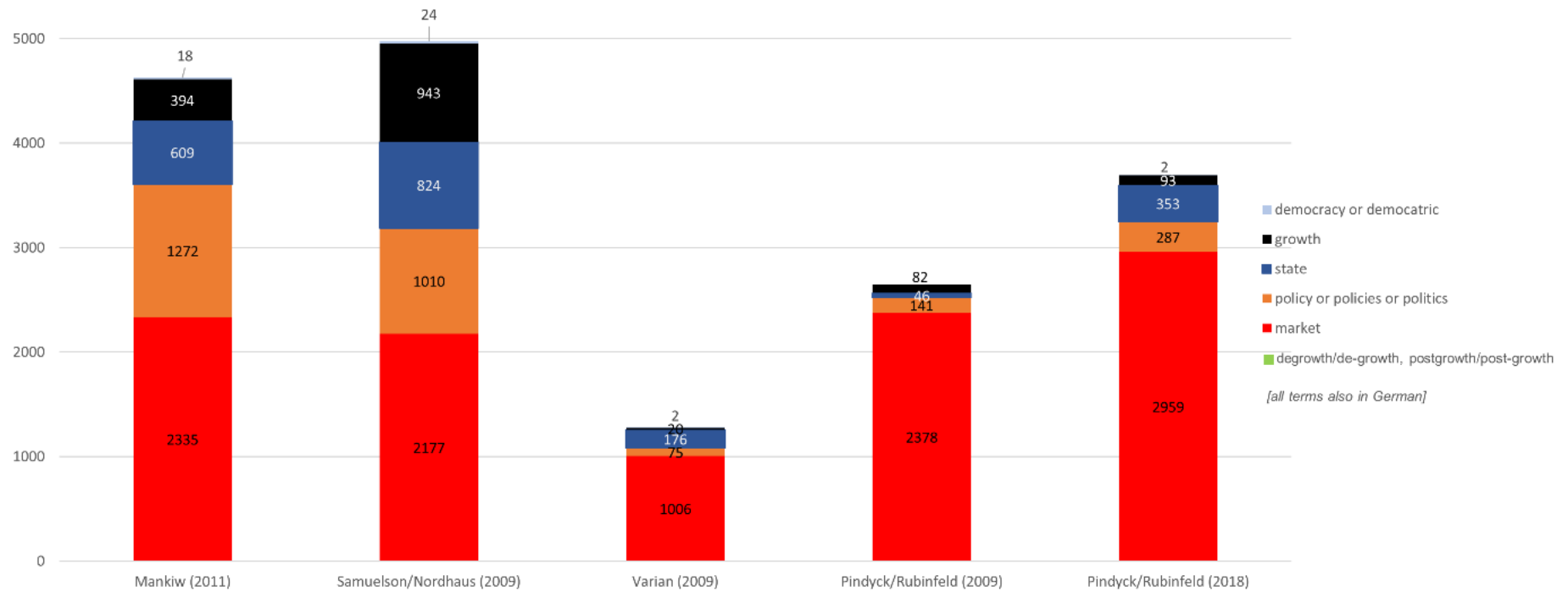


Figure 1: Conceptual analysis in standard economics textbooks: no degrowth discourse (own depiction).

The terms in English and German were searched for using MaxQDA and summarized here graphically. The following textbooks in English were examined: Mankiw, 2012; Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 2018; Samuelson & Nordhaus, 2010; Varian, 2010. In addition, the textbook by Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 2009 was analysed with German terms.

Sample list

The list includes the classification of the scope of the articles (short, medium or detailed reference on degrowth) and the overall positioning of the articles (positive, unspecific, ambivalent, negative). Sunday and online editions have been merged. Punctuation errors in the titles from the archives have been corrected.

British Media – not classifiable

ECONOMIST 2015a. *Restless and resentful; Spanish politics*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

ECONOMIST 2021. *Flows and fuel; Economics and energy*. Classifications: negative, detailed

ECONOMIST 2022. *Debunking degrowth; Carbon and the economy*. Classifications: negative, detailed

ECONOMIST 2023. *Meet the lefty Europeans who want to deliberately shrink the economy*. Classifications: negative, detailed

British Media – conservative

Financial Times

FT Acharya, Madhav. 2020. *Growth must encourage more 'human flourishing'*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FT Denver, Guy Wroble. 2022. *The ash heap of history awaits acolytes of growth Letters*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FT Ford, Jonathan. 2019. *Power to the people? Essay | Could a Green New Deal provide the necessary impetus to break the political logjam around climate change? Two books make the case for a radical economic reboot, writes Jonathan Ford*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT Harford, Tim. 2020. *Lockdowns are not enough to save the planet*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

FT Kuper, Simon. 2019. *The myth of green growth*. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed

FT Mance, Henry. 2022. *Science isn't just about writing equations. It's about reconceptualising the world'. The physicist known for making complex ideas seem simple wants us to accept that certainty is often out of reach*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT Tamashiro, Takeo. 2022. *The ghost of Marx still stalks. Japanese politics Letters*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT Watson, Lucy. 2019. *What to see around town London Design Festival | Whether inspired by a maze or the moon, many exhibits at this year's event rework old classics*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT Wolf, Martin. 2021. *The innovation game Martin Wolf applauds a detailed defence of capitalism that also stresses the need for regulation and a social safety net to protect liberal democracy as we know it.*

Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FT Wylie, Ian; Oliver Ramonteu. 2022. *Zooming in: what Generation Z wants Most masters in management students are from Gen Z. Do they demand something different from their degree - and what do business schools think they need?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT 2020. *Readers write.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FT 2022. *Truss versus the 'anti-growth coalition'. Expanding the economy is a complex matter; it should not be taken so lightly.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FT 2023. *In defence of democratic capitalism. The marriage of liberal economics and democratic governance has brought immense benefits to the world, writes Martin Wolf. As the system faces its toughest tests in decades, what needs to be done to avert disaster? Democratic capitalism.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FT 2023b. *It takes a village.* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

FT Ganesh, Janan. 2023. *A moral case for cities.* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

FT Kuper, Simon. 2023. *Wish you weren't here; As international travel recovers, complaints about overflowing streets and unruly visitors are getting louder.* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

FT Spence, Rachel. 2023. *"A film of the future; Cornelia Parker | The artist talks to Rachel Spence about her new video combining her eye for form with a passion for environmental politics".* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

Spectator

SPECTATOR Clark, Ross. 2023. *The dangerous myth of degrowth.* Classifications: negative, detailed

SPECTATOR Colville, Robert. 2020. *Slowdown: The End of the Great Acceleration and Why it's Good for the Planet, the Economy and Our Lives by Danny Dorling - review.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

SPECTATOR Taki. 2022. *The rise of the new autocracy.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

Daily Telegraph

TELEGRAPH Bourne, Ryan. 2018. *Leftists are trying to muddy the waters on falling global poverty.*

Classifications: negative, medium detailed

TELEGRAPH Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose. 2021a. *Global energy regulator leads us to a painless net-zero world. The IEA shows how the decarbonisation dash will speed up economic growth and leave many of us richer, says Ambrose Evans-Pritchard.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose. 2021b. *The multitrillion-dollar windfall from speeding towards net zero Decarbonisation will not cost a penny after market forces kick in - as the Treasury at last accepts.*

Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose. 2022. *Cop27 deserves to die if it becomes a forum for anti-Western racketeering. Winning the carbon war is tough enough without turning it into a battle of competing histories.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose. 2023a. *Green Left should stop vilifying the wrong targets. Tarring every oil and gas outfit with the same brush is a mistake - BP really is committed to cutting CO2.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Frost David. 2023b. *Net zero zealots are treating the public like fools. Instead of a real debate on the economic pros and cons of the policy, we get smears and cancellations.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Hayes, Sam Ashworth. 2023. *The UK is a poor country that is determined to get even poorer.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Marlow, Ben. 2021. *The Bank of England must not be run by eco-warriors. Stress tests to model the climate dangers facing banks and insurers risk being hijacked by activists with an aggressive green agenda.* Classifications: negative, medium detailed

TELEGRAPH Ridley, Matt. 2023. *BBC has recruited weather to the cause of net zero. Yes, heatwaves are getting more intense thanks to global warming, but the alarmism is shameless.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Samuel, Henry. 2022a. *Eco-terrorists hijack French wheat train.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Samuel, Henry. 2022b. *Macron majority in doubt after gains for Left during first round New coalition performs strongly after lowest turnout in history for parliamentary elections.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TELEGRAPH Warner, Jeremy. 2019. *Why we must put our faith in 'fairy tales of eternal economic growth'.* Classifications: negative, detailed

TELEGRAPH 2023. *Britain will pay for giving up on growth.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

TELEGRAPH Andrews, Kate 2023. *SNP has made Scotland too poor to be independent; Having entered into a pact with the Greens to retain a grasp on power, nationalists are in a bind.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

TELEGRAPH Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose 2023b. *Cop28 summit is rendered redundant by march of clean technology; Climate conference has been overtaken by the pace of scientific progress and economic reality.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

TELEGRAPH Heath, Allister 2023. *The furious Blob will try to destroy Rishi Sunak for his net zero heresy; Tories must get behind the PM's green pragmatism, and prepare for a Brexitstyle battle in the courts.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

TELEGRAPH Lynn, Matthew 2023a. *Stagnation Britain is no place for the young and ambitious; We are rapidly becoming a static society, so don't be surprised by a brain drain of the educated abroad.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

TELEGRAPH Lynn, Matthew 2023b. *The Greens have become the 'Recession Party'; Economies are shrinking fast wherever political power is shared with environmentalists*. Classifications: negative

The Times

TIMES Atkinson, Laura. 2019. *Barometer*. Classifications: unspecified, dropping/short

TIMES Conway, Ed. 2019. *Talking up 'degrowth' is not clever or funny. It's becoming fashionable to sneer at GDP but attempts to stall productivity will benefit no one*. Classifications: negative, detailed

TIMES Conway, Ed. 2021. *Saving the planet without ditching capitalism. Book of the week. Bill Gates has given us solutions instead of forecasts of climate doom. Let's get on with it, says Ed Conway*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TIMES Conway, Ed. 2022. *To be clean and green, we first need to get dirty. As energy bills soar, wind turbines and solar panels are touted as the answer. Truth is, they require carbon to be made and emissions must go up to come back down*. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

TIMES Farquharson, Kenny. 2019. *Perhaps less is more when it comes to growth. Easing off the economic accelerator should give us a chance in the fight against climate change*. Classifications: positive, detailed

TIMES Liddle, Rod. 2019. *A quiet, easy life hasn't made us happy. Perhaps it's time to give war a chance*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

TIMES Linklater, Magnus. 2021. *Well-being economy would leave us worse off. Greens' distaste for growth doesn't square with ending unemployment and boosting industry*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TIMES Macwhirter, Iain. 2023. *Forbes has paid the price for her incisiveness. The former finance secretary would have picked apart the fallacies in the 'degrowth' agenda*. Classifications: negative, detailed

TIMES Massie, Alex. 2019. *Festival season can help city to a better stage. August is a time of horror for many residents but calling it over-tourism is too simplistic*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

TIMES Massie, Alex. 2021. *Coalition dance isn't jiving on climate plan. Nationalists are in danger of being tainted by the Greens' priggishness*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

TIMES Nash, Rob. 2023. *Join the conversation online*. Classifications: unspecified, dropping/short

TIMES Phillips, Melanie. 2022. *It's sinister and anti-human to stop growth. Shrinking the global economy to consume fewer resources is the green lobby's latest bad idea*. Classifications: negative, detailed

TIMES Bourne, Ryan 2023. *After sugar-rush stimulus failed to hit the spot, we should all be supply-siders now*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping, short/dropping

TIMES Linehan, Jo. 2023 *'Sustainability is not a box-ticking exercise - it's a long-term vision and commitment'; Ireland's first fashion brand achieves B Corp accreditation for environmental and social commitment*. Classifications: positive, short/dropping

British Media – progressive

The Guardian

GUARDIAN academics 238 academics call for postgrowth. 2018. *The EU needs a stability and wellbeing pact, not more growth 238 academics call on the European Union and its member states to plan for a post-growth future in which human and ecological wellbeing is prioritised over GDP*. Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Beckett, Andy. 2019. *The new left economics: how a network of thinkers is transforming capitalism. After decades of rightwing dominance, a transatlantic movement of leftwing economists is building a practical alternative to neoliberalism*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Bell, Torsten. 2023. *We've caught the distraction disease – we do anything to avoid the problems we face*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Cemlyn, Sarah. 2019. *Embracing revolution on climate change and neoliberalism. Readers respond to George Monbiot's piece on doing away with the current economic model and the recent Extinction Rebellion climate protests*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Chakraborty, Aditya. 2021. *Muddled, top-down, technocratic: why the green new deal should be scrapped*. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Cohen, Zoe. 2023. *Pursuing economic growth will kill us all in the end*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Conlon, Scarlett. 2021. *Brands have been getting away with murder': Stella McCartney and leading fashion figures on the fallout of Cop26*. Classifications: positive, medium detailed

GUARDIAN Davies, William. 2018. *Enlightenment Now by Steven Pinker review - life is getting better. Now is the best time to be alive claims this triumphalist defence of scientific rationality - if it matters, we'll solve it*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Dixon, David. 2021. *As we aim for net zero, our love of buying is the stuff of nightmares*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Dobson, Andrew. 2015. *There's more to happiness than numbers*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Doshi, Vidhi. 2020. *The small Dutch town that wants to shape the future of your food If an innovative solution to feeding the world's growing population is to be found, it is likely to come from Wageningen, a quiet corner of Europe that is the nexus of global food science. But at what cost to the environment?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Eagleton, Oliver. 2021. *Post Growth by Tim Jackson review - life after capitalism*. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed

GUARDIAN Elliott, Larry. 2021. *What have low interest rates done for Britain? Depressingly little*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Elliott, Larry. 2022. *Kicking our growth addiction is the way out of the climate crisis. This is how to do it*. Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Elliott, Larry. 2023. *The price Britain paid for lockdown was colossal. Was there an alternative?*

Classifications: negative, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Gayle, Damien. 2022. *Just Stop Oil's 'spring uprising' protests funded by US philanthropists.*

Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Gayle, Damien. 2023. *A long overdue moment? The UK greens pushing for the nuclear option.*

Classifications: negative, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Goodfellow, Maya. 2023. *A greener Marx? Kohei Saito on connecting communism with the climate crisis.* Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Harvey Fiona. 2023. *A wealth tax could help poorer countries tackle climate crisis, economists say.*

Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Helmore, Edward. 2022. *The US artisan revolution: how the simple life came in from the margins.*

Classifications: positive, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Hickel Jason. 2015. *Forget 'developing' poor countries, it's time to 'de-develop' rich countries. As the UN 's new sustainable development goals are launched in New York, there's little to celebrate about the business-as-usual approach.* Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Hickel, Jason. 2017b. *How to avert the apocalypse? Take lessons from Costa Rica Chasing economic growth gains us nothing but global warming. We should follow the lead of tiny Costa Rica, where life expectancy is soaring.* Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Hickel, Jason. 2017a. *The Paris climate deal won't save us - our future depends on de-growth. The success of the Paris climate deal depends on 'negative, emission' technologies that have never been proven at scale.* Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Hoad, Phil. 2022. *Once You Know review - must-watch essay on climate change that tells us it's already here.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Invernizzi-Accetti, Carlo. 2019. *Climate change denial may have been defeated in . 2019. But what comes next won't be easier. Defeating the climate crisis is just the beginning of the struggle - and tough political choices will have to be made.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Jackson, Tim. 2015. *Growth is not the answer to inequality Thomas Piketty might argue that we need growth to resolve inequality, but this is just a comforting half-truth our politicians can use to justify business as usual.* Classifications: positive, detailed

GUARDIAN Jacobs, Michael. 2022a. *Liz Truss dreams of growth – but even if she pulls it off, it won't help Britain.* Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed

GUARDIAN Jacobs, Michael. 2022b. *Understanding green economics: A masterclass with Professor Michael Jacobs.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

GUARDIAN Kallis, Giorgos. 2015. *Podemos party's plan to 'stimulate consumption' needs more ambition. The economic policy of Spain's rising leftwing party signals a new model of prosperity, but it could go further.* Classifications: positive, detailed

- GUARDIAN Kliemann, Christiane. 2015. *Let's face it: we have to choose between our economy and our future Forget Davos. It's time for a social movement that pressures governments and businesses to prioritize quality of life over economic growth.* Classifications: positive, detailed
- GUARDIAN Kothari, Ashish; Federico Demaria; Alberto Acosta. 2015. *Sustainable development is failing but there are alternatives to capitalism. All over the world, environmental justice movements are challenging growth-oriented development and neoliberal capitalism.* Classifications: positive, detailed
- GUARDIAN Kunnas, Jan. 2019. *New ways to confront the scourge of mental illness are emerging. From 'recovery colleges' to school mindfulness lessons, our approach to the problem is shifting.* Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN McCurry, Justin. 2022. *'A new way of life': the Marxist, post-capitalist, green manifesto captivating Japan.* Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- GUARDIAN Moore, Rowan. 2019. *Where are the architects who will put the environment first? Should we stop building airports? Return to mud and thatch? The climate crisis is an opportunity for creative thinking, but the values of architecture need a radical overhaul.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Neslen, Arthur. 2015. *Greece: Syriza juggles coal, pipelines and climate ambitions Syriza may be eco-friendly on renewables, energy efficiency and decentralised energy production but it faces internal tensions over plans for new coal plants and, potentially, the world's biggest gas pipeline.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Neslen, Arthur. 2022. *US and Europe behind majority of global ecological damage, says study.* Classifications: positive, detailed
- GUARDIAN O'Brien, Hettie. 2023. *The planet's economist: has Kate Raworth found a model for sustainable living?* Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- GUARDIAN Partington, Richard. 2019. *Is it time to end our fixation with GDP and growth? It has become central to economic planning, yet some think our priorities should be more sustainable.* Classifications: ambivalent, detailed
- GUARDIAN Phillips, Leigh. 2015. *Why eco-austerity won't save us from climate change. Progressives need to rediscover their Promethean ambitions and counter green ideologies that hold us back and won't save the planet.* Classifications: negative, detailed
- GUARDIAN Poole, Steven. 2015. *Steven Poole: beware growthspeak 'Our economy is growing' - the metaphor of growth is too often used in politics. Nothing is actually growing. Turnips and carrots, yes. Economies, no.* Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- GUARDIAN Poole, Steven. 2019. *The Joy of Missing Out by Svend Brinkmann review - forget Fomo Don't let the fear of missing out ruin your life. Count your blessings and be there for other people - but beware the 'elitist trap'.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Ritchie, Stuart. 2021. *A Hunter-Gatherer's Guide to the 21st Century review - self-help laced with pseudoscience.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Spinney, Laura. 2021. *Are there too many people? All bets are off* Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

- GUARDIAN Tonti, Lucianne. 2023. *Fashion greenwashing glossary part two: what do 'biodegradable', 'closed loop' and 'degrowth' really mean?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Toynbee, Polly. 2021. *Why do children in Britain always bear the brunt of Tory cuts?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Tucke, Ian. 2022. *Peter Kalmus: 'As a species, we're on autopilot, not making the right decisions'.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Watts, Jonathan. 2019. *Vaclav Smil: 'Growth must end. Our economist friends don't seem to realise that. The scientist and author on his latest book - an epic, multidisciplinary analysis of growth - and why humanity's endless expansion must stop.* Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Williams Barbara. 2020. *Moving climate up the global political agenda Readers respond to an article by Rebecca Willis in which MPs agreed to speak candidly about climate change.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Williams, Barbara. 2022. *This age of abundance must come to an end to save the planet.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- GUARDIAN Williams. Barbara. 2021. *Letters: boarding schools are no longer repressive.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short

Independent

- INDEPENDENT Bendell, Jem. 2022. *The rich are gathering for Davos - but elsewhere is the summit that actually matters.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- INDEPENDENT Boudry, Maarten. 2020. *Pride and prejudice. The sceptics who deny there's a problem and the activists who accept only half-baked solutions are as bad as each other, writes Maarten Boudry. The biggest obstacle to effective climate policy is not politics, it's human arrogance.* Classifications: negative, detailed
- INDEPENDENT Dyke, James. 2019. *Climate change: Why we need a fundamental shift in how we think about this crisis. As part of a new collaboration with The Conversation, James Dyke introduces the Insights series with his verdict on the frankly 'terrifying' truth about our attitude towards the climate emergency.* Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- INDEPENDENT Freedman, Ethan. 2022. *100 scientists and academics urge UN to drop sustainable development targets after 'failure'.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- INDEPENDENT Jarvis, Helen. 2018. *I lived in a commune in Denmark to see how people could make their lives better and longer Myresearch shows that Christiania is an inspirational space to think differently about conventional standards of living due to the absence of private property.* Classifications: positive, detailed
- INDEPENDENT King, Alex. 2020. *After coronavirus, let's choose carefully which sectors we want to regrow - and which to let go of. The pandemic has made clear what really matters to our economy. Let's restart it selectively, writes Alex King.* Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- INDEPENDENT Klotz, Frieda. 2022. *Unflinching look at climate crisis apportions blame to the 10pc Non-fiction.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

INDEPENDENT Moore, James. 2023. *Britain and the world needs to find a way out of economic woe – but don't expect Davos to help*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

INDEPENDENT Beltaji, Dana. 2023. *How did humans get to the brink of crashing climate? A long push for progress and energy to fuel it*. Classifications: positive, short/dropping

INDEPENDENT Daly, Patrick. 2023. *Pro-Palestinians being 'allowed to march in favour of terrorists', Truss claims*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping

Week

WEEK Pethokoukis, James. 2019. *Greta Thunberg's prosperous future*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

WEEK Walther, Matthew. 2019. *What does climate change mean for having children? Nothing*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

WEEK. 2020. *Instant Opinion: Dominic Cummings's critics. 'simply deluded'*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

WEEK. 2021. *What is the Green New Deal?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

German Media – conservative

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

FAZ Adam, Thomas M. 2023. *Es geht um die Zukunft unserer Industrie*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Bayaz, Danyal; Ralf Fücks. 2023. *Ökologie und Freiheit. Leitplanken einer freiheitlichen Klimapolitik*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Beeger Britta; Julia Löhr; Jessica von Blazekovic. 2020. *Die Krise der Jungen*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Bernau, Patrick. 2023a. *"Wir haben uns vieles vermasselt."* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Bernau, Patrick. 2023b. *Geld macht doch glücklich*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Bernau, Patrick. 2023c. *Muss das Wachstum weg?* Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

FAZ Bernau, Patrick; Alexander Wulfers. 2023. *Erfolgreiche Rebellen*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

FAZ Bernau, Patrick; Marcus Theurer. 2020. *Schrumpfen oder Wachsen: Was rettet die Welt?* Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed

FAZ Bernau, Patrick; Morten Freidel. 2023. *Gesundwachsen statt Gesundschrumpfen*. Classifications: negative, detailed

FAZ Bieber, Friedemann. 2019. *Die Schrumpfung der Wirtschaft als Dogma. Matthias Schmelzer und Andrea Vetter vergeben in ihrer Darstellung der Wachstumskritik einige Chancen*. Classifications: negative, detailed

FAZ Brankovic, Maja. 2019. *Die Wohlstandsfalle*. Classifications: negative, detailed

FAZ Brankovic, Maja. 2022. *Mehr Wachstum wagen*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

- FAZ Braunberger, Gerald. 2020. *Innovation in Deutschland. Auf zur Wissensökonomie*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Braunberger, Gerald. 2021. *Die Kraft des Fortschritts*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Braunberger, Gerald. 2021a. *Klima und Marktwirtschaft*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Braunberger, Gerald. 2021b. *Wirtschaftspolitik für eine gute Zukunft*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Braunberger, Gerald; Sven Astheimer; Susanne Preuß. 2021. "Wir sind zu abhängig von anderen Regionen." Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Bubrowski, Helene; Reiner, Burger. 2023. "Verzweiflung kann in Militanz kippen." Ralf Fücks war Vorsitzender der Grünen und kritisiert die Klimabewegung. Er warnt die Aktivisten vor einem Abdriften in Gewalt und autoritäres Denken. Statt auf Schrumpfkur setzt er auf grünes Wachstum. Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- FAZ Diener, Andrea. 2019. *Pfuschen im ganz großen Stil. Das Jahrestreffen der Hackerszene in Leipzig beschäftigte sich mit dem Klima*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Dörr, Julian; Nils Goldschmidt. 2015. *Share Economy: Vom Wert des Teilens*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Fücks, Ralf. 2022. *Aufbruch in die ökologische Moderne. Top-down-Steuerung mit engmaschigen Staatsvorgaben kann niemals die Innovationskraft der Marktwirtschaft ersetzen*. Classifications: negative, detailed
- FAZ Hank, Rainer . 2016. "Gut leben ohne Wachstum? De-Growth heißt eine Protestbewegung, die Wachstumskritiker aller Länder eint: TTIP-Gegner ebenso wie grüne Romantiker. Der Fortschritt hat kaum noch Freunde." Classifications: negative, detailed
- FAZ Hank, Rainer. 2020b. *Hanks Welt. Corona verdirbt die Sitten. Schleichend gewöhnen wir uns alle ans Staatsgeld*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Hank, Rainer. 2020c. *Hanks Welt. Immer eng am Zeitgeist. Kann man die Grünen heute (noch) wählen?* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Hank, Rainer. 2020a. *Hanks Welt. Schöne neue Corona-Welt? Warum die Seuche unsere utopischen Hoffnungen demaskiert*. Classifications: negative, detailed
- FAZ Hütt, Hans. 2019. *TV-Kritik: "Maybrit Illner". Rette sich, wer kann!* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Kardinal Marx, Reinhard. 2015. *Eine ganzheitliche Sicht der Wirtschaft*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Klaus, Karl-Matthias. 2023. *Nationale Sicherheitsstrategie und Soziale Marktwirtschaft*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Krohn, Philipp. 2019. *Wachstumskritiker vom Dienst*. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- FAZ Krohn, Philipp. 2021. *Die Freiheit nehm ich mir*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Krohn, Philipp. 2022. "Es gibt Grenzen." Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- FAZ Krohn, Philipp. 2022. *Das ökologische Gewissen. Erste wissenschaftliche Biographie über Herman Daly*. Classifications: negative, medium detailed

- FAZ Krohn, Philipp. 2023. *Hört auf mit der Ökomoral!* Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- FAZ Krohn, Philipp; Johannes Pennekamp. 2022. "Ein Zeitalter des Verzichts? Wirtschaftswachstum ist der Quell unseres Wohlstandes. Doch es wird auch verantwortlich gemacht für die Klimakrise und den ruinösen Umgang mit dem Planeten. Warum weniger nicht unbedingt mehr ist." Classifications: negative, detailed
- FAZ Krohn; Philipp Julia Zimmermann. 2023. *Wachstum oder Maß.* Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- FAZ Link, Harald; Ernst Pechtl. 2023. *Wie der Mittelstand auch in unsicheren Zeiten wachsen kann.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Löhr, Julia. 2022. *Grüne Versäumnisse.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Maak, Niklas. 2020. *Wird alles gerade noch mal gutgegangen sein?* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Pennekamp, Johannes. 2017. *Inklusives Wachstum.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Pennekamp, Johannes. 2018. "Woran die Wachstumskritik krankt Wachstum ohne Ende: So kann es nicht weitergehen, sagen Kritiker - doch ihre Alternativmodelle haben Mängel." Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- FAZ Reichert, Beate. 2016. *Blickwinkel.* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- FAZ Schmelzer, Matthias. 2016. *Alternativen zum Wachstum. Eine Gegenrede zu Rainer Hanks Kritik an der Wachstumskritik.* Classifications: positive, detailed
- FAZ Siemons, Mark. 2015. *Raus aus den Schachteln! Koalitionen für das Klima: Naomi Klein spricht in Berlin.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Spehr, Michael. 2022. *Nur gut gemeint.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Staun, Harald. 2023. *Klimajournalismus. Unspezifität, nein danke!* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Theurer, Marcus. 2021a. *Grün ist die Hoffnung.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Theurer, Marcus. 2021b. *Technik für die Dekarbonisierung. Wie Bill Gates die Klimakatastrophe verhindern will.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Theurer, Marcus. 2022. *Der alte Mann und das Mehr.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ von Altenbockum, Jasper; Johannes Leithäuser. 2019. *Im Gespräch: Christian Lindner, Parteivorsitzender der FDP und Vorsitzender der FDP-Bundestagsfraktion. "Politik findet oft im Panikmodus statt."* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ von Blazekovic, Jessica. 2020. *Die Gestalter von morgen. Von Quantencomputern bis hin zum Leben auf anderen Planeten: Wie sich die Zukunft studieren lässt.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Weiguny, Bettina. 2022a. *Ein Balanceakt. Entspannt in den Advent.* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- FAZ Weiguny, Bettina. 2022b. *Ein Balance-Akt. Weniger ist weniger.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- FAZ Winterhagen, Johannes. 2023. *Geht doch. Technischer Fortschritt ist für die Welt wichtiger als individueller Verzicht. Ein Plädoyer für mehr Optimismus.* Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- FAZ Zenthöfer, Jochen. 2016. *Feinde des Liberalismus. Grüne und Konservative wittern den Untergang.* Classifications: negative, detailed

FAZ Zenthöfer, Jochen. 2019. *Mehr Segen als Fluch. Warum Wirtschaftswachstum notwendig ist.*

Classifications: negative, medium detailed

FAZ Zenthöfer, Jochen. 2023. *Grüne Wirtschaftsgeographie. Eine marktorientierte Einführung.* Classifications:

negative, dropping/short

FAZ zu Knyphausen-Aufseß, Dodo; Sven Kunisch; Michael Nippa. 2020. *Die BWL duckt sich zu oft weg.*

Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FAZ. 2022. *Dem Klimawandel mit Innovation begegnen.* Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FAZ Adam, Thomas M. 2023b. *Rückbesinnung auf den Markt.* Classifications: negative, medium

FAZ Ahne, Petra. 2023. *Jäger und Sammler sind immer noch die besten Vorbilder.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

FAZ Bernau, Patrick. 2023c. *Was Deutschland jetzt braucht.* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

FAZ Braunberger, Gerald. 2023. *Verdammt lang her.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

FAZ Feuerbach, Leonore and Haupt, Friederike 2023. *Sie beschwören den "Großen Austausch".* Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

FAZ Gelinsky, Katja. 2023. *Wo der Antikapitalismus blüht.* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

Die Welt

WELT Bethke, Hannah. 2023. "Ich vermute, die glorreichen Zeiten der alten Bundesrepublik sind endgültig

vorbei" SPD-Politiker Wolfgang Thierse warnt: Die Deutschen könnten nicht mehr fest mit

Wirtschaftswachstum und Wohlstandsmehrung rechnen. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

WELT Buschmann, Marco. 2022. Glückwunsch, Grundgesetz! Vor 73 Jahren trat die Verfassung der

Bundesrepublik in Kraft. Sie hat sich bewährt und wird auch die aktuellen Herausforderungen bestehen,

meint Marco Buschmann. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

WELT Cohen, Ute. 2021. "Unsere Freiheit wird durch 'das Gute' gefährdet" Der Fall Sarkozy: Ist Frankreichs

Elite korrupt oder die Justiz nach links gerückt? Philosoph Raphaël Enthoven, Ex-Mann von

Präsidentengattin Carla Bruni, hat einen ganz anderen Verdacht. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

WELT Frigelj, Kristian. 2023. "Die Grünen wollen wissen, was die Unternehmen beschäftigt" Kürzlich hat sich

die Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Partei gegründet. Vorstandschefin und Unternehmerin Heike Discher sagt,

worum es dem neuen Verband geht. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

WELT Grossarth, Jan. 2020. Der Aktivismus der Gesellschaft Die Klimaprotestbewegung sollte dringend

Luhmann lesen. Sie könnte lernen, dass Transformation nicht mit radikaler Rhetorik, sondern nur mit

Systemkenntnis funktioniert. Classifications: negative, detailed

WELT Lindner, Christian. 2021. Wachstum durch Klimaschutz. Ja, wir brauchen einen starken Staat, wenn wir

dem Klimawandel beikommen wollen. Aber nur, damit er einen Rahmen setzt für einen innovativen und

fairen Emissionshandel, meint Christian Lindner. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

WELT Mayer, Thomas. 2022. Vergänglicher "Todestrieb". Classifications: negative, dropping/short

- WELT Malzahn, Christian. 2023. "Deswegen gibt es Klimanotstandsrecht" - "Das gibt es nicht" Der radikale Aktivist Tazio Müller im WELT-Streitgespräch mit der FDP-Politikerin Linda Teuteberg über moralische Überhöhung und Öko-Nationalismus. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2020b. "Keiner sollte sich freuen, dass jetzt weniger geflogen wird." Warum wirken einige Grüne gerade etwas von der Rolle? Berlins Wirtschaftssenatorin Ramona Pop im Gespräch mit Ulf Poschardt. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2020a. Der große Schritt nach vorn Krisen sind Chancen, in Rimbauds Sinne modern zu sein und das Land neu zu justieren. Deutschland kann jetzt anpacken - aber bitte nicht mit zukunftsfeindlicher Untertanenromantik. Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2020c. Dieser öde grüne Antimodernismus Robert Habecks Initiative zum Tempolimit zeigt wieder einmal: Toleranz kennen die Grünen nur gegenüber dem eigenen Wählerentwurf. Die mündigen Bürger dürfen solchen Klimaschützern und ihren Unterstützern in den Medien nicht das Feld überlassen. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2020d. Unternehmen Grundeinkommen. Hinter dem Experiment, Menschen bedingungslos 1000 Euro pro Monat zu zahlen, steht der Gründer Michael Bohmeyer. Sein Plan ist links und liberal zugleich. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2021. Das ängstliche Land. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2022a. Das neue Maß linken Denkens Der Marsch durch die Institutionen ist angekommen: In einer engen, spießigen Welt. Künstler und Intellektuelle haben kapituliert, machen mit oder halten die Klappe. Deswegen sind weite Teile des Kulturbetriebs so gleichförmig wie öde. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2022b. Der Luxus, der Neid und die Sozialdemokratie. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2022c. Im Interesse der Spießer. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2022d. Krieg, Öl und das Ende der Illusionen. Durch den Angriff auf die Ukraine droht eine Rezession. Wie kommen wir da heraus, und was wird aus der Transformation zu mehr Nachhaltigkeit, die sich die Ampel vorgenommen hatte? Wir brauchen ein neues Wirtschaftswunder. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2023a. Deutschland zeigt, wie es nicht geht Während die anderen G-7 -Länder wachsen, erleben wir Schrumpfung. Die Produktivität sinkt, die Investoren flüchten. Und wir sind das global schlechteste Vorbild für eine Ökotransformation. Auch ein Weltmeistertitel. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2023b. Ein Poet des Driftens Rasend, hyperaktiv, testosteronbefeuert: Ein Nachruf auf den Rallyefahrer Ken Block und seinen minimalistischen Maximalismus. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2023c. Keine Chance auf Wandel. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

- WELT Poschardt, Ulf. 2023d. Kinder an die Macht? Die Vorstellung, Politik werde besser, wenn sie einem kindlichen Sentiment folgt, ist ein antiaufklärerischer Traum. Aber er lebt. Zum Beispiel beim aktuellen Kirchentag in Nürnberg. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Rottmann, Kerstin. 2020. Warum es Hoffnung für die Millennials gibt Die Generation "Mimimi" ist besser als ihr Ruf, sagt der Ökonom Lukas Sustala. Er hat ihre wirtschaftliche Lage erforscht. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Schröder, Kristina. 2023a. Die große Klima-Buße Öko-Aktivisten predigen immer schmerzhafteren Verzicht. Alternativen wie Atomkraft lehnen sie ab, auch wenn das den Klimaschutz leichter und billiger machen würde. Anscheinend steckt es in uns drin, dass wir gerade das nicht wollen. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Schwilden, Frédéric. 2023. Deutscher kann man nicht werden. 2015. flüchtete der heute 29-jährige Ryyan Alshebl vor dem Krieg aus Syrien nach Deutschland. Bald tritt er als Bürgermeister sein Amt in einer Schwarzwald-Gemeinde an. Eine Erfolgsgeschichte. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Straubhaar, Thomas. 2021. Der Irrtum über das Ende des Wachstums. Classifications: negative, detailed
- WELT Straubhaar, Thomas. 2022b. Mit Sicherheit mehr Freiheit. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Straubhaar, Thomas. 2022a. Wir brauchen ein neues Erfolgsmodell für Deutschland. Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- WELT Witte, Julia Genannt Vedder; Jörn Lauterbach. 2016. "Als ob es sie nicht beträfe." Die Stadt wächst und wächst - aber wohin und mit welchem Ziel? Fünf Experten diskutieren auf Einladung der "Welt am Sonntag", wie sich Hamburg verändern soll. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- WELT Zwick, Daniel. 2022. Wir sind der Politik voraus Energiekrise, China-Konflikt und das Aus für den Verbrenner setzen die Autoindustrie unter Druck. Verbandschefin Hildegard Müller fordert von Berlin und Brüssel mehr strategische Unterstützung. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- WELT Bethke, Hannah 2023. "Belastungsgrenzen des Planeten sind keine absolute Schranke. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Gersemann, Olaf 2023. Wo bleibt das Wachstum? Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Höfling, Michael 2023. Wirbel um verstörendes DIW-Posting; Harsche Kritik an Ökonomin Claudia Kemfert. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Meyer, Christoph 2023. Arbeit muss sich wieder lohnen. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Poschardt, Ulf 2023e. Wenn Autobosse dem grünen Zeitgeist huldigen. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Reitzle, Wolfgang 2023. Die Illusion vom anstrengungslosen Wohlstand. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Sakkas, Konstantin 2023. Nur ein Gesicht aus Sand am Meer; Posthumanisten fordern, der Mensch solle sich als gleichrangig mit Kleinstlebewesen begreifen. Doch so leicht ist unsere Sonderstellung nicht zu überwinden. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- WELT Schröder, Kristina 2023b. Samuel Huntington hatte recht. Classifications: negative, short/dropping

Der Spiegel

- SPIEGEL Götze, Susanne. 2023. *Wie die Klima- zur Wirtschaftskrise wird*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- SPIEGEL Neumann, Peter R. 2022. *Wie man eine »Grüne RAF« verhindert*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- SPIEGEL Raab, Klaus. 2019. *"Wir sind nicht abgehängt, lieber Robert Habeck."* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- SPIEGEL Bartz, Tim. 2023. *Angriff der Klimakapitalisten*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Bidder, Benjamin 2022. *Lasst uns Butter aus Steinkohle machen*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Blome, Nikolaus. 2023. *Die schwindelnden Schwestern*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Brinkmann, Lena Marie. 2021. *»Das Haus ist meine kleine Burg«*. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Neumann, Tim. 2023. *Grüne gegen noch Grünere*. Classifications: ambivalent, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Ouassil, Samira. 2022. *Die Glaszwiebel der Disruption*. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Reckwitz, Andreas. 2022. *Alles wird besser, alles wird mehr? Das war einmal*. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Rödder, Andreas 2022. *Die Selbstbehauptung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Sauga, Michael 2020. *Sprechen Sie Habeck?* Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Sauga, Michael 2022. *Ein Lichtblick im Dunkel der Klimakatastrophe*. Classifications: negative
- SPIEGEL Sauga, Michael 2023. *Deutschland auf dem Abstiegsplatz*. Classifications: negative, medium, short/dropping
- SPIEGEL Tietz, Janko 2023. *Wenn ein Berliner Rathaus eine israelische Flagge nur noch unter Polizeischutz hissen kann*. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

Der Stern

- STERN Sellmair, Nikola. 2017. *Weniger Zeug. Mehr Leben*. Classifications: positive, medium detailed

Fokus Magazin

- FOCUS Fleischhauer, Jan 2020. *Wende zum Weniger*. Classifications: negative, medium
- FOCUS Fleischhauer, Jan. 2020b. *Generation Spießher*. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- FOCUS Fuest, Clemens. 2023. *Verzicht rettet nicht das Klima*. Classifications: negative, medium
- FOCUS Flick, Corinne 2021. *Wirtschaft und klimaneutral. Ein Widerspruch?* Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- FOCUS Merz, Friedrich and Linnemann, Carsten 2023. *Wir brauchen einen Mentalitätswechsel!* Classifications: negative, short/dropping

FOCUS Rödder, Andreas. 2021. *Ein Plan für die Erneuerung der CDU*. Classifications: positive, short/dropping

Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)

SZ Beise, Marc. 2019. *"Deutschland. Neues, altes Wirtschaftsmodell."* Classifications: negative, medium detailed

SZ Bierl, Peter. 2018. *"Attacke auf die Klimaforschung."* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

SZ Blum, Anja; Sina-Maria Schweikle. 2022. *Keine Frage des Alters*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

SZ Bovermann, Philipp. 2023. *#ilovemyjob*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

SZ Ekdardt, Felix. 2016. *Weltretter wider das Wachstum. Kapitalismuskritiker werben für radikale Ideen, um die Menschen glücklicher zu machen. Doch mancher schießt übers Ziel hinaus*. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed

SZ Hügenell, Ingrid. 2022. *„Solche Projekte halten uns auf.“* Classifications: positive, dropping/short

SZ Kirchner, Thomas. 2022. *Es wird eng*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

SZ Lobe, Adrian. 2018. *Bürgerkrieg auf den Straßen*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

SZ Piper, Nikolaus. 2016. *Entwachsen geht nicht*. Classifications: negative, detailed

SZ Rabe, Jens-Christian. 2021. *"Verflixte Fantasie. Warum wir, wenn überhaupt, die Welt erst retten werden, wenn wir ganz anders über unsere Limits denken."* Classifications: ambivalent, detailed

SZ Richter, Peter. 2023. *Bauen wir auf Afrika*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

SZ Roßbach, Henrike. 2023. *"Letzte Generation."* Basta. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

SZ von Drach, Markus C. Schulte. 2019. *Maßnahmen gegen die Klimakrise. "Wir werden der Frage nach Begrenzung von Freiheiten nicht entkommen."* Classifications: positive, dropping/short

SZ 2023. *Kohei Saito – Systemsturz*. Classifications: positive, medium.

SZ Hordych, Barbara and Winkler, Leonore. 2023. *Wissen sammeln*. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

SZ Nienhaus, Lisa. 2023. *„Wirtschaftspolitik ist keine Sozialpolitik“*. Classifications: Negative, short/dropping

SZ Rabe, Jens-Christian. 2023. *„Zum Rückfall in die Barbarei verdammt“*. Classifications: negative, detailed

German Media – progressive

Die Tageszeitung (taz)

TAZ Akrap, Doris. 2021. *Der Fitnesskult ist hochpolitisch. Laufen, stemmen, hüpfen: Der Historiker Jürgen Martschukat analysiert das Fitnesszeitalter - eine Epoche, in der man nur dann gesellschaftlich weiterkommt, wenn man auch seinen Körper auf Trab hält*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

TAZ Artus, Diana. 2023. *Von der Stararchitektin zur Bau-Aktivistin. Yasmeeen Lari baute in Pakistan früher Großes aus Beton und Glas. Dann rief sie eine Zero-Carbon-Selbstbau-Bewegung ins Leben*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

TAZ Arzt, Ingo. 2017. *Das schwarze Loch der Euphemismen. Versuch einiger Klarstellungen in einer verwirrten Welt*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

- TAZ Bartsch, Michael. 2018. Pödelwitz ist nicht Woodstock. Im diesjährigen Klimacamp geht es ausgesprochen gesittet zu. In einem vom Abriss für einen Tagebau gefährdeten Dorf protestieren Aktivisten am Wochenende gegen Kohlekraft und für nachhaltige Umweltpolitik. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Bénilde, Marie. 2021. Weiterkonsumieren! In Frankreich hat die Werbeindustrie ein progressives Klimaschutzgesetz verhindert. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Brake, Michael. 2023. Auf einen Knödel im C eske dra hy; Michael Brake Geschmackssache Brake Geschmackssache. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ Brinkmann, Björn. 2020. Privatsphäre stiftet Zusammenhalt. Umweltbewegung und IT-Community rücken zunehmend zusammen. Der Programmierer und Künstler Julian Oliver hilft Umweltprotestbewegungen wie Extinction Rebellion beim Aufbau ihrer digitalen Infrastruktur. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Charim, Isolde. 2019. Ein neues Verhältnis zur Welt entsteht. Isolde Charim Knapp überm Boulevard. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Fulterer, Ruth. 2018a. Liebling, sie wollen Schweden schrumpfen. Heute beginnt die 6. Internationale Degrowth-Konferenz. Es geht um wachstumskritische Diskurse und Forschung. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Fulterer, Ruth. 2018b. Wir müssen Freiheiten bewusst einschränken. Um eine Gesellschaft ohne Wachstum zu erreichen, muss das Wirtschaftssystem grundlegend umgebaut werden, meint Politologe und Degrowth-Anhänger Ulrich Brand. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Greffrath, Mathias. 2016. Die Weltmaschine. Schlagloch von Mathias Greffrath. Oder wie ein globaler Autopilot die Menschen vor dem Untergang retten soll. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ Gürgen, Malene. 2023. In fünf Schritten zum gerechten Wachstum. Während in Deutschland über grünes Schrumpfen diskutiert wird, leben viele Menschen auf der Welt noch immer in Armut. Braucht es Wachstum, um das zu ändern? Und wie kann das mit Klimaschutz zusammengehen? Classifications: ambivalent, detailed
- TAZ Habermann, Friederike; Anja Humburg. 2017. Abschied von den Privilegien. Zukunft. Wachstumskritik droht von rechts vereinnahmt zu werden. Dagegen hilft eine Entfremungsdebatte unter Degrowth-Akteuren. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Hentschel, Karl-Martin. 2023. Umbauen statt schrumpfen. Klimaschutz ist ohne Wachstum nicht möglich: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Degrowth-Thesen aus Ulrike Herrmanns aktuellem Buch. Classifications: negative, detailed
- TAZ Herrmann, Ulrike. 2022. Schrumpfen statt Wachsen. Klimaschutz ist nur möglich, wenn Kapitalismus und Wachstum enden. Millionen Menschen werden sich beruflich umorientieren müssen. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Höge, Helmut. 2018a. Der Raum des Wir. Kollektivprojekte von Freiburg bis zum Amazonas sind in der Schau An Atlas of Commoning im Bethanien zu sehen. Unser Autor liest dazu Charles Fourier und blickt auf die Geschichte gemeinschaftlicher Ideen. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Höge, Helmut. 2018b. Verherrlichung im Nebel. Die lustige Tierwelt und ihre ernste Erforschung (Folge 49): Müssen wir unser Bonobo-Bild womöglich korrigieren? Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

- TAZ Holdinghausen, Heike. 2018. Mit Effizienz allein kommen wir nicht weiter. Die Degrowth-Bewegung diskutiert derzeit in der Nähe von Leipzig auf ihrer Sommerschule darüber, wie eine Postwachstumsgesellschaft aussehen kann und ob neue Technologien neue Chancen eröffnen. Am wenigsten klar sei man sich aber über den Weg zum Endziel, sagt Politikwissenschaftler Norbert Nicoll. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Hunglinger, Stefan. 2020. Nina Treu will eine Zukunft für alle und den Kapitalismus überwinden. Das Portrait. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Jakob, Christian. 2022. Das Neue kann nicht werden. Der G7 -Gipfel müsste gar nicht im abgeschiedenen Elmau stattfinden. Niemand will ihn mehr stürmen, obwohl es nach wie vor gute Gründe gäbe doch die Kette der Protestbewegung scheint gerissen. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Janke, Rudolf. 2019. Brief des Tages. De-Growth-Bewegung bietet Lösung. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Jensen, Annette. 2022. Die Zerstörungskraft männlicher Denker. Pierre Charbonnier versucht durch die Ideologiegeschichte der vergangenen vier Jahrhunderte zu ergründen, wie es zu Klimakatastrophe und Artensterben kommen konnte. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Junge, Barbara. 2022. Der Kapitalismus hat die Welt in die Klimakrise getrieben. Er muss sie jetzt auch retten. Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- TAZ Kreienborg, Marielle. 2020. Rückwärts staunen. Die Architekturbiennale in Venedig wurde ins kommende Jahr verlegt. Was heißt das für den Beitrag des deutschen Pavillons Projekt 2038? Ein Blick aus der Zukunft. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Krüger, Anja; Tobias Schulze, Peter Unfried. 2023. Lassen wir das Rumnölen! Kritik von der Klimabewegung hält Robert Habeck aus. Ein Gespräch über Zuversicht, die FDP und das Verhältnis von Protest und Gewalt. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- TAZ Lee, Felix; Leonie Sontheimer, Ingo Arzt. 2016. Wächst sich aus G20. Am Sonntag treffen sich die größten Wirtschaftsnationen in China, um die Weltkonjunktur anzukurbeln. Aber muss das wirklich sein? Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Lehmann, Anna Stefan Reinecke. 2022. Ich lasse mich nicht aufteilen. Kevin Kühnert, SPD-Generalsekretär, erklärt sein Selbstverständnis, die Irrwege in der Energiepolitik und warum er nichts von grünem Lifestyle hält. Classifications: negative, medium detailed
- TAZ März, Johanna. 2019. Zahnbürsten aus Bambus reichen nicht. Kommentar von Johanna März zur Klimarettung. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Maurin, Jost. 2019. Degrowth bei Milch: Veganer freuen sich. Die Deutschen haben . 2018. den Milchkonsum im Schnitt um 3 Prozent reduziert, zeigt eine neue Statistik. Dieser Trend werde das Leiden von Kühen reduzieren, loben Tierrechtler. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Maurin, Jost. 2020. Die Coronakrise ist eine Krise der Digitalisierung. In der Zwangspause vom Leistungsstress erkennen viele die Vorteile einer entschleunigten Gesellschaft, sagt Wachstumskritiker Niko Paech. Das werde die Bewegung für eine Postwachstums-Ökonomie stärken. Classifications: positive, detailed

- TAZ Mosig, Luise. 2023. Jung, brutal, mittellos. Die linke Jugendzeitung Straßen aus Zucker kämpft ums Überleben. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Naber, Geert. 2022. Alle reden jetzt über die Klimakatastrophe! Echt? Klimakonferenz im Polizeistaat Ägypten, Energiedeals en masse mit fossilen Ressourcen, Feilschen um CO2 Inselstaaten gehen unter, alles geht seinen kapitalistischen Gang. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ Phillips, Leigh. 2021. Postwachstum als Illusion. Classifications: negative, detailed
- TAZ Pötter, Bernhard. 2019. Und jetzt zu den Börsennachrichten. Wir retten die Welt. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Pötter, Bernhard. 2021. Grünes Wachstum ist unmöglich. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed
- TAZ Prößer, Claudius. 2017. Weniger Fluggäste? Und wenn schon! Essay. In der Flughafen-Debatte wird immer wieder gesagt, der BER sei für die steigenden Passagierzahlen viel zu klein. Dabei wäre es nur vernünftig, den Flugverkehr zu begrenzen. Doch nicht einmal Grüne und Linke trauen sich, den Fetisch Wachstum anzukratzen. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Rees Martin. 2019. Brief des Tages. Desolate Klimakonferenz. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Rees, Martin. 2020. Zwischen sozialer Distanz und Quarantäne. Junge Menschen sind als Superspreader verdächtig, andere leiden unter Vereinsamung. In der Gesellschaft ist jetzt Solidarität gefragt. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Sanders, Christoph; Matthias Schmelzer, Andrea Vetter. 2020. Wider den Wachstumsfetisch. Corona lehrt uns, dass es politisch möglich ist, die Wirtschaft runterzufahren, dass das Klima Degrowth braucht und wie bedeutend Sorgearbeit ist. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Scheub, Ute. 2015. Der Mensch ist die stärkste Droge. Selbststeuerung. Die Wiederentdeckung des freien Willens heißt das neue Buch des Hirnforschers Joachim Bauer. Der Freiburger Professor und Bestsellerautor beschreibt darin auch, wie die Medizin die Selbstheilungskräfte von Kranken mobilisieren kann. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Scheub, Ute. 2015. Mehr als nur Wörter. Lexikon Degrowth, Commons, Collaborative Economy - selbst für Fans dieser Bewegungen wirken diese Begriffe hölzern. Finden wir dafür neue? Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Schmelzer, Matthias. 2016. Höher, schneller, weiter. Essay. Wie konnte Wachstum zur mächtigsten Rechtfertigungsideologie des Kapitalismus werden? Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Schulte, Ulrich. 2021. Der Elefant im Raum. Schwarz-Grün wird kein mutiger Aufbruch, sondern eine zaghafte Modernisierung des Status quo. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Schulte, Ulrich. 2021. Wenn die Grünen regieren. Annalena Baerbock und Robert Habeck wollen nach der Bundestagswahl unbedingt an die Macht. Sechs Thesen, wie sie dahin kommen, was eine grüne Regierung ändern würde und was nicht. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Schwarz, Susanne. 2023. Unverdiente Krisengewinnler. Kommentar von Susanne Schwarz zur deutschen Klimabilanz. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

- TAZ Shaller Caspar. 2023. Das erste Opfer der Revolution. Die Internet-Linke zerlegt sich diese Woche in groben Diskussionen über eine aus der Zeit gefallen wirkende Frage: Wird es im Sozialismus Bananen geben? Ein Aufruf zur Mäßigung. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Sieger Petra. 2023. Fortschrittsfalle erwischt Sündenböcke: die Boomer. Die Kinder des kapitalistischen Fortschritts haben eine Stinkwut auf ihre alten egoistischen Vorfahren. Keiner will schuld sein an der Klimakatastrophe. Nur ein Generationskonflikt? Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Söding, Tatjana. 2022. Eines der effektivsten und passendsten Mittel. Als Teil der Scientist Rebellion klebte sich Matthias Schmelzer mit anderen Forscher:innen am Finanzministerium fest. Im Gespräch erklärt er die Motive der Klimagruppe. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016b. Der Planet hat Grenzen. Postwachstum. In Budapest treffen sich ab heute die Stars der Degrowth-Bewegung. Veranstalter Vincent Liegey über die Neuigkeiten seit der letzten Konferenz in Leipzig. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016e. Lautstarker Protest gegen den Tagebau Energie 800 Menschen demonstrieren gegen den Braunkohleabbau in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016c. Wachstum immer schwieriger. Leben. 32-Stunden-Woche, Mindest- und Maximallohn: Die Forderungen der Degrowth-Konferenz sind gar nicht so utopisch, meint Ökonomieprofessor Giorgos Kallis. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016a. Wir sind in der Pflicht. Bewegung. Beim Klimacamp im Rheinland geht es auch darum, die Gesellschaft von morgen zu leben. Für Veranstalterin Ruth Krohn kann der Ansatz nur Degrowth sein. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016d. Zu viel Dystopie, zu wenige Lösungen. Wachstum. Nicht alle Teilnehmer der fünften Degrowth-Konferenz in Budapest sind zufrieden. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Steinbauer, Agnes. 2015. Raus aus Metropolis. Konkrete Utopie: Den "ökologischen Fußabdruck" um 75 Prozent reduzieren: Serge Latouches Degrowth-Bibel. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Teuscher, Aron Lenny. 2023. Das Problem ist nicht so kompliziert, wie viele denken Der Klimaforscher Anders Levermann ist überzeugt davon, dass wir das Klimaproblem in den Griff bekommen. Warum wir Hoffnung haben dürfen, erklärt er hier und auf dem TAZ lab. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- TAZ Teuscher, Aron Lenny. 2023. Kurz und gut, das ist doch alles fuck. Im Gespräch mit dem Soziologen Harald Welzer über das Versagen der Politik in der Klimakrise und die Notwendigkeit, endlich Ernst zu machen. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- TAZ Treu, Nina. 2015. Eine Wirtschaftswende für Griechenland und ganz Europa. Degrowth. Die griechische Krise fördert das Entstehen selbst verwalteter Räume und Inseln ohne Geldwirtschaft, aber das reicht nicht. Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ Unfried, Peter. 2019. Sich der Radikalität der Realität stellen. Ernsthafte Klimapolitik ist die beste Verteidigung der liberalen Demokratie - das ist der Leitsatz der kommenden 20er Jahre. Aber wie bekommen wir eine Mehrheit dafür hin? Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ Unfried, Peter. 2020. Hauptsache, wir kommen jetzt in die Pötte. Die Politökonomin Maja Göpel wurde mit ihrem Bestseller "Unsere Welt neu denken" zu einem Shootingstar des Jahres. Ein Gespräch über

- mögliche Zukunftspfade, das Befreiende von Verboten und eine Kindheit unter Hippies. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- TAZ Unfried, Peter. 2021. Zauberwort Machen. Die drei Fragen für . 2022. lauten: Wie kommen wir durchs 21. Jahrhundert, wie kommen wir durch das Jahr und wie kriegen wir das zusammen? Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- TAZ Völker, Markus, 2023. Unverwüstliche Triebkräfte. Ein Papier der Fifa verdeutlicht: Der Fußball zeigt nach Corona jene Instinkte, die ihn groß machen. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Werner, Ella Carina. 2015. Degrowth in Duisburg Postwachstum Eine Modellstadt macht vor, wie es geht. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed
- TAZ Willms, Beate. 2017. Verzicht ist keine Systemalternative. Degrowth. Die erstarkende Rechte drängt Teile der Linken in ein renationalisiertes Wachstumsmodell, sagt die Soziologin Silke van Dyk. Das aber löst weder die soziale Frage noch eine der anderen großen Krisen. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed
- TAZ Willms, Beate. 2019. Es braucht eine positive, Vision. Klimakrise, Sorgekrise, Schuldenkrisen, Wohnungskrise: Die Analyse, was falsch läuft, kann entmutigend sein. Das Netzwerk Neue Ökonomie veranstaltet zur Ermutigung mit Vordenkenden einer nachhaltigen Wirtschaft 2020. einen Utopiekongress. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- TAZ Zügel, Wolfgang. 2018. Nullwachstum? Nein, danke Degrowth-Fans streuen mit ihrer These von der schrumpfenden Wirtschaft den Leuten Sand in die Augen. Classifications: negative, detailed
- TAZ, 2018a. Meinungsstark. Brüste raus bei heißem Wetter? Classifications: positive, medium detailed
- TAZ 2018b. TAZ.de; Degrowth würde als Voraussetzung. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2015. Oya-Talk. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2019. 9,5 Prozent Zahl des Tages. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2019. Die Woche in Berlin. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2020a. Böse Jungs, keine Zeit. Wild Billy Childish singt neuen Bond-Song. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2020b. Drei Klimapreisträger*innen auserkoren. Panter Preisverleihung. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ. 2022. 14 Grad. Zahl des Tages. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- TAZ Braß, Wolfgang. 2023. meinungsstark; Kapital und Wachstumszwang. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Orde, Sabine. 2023. Wenn ich ein Bundesverdienstkreuz kriege, läuft es schlecht. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping
- TAZ Gupta, Julien. 2023. Degrowth für Dummies; Die Degrowth-Bewegung befasst sich damit, wie eine Welt ohne globales Wirtschaftswachstum aussehen kann. Kann das funktionieren? Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Achternbosch, Yannik. 2023. Es ist kriminell; Wie können die Industrieländer ihre Klimaschulden gegenüber dem Globalen Süden abbezahlen? Classifications: positive, short/dropping
- TAZ Moericke, Christoph. 2023. Demokratie bewahren, Revolution planen. Classifications: positive, detailed
- TAZ Nedler, Manfred. 2023. Degrowth für Dummies. Classifications: unspecific, detailed

TAZ Pötter, Bernhard. 2023. Ein goldenes Windrad als Stinkefinger; Bernhard Pötter Wir retten die Welt.

Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

TAZ Stompe, Dieter. 2023. meinungsstark. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

TAZ Trammer, Michael. 2023. Viele Aktionen vor Ort statt einem Großereignis; Die Klimabewegung steckt in einer Krise. Classifications: unspecific, short/dropping

Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)

FR [frensh newspaper]. 2022. Pressestimmen. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FR Bangemann, Andreas. 2023. *Woodstock des Degrowth*. Classifications: positive, detailed

FR Fulterer, Ruth. 2018b. *Businessplan: Schrumpfen!* Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Fulterer, Ruth. 2018a. *Neue Spielregeln* Classifications: positive, detailed

FR Gerhardt, Peter; Jonas Daldrup. 2016. *Tofu trifft Bratwurst*. Classifications: positive, detailed

FR Glaubitz, Sabine. 2023. *Der pragmatische Öko-Fürst*. Classifications: negative, dropping/short

FR Hubert, Denis. 2016. Der Preis des Wachstums. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FR Jannack, Wilfried. 2015. *Ausgeleierte Platte vom grünen New Deal*. Classifications: positive, medium detailed

FR Jannack, Wilfried. 2019. *Alles bleibt beim Alten*. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

FR Kaltenbrunner, Robert. 2022. *Architektur für die nächste Generation*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Kaltenbrunner, Robert. 2022. *Eine Reparaturgesellschaft müssen wir werden*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Kaspar, Thomas. 2023. *Nur gemeinsam*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Kaufmann, Stephan. 2020. *Unendliche Bedürfnisse*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FR Lindhoff, Alicia. 2021. *Relevante Lücken*. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FR Meier, Friederike. 2022a. *Existenzielle Fragen*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Meier, Friederike. 2022b. *Was ist Wohlstand?* Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Paech, Nico. 2015. *Unglaubliche Symbolik*. Classifications: positive, detailed

FR Sarkar, Saral. 2019. *Eine weltweite Bewegung*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Sontheimer, Leonie. 2016. *"Bist du etwa Kommunistin?"* Classifications: positive, detailed

FR Treu, Nina. 2016. *Gegen das Profitstreben*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR Voigt, Oskar. 2019. *Keine Antenne für Nachhaltigkeit und Nullwachstum*. Classifications: positive, dropping/short

FR von Hauff, Michael. 2019. *Wie Klimaschutz sozial und ökonomisch wird*. Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short

FR Wille, Joachim. 2015. *"Der Klimawandel wird weitere Flüchtlingsströme verursachen."* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FR Wille, Joachim. 2017. *"Das Kapital wurde arrogant."* Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short

FR Wille, Joachim. 2018. *Viel Zeit bleibt nicht*. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed

- FR Wille, Joachim. 2023. „Wachstum ist positiv, wenn man nur mit einem Auge schaut.“ Classifications: ambivalent, dropping/short
- FR. 2020. *Nachhaltiger Kapitalismus?* Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- FR Arnhold, Maximilian. 2023. *Wenn VW für „Verkehrswende“ steht.* Classifications: positive, medium
- FR Meier, Friederike. 2023. „Wir müssen alles anders machen“. Classifications: ambivalent, short/dropping
- FR Mayer, Gregor. 2023. *Wie viel ist zu viel?* Classifications: positive, short/dropping

Die Zeit

- ZEIT Bittner, Jochen. 2022. Werden wir zu viele für den Planeten? Am 15. November leben laut UN -Statistik acht Milliarden Menschen auf dem Globus. Sie brauchen Platz, Rohstoffe und Energie. Bringt das den Planeten an seine Grenzen? Hier bekommen zwei Parteien eine Stimme, die sonst nie gehört werden: Ein Streitgespräch zwischen Erde und Wachstum. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- ZEIT Daum, Matthias. 2023. Achtung, Klimafresser! Die Abstimmung über das neue Klimagesetz hat sich längst von der Realität gelöst. Die Gegner führen einen Kulturkampf. Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- ZEIT Heuser, Uwe Jean. 2022. Warum jetzt, Herr Meadows? 50 Jahre lang hat der Autor von »Die Grenzen des Wachstums« versucht, den Planeten zu retten. Jetzt redet er zum letzten Mal darüber. Ein Interview. Classifications: ambivalent, medium detailed
- ZEIT Nienhaus, Lisa. 2019. Das erstarrte Land Deutschlands Wirtschaft stockt. Das wird gern auf Donald Trump geschoben. Doch die Wahrheit liegt unter der Oberfläche. Classifications: negative, dropping/short
- ZEIT Nienhaus, Lisa. 2021. Das neue Wachstum Die Firmen sind aus dem Lockdown erwacht, die Leute geben lustvoll Geld aus. Kommt jetzt das Wirtschaftswunder? Classifications: negative, detailed
- ZEIT 2018. „Schluss mit Wachstum Wachstum Wachstum“; Für mehr Lebensqualität und eine gesunde Umwelt. Classifications: positive, detailed.
- ZEIT Beschorner, Thomas 2023. Wer ist hier wirklich der Moralapostel? Classifications: unspecific, dropping/short
- ZEIT Diez, Georg 2022. Politik für gestern; Die Ampel-Regierung war als "Fortschrittskoalition" angetreten. Von diesem Versprechen ist nicht mehr viel übrig. Dabei wäre echter Fortschritt nötiger denn je. Classifications: positive, dropping/short.
- ZEIT Erdmann, Elena and Schneider, Johannes 2022. "Die Klimakrise ist zu groß, um auf den eigenen Ruf zu achten"; Er forscht seit Jahren im Weltklimarat, sie zieht mit Scientist Rebellion auf die Straße. Beide sagen: Das 1,5-Grad-Ziel ist tot. Deshalb brauche es zivilen Ungehorsam. Classifications: positive, dropping/short
- ZEIT Hägler, Max and Neuhaus, Carla 2023. »Ich war der Plan B«; Christiane Benner leitet bald die größte Gewerkschaft der Welt, als erste Frau seit 132 Jahren. Sie tritt noch fordernder auf als ihre Vorgänger. Classifications: negative, short/dropping
- ZEIT Kretzschmar, Anne and Schmelzer, Mathias 2021. Jeder, der fliegt, ist einer zu viel; Flugverzicht rettet das Klima nicht? Von wegen, sagen zwei Aktivisten. Millionen Menschen werden Vielflieger, sobald sie es können. Es sei Zeit, etwas anderes vorzuleben. Classifications: positive, medium

ZEIT Mangold, Ljoma and Weisbrod, Lars 2022. Warum Prometheus stolz auf Windräder wäre; Russland führt Krieg, das Gas ist knapp und plötzlich fehlt etwas, was wir oft als schmutzig und niedrig empfinden: die Energie. Warum hat sie so einen schlechten Ruf? Classifications: ambivalent, short/dropping.

ZEIT Müller, Tobi 2019. "Wir sollten nicht all unsere Hoffnungen in den Computer setzen"; Der britische Künstler und Autor James Bridle ist mit seinem Buch "New Dark Age" zum Popstar der Digitalisierungskritik geworden. Wie stellt er sich gute Technologie vor? Classifications: positive, short/dropping

ZEIT Otto, Ferdinand 2023. Abschied von der linken Lebenslüge; Gut, dass SPD und Grüne langsam einsehen: Die europäische Aufnahmebereitschaft hat eine natürliche Grenze. Wer Offenheit und Humanität will, braucht erst mal Zäune. Classifications: negative, short/dropping

ZEIT Neumann, Peter 2023. "Durch ein Maximaleinkommen können wir unnötigen Konsum verringern"; Zur Bekämpfung des Klimawandels plädiert der Philosoph Kohei Saito für einen Degrowth-Kommunismus. In Japan hat er damit bereits einen Bestseller gelandet. Classifications: positive, detailed

ZEIT Schieritz, Mark 2023. Wir sollten nicht mehr über Wachstum reden; Kann die Wirtschaft angesichts der Klimakatastrophe noch wachsen? Das ist die falsche Frage der Kapitalismus ist immerhin anpassungsfähig. Classifications: ambivalent, detailed

ZEIT Tagliapietra, Simone and Wolff, Guntram 2021. Degrowth ist auch keine Option; Um die Klimakrise zu bewältigen, sind enorme Investitionen nötig, gerade von der Privatwirtschaft. Die nächste Bundesregierung darf die Aufgabe nicht unterschätzen. Classifications: negative, detailed

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Appendix B

Table 1: Data Network Analysis

Name	Sentiment in media, year of the articles, sections	Professional position within 2015-2023	Education	Awards	Memberships (political thinktanks & foundations or journalistic institutions)	Sources
Ulf Poschardt	14 x negative (WELT) 2020 (4) 2021 (1) 2022 (4) 2023 (5) Sections: cover page (7), opinion (3), politics (2), other (1), feature (1)	2010-2016 Deputy Editor-in-Chief WELT since 2016 Editor-in-Chief WELTN24	1987 -1993 journalism at the LMU Munich and the German School of Journalism	2019 Ludwig-Erhard-award for Economic Journalism		(Welt 2023; Erhard-Foundation 2019)
Patrick Bernau	4 x negative 2 x ambivalent 1 x unspecific (FAZ) 2021 (1) 2022 (5) 2023 (1) Sections: Other (6)	Since 2012: head of economic and financial reporting online. 2018: as head of the economy and 'value' department (Sonntagszeitung)	Cologne School of Journalism for Politics and Economics and studied economics with politics at the University of Cologne. Dissertation on human behaviour in economic issues.	2014 Ludwig-Erhard-award for Economic Journalism	Member of the Board of the Cologne School of Journalism	(Erhard-Foundation 2014b; FAZ 2023b; Erhard-Foundation 2014a)
Philipp Krohn	3 x negative 1 x unspecific 1 x positive (because of interview partner) 2 x ambivalent (FAZ) 2019 (1) 2021 (1) 2022 (2) 2023 (1) Sections: Economy (3), Other (3) feature (1)	mid-2008, business desk of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, responsible for the 'People and Business' reportage page	Diploma in Economics and Master's degree in German Studies (University of Heidelberg). Final thesis in economics and one in linguistics on the limits of growth.	Georg von Holtzbrinck Prize for Economic Journalism 2006; Ludwig Erhard Prize 2007		(Erhard-Foundation; FAZ 2023c; Google Books 2015; Journalistenpreise 2023)

Leonie Sontheimer	6 x positive (TAZ) 1 x positive (FR) 2015 (1) 2016 (6) Sections: Environment (5), Economy (1), other (1)	Freelance journalist; 2021: Co-founder of the Climate Journalism Network	in Berlin Philosophy and Biology; German School of Journalism		Comittment Greenpeace	(ZEIT ONLINE 2018)
Gerald Braunberger	5 x negative (FAZ) 2020 (1) 2021 (4) Sections: Economy (4), other (2)	From 2007 to 2019 Head of Finance at the F.A.Z. Publisher since 2019.	Banking apprenticeship and degree in economics (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)			(FAZ 2023e, 2019)
Matthias Schmelzer	3 x positive (TAZ) (1 = Interview) 1 x positive (FAZ) 1 x positive (ZEIT) 2016 (2) 2020 (1) 2021 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: other (2), opinion (2), Environment (1)	Since 2023 Substitute Professor for Social-Ecological Transformation at the European University of Flensburg 2023 Visiting Professor at the Centre for Applied Ecological Thinking at the University of Copenhagen 2023 Teaching at the University of Vienna Since 2022 Lecturer at the University Autònoma Barcelona Since 2019 Research assistant at the Institute of Sociology at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena 2018-2020 Lecturer at the University of Zurich				(Univ. Jena 2023)

		2015-2019 Permanent Fellow of the DFG Research Group 'Post-growth Societies' at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena Since 2015 Collaboration with the Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie in Leipzig 2015-2016 Research assistant at the Research Centre for Social and Economic History at the University of Zurich				
Rainer Hank	4 x negative (FAZ) 2016 (1) 2020 (3) Sections: other (4)	2001 the business and 'Geld & Mehr' department of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, (head until summer 2018) since then: freelance author	literature, philosophy and Catholic theology (Tübingen and Fribourg (Switzerland)), Doctorate in 1983 on the literature of Viennese modernism	Karl-Hermann-Flach-Preis 2013 Ludwig Erhard Award for Economic Journalism 2009	Member of the jury for the Reporter Prize; Member of the jury for the Ludwig Erhard Prize for Business Journalism of the Ludwig Erhard Foundation (2014)	(FAZ 2023d; Flach-Foundation 2013; Hayek-Gesellschaft 2023; Wikipedia 2023e; Wilhelm Röpke Institut 2023; Journalistenpreise 2024)
Joachim Wille	2 x ambivalent 2 x unspecific (FR) 2016 (1) 2018 (1) 2019 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: politics (2), Economy (1), feature (1)	Since mid-2011: co-editor-in-chief of Klimareporter and editor-in-chief of the publication movum -		Environmental Prize for Journalists 1991 Environmental Journalism Award 2002 Hans Kronberger Environmental Journalism Prize 2002 Bruo H. Schubert Prize 2005 Hessian Journalism Prize 2009 Federal Cross of Merit on Ribbon 'Pioneer of		(BUND 2023; Bundespräsident 2015; FR 2023a; Umweltsstiftung 2002; Wikipedia 2023c)

				Environmental Journalism' 2015 Eduard Bernhard Prize of the BUND Hessen 2023		
Peter Unfried	1 x negative 3 x ambivalent (TAZ) 2019 (1) 2020 (1) 2021 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: Other (2), politics (2), cover page (1)	Chief reporter at taz since 2009, editor-in-chief of taz FUTURZWEI since 2015	Communication Sciences, Literature and American Studies in Stuttgart and Tübingen.	Münsterland Journalism Prize 2010 Theodor Wolff Prize 2014		(taz 2010, 2023a, 2023b; Wikipedia 2022)
Ambrose Evans-Pritchard	5 x negative (Daily Telegraph) 2021 (2) 2022 (1) 2023 (1) Sections: Economy (4) News (1)	World Economy Editor	Malvern College and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read History			(Telegraph 2023; Wikipedia 2023a)
Ruth Fulterer	4 x positive (FR) 2018 (2) (TAZ) 2018 (2) Sections: Economy (2) Environment (2)	Editor of NZZ since 2020 (writes for other newspapers as an external contributor)	Studied economics and philosophy in Vienna. Master's programme: Environmental Economics			(NZZ 2024)
Thomas Straubhaar	3 x negative (WELT) 2021 (1) 2022 (2)	Professor of Economics, esp. International Economic Relations University of Hamburg	1981 Economics (Operations Research & Mathematics) (Univ. Bern)	2004 Ludwig-Erhard-award for Economic Journalism	2018 -2022 Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the NORDAKADEMIE Foundation 2018-2022 Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Edmund Siemers	(Univ. Hamburg 2023; Straubhaar 2022; Wikipedia 2023f)

	Sections: Economy (3)				Foundation 2011-Member of the Board of Trustees of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation 2009 -2015 Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Körber Foundation 2004-Ambassador of the New Social Market Economy Initiative	
Jochen Zenthöfer	3 x negative (FAZ) 2016 (1) 2019 (1) 2023 (1) Sections: Economy (3)	Freelance journalist on scientific plagiarism	Law in Bonn, Sydney and Berlin. Doctorate University of Potsdam (Training as a judge in Berlin)			(Transcript 2023)
Johannes Pennekamp	3 x negative (FAZ) 2017 (1) 2018 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: Economy (2), other (1)	Since 2012: editor in the business editorial department, responsible for economic and energy reporting. Since 2018: editor responsible for economic reporting.	Journalism School for Politics and Economics and economics in the social sciences at the University of Cologne.	Econsense Journalism Prize (2011 and 2012); Friedwart Bruckhaus Prize (2020/21)		(Presstext 2011, 2012; Schleyer-Foundation 2021; FAZ 2023a)
Marcus Theurer	3 x negative 1 x ambivalent (FAZ) 2020 (1) 2021 (2) 2022 (1) Sections: Other (3) Economy (1)	2009-2019 business correspondent in London. 2019: editor in the business section of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagzeitung.	Cologne School of Journalism. Studied economics at the University of Cologne.			(FAZ 2023f)
Ralph Fücks	4 x negative (FAZ) 2020 (1) 2022 (1)	Until 2017: Board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation From: 2017: Centre for Liberal Modernity (co-	studied social sciences, economics and history in Heidelberg and Bremen		Member of the Ludwig Erhard Foundation	(Heinrich-Böll-Foundation 2008, 2023; Erhard- Foundation 2023b)

	2023 (1) (WELT) 2023 (1) Sections: Other (2), economy (1), politics (1)	founder and managing partner)				
Nina Treu	1 x positive 2 x positive (1 x Interview) (TAZ; FR) 2015 (2) 2016 (1) Sections: Other (2), economy (1),	Since 2011 Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie From and until 2023 Greenpeace Managing Director - Economy and Society Division	Political science, economics and law in Heidelberg and Paris			(FR 2023b; Greenpeace 2023; Treu 2023)
Larry Elliott	1 x unspecific 2020 (1) 1 x positive 2021 (1) 1 x negative 2022 (1) (Guardian) Sections: Other (2), economy (1)	Guardian's economics editor	Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge			(Guardian 2023; Wikipedia 2023d)
Jason Hickel	3 x positive (Guardian) 2015 (1) 2017 (2) Sections: Other (3)	Professor at the Institute for Environmental Science and Technology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona	bachelor's degree in anthropology from Wheaton College, USA (2004) PhD in anthropology from the University of Virginia in August 2011		Advisory Board: Green New Deal for Europe, Rodney Commission on Reparations and Redistributive Justice & Lancet Commission on Sustainable Health.	(ASA 2023; Hickel 2023; Univ. Virginia; UVA Today 2010; Wikipedia 2023b)
Barbara Williams	3 x positive (Guardian) 2020 (1) 2021 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: Environment (1), readers forum (2)					

Ed Conway	2 x negative 1 x ambivalent (The Times) 2019 (1) 2021 (1) 2022 (1) Sections: News (2), feature (1)	economics editor of Sky News and a regular columnist for The Times.	English (Pembroke College, Oxford), Public Administration (Harvard University)	Wincott Foundation Journalist of the Year Award 2018 - the most prestigious award in British financial journalism.		(Times; Times 2023)
Michael Sauga	3x negative (SPIEGEL) 2020 (1) 2021 (1) 2023 (1) Sections: Economy (3)	From 2008 in various management positions in the economics and politics department in the SPIEGEL, head of the capital city office from 2016 to 2019. Since then, author for economics and politics, in Brussels since March 2021.	Cologne School of Journalism. Studied economics at the University of Cologne.	Ludwig-Erhard-award for Economic Journalism 1992		(SPIEGEL 2024; Erhard-Foundation 2023a)
Friederike Meier	2 x positive 1 x ambivalent (FR) 2022 (2) 2023 (1) Sections: Politics (2), opinion (1)	Political and climate editor of the FR.				(FR 2024)
Lisa Nienhaus	3 x negative (ZEIT) 2019 (1) 2021 (1) (SZ) 2023 (1) Sections: Economy (3)	2006 to 2016 Economy editor of the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung'. 2016 to 2022 at DIE ZEIT as deputy head of the Economy section and head of DIE ZEIT's Frankfurt office. Since October 2022 head of the Economydesk at Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ).	Studied economics and politics in Cologne and Stockholm, while attending the Cologne School of Journalism	Herbert Quandt Media Prize, Ludwig Erhard Award 2005 and two German Journalism Awards		(ZEIT ONLINE 2016; SZ 2024)
Bernhard Pötter	1 x positive (TAZ) 2019 (1) 1x ambivalent:	Editor for Economy and Environment (TAZ)	Studied American Studies, Politics and Law at the Free University of Berlin and in	2003: 1st prize for environmental journalism from the Gregor Louisoder Environmental Foundation		(A6:G26taz 2024; DUH 2024)

	(TAZ) 2021 (1) 1 x unspecific (TAZ) 2023 (1) Sections: Environment (2), cover page (1)		Bloomington (Indiana/USA).	2015: Environmental Media Award from Deutsche Umwelthilfe e. V. Journalism prize 'Germany has an infinite amount of energy'		
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