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A Geographical Analysis of News Media Coverage on Biogas in Austria

A Topic Modeling Approach, 2014 to 2024

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Abstract

This thesis examines the media coverage of biogas in Austria over eleven years, spanning from 2014 to 2024. A total of 2,670 articles from nine national and regional newspaper outlets were analyzed. Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a topic modeling approach, was used to conduct a longitudinal media analysis over the eleven-year timeframe. The analysis identifies nine main topics, including Policy, Politics & Legislation, Energy Security & Legislation, Energy Transition & Decarbonization, Technical Performance & Plant Operation, and five additional topics. The analysis examines regional differences in thematic focus as well as differences among national media outlets.

While several topics are present across the whole analyzed timeframe, others like Policy, Politics & Legislation, and Energy Security & Legislation emerge as a result of political and geopolitical developments. A qualitative analysis of the top five newspaper articles per year and newspaper outlet shows how biogas is framed and contextualized in Austrian media discourse. The focus shifts from primarily project-specific reporting and communication that frames biogas as a technically innovative, decentralized, climate-friendly energy solution, while also reflecting local controversies and resistance, to a phase characterized by declining subsidies and regulatory and political uncertainty. In a subsequent phase, biogas is often framed as a scarce, strategically relevant resource, the “champagne of the energy industry,” and is regularly discussed in the context of energy security. The discourse, however, remains accompanied by critique, which has changed over time. While early media coverage was primarily characterized by a focus on the local and regional effects of biogas production, later media reporting increasingly criticized and discussed the role of biogas within the broader energy system. These media representations contribute to shaping the public understanding of biogas, and consequently its acceptance and use in the energy transition.

The results of the analysis show that balanced policymaking is necessary in order to integrate technical, economic, environmental, and social aspects of the biogas sector. The Renewable Gas Act, in particular, highlights the challenge of creating crisis-resistant, flexible legislation when there are conflicting interests. The qualitative results are classified and analyzed methodologically using the Agency Structure, Institution, Discourse (ASID) model.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Masterarbeit analysiert die Medienberichterstattung zu Biogas in Österreich über einen Zeitraum von elf Jahren, von 2014 bis 2024. Insgesamt wurden 2670 Artikel aus neun nationalen und regionalen Zeitungen analysiert. Mittels Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) wurde eine Langzeit-Themenanalyse durchgeführt, die neun Hauptthemen identifizierte.

Die qualitative Auswertung zeigt, dass sich die Berichterstattung im Zeitverlauf verändert und sich thematische Schwerpunkte verschieben. In den ersten Jahren ist die Berichterstattung stark projektbezogen, wohingegen später politische Themen und Energiesicherheit in den Vordergrund rücken. Während einige Themen über den gesamten analysierten Zeitraum hinweg präsent sind, treten andere, wie Politik, Politikgestaltung und Gesetzgebung sowie Energiesicherheit und Gesetzgebung, als Folge politischer und geopolitischer Entwicklungen in den Vordergrund. In einer nachfolgenden Phase wird Biogas oft als knapper, strategisch wichtiger Rohstoff, als „Champagner des Energiesektors“, dargestellt und regelmäßig im Kontext der Energiesicherheit diskutiert. Die Diskussion bleibt jedoch von Kritik begleitet, die sich im Laufe der Zeit weiterentwickelt. Während sich die frühe Medienberichterstattung vor allem auf die lokalen und regionalen Auswirkungen der Biogasproduktion konzentrierte, hoben spätere Berichte zunehmend die Rolle von Biogas innerhalb des gesamten Energiesystems hervor. Diese Darstellungen in den Medien prägen das Verständnis der Öffentlichkeit von Biogas und beeinflussen folglich dessen Akzeptanz und Nutzung in der Energiewende.

Die Ergebnisse der Analyse zeigen, dass eine ausgewogene Politikgestaltung notwendig ist, um technische, wirtschaftliche, ökologische und soziale Aspekte des Biogassektors zu integrieren. Insbesondere das Erneuerbare-Gase-Gesetz verdeutlicht die Herausforderung, krisenfeste und flexible Rechtsvorschriften zu schaffen, wenn unterschiedliche Interessen aufeinanderprallen. Die qualitativen Ergebnisse werden methodisch unter Verwendung des Agency Structure, Institution, Discourse (ASID)-Modells analysiert.

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List of Abbreviations

AGCS	AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich
APA	Austria Presse Agentur (Austrian Press Agency)
ASID	Agency, Structure, Institution, Discourse
BMK	Austrian Federal Ministry for Climate Action, Environment, Energy, Mobility, Innovation, and Technology
BMWET	Austrian Federal Ministry for Economy, Energy and Tourism
CH₄	Methane
CO₂	Carbon Dioxide
EAG	Erneuerbaren-Ausbau-Gesetz (Renewable Energy Expansion Act)
EEÖ	Austrian Renewable Energy Association
EGG	Erneuerbare-Gas-Gesetz (Renewable Gas Act)
EU	European Union
EWG	Erneuerbare-Wärme-Gesetz (Renewable Heat Act)
FDR	False Discovery Rate
GCA	Gas Connect Austria GmbH
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
GWG	Gaswirtschaftsgesetz (Austrian Gas Industry Act)
kW	kilowatt
LDA	Latent Dirichlet Allocation
MLP	Multi-Level Perspective
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OeMAG	Austrian Settlement Agency for Green Electricity (Ökostrom-Abwicklungsstelle)
ÖSG	Ökostromgesetz (Green Electricity Act)
PV	Photovoltaic
PJ	Petajoule
SO₂	Sulfur Dioxide
STS	Socio-Technical System
TWh	Terawatt-hour
TIWAG	Tiroler Wasserkraft AG
VOCs	Volatile Organic Compounds

1 Introduction

1.1. Background

The energy sector plays an important role in the reduction of emissions, reaching climate goals, and enabling a transition to a more sustainable society. Biogas has, in that matter, long been a topic of discussion when it comes to energy policy and sustainability debates in Austria. Biogas is produced through the anaerobic digestion of organic materials, ranging from waste streams such as agricultural waste, manure, municipal organic waste, and sewage sludge, to purpose grown energy-crops (Scarlat et al., 2018, pp. 2–7; Stürmer, 2017). While its history in Austria dates back to the early 1980s (Stürmer, 2017, p. 526), the share of biogas within Austria's energy mix remains small (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025). The policy agenda as well as public debate on biogas has been volatile over the past years, and actual biogas production as well as feed-in of purified biogas, biomethane, has declined over the past 10 years. Since 2022, biogas production has, however, seen a slight increase again (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025; Statistik Austria, 2025).

Studies such as those by Baumann et al. (2021) indicate that there is a theoretical energy potential for biogas, much higher than what is currently achieved in Austria. Depending on the infrastructure developments, the calculated annual potential of biogas production ranges from 20 TWh to 88 TWh. The upper limit is not considered realistically achievable; however, it shows the theoretically possible capacity and highlights the high disparity between actual energy production, approximately 8 PJ ($\approx 2,22$ TWh), and what is theoretically achievable (Baumann et al., 2021, pp. 49–56; BMWET, 2025, p. 20).

In recent years, biogas has been frequently addressed in policy debates, most recently in 2024, when the draft legislation called Erneuerbares-Gas-Gesetz (EGG, Renewable Gas Act), failed to achieve a parliamentary majority by a small margin (Ministerialentwurf: Erneuerbares-Gas-Gesetz, 2024). Next to these policy-relevant developments, the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine (Katchanovski, 2026) has also influenced energy debates in Austria (see Chapter 5).

This thesis aims to investigate how media reporting on biogas has changed in recent years and in which contexts biogas is publicly debated. The decision to analyze newspaper articles is

based on their media influence in shaping public discourse. Public discourse is creating cultural and symbolic meaning, thereby affecting the configuration of social groups over time (Geels, 2004, pp. 901–902) and influencing public attitudes (Cox, 2013, pp. 20–21; Ozgun & Broekel, 2021, p. 2).

For the analysis, a total of 3,178 articles from nine national and regional Austrian newspaper outlets between 2014 and 2024 were collected, of which 2,670 were further analyzed. To identify trends in topics from 2014 to 2024, a topic modeling approach, namely Latent Dirichlet Allocation, located in the sphere of machine learning, was employed (Blei et al., 2003). While the model was run on all newspaper outlets together, quantitative results are also looked at from a regional perspective to identify whether there are thematic differences in biogas reporting across Austrian regions. The ASID framework was chosen as a theoretical lens to interpret and structure the findings of this analysis (Moulaert et al., 2016). It is particularly suitable because it looks at the interconnectedness of agency, structure, institution, and discourse. This thesis aims to provide new insights into the framing of biogas in Austrian public discourse by combining topic modeling with a socio-technical analytical framework.

1.2. Research Objective & Question

This paper's objective is to identify and analyze thematic trends in Austrian media discourse about biogas. The aim is to portray how the identified topics have evolved over time and across regions and to identify patterns in reporting volume and topic emergence. To further contextualize these findings, a qualitative review of selected articles provides additional context to these developments. The analysis with the use of the ASID framework aims to provide a nuanced interpretation of the framing of biogas in Austrian media.

Based on these objectives, this thesis addresses the following research question:

What are the dominant topics in media coverage of biogas in Austria, how have they evolved from 2014 to 2024, and how do they differ across Austrian federal states?

1.3. Research Gap and Significance of the Study

When searching for the keywords “biogas” and “Austria” in Scopus, there is a result of 128 articles as of January 2026. While the yearly publication never exceeded 11 articles published

in 2021, it had publication peaks of 10 articles in 2007, 10 articles in 2015, and 8 articles in 2019 (Elsevier, 2026). In between these peaks, and since 2021, the number has been decreasing.

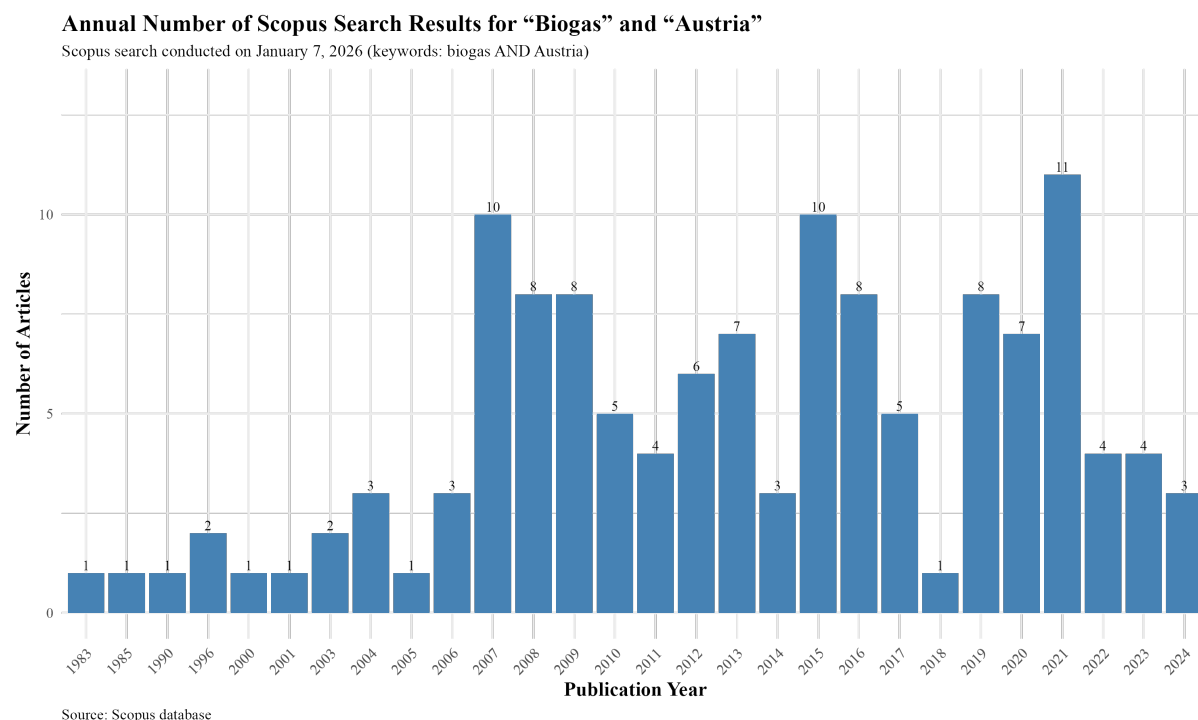


*Figure 1: Annual Number of Scopus Search Results for "Biogas" and "Austria" 1983-2025 (0 results for 2025).
Note. Own visualization based on data retrieved from Scopus (Elsevier, 2026).*

In the context of systemic longitudinal media analyses in Austrian biogas discourse, one recent relevant paper was identified. This study examines the shift from biogas to biomethane, analyzing expectations and narratives surrounding the topic through interviews and media article analysis. The paper highlights the different waves of framing between hype cycles and analyzes a selection of 672 articles published from 2000 to 2021, categorizing various expectations related to biogas and biomethane (Kriechbaum et al., 2023).

While the referenced study shares similarities with this thesis regarding the examination of longitudinal media coverage on biogas in Austria, the analytical approach as well as the research focus differ from this thesis. The employment of LDA in this thesis allowed for the analysis of a comparatively bigger number of articles while also covering three years, from 2022 to 2024, that are not covered in the referenced paper. In addition, the focus of this paper is broader in that it does not investigate expectations regarding the shift from biogas to biomethane but instead investigates the broader range of thematic contexts in which biogas, purified and not purified, is discussed in the Austrian media landscape.

1.4. Overview of Thesis Structure

This passage offers an overview of the structure of this thesis. Chapter 2 will introduce the relevant theoretical principles at the base of this thesis, introducing the underlying methodological framework, ASID, as well as relevant information on transition theory and its connection to media discourse. Chapter 3 specifies biogas from a technical and historical perspective and further outlines the political-institutional background of the biogas sector in Austria. Further, Chapter 4 will describe the methodical procedure, including the process of data collection, data processing, and the analytical framework LDA used. The qualitative and quantitative results of the analysis, including results of model performance evaluation, are then presented in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6. The conclusion in Chapter 7 provides a compact overview of key findings, highlights limitations, and outlines future research needs in the area.

2 Conceptual Perspectives

This chapter provides an overview of the conceptual foundation relevant to the specificities of this thesis. It delves into innovation studies and introduces the concept of socio-technical systems and socio-technical transformations as the basis for understanding sustainability transformations. In addition, an overview will be given on the relevance of media discourse in shaping transformations as well as spatial differences in media discourse and transitions.

2.1 Sustainability Transitions and the Multi-Level Perspective

Markard et al. (2012) define the term sustainability transition:

Long-term, multi-dimensional, and fundamental transformation process through which established socio-technical systems shift to more sustainable modes of production and consumption. (Markard et al., 2012, p. 956)

A socio-technical system (STS) is a network of interacting elements, including technical, social, and institutional elements that collaboratively provide essential societal functions, such as energy, water, or transportation. These elements consist of technologies, infrastructure, knowledge, human actors, and institutions, as well as shared cultural beliefs and meaning (Geels, 2004, pp. 897–900).

Within the socio-technical systems perspective in transition studies, a key conceptual approach is the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP), developed by Frank W. Geels (2002). Geels (2002) conceptualizes transitions across three levels: niches, regimes, and the landscape. The landscape lies at the highest level of the model and is described as the set of broad, long-term conditions, e.g., on a cultural, demographic, or political level. The regime level represents the norms and rules present in social contexts, and further, the niche level represents spaces for “radical innovations” to be generated and stabilized that are often protected. Niches are described as micro-level, socio-technical regimes, as meso-level, and the socio-technical landscape as macro-level. The model is described as a “nested hierarchy” that sees niches as being developed in and shaped by regimes and regimes as operating within broader landscape contexts. The three levels are linked and influence each other through interdependent relationships (Geels, 2002, pp. 1257–1261).

Socio-technical transitions are not characterized by sudden regime replacement where a new regime overtakes the old one. Instead, the process is gradual, and the existing socio-technical configuration is continuously adjusted, resulting in new system structures. While Geels describes that the diffusion and breakthroughs of niches into the regime are shaped by developments at both regime and landscape level (Geels, 2002, p. 1272), the perspective provides limited explicit focus on individual actors and regional or spatial factors, which is often criticized. The MLP is criticized for lacking conceptual clarity and consistency, especially when geographical work is analyzed and interpreted along the lines of the model. One point of criticism lays in the usage of terms typically associated with geographical contexts such as “landscape” (Hansen & Coenen, 2015, p. 93).

According to Coenen (2012) the MLP is often applied at the national level, which is viewed as a given context for analysis, without critical reflection on spatial factors. Differences across regions in regime configuration as well as landscape characteristics do not form part of the model. However, the capacities for innovation processes do vary between regions and the working of such innovation processes is diverse. Regional differences can range from place-specific institutional conditions such as coordination capacities and practices between public and private actors to informal knowledge exchange. While regional factors affect the transition processes of regions it would be overly simplistic to treat these regions as operating independently, since they are connected through globalization and influence one another. The MLP, however treats “the global” as something external and essentially uncontested which overlooks the named influence and connection between regions (Coenen et al., 2012, pp. 971–975).

Other than lacking geographical specificity the regime-transformation conceptualization, as it is used in LDA, is criticized for insufficiently capturing the agency perspective, including actor-level dynamics, coordination, and power (Smith et al., 2005, pp. 1491–1492). While the MLP includes actors in niches and on regime level, it does not specify how these actors actually cause change, use power and how their actions finally lead to systematic transformations. MLP is criticized for focusing on the system level without looking into the underlying actual behavior of humans and how the behavior emerges. In this matter, the question of how an agency can, under certain circumstances, give rise to wider systemic changes is relevant (Coenen et al., 2012, p. 972). Building on the limitations of the conceptualization of agency in MLP, the

following section will delve into media discourse as an important factor in influencing how different actors understand, interpret and act within transition processes.

2.2 Media Discourse and Transition Theory

Geels (2004) discusses the diversification of media in the 20th century from print outlets to digital platforms and argues that public understandings of technologies are shaped by a wide range of communicators and narrative framings (Geels, 2004, p. 901). This discussion, however, does not include a detailed explanation of how such discursive influences operate in practice and how they are systematically incorporated into the MLP framework.

Benner (2025) builds upon this by analyzing the concept of “imaginaries”, used in diverse disciplines including economic geography. Imaginaries can be defined as shared interpretative frames where actors construct narratives about the past, future and the spatial context. This perspective helps to identify what kind of meanings are embedded and communicated in public debates and communicated through newspaper discourse. While “imaginaries” can not only enable transformative change, they can also reinforce dominant expectations and result in path dependencies (Benner, 2025, pp. 265–267).

However, insights from niche-empowerment research show that narratives and discourse can actively be used to foster support and legitimacy, e.g., for emerging technologies. Desirable images of the future do legitimize protection for the niche and can initialize discussions on institutional reforms (Smith & Raven, 2012, pp. 1032–1033). Building on this, media is recognized as central in shaping public understandings and awareness of energy and sustainability-relevant matters (Cox, 2013; Smith & Raven, 2012).

Media narratives frame public beliefs about risks, benefits, and future possibilities of technologies, like biogas, and thereby influence what people and officials think about certain technologies and technology paths. In other words, the media has a strong impact and can shift public attitudes. These narratives have the power to guide research, alter regulatory framing, and affect the political and financial sphere (Cox, 2013; Lyytimäki et al., 2018; Ozgun & Broekel, 2021).

2.3 Spatial Perspectives on Sustainability Transitions and Media Discourses

Disparities in news reporting are often compared on a country level; however, Ozgun & Broekel (2021) investigate regional variations of innovation reporting on a subnational level. They find that the quantity and sentiment regarding innovation reporting in the news can vary depending on spatial factors, for example, between newspapers circulating in urban or rural areas. In the case of their study, urban newspapers reported more on innovation than rural papers. Also, socioeconomic factors such as regional unemployment rate can affect news reporting on innovations (Ozgun & Broekel, 2021, p. 1). So, news coverage can exhibit considerable spatial heterogeneity, resulting in different exposure to information and varying narratives across regions. Accordingly, the media is a critical social institution that both shapes and reflects differences across regions (Ozgun & Broekel, 2021, p. 2). Therefore, national trends and developments in biogas reporting, as well as potential regional variations, are examined in this thesis.

2.4 Theoretical Framework: ASID

In this thesis, biogas is conceptualized as a niche within the broad socio-technical system of energy. It forms part of a network consisting of various technologies, regulatory institutions, and actors, whose interactions shape and drive changes in socio-technical change. Due to the lack of focus on agency as well as discourse and how they are interconnected, the decision was made to use the agency, structure, institution, discourse (ASID) model rather than the MLP framework.

The ASID model has its roots in a project funded by the European Commission from 2004 to 2007 called DEMOLOGOS. The main emphasis of the project was the enablement for spatial analysis of socio-economic development through an enhanced methodological basis (Moulaert et al., 2016, p. 167). ASID has been taken up in the field of economic geography as a framework to look into regional change dynamics and path developments with specific focus on the interlinkage of structural, institutional, agency and discursive elements (Beer et al., 2023; Benner & Shilo, 2024; Suitner & Ecker, 2020).

The model is based on the idea that to analyze socio-economic development, the four pillars – Agency, Structure, Institution, and Discourse – must be reflected. In social science, there are various definitions of these four cornerstones and of how they are connected to each other (Moulaert et al., 2016, pp. 167–172). In the following, the pillars will be described as defined in the concept by Moulaert et al. (2016).

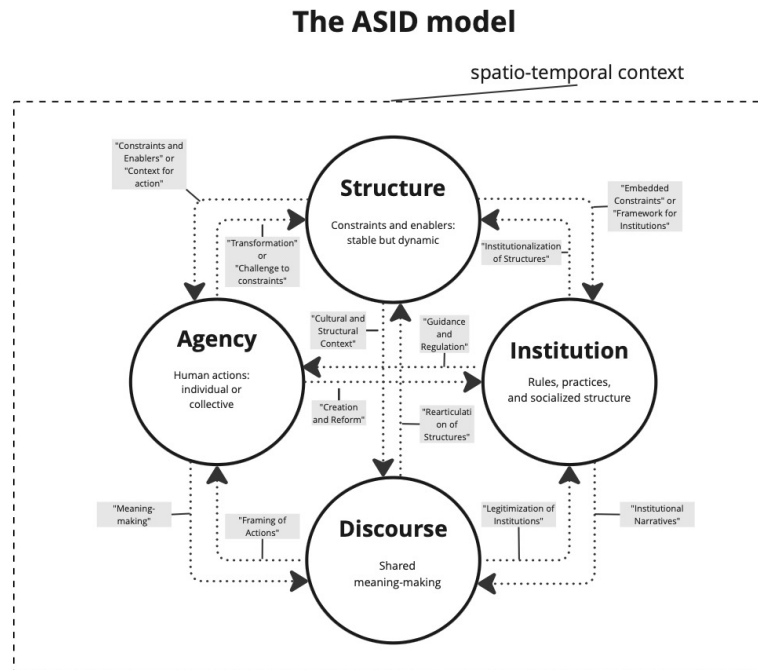


Figure 2: Visualization of the ASID Framework.

Note. Own visualization and interpretation based on (Moulaert et al., 2016).

First, the definition of agency is “meaningful human behavior” that brings about changes in the social world, the natural world, or both. These changes can result from direct action but can also be achieved indirectly through mediating supports such as technologies, institutions, and other enabling arrangements (Moulaert et al., 2016, p. 169).

Second, structure, in the context of the model, refers to aspects of social and ecological life that cannot easily be changed by individuals or groups over a limited time horizon. These structures can thus be seen as stable but not fixed. They are rather dynamic in the sense that they are time- and space-relative and are shaped by social agent interaction, which, other than space and time, also depends on access to resources, relative capabilities, and opportunities (Moulaert et al., 2016, p. 169).

Third is the pillar of institution. It consists of standard procedures, formal/informal rules, ways organizations typically operate, sanctions, and other forms of governing actions. In the context of the model, it is seen as a “socialized structure.” Institutions can operate from a global scale to a local level, ranging from rules in international relations to family rules for household responsibilities (Moulaert et al., 2016, p. 169).

Finally, discourse refers to the ways people develop and share meanings with one another, forming shared interpretations and frames that shape how reality is understood. The scope of it is dependent on variable factors such as people’s values, priorities, and self-understandings, as well as the limits and opportunities created by existing conditions within the varying discourse-specific context (Moulaert et al., 2016, p. 169).

3 Context: Biogas – Technical Aspects, History, and the Case of Austria

This section of the thesis will provide a brief overview of the technical definition of biogas, a brief historical overview of the technology, and a concise overview of its development and state of use in Austria.

3.1 Biogas Technology and History

3.1.1 Biogas Technology

Biogas is recognized as a form of renewable energy generated through anaerobic digestion of organic matter. The input material is biomass that can range from waste streams like agricultural residues, manure, municipal biogenic waste, or sewage sludge to energy crops (Jameel et al., 2024, p. 24; Scarlat et al., 2018, pp. 2–7). Technically, biogas is not one type of gas but a gas mixture that is generated when biodegradable matter decomposes without oxygen. The mixture of gases is composed of methane (CH_4), which usually makes up 50%–70% of the generated gas, carbon dioxide (CO_2) with 30%–50%, as well as small amounts of other gases. Depending on the processing of the naturally produced biogas, it can either be burned for heat and electricity generation or purified into methane and then used as vehicle fuel or fed into the natural gas grid (Appels et al., 2011, p. 1; Jameel et al., 2024, p. 1). One benefit of biogas that is often named is “the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions,” where “methane is captured and used as a fuel” (Jameel et al., 2024, pp. 4–5). This can be explained through the high climate impact of methane, which is approximately 28–30 times greater than that of the same amount of CO_2 (Umweltbundesamt Deutschland, 2025, p. 9). So, by capturing methane from organic waste and utilizing it as fuel, a significant reduction of the net greenhouse gas effect compared to if the methane were left to escape into the atmosphere can be achieved. However, to realize genuine environmental benefits, it is important to ensure that promoting manure digestion does not incentivize livestock increase or energy crop cultivation, as this would lead to additional emissions, instead of utilizing the emissions of existing waste streams (Umweltbundesamt Deutschland, 2025, pp. 27–28).

Another key concern with energy crop cultivation for biogas is the land-use competition. When arable land, previously used for food and feed production, is converted to energy crops, this may undermine food security, particularly in developing regions. Further, this development may force agriculture into previously untouched ecosystems, resulting in habitat loss and large greenhouse gas emissions from soil that previously acted as carbon stores. These risks are further heightened when EU countries import biomass (Pedroli et al., 2013, p. 74). These sustainability concerns have been addressed in Austria's legislative landscape in the way that only plants that comply with feedstock rules receive financial support (see Section 3.3 for details).

According to Umweltbundesamt Deutschland (2025) there are, however, also concerns regarding biogas production that are not limited to energy crop cultivation but also to the overall biogas production process. When biogas is combusted, methane emissions still occur, since not all of the gas is fully oxidized, and small amounts escape during operational stages such as valve overlap in gas engines. This matter is one that should be further optimized, next to additional concerns such as the development of microbial resistance in manure that is coming from animals treated by antibiotics (Umweltbundesamt Deutschland, 2025, pp. 22–27).

Another point of concern when operating biogas combustion systems is the emission of gaseous pollutants. They include volatile organic compounds (VOCs) and sulfur dioxide (SO₂), it is however, to say that biogas engines produce 40% fewer VOC emissions than natural gas engines and slightly lower formaldehyde emissions, and unlike natural gas, a complete absence of long-chain hydrocarbons (Jameel et al., 2024, p. 21). This highlights the importance of implementing advanced treatment and control measures to track and minimize emissions.

3.1.2 Biogas History

While there are suggestions that biogas was already used in the 10th century B.C. in the context of heating water for bathing, well-documented biogas applications started in the middle of the nineteenth century. India and New Zealand were the main localities for building digesters (Bond & Templeton, 2011, p. 348). According to Van Brakel (1980) there was also activity around the application of biogas in the UK. Pasteur was researching methane generation from manure and already had promising results in 1884. Eleven years later, in 1895, a septic tank that allowed for gathering the produced gas was designed by Cameron, which allowed for the

use of gas for street lighting in parts of Exeter. Also, in Mumbai (then Bombay), waste was used to generate gas in a methane digester and then used for street lighting as well as powering a motor in 1907 (Van Brakel, 1980, p. 2). Biogas history in Austria dates to the early 1980s, when a biogas plant for heating dormitories at a monastery in Vorarlberg was built. Around the same time, Herbert Pfefferkorn developed a stirrer-free digester system in Austria (Stürmer, 2017, p. 526).

3.2 Biogas within Austria's Energy Market

This subsection of the thesis will provide an overview of Austria's energy market and the role of biogas within it. It will also give an overview of the policy landscape in Austria that is relevant to biogas.

3.2.1 Austria's Energy Mix

According to BMK (2024a) the gross domestic energy consumption, hence, the domestic primary energy production plus imports, minus exports, plus/minus energy stock, accounted for 1,332.0 petajoules in Austria in 2023. Compared to the years 2022 and 2021, with 1,357.3 petajoules in 2022 and 1,432.7 petajoules in 2021, there was a notable reduction in energy consumption in recent years. The gross domestic energy consumption in 2023 marks the lowest value since the beginning of the calculation period in 2005 (BMK, 2024a, p. 10).

As viewable in *Figure 3*, the energy sources in relation to the gross domestic energy consumption in 2023 were 35.7% oil, 18.8% biogenic energy, 18.5% natural gas, 11.0% hydropower, and 7.7% coal, as well as smaller percentages for solar PV, wind energy, ambient heat, and combustible waste. Compared to the EU average in 2022, it is notable that while the EU has an 11.5% share of nuclear energy, there is none in Austria. Austria, however, has a fundamentally higher share of hydropower, with 11.0% compared to the EU average of 1.8% (BMK, 2024a, p. 12).

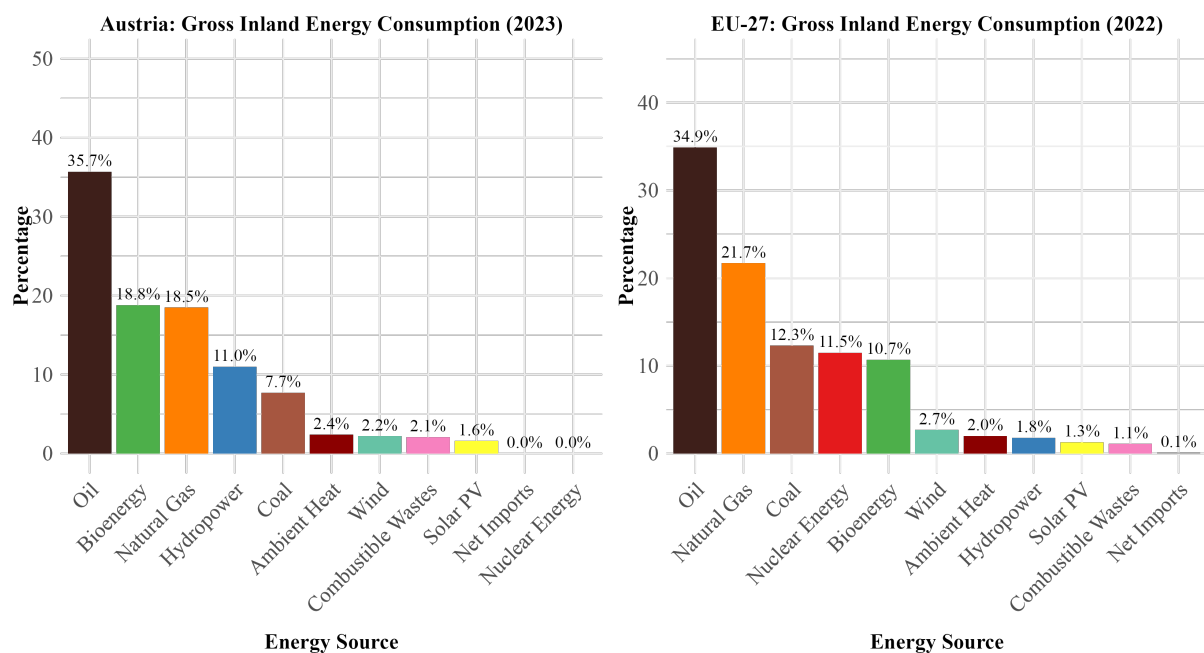


Figure 3: Gross Inland Energy Consumption: Austria Compared to the EU.
Note. Own visualization based on (BMK, 2024a).

The amount of imported energy in Austria is nearly five times as high as the amount of exported energy. While the total energy exports increased by 19% in 2023, the imports decreased. There was a 41.7% reduction in oil and a 24.6% in electric energy imports. The first year in over 20 years where more electric energy was exported from Austria than imported was 2023 (BMK, 2024a, p. 13).

It is fundamental to distinguish gross domestic energy consumption from primary energy production. According to BMK (2024a), Austria's energy production is characterized by a high percentage of renewable energy sources, marking 87.6%. The highest share is biogenic energy, a category under which, e.g., wood and pellets are counted, with 46.1% of energy produced, which has been rising over recent years. Hydropower produced 26.6% of energy in 2023 and has remained relatively stable over the last few decades. Wind made up 5.3% in 2023 and has been rising consistently over the past decades, as has solar PV, which made up 4.0% of produced energy in the same year. Also, ambient heat is rising and marked 5.7% in 2023, while oil and natural gas have been declining in recent years and together account for 3.6% of produced energy in 2023. A detailed comparison is viewable in Figure 4. Compared to the EU average in 2022, the high share of hydropower as well as the absence of coal and nuclear energy in Austria's energy production is noticeable (BMK, 2024a, p. 14).

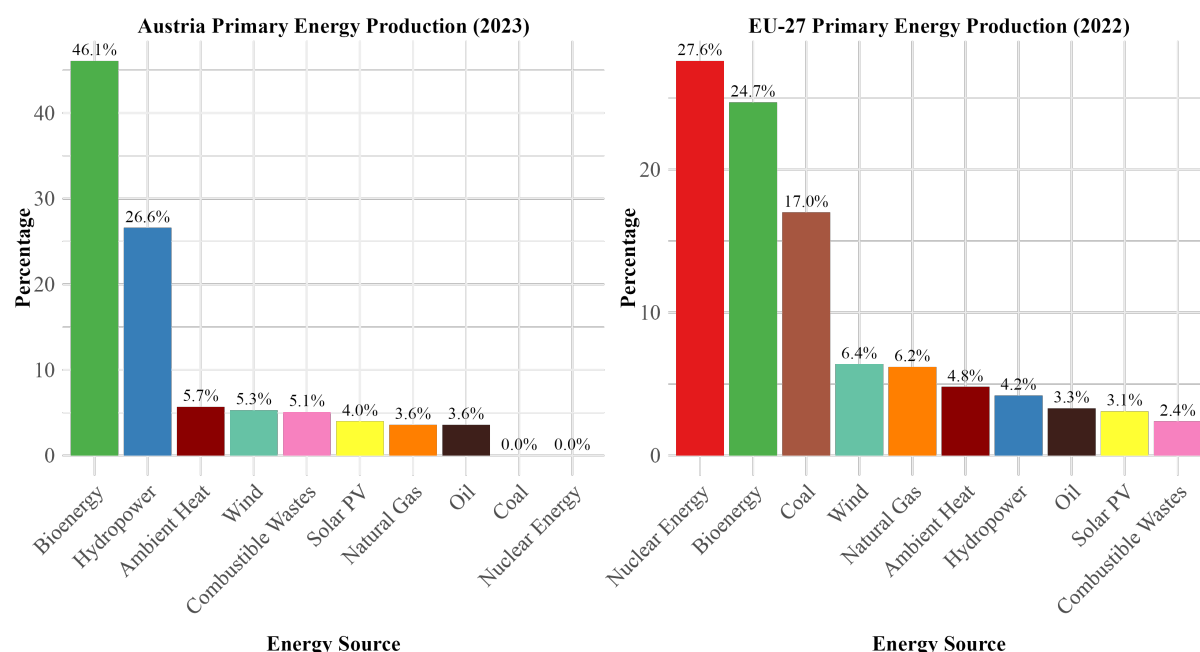


Figure 4: Primary Energy Production: Austria Compared to the EU.
Note. Own visualization based on (BMK, 2024a).

Biogas is included in the broad category of biogenic energy. While biogas, sewage gas, and landfill gas are technically forms of biogas produced through the process of anaerobic digestion specified in *Section 3.1*, they are reported separately in official energy statistics. This reporting is based on the EU Regulation No. 1099/2008 on energy statistics where biogas is defined as “a gas composed principally of methane and carbon dioxide produced by anaerobic digestion of biomass” (Regulation (EC) No 1099/2008, 2008) and subcategorizes in landfill gas, sewage sludge gas and other biogas (Regulation (EC) No 1099/2008, 2008).

In 2024, the three biogenic gases – biogas, sewage gas, and landfill gas – generate around 8 PJ together, or 1.6% of renewable primary energy production (BMWET, 2025, p. 20). Of the produced gas, nearly 80% is used for electricity and heat generation (BMWET, 2025, p. 20).

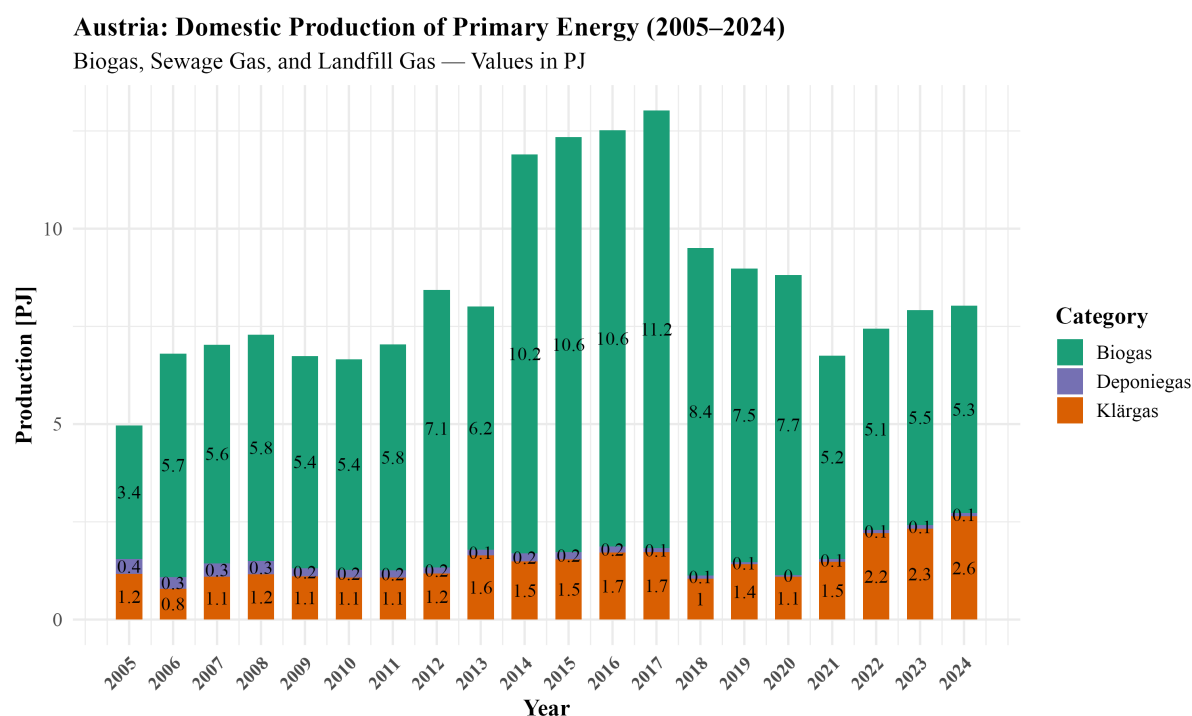


Figure 5: Domestic Primary Energy Production of Biogas, Sewage Gas and Landfill Gas in PJ.
Note. Own visualization based on (Statistik Austria, 2025).

When purified into biomethane, the gas can be fed into the gas grid. The first biogas upgrading plants in Austria were implemented from 2003 to 2004 (Stürmer, 2017, p. 527). In 2024, the amount of purified biomethane fed into the Austrian gas grid amounted to 0,123 TWh ($\approx 0,482$ PJ) (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025). The annual biomethane feed-in can be seen in Figure 6 alongside the biomethane share of total gas consumption in percent.

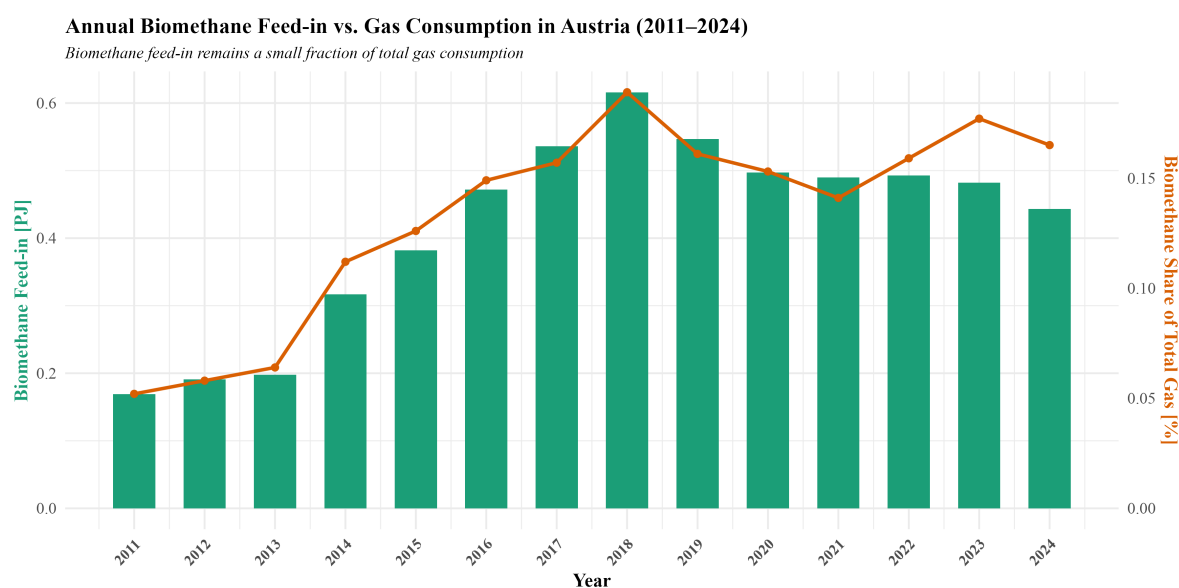


Figure 6: Annual Biomethane Feed-in Compared to Gas Consumption in Austria, 2011–2024.
Note. Own visualization based on (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025).

The amount of feed-in biomethane peaked in 2018 and declined with small increases in between to 0.123 TWh in 2024, with 2024 marking the lowest value since 2016, and this volume was produced by 14 feeding-in plants (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025). Here, it is important to note that the biomethane fed into the gas grid is not included in the 8 PJ of biogenic gases in the energy statistics of Statistics Austria. This exclusion is based on EU Regulation No. 1099/2008 on energy statistics, where grid-injected biomethane is classified and reported as natural gas rather than biogas (Regulation (EC) No 1099/2008, 2008).

Overall, it can be observed that biogas production without feed-in peaked in 2017, reaching a total of 13.02 PJ. Biomethane feed-in peaked in 2018 with 0.616 PJ. Since 2018, biomethane feed-in has been declining, while the rising share in 2022 and 2023 is attributed to less consumption (BMK, 2024b, p. 13). Looking at the development of individual biogas types, landfill gas has been decreasing consistently since 2005, while sewage gas has been consistently increasing, reaching a record high in 2024. Biogas from other sources is characterized by periods of stability followed by an incline until 2017, after which it decreases and then stabilizes from 2021 to 2024. Overall, biogas only accounts for a very small fraction of primary energy production in Austria.

3.2.2 Market Structure

In Austria, the public subsidies for biogas were long linked to remuneration for the production of renewable electricity. This has shaped the current market structure, in which the majority of produced biogas in Austria is still used in combined heat and power plants (BMK, 2024b, p. 10).

More specifically, this market structure can be understood as an outcome of early 2000s policy choices, mainly the introduction of the Green Electricity Act alongside its implementing regulation that specified the rate at which feed-in electricity was remunerated (Stürmer et al., 2021, pp. 4–5). According to Stürmer et al. (2021) the changes affected biogas through the establishment of capacity-dependent feed-in tariffs for electricity generated from renewables, including biogas. At the start of 2002, hence before the introduction of the legislative changes, approximately 85 biogas plants existed in Austria, primarily utilizing manure and biogenic waste as feedstock. The legislative changes resulted in a steep increase in on-farm, small- to medium-scale biogas plants. By the end of 2007, approximately 300 plants were registered,

most of which signed feed-in contracts with the Austrian settlement agency OeMAG (Stürmer et al., 2021, pp. 4–5). After a round of regulatory adjustments in 2006, a significant legislative change happened in 2017, when the “Kleine Ökostromnovelle” was decided on one year after the expiration of feed-in remuneration agreements from 2002, the previous year. Instead of another long-term regulation, a short-term successor tariff was introduced. It not only guaranteed feed-in pricing for a shorter timeframe but also under stricter requirements for new as well as existing biogas plants (Stürmer et al., 2021, pp. 4–5).

After 2008, the number of biogas plants remained stable with rising electricity feed-in volumes until a peak in 2017. According to a 2018 renewable energy report financed by the Federal Ministry for Sustainability and Tourism, a total of 396 biogas plants existed in Austria in 2017, of which 288 had contracts with the OeMag (Biermayr, 2018). Overall, reports and studies show varying numbers of biogas plants across the years. This could be due to some reports including only plants registered with OeMag, while others include all operating plants. Also, plant operators can directly market electricity without showing up in the E-Control Plant Register (BMK, 2024b, p. 10). The differences can also arise from varying data collection methods and data origin, as stated by E-control (E-Control, 2025b). The data retrievable in the plant register of E-Control shows the plants that inject electricity stemming from renewable gases into the public electricity grid. However, it is important to note that not all plants that generate electricity from renewable gases are part of the registry. This is particularly the case when electricity is marketed through private agreements (BMK, 2024b, p. 10). For example, the wastewater plant in Vienna Simmering, which is often mentioned in news articles (#241), is not included in this register. The data directly stems from plant and grid operators, so E-Control does not guarantee accuracy or the timeliness of the information (E-Control, 2025b). From 2020 to 2025, there are numbers directly from the E-Control “Anlagenregister” as viewable in *Figure 8*.

Biogas Plants Feeding Electricity into the Public Grid in Austria (2024)

Based on E-Control plant register data

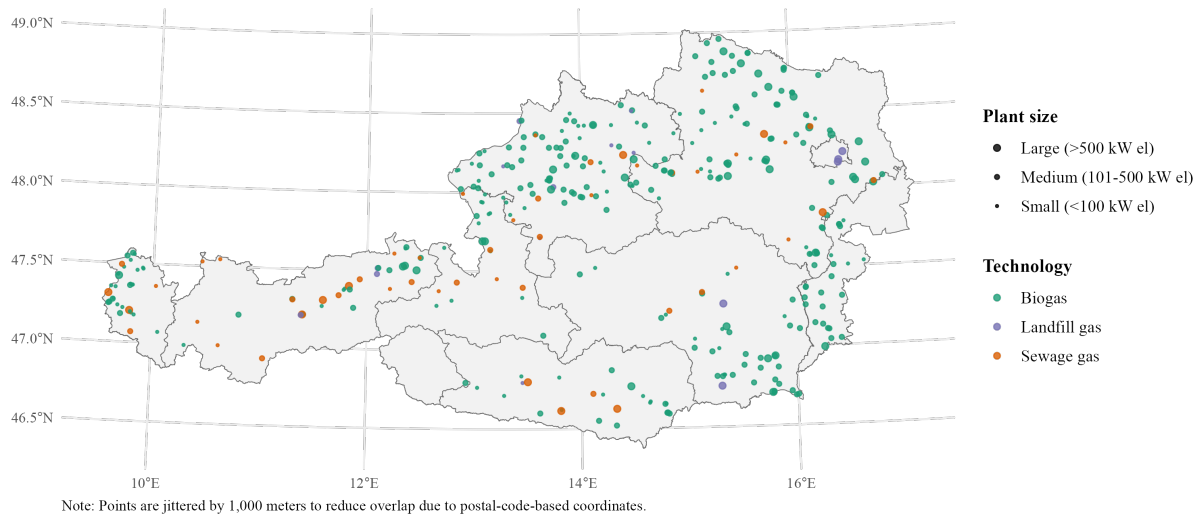


Figure 7: Map of Biogas Plants in Austria by Type and Size.

Note. Own visualization based on the “Anlagenregister” by (E-Control, 2025b).

Biogas Plants Feeding Electricity into the Public Grid (2024): by Federal State, Size & Technology

Based on E-Control plant register data

Size / Technology	Technology	Burgenland	Carinthia	Lower Austria	Upper Austria	Salzburg	Styria	Tyrol	Vorarlberg	Vienna	Total
Large (>500 kW el)	Biogas	1	1	18	5	2	4	3	1	0	35
Large (>500 kW el)	Deponiegas	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	5
Large (>500 kW el)	Klärgas	0	3	2	1	0	0	3	2	0	11
Medium (101-500 kW el)	Biogas	18	9	60	47	2	26	10	7	0	179
Medium (101-500 kW el)	Deponiegas	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	5
Medium (101-500 kW el)	Klärgas	0	1	3	3	3	2	5	2	0	19
Small (<100 kW el)	Biogas	4	11	15	22	12	11	5	20	0	100
Small (<100 kW el)	Deponiegas	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	6
Small (<100 kW el)	Klärgas	0	0	6	3	3	1	8	1	0	22
Total		23	26	104	88	22	46	37	33	3	382

Table 1: Active Biogas Plants with Registered Electricity Feed-in in Austria, by State, Gas Type, and Plant Size.

Note. Own compilation based on the “Anlagenregister” by (E-Control, 2025b).

The above visuals show the plants that injected electricity stemming from renewable gases into the grid in 2024. It is noticeable that there are big differences in the number of plants across the federal states.

Burgenland has 23 operating biogas plants in 2024, ranging across all size categories, all of which belong to the biogas category (i.e., no sewage gas or landfill gas plants). In Vienna, 3 plants are operated, all of which are in the large category and belong to the landfill gas category. All other states have plants belonging to at least 2 gas categories. Lower Austria has 104 plants across all size categories, with no plants in the landfill gas category. Salzburg operates 22 plants in total, and likewise has no plants in the landfill gas category. Vorarlberg has 33 plants, also without any landfill gas plants. All other states operate plants across all gas categories: Carinthia

(26 plants), Styria (46 plants), Tyrol (37 plants), and Upper Austria (88 plants). Thus, without considering the gas type, the distribution of biogas plants across federal states is highly uneven. Lower Austria and Upper Austria dominate regarding total plant numbers with 104 and 88 plants, followed by Styria with 44 plants. The states with the lowest amount of biogas plants are Vienna with 3 plants, Salzburg with 22, followed by Burgenland with 23 plants. This highlights a strong regional concentration of biogas-based electricity injection in Austria.

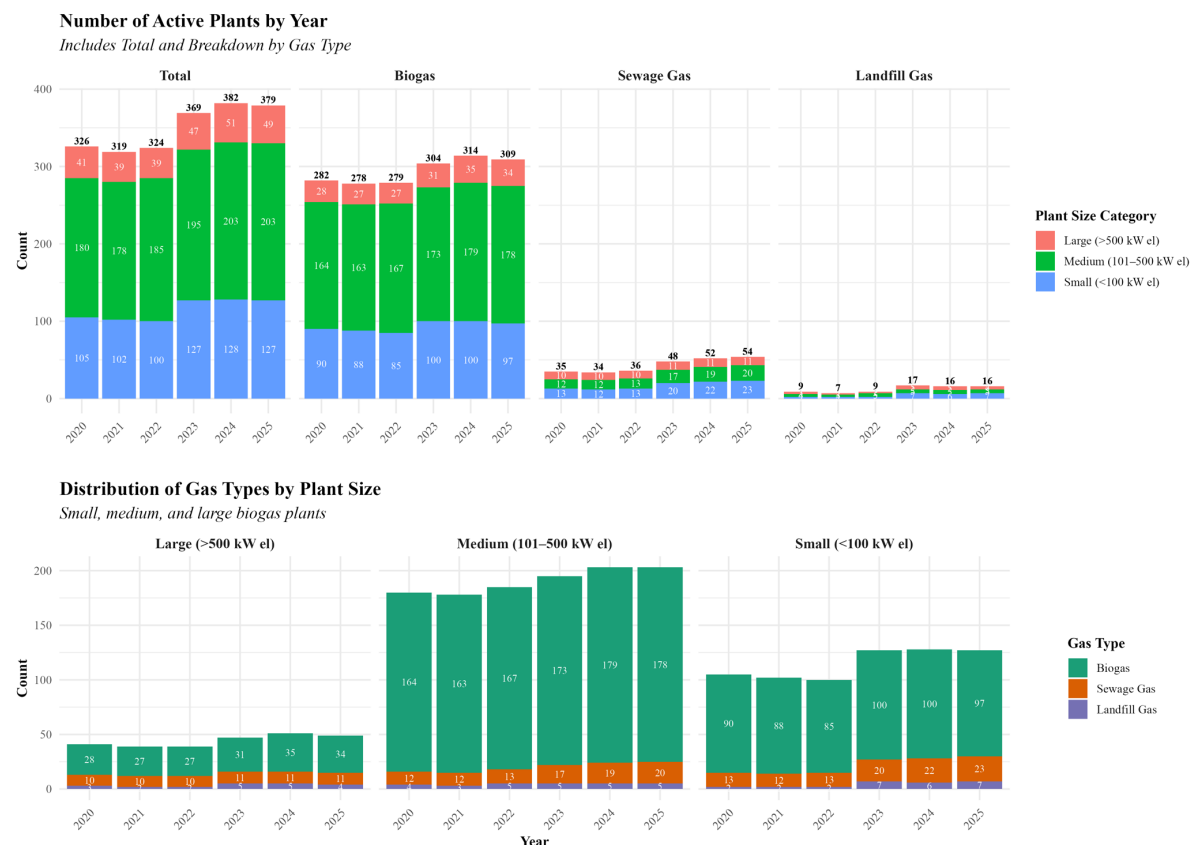


Figure 8: Active Biogas Plants with Registered Electricity Feed-in in Austria by Gas Type and Plant Size.
Note. Own visualization based on the “Anlagenregister” by (E-Control, 2025b).

Biogas plants amounted to 326 in 2020, remained relatively stable in 2021 and 2022, and rose again in 2023 and 2024 to 382. Numbers for 2025 might still be subject to change, as reporting for this year is ongoing, and some entries may still be updated.

When looking at the details of the 380 active plants in 2024, the market is dominated by conventional agricultural biogas systems that make up 82.1%, or 312 of the 380 existing registered plants in 2024. Most of these agricultural digesters are medium-sized, followed by small plants and 35 large plants.

Figure 5 shows the long-term trend in domestic biogas production and shows that landfill gas was always at a comparatively small level compared to other biogas sources but decreased over the years, from 0.4 PJ in 2005 to 0.1 PJ in 2024. Sewage gas reporting, however, was rising over the years, from 1.2 PJ in 2005 to 2.6 PJ in 2024 (Statistik Austria, 2025). When looking at the number of active plants, positive trends for landfill gas since 2020 are visible, as well as for sewage gas. Generally, the number of plants has been rising since 2021, with a very small decrease in 2025, which could be due to unfinished reporting.

The “Kleine Ökostromnovelle” in 2017 (further elaborated in Section 3.3) resulted in feed-in tariffs until the end of 2020 (Stürmer et al., 2021, pp. 4–5). Since 2021, the Renewable Expansion Act has been in place, which has affected the support volume for renewable energy, including biogas. In Table 2, you can see the support volume based on E-control calculations using market prices (E-Control, 2025a, p. 62).

Development of Support Volume																						
in EUR million																						
Category	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Market price	2.57	3.06	3.79	5.21	5.11	6.43	5.91	4.58	5.35	5.21	4.51	3.53	3.23	2.70	3.33	4.45	5.10	3.31	10.69	26.14	9.78	8.15
Wind power	24.00	50.00	75.00	71.00	74.00	42.00	49.00	78.00	56.00	83.00	154.00	253.00	340.00	375.00	389.00	257.00	259.00	337.00	–39.00	–63.00	62.00	17.00
Solid biomass	16.00	26.00	43.00	87.00	156.00	142.00	160.00	184.00	171.00	179.00	196.00	198.00	212.00	215.00	202.00	175.00	118.00	102.00	17.00	–13.00	7.00	15.00
Biogas	17.00	18.00	25.00	32.00	51.00	61.00	60.00	63.00	58.00	68.00	65.00	78.00	82.00	84.00	77.00	75.00	70.00	82.00	40.00	–13.00	3.00	1.00
Liquid biomass	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	10.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Photovoltaics	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	9.00	11.00	13.00	17.00	32.00	67.00	82.00	97.00	111.00	125.00	114.00	106.00	132.00	72.00	–37.00	40.00	40.00
Other supported green electricity	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Sum "Other" green electricity	70.00	108.00	155.00	205.00	303.00	259.00	284.00	343.00	304.00	362.00	485.00	611.00	731.00	786.00	793.00	621.00	552.00	653.00	90.00	–126.00	112.00	72.00
Small hydropower (OeMAG)	69.00	77.00	67.00	–7.00	12.00	–7.00	–4.00	7.00	4.00	1.00	16.00	32.00	37.00	50.00	40.00	25.00	20.00	41.00	–28.00	16.00	39.00	–8.00
Total supported green electricity	139.00	184.00	223.00	198.00	315.00	252.00	280.00	350.00	308.00	363.00	501.00	643.00	768.00	836.00	833.00	645.00	573.00	695.00	62.00	–109.00	152.00	65.00

Table 2: Development of Support Volume for Renewable Energies in Austria, 2003–2024.
Note. Own visualization based on (E-Control, 2025a).

3.2.3 Potential Biogas Demand in Austria

Despite the comparatively small quantity of biogas produced in Austria, biogas is frequently discussed in the context of future energy system pathways on a policy level, like in the discussion of the implementation of a potential Renewable Gas Act (EAG, 2021), which is discussed in Chapter 3.2.4.

Strategic energy system planning, therefore, depends on estimations of future gas demand and the domestic production potential of renewable gases. In this context, a study assigned by the Federal Ministry for Climate Action, Environment, Energy, Mobility, Innovation, and Technology, published in 2021, provides a comprehensive assessment of Austria’s gas demand

in 2040 as well as the realistically achievable domestic renewable methane supply (Baumann et al., 2021, pp. 5–7).

The study examined two different scenarios: one infrastructure utilization scenario, which mainly assumes the continued use of the existing gas infrastructure, and one energy efficiency scenario. The latter is characterized by more ambitious developments in the energy sector, with more advanced technologies as well as higher efficiency. While the yearly gas demand for the scenario relying on existing infrastructure is expected to reach 138 TWh, the demand in the “energy efficiency” scenario is expected to be 89 TWh (Baumann et al., 2021, pp. 5–7).

In the "infrastructure utilization" scenario, the total gas demand of 138 TWh consists of 72 TWh of non-substitutable methane, 25 TWh of non-substitutable hydrogen, and 42 TWh of flexible demand that can be met by either. The "energy efficiency" scenario distributes its 89 TWh of total demand across 15 TWh of non-substitutable methane, 16 TWh of non-substitutable hydrogen, and a higher flexible demand of 59 TWh (Baumann et al., 2021, pp. 5–7).

The study estimated the realistically achievable supply of renewable methane at 20 TWh, which is clearly below the demand in either of the scenarios. The potential in the analysis is estimated with a 53% share coming from anaerobic digestion and 47% from biomass gasification. In the study, there is also an estimated theoretically possible supply of 88 TWh per year. This supply would rely on immense changes in technical, economic, and political spheres (Baumann et al., 2021, pp. 49–56).

The actual figures for biomethane injection from 2020 to 2024 range from 0.1235 TWh to 0.1377 TWh (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025). Considering the findings of the study, these numbers seem considerably low compared to both the realistically and the theoretically achievable supply potential.

This gap between current renewable gas production and the potential demand highlights the importance of supportive policy frameworks. The following chapter examines relevant national and EU policies that lay the foundation for biogas deployment and development in Austria.

3.3 Policy Landscape of Biogas within Austria's Energy System

The Ökostromgesetz (ÖSG, Green Electricity Act) was introduced in 2002 and was the first law to establish a legal foundation for biogas in Austria. There have been amendments to the law since its introduction; however, the way in which it concerns biogas is through specific feed-in tariffs as well as financial incentives that providers of renewable energy can apply for. Thus, when biogas was first incorporated into legislation through the Green Electricity Act, it was only considered in its converted form as electricity supplied to the grid (Stürmer, 2017, p. 527).

From 2012, operators of biogas plants were obligated to submit reports on the type and amount of feedstock used to the Austrian Green Electricity Clearinghouse, but there were no specifications on feedstock limits to be eligible for fixed feed-in tariffs (Ökostromgesetz 2012, 2012). While the original plan of the Green Electricity Act amendment in 2017 did not include biogas anymore, and legislative proposals foresaw the transition of biogas out of the previous subsidy framework through the implementation of the Biogas Technology Compensation Act 2017. This was not implemented, and biogas was further included in the Green Electricity Act after 2017 (Zafoschnig, 2017). The “Ökostromnovelle 2017” included biogas but with stricter eligibility criteria. To be eligible for the fixed tariffs, a maximum allowance of 30% maize and corn content in the substrate was set. Also, the feed-in must be remotely controllable, and plants must produce ≤ 150 kW electric capacity with $>67.5\%$ fuel efficiency to be eligible. Plants that use more than 60% maize and corn are entirely excluded from the support regime (Amendment of the Renewable Electricity Act, 2017).

In 2003, the EU released the directive 2003/55/EC, concerning natural gas market rules, which defined in point 24 that:

Member States should ensure that, taking into account the necessary quality requirements, biogas and gas from biomass or other types of gas are granted non-discriminatory access to the gas system, provided such access is permanently compatible with the relevant technical rules and safety standards. (Directive 2003/55/EC, 2003)

Consequently, this was also integrated into the Austrian legislative context within the Gaswirtschaftsgesetz (Natural Gas Act) (GWG, 2011). The first Austrian biogas production

facility to inject biomethane into the natural gas network was set up in Pucking, Upper Austria, in 2003 (Stürmer, 2017, p. 527).

According to BMK (2024b) the Green Electricity Act got replaced by the Erneuerbaren-Ausbau-Gesetz (EAG, Renewable Energy Expansion Act) in July 2021 and has been fully in force since the beginning of 2022. The law includes a 100% target of national renewable electricity by 2030 and renews the support approach, shifting from fixed feed-in tariffs for plant operators to receiving a market-based premium, which tops up revenues achieved at the market to ensure economic viability. So, in times of high electricity prices, there are no market premiums. The act includes provisions that promote the injection of methane into the gas grid by establishing eligibility criteria for plants to qualify for market premium support, primarily based on plant size and vicinity to the gas grid. New biogas plants are only eligible for the market premium support if they have a capacity of up to 250 kW and are located more than 10 km away from the nearest gas grid connection (BMK, 2024b, p. 11; EAG, 2021).

Next to the 250-kW capacity limit and distance to the gas grid, there are certain technical limits that have to be met. First, over 65% fuel efficiency must be achieved; second, exclusively biodegradable waste and residues must be used as fuel (at least 30% from livestock manure and no more than 30% from cover crops and residual grassland); third, the system must be equipped with a state-of-the-art heat meter and have a supply concept for feedstock covering at least the first five years of operation (EAG, 2021; Parlament Österreich, 2021).

Historically, biomethane could be indirectly supported through fixed feed-in tariffs for electricity generation from biomethane (ÖSG, 2012). Since the ÖSG was replaced by the EAG in 2022, these fixed tariffs no longer apply, and plants are only eligible for market premium support when meeting the named eligibility criteria, such as plant size and minimal distance to the gas grid. The EAG, however, provides investment support for the construction of new biomethane plants and the upgrading of existing biogas plants to biomethane. This investment support is limited to existing plants in which no more than 50% of the input material consists of energy crops such as maize or cereals, and to new plants where energy crops constitute no more than 25% of the input material (EAG, 2021).

Support Options via Market Premium for Biogas Electricity Generation (EAG)			
Plant Type	Plant Size (el)	Distance from Gas Network	Market Premium Electricity Support
Existing plant	Up to 250 kW	Within 10 km	Yes, up to the 30th operating year
Existing plant	Up to 250 kW	Beyond 10 km	Yes, up to the 30th operating year
Existing plant	Over 250 kW	Within 10 km	Yes, for 36 months + 24 on request
Existing plant	Over 250 kW	Beyond 10 km	Yes, up to the 30th operating year
New plant	Up to 250 kW	Within 10 km	No
New plant	Up to 250 kW	Beyond 10 km	Yes
New plant	Over 250 kW	Within 10 km	No
New plant	Over 250 kW	Beyond 10 km	No

*Table 3: Support Options via Market Premium for Biogas Electricity Generation According to the EA.
Note. Translated from German (BMK, 2024b).*

A dedicated support scheme for renewable gases was planned in the draft legislation called the Erneuerbares-Gas-Gesetz (EGG, Renewable Gas Act). The main goal of the draft was to ensure energy supply security in Austria as well as to increase the renewable gas share in Austria to 7.5 TWh by 2030. It was based on a quota model that would have required gas suppliers that deliver to end consumers to blend a yearly rising minimum share of renewable gas or buy certificates from renewable gas producers (Ministerialentwurf: Erneuerbares-Gas-Gesetz, 2024). The draft was, however, not enacted as it failed to secure the required two-thirds majority in the Austrian National Council in 2024 (Parlament Österreich, 2024). The EGG was included as a key project in the 2025 coalition agreement of ÖVP, SPÖ, and NEOS with an implementation timeline in summer 2025 (ÖVP et al., 2025, p. 56). As of December 2025, the government has still not presented a new proposal.

4 Methods

This section outlines the methods applied to identify, process, and analyze media content on biogas in Austria.

4.1 Research Design: Mixed-Method Approach

This thesis combines quantitative and qualitative research elements to investigate the development of media reporting on biogas in Austria from 2014 to 2024. The quantitative component is Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), which is used to identify underlying thematic patterns in media reporting. The LDA is used to identify representative texts for topic-year combinations, which are subsequently analyzed qualitatively through close reading and discussed methodologically.

4.2 Introduction to LDA

Latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) is a type of probabilistic topic modeling (Blei, 2012, p. 78) and was first introduced by Blei et al. (Blei et al., 2003, p. 996). Topic modeling uses statistical methods to detect structure in large sets of text by examining how words are used across documents, revealing patterns and relationships between them. A key advantage is that it allows the analysis and structuring of very large text collections that cannot be processed manually (Blei, 2012, pp. 77–78).

The underlying principle of topic modeling is that documents about a specific topic have a higher probability of including words within the vocabulary range linked to that specific topic (Blei, 2012, p. 79). An example would be that a document about climate change would include words such as *emissions*, *gas*, and *warming* more than a document about interior design. This logic can also be flipped, and a document about interior design is more likely to include words like *color*, *Bauhaus*, and *modernism* than the text about climate change. There is also a group of words, such as *and* and *if*, that is not linked to either topic. This group of common words is not useful for distinguishing the topics (Blei, 2012, p. 78).

The name of the overarching field that topic models, including LDA, are embedded in is generative probabilistic modeling. LDA views the observed data as the outcome of a generative

process containing variables that are latent or hidden. A conditional distribution, the posterior distribution, is calculated by observed variables: the words in the documents, and by the hidden variables: the topic structure. The posterior distribution computes the probability of each article being about specific topics, based on the words it contains (Blei, 2012, pp. 79–80).

When resuming the example of analyzing documents including words such as *emissions*, *gas*, *Bauhaus*, *modernism*, the hidden variables are the topics *climate change* and *interior design*. The posterior distribution would then compute a probability for each article belonging to specific topics, given the observed words. So, if an article consists of the words *emissions*, *gas*, *warming*, and *Bauhaus*, the posterior distribution would assign a higher probability to a *climate change* topic than a design topic. A key characteristic of LDA is that the posterior distribution assigns probabilities across all topics and every topic receives a probability for a document or word (Blei, 2012, pp. 79–82), compared to traditional two-level clustering models that result in document allocation to one topic solely (Blei et al., 2003, p. 997).

Equation 1 shows the joint probability formulation of LDA in mathematical terms. This formulation describes a probabilistic process that explains how a collection of documents is “assumed to be generated” (Blei, 2012, p. 78).

$$\begin{aligned} & p(\beta_{1:K}, \theta_{1:D}, z_{1:D}, w_{1:D}) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^K p(\beta_i) \prod_{d=1}^D p(\theta_d) \\ & \quad \left(\prod_{n=1}^N p(z_{d,n} | \theta_d) p(w_{d,n} | \beta_{1:K}, z_{d,n}) \right) \end{aligned}$$

Equation 1: Probability Formulation of LDA (Blei, 2012, p. 81)

In this model, topics are represented as probability distributions over words, denoted by β . Each document has a unique topic mixture θ , defining the proportion in which topics appear in that document. For every word position in a document, a latent topic assignment z is drawn based on the document’s topic mixture θ , and the observed word w is then generated from the word distribution β of the selected topic (Blei, 2012, pp. 78–81).

In Section 4.5.1, the description of the LDA implementation in R using the *topicmodels* package includes input parameters such as α , the document-topic prior, and δ , the topic-word prior. Although these hyperparameters do not appear in the joint probability formula, they are crucial

for understanding the model: α shapes the document-level topic mixture θ , and δ controls the topic-level word distribution β (Grün & Hornik, 2011, p. 3)

4.3 Data Collection

The articles at the base of the analysis of this thesis were downloaded from the WISO database (WISO, 2025) and include articles published from January 1, 2014, to December 31, 2024. The period was selected because it captures a key development in Austria's biogas and biomethane sectors. The time frame includes part of the growth period until around 2017–2018, when biogas production and biomethane feed-in volumes in Austria peaked, and the subsequent decline that was described in Chapter 3.2.2 (AGCS Bioregisterstelle Österreich, 2025).

The search terms used were the German keywords *Biogas*, *Biomethan* (biomethane), *grünes Gas*, and *grünem Gas* (green gas). The choice of keywords was made based on an initial screening of media, which indicated that these terms were often used interchangeably. In the media, however, *green gas* is also used to refer to other gas forms, such as hydrogen. Despite this ambiguity, the term was retained because it appeared frequently in relevant articles.

A selection of national and regional newspapers was decided on with the aim of seeing differences in reporting across regions. On the national level, three newspapers that each represent a distinct political or stylistic orientation were selected: *Der Standard*, *Die Presse*, and *Kronenzeitung*. *Der Standard* is considered left-liberal while *Die Presse* is considered liberal-conservative, and both newspapers are considered quality newspapers. *Kronenzeitung*, considered “yellow press,” was selected due to the fact that it has the highest print numbers (Schätz & Kirchhoff, 2024). In addition, six regional newspapers were included: *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, *Salzburger Nachrichten*, *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, *Vorarlberger Nachrichten*, *Wiener Zeitung* (until June 2023), and *Kleine Zeitung*. Information on the newspapers, including region and number of articles, is provided in *Table 4*.

Distribution of Downloaded Articles by Newspaper Prior to Preprocessing		
Newspaper	Number of Articles	Region
Der Standard	293	National
Die Presse	342	National
Kronen Zeitung	553	National
Salzburger Nachrichten	284	Salzburg
Kleine Zeitung	469	Styria / Carinthia / East Tyrol
Tiroler Tageszeitung	371	Tyrol
Oberösterreichische Nachrichten	325	Upper Austria
Wiener Zeitung	247	Vienna-based
Vorarlberger Nachrichten	294	Vorarlberg
Total	3,178	NA

*Table 4: Overview of Selected Austrian Newspapers with Downloaded Article Count.
Note. Own visualization.*

In total, 3,178 articles were downloaded from WISO; the detailed numbers per newspaper are viewable in *Table 4*. Due to the limits of the database, the articles could not be automatically exported, but only a file containing the newspaper, the title of the article, and the publishing date could be exported. The PDFs were opened manually, and the text was copied into an Excel file along with the automatically downloadable tables.

Notably, this manual step posed a potential risk for inconsistencies and transcription errors, especially considering the large amount of data. Furthermore, in WISO, there is no possibility to select regional issues of newspapers such as *Kronen Zeitung* and *Kleine Zeitung*; hence, no distinction is possible in the exported data. It was also identified that many articles cited APA (*Austria Presse Agentur*) as their source, affecting the diversity of content in the articles. For these reasons, many duplicates were identified in the data. Further, the differentiation between articles, advertisements, and readers' letters was not always clear. Therefore, the decision was made to include all media items, except for duplicates, teasers, and selected advertisements that were disproportionately frequent and affected the topic outcome. This approach was chosen because it ensured a more comprehensive and representative dataset and avoided the risk of falsely removing relevant content and inconsistently removing parts of categories and leaving others in. The process behind the article exclusion of categories, such as duplicates, that were finally removed, is described in detail in the 4.4 data processing section.

4.4 Data Processing

4.4.1 Excel Files

As described in the previous section, data were manually pasted into Excel files, where each newspaper was assigned to one Excel file. This process allowed for an initial screening of articles, and many duplicates were noticed and marked as such in a notes section in the Excel files. Some texts were identified as just teasers or very short snippets from the announcement section and were also marked. Especially for regional news, there were often articles that consisted of short news overviews, covering several different topics. When noticed, the irrelevant articles were removed.

4.4.2 R Workflow

From this step onwards, data was managed through separate R scripts in RStudio. In a main analysis file, used packages were loaded, and the main analysis was run, sourcing many separate R files with relevant passages of data processing, analysis, and visualization.

To maintain readability and comprehensiveness in this methods section, only essential steps of the workflow will be described in this section.

First, the data from the Excel files was imported and merged into the *merged_data* dataframe. This process already included the assignment of a unique document ID for each article to allow for later identification, composed of *AT#* and the respective year and unique numbers.

To ensure consistency and improve the reliability of subsequent steps in the analysis, text data got normalized and cleaned. Part of the cleaning was the removal of URLs, email addresses and special characters. Also, all German umlauts were transliterated, hyphens within words were removed to avoid unintended word splits, and all text was converted to lowercase.

Since our topic model is run on bigrams, that is, pairs of adjacent words, it was necessary to merge terms that conceptually form a single unit ahead of the bigram creation and analysis. Without this step, the model may falsely assign importance to word combinations that are frequent but non-informative. Examples include phrases such as *st_florian*, private or company name combinations, etc. To address this, the model was repeatedly run to detect common occurring multi-word identities.

Because *tigas* showed up in preliminary topic outcomes dominantly, the decision was made to filter for articles including the word *tigas*, which were then filtered for advertisements manually and removed. At this stage of the analysis, it was also noticed that the corpus included articles that had the word *biogas* within another word, such as *biogastronomie*. All such words were renamed into *biologischegastro* for the full article to be filtered out in the next step: relevant passage extraction. In this passage, only a window of 100 words before and after the keyword *biogas* and its synonyms was kept for this analysis. The size of this word window was decided on based on an inductive approach, looking at the specificity of the resulting topics and beta values. Texts that did not include any of the keywords got removed in this process. The aim of this step was not primarily to filter out the *biogastronomy*-texts but to be sure to only keep sections of texts for the LDA analysis that are relevant, especially for long articles discussing several matters. Further, in addition to the manual removal of duplicates, this process was complemented by an automated similarity check based on Jaccard distance using the R package *stringdist* (Loo et al., 2026), where articles with over 80% textual overlap were marked as (near) duplicates and removed. An overview of all eliminated articles can be seen in *Table 5*.

Number of Eliminated Articles by Reason and Year													
	Elimination Reason	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total
	Duplicate	32	13	19	32	26	15	15	23	24	16	13	228
	Keyword-based filtering	1	2	4	3	4	2	0	6	4	4	3	33
	Not about biogas	4	3	0	2	6	3	0	2	5	4	7	36
	Not an article	10	8	5	17	34	37	14	3	10	6	7	151
	Text not available	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Tigas Advertisement	9	8	20	7	2	1	3	1	3	4	1	59
Total	—	56	34	48	61	72	58	32	35	46	34	32	508

Table 5: Number of Eliminated Articles by Reason and Year.
Note. Own visualization.

The removal of the articles resulted in 2,670 remaining articles on which the analysis was conducted. The remaining articles were then further processed for the analysis. The texts were tokenized into words and punctuation, numbers and symbols got removed. They were stemmed using German rules using the `tokens_wordstem(language = "german")` function from the *quanteda* package (Benoit et al., 2025). Custom stop words were removed, including standard retrieved through the function `stopwords("de")`, as well as the term *biogas* and its previously merged variants *gruengas*, *erneuerbargas*, along with other frequently occurring words. The

removal of *biogas* and synonyms was necessary because *biogas* served as a selection criterion for the dataset and therefore appeared in virtually every article. Retaining these terms would have resulted in LDA results, where informative patterns may have been overshadowed by the disproportionately frequent terms.

At this stage of the process, the text data had been transformed into bigram tokens. In the next steps, frequently occurring synonym bigrams were merged. To later identify that a term consists of merged terms, they were marked by a leading underscore. After several runs, overly frequent bigrams were removed including *_million_euro* and *erneuerbar_energi*. Similar to the initial removal of terms like *biogas*, these bigrams were removed because they were overshadowing other word combinations due to their disproportionately high presence. This decision was based on the interpretation of preliminary LDA run results.

Finally, a document-feature matrix (DTM) was created and converted for compatibility with the used *topicmodels* package for the LDA analysis (Grün & Hornik, 2011).

4.5 Topic Modeling: LDA Implementation

The initial idea for this thesis was to run separate yearly LDA models for all regional newspapers to identify topics within each year and newspaper. However, after testing several versions, it was decided that the corpus size was too small to gain interpretable results over the years and sources. Therefore, an analysis per year for all articles together was conducted, hence 11 separate LDA models.

4.5.1 LDA Implementation Steps

The LDA analysis was conducted in R using the *topicmodels* package (Grün & Hornik, 2011). The analysis was run in a loop; for every year separately, the LDA models were fit using Gibbs sampling (Griffiths & Steyvers, 2004).

The model parameters were decided on in an inductive approach, using LDAviz in R (Sievert & Shirley, 2015). LDAviz allowed for a visualization of the resulting topics in bubbles and revealed the topic sizes (overall gamma), the closeness, or overlap of topics (overlapping bubbles). In addition to the visualization, the models also show the top bigrams per topic and

model. This allowed for a manual filtering process of terms that are generic and were decided to be left out of the analysis, as described in 4.4.

Finally, to get relative results that can be compared to identify yearly trends, a fixed number of 4 topics per year were chosen.

Several key input parameters control the behavior of the model that is defined with the *topicmodels* package (Grün & Hornik, 2011):

- **The number of topics (k):** determines how many latent topics each model will identify
- **Document-topic prior (α):** controls the expected topic mixture by document (lower values -> sparser distribution)
- **Topic-word prior (δ or Beta in literature):** regulates word distribution within topics (lower values -> topics focusing on fewer, more distinctive words)
- **Iterations:** the total number of Gibbs sampling steps
- **Burn-in:** the number of initial iterations discarded, allowing the model to stabilize
- **Thinning:** reduces autocorrelation by only retaining every *n*th iteration
- **Seed:** Ensures reproducibility of results

For this analysis, the following parameters were set: $k = 4$, seed = 1234, 3,000 iterations, burn-in = 1,000, thin = 10, $\alpha=0.3$, and $\delta=0.01$.

4.5.2 Topic Model Performance Evaluation

To assess the quality of the eleven LDA models, two complementary criteria were used: one to test for topic coherence and one to see if topics are reproducible.

Topic coherence can be understood as an indicator for the semantic interpretability of resulting topics, and there are several metrics that are used in scientific practice. Two common metrics are the cv-coherence and UMass coherence (Röder et al., 2015, pp. 1–2). While UMass coherence is based on document co-occurrence counts within the training corpus, cv-coherence utilizes reference corpora to be computed (Röder et al., 2015, pp. 2–3). Röder et al. (2015) compared coherence metrics, including UMass and came out with a new measure, cv, that shows a higher alignment to human coherence assessment than UMass (Röder et al., 2015). However, for practical reasons, considering that the underlying process for UMass is less

complex, in this paper, UMASS was used together with human inspection to judge topic coherence and relevance.

The UMass coherence score is calculated as shown in *formula 1*.

$$C(t; V^{(t)}) = \sum_{m=2}^M \sum_{l=1}^{m-1} \log \frac{D(v_m^{(t)}, v_l^{(t)}) + 1}{D(v_l^{(t)})}, \quad (1)$$

Equation 2: Mathematical Formula for UMass Coherence (Mimno et al., 2011).

Another important step to assess whether an LDA model is of high quality is to check for reproducibility. Since LDA is probabilistic, results vary between runs. To ensure that the model results are reproducible, a random seed is set, in the case of the thesis, 1234.

To evaluate the stability of the models, the 11 LDA models were run 30 times using different seeds. The results were then compared against the base model with the seed 1234, applying two reproducibility measures: Jaccard similarity and a weighted topic overlap metric.

The Jaccard coefficient originates from Paul Jaccard’s work on plant distribution in alpine regions. It measures similarity between sets as the size of the intersection divided by the size of the union of two sets (Jaccard, 1912). The Jaccard coefficient for two sets, A and B, can be described through the formula $J(A,B) = |A \cap B| / |A \cup B|$ (Mogotsi, 2010, p. 61). It is widely used, however, often criticized based on the grounds of the fact that it treats all compared bigrams as equal, thus ignoring positional and weight information (Greene et al., 2014, pp. 4–5). Jaccard was used in this thesis as a straightforward baseline for reproducibility; however, due to its limitations, it is complemented with a β -weighted overlap metric. As a basis, the weighted Jaccard similarity formula from Ioffe (2010), viewable below, which measures the fraction of probability mass that is shared between two topics (Ioffe, 2010, p. 1).

In this thesis, however, we use the probability mass of the top 10 bigrams from the base seed and the probability mass of the top 15 terms in the test seed. This 10:15 ratio was selected to avoid an overly strict ordering requirement in case of similar β -values for bigrams.

$$J(\mathbf{S}, \mathbf{T}) = \frac{\sum_k \min(S_k, T_k)}{\sum_k \max(S_k, T_k)}$$

Equation 3: Mathematical Formula for the Weighted Jaccard Similarity (Ioffe, 2010, p. 1).

4.5.3 Decision-Making Process for Topic Interpretation and Label Assignment

Topics that appear distinct and cohesive based on bigrams were further analyzed by reviewing the top 15 terms in each topic and examining the top 5 texts associated with them. This commonly used approach provided further context and validity to the topics. It is noteworthy that the ease of interpretation of the top terms in a resulting topic is not the same as its validity (Maier et al., 2018, p. 13).

In this step, Copilot AI was used as a supportive tool (Microsoft, 2025). The top 15 bigrams per topic, as well as the 5 texts with the highest gamma value (i.e., the document–topic probability scores derived from the LDA model), were provided to Copilot AI alongside a prompt to “identify a topic with 65% weight on the bigrams and 35% on the top 5 texts.” The results received were not used as the final topic assigned but rather served as a starting point for further manual screening and analysis.

Since 11 yearly LDA analyses were conducted, and one of the aims of the thesis is to gain an overview of long-term trends, the topic number was kept relatively small and constant, resulting in rather broad topics.

The assignment of titles is an inherently difficult process based on the probabilistic nature of LDA that may not result in topics that would be defined equally by humans (Blei et al., 2003). In addition to this inherent challenge, media articles are often characterized by a wide variety of topics and terms used as well as temporal specificities. An example of this type of challenge was, e.g., found in the years from 2021–2024. The Renewable Expansion Act and the Renewable Heat Act were highly discussed and therefore appeared in nearly all topics to some extent. Some of the topics, however, cannot be described as topics of Policy, Politics & Legislation but rather, e.g., Energy Security & Legislation.

4.6 Framework-Based Qualitative Analysis

For each year and LDA topic, the five texts with the highest gamma values were read sequentially. Passages specific to biogas were marked using the R package *requa* (Hladík et al., 2021) and then coded in an exploratory, deliberately coarse manner following the ASID framework. The categories were generated inductively during iterative reading, meaning that they emerged from the data rather than being predetermined. At the end of the close reading,

labeling the coded segments provided a good basis and overview for further interpretation of the passages.

This approach functioned as a form of structured note-taking to guide interpretation and support the textual analysis. While individual passages are cited and discussed within the context of the ASID framework, the categories themselves are not presented as quantified outcomes.

5 Results

5.1 Quantitative Results: LDA

5.1.1 Model Performance Evaluation

In *Table 6*, the UMass values for all year-topic combinations are shown. The resulting UMass values are primarily located between -1 and -2, with exceptions showing better UMass scores, closer to 0, for topic 4 2014, topic 2 2015, topic 1 2018, and topic 1 2019 comparatively across the years. Topics with scores smaller than or equal to -2 are only present in topics 1 and 3 in 2022.

Topic Coherence (UMass) by Year and Topic											
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
1	-1.14	-1.14	-1.58	-1.76	-0.94	-0.87	-1.65	-1.83	-2.01	-1.09	-1.46
2	-1.65	-0.95	-1.63	-1.88	-1.02	-1.53	-1.41	-1.89	-1.98	-1.78	-1.40
3	-1.35	-1.21	-1.39	-1.33	-1.17	-1.46	-1.49	-1.88	-2.46	-1.33	-1.49
4	-0.91	-1.30	-1.00	-1.54	-1.34	-1.55	-1.36	-1.33	-1.99	-1.86	-1.70

Table 6: UMass Coherence Scores by Year and Topic.
Note. Own visualization.

According to Röder et al. (2015) values should be interpreted within models rather than across models, in our case, years, lower-scoring models, especially on a yearly level, were looked at with caution in the label assignment process. Overall, however, UMass coherence did not yield significant insights in identifying topic quality across models, as it was not always aligned with human judgment. It was, however, used as a rough diagnostic measure to see whether any topics differ significantly from expected output ranges. It is plausible that the use of bigrams rather than unigrams in this thesis may have affected UMass coherence scores, since bigrams typically result in smaller word co-occurrence counts within topics. Consequently, greater emphasis was put on human interpretability during the topic labeling process, which aligns with findings in topic modeling literature that regard human judgment as the highest benchmark for the evaluation of topic quality (Röder et al., 2015, p. 2).

As mentioned in 4.5.2, two measures were used to test for model reproducibility: the mean Jaccard Overlap and an asymmetric mean β -weighted Jaccard Overlap.

The Jaccard Overlap was calculated across all years and topics by examining the top 15 bigrams per topic. In *Table 7*, you can see the resulting values where values below 0.25 are marked in red and values above or equal to 0.4 as green. Considering the formula of Jaccard described in 4.5.2 in methods, a Jaccard of 0.4 would mean that 10 bigrams out of 15 are on average reproduced in other seeds, and a Jaccard of 0.25 would mean that on average 6 bigrams are reproduced across other seeds. These values are not fixed thresholds, however. They can be seen as an indicator of the stability of topics.

Mean Jaccard Overlap per Year and Topic				
With Base Seed 1234				
Year	Topic_1	Topic_2	Topic_3	Topic_4
2014	0.17	0.48	0.41	0.27
2015	0.30	0.26	0.33	0.31
2016	0.72	0.19	0.34	0.59
2017	0.37	0.71	0.24	0.29
2018	0.21	0.36	0.34	0.49
2019	0.20	0.70	0.67	0.29
2020	0.48	0.24	0.24	0.25
2021	0.58	0.19	0.54	0.34
2022	0.39	0.24	0.16	0.51
2023	0.28	0.53	0.20	0.27
2024	0.23	0.18	0.96	0.39

Table 7: Mean Jaccard Overlap Scores by Year and Topic. Note. Own visualization.

The results of our second measure to check for model stability, a β -weighted Jaccard in a 10:15 ratio, can be seen in *Table 8*.

Mean β -Weighted Overlap per Year and Topic				
With Base Seed 1234				
Year	1	2	3	4
2014	0.45	0.75	0.59	0.49
2015	0.49	0.50	0.64	0.57
2016	0.94	0.47	0.50	0.87
2017	0.57	0.93	0.54	0.48
2018	0.49	0.73	0.71	0.69
2019	0.42	0.77	0.85	0.65
2020	0.74	0.50	0.60	0.54
2021	0.88	0.55	0.79	0.64
2022	0.70	0.49	0.40	0.85
2023	0.51	0.68	0.44	0.52
2024	0.47	0.44	1.00	0.65

Table 8: Mean β -weighted Jaccard Overlap Scores by Year and Topic. Note. Own visualization.

Values for the weighted topic overlap must be interpreted other than the Jaccard metric. A value of 0.5 indicates that 50% of the beta mass present in the top 10 bigrams of a topic in our base model is, on average, reproduced in the top 15 bigrams of the other 29 models.

In addition to examining mean values, also and median values and the IQR of the topics was considered to assess their stability. Regardless of the IQR, all topics with a median below 0.45 were disregarded and classified as unstable in the analysis based on the weighted topic overlap metric. Considering the 0.45 median threshold, the following topics were classified as unstable: Topic 1 2014, Topic 1 2019, Topic 2 & 3 2022, and Topic 3 2023.

Using the unweighted Jaccard overlap with the threshold of 0.25, the following topics were classified as unstable: Topic 1 2014, Topic 2 2016, Topic 3 2017, Topic 1 2018, Topic 1 2019, Topic 2&3 2021, Topic 2&3 2022, Topic 3 2023, and Topic 1&2 2024.

Topics considered unstable across both metrics are therefore: Topic 1 (2014, 2019), Topic 2 (2022), and Topic 3 (2022, 2023). In contrast, the following topics were considered unstable regarding the unweighted Jaccard but are above the minimal threshold in the beta weighted measure: Topic 2 (2016), Topic 1 (2018), Topic 2 & 3 (2021), Topic 1 & 2 (2024). One topic exceeded the threshold in the unweighted Jaccard but scored below 0.45 in the beta-weighted overlap metric: Topic 3 2017.

It should be noted that simply because a topic marks above the minimal threshold, that does not in itself imply high topic quality. For example, the topics that are between 0.45 and 0.50 mean in weighted beta, particularly those with an interquartile range above 0.1, cannot be considered highly stable, but were decided to be included in the interpretation.

Despite topic instability, the topic labeling was done for all topics. The topics that are below threshold, for both reproducibility metrics, were marked as such in the longitudinal analysis. Nevertheless, the articles underlying these topics are still considered in the qualitative results section, since they were considered as providing relevant information to the overall analysis.

5.1.2 Topic Labeling Output

The identified topic labels resulting from the LDA models are Community Projects & Activism, Energy Security & Legislation, Energy Transition & Decarbonization, Financial & Operational Aspects, Local Projects & Community Impact, Mobility & Alternative Fuels, Politics, Policy & Legislation, Research, Innovation & Education, and Technical Performance & Plant Operation, followed by the additional categories: Mixed Category and Below Both Reproducibility Thresholds. The label assignment occurred on a yearly basis, considering not only the top associated with each topic but also the content of the five texts with the highest gamma values. The detailed topic assignment process is outlined in 4.5.3. *Figure 9* shows the top 30 bigrams for each category, displayed as a word cloud. Size and color of the terms represent their hybrid score, which is based on bigram rank within a topic, frequency of appearance in the top 15 bigrams across years, and the beta value of the bigram. Each of the components is assigned equal weighting (33.33%).

It is important to emphasize that the resulting topics may appear straightforward and clearly delineated but are the outcome of a probabilistic generative model rather than fixed or objective classifications. The labeling process is subjective in that it depends on the researcher's judgment and resulting topics may vary between analysts. Also, the number of topics and other key parameters already explained in Section 4.5.1 were specified manually and thus reflect the researcher's choices in addition to the model output. The number of topics was intentionally kept constant across the years to have thematic as well as relative dominance comparability over time and to be able to identify trends within the large corpus.

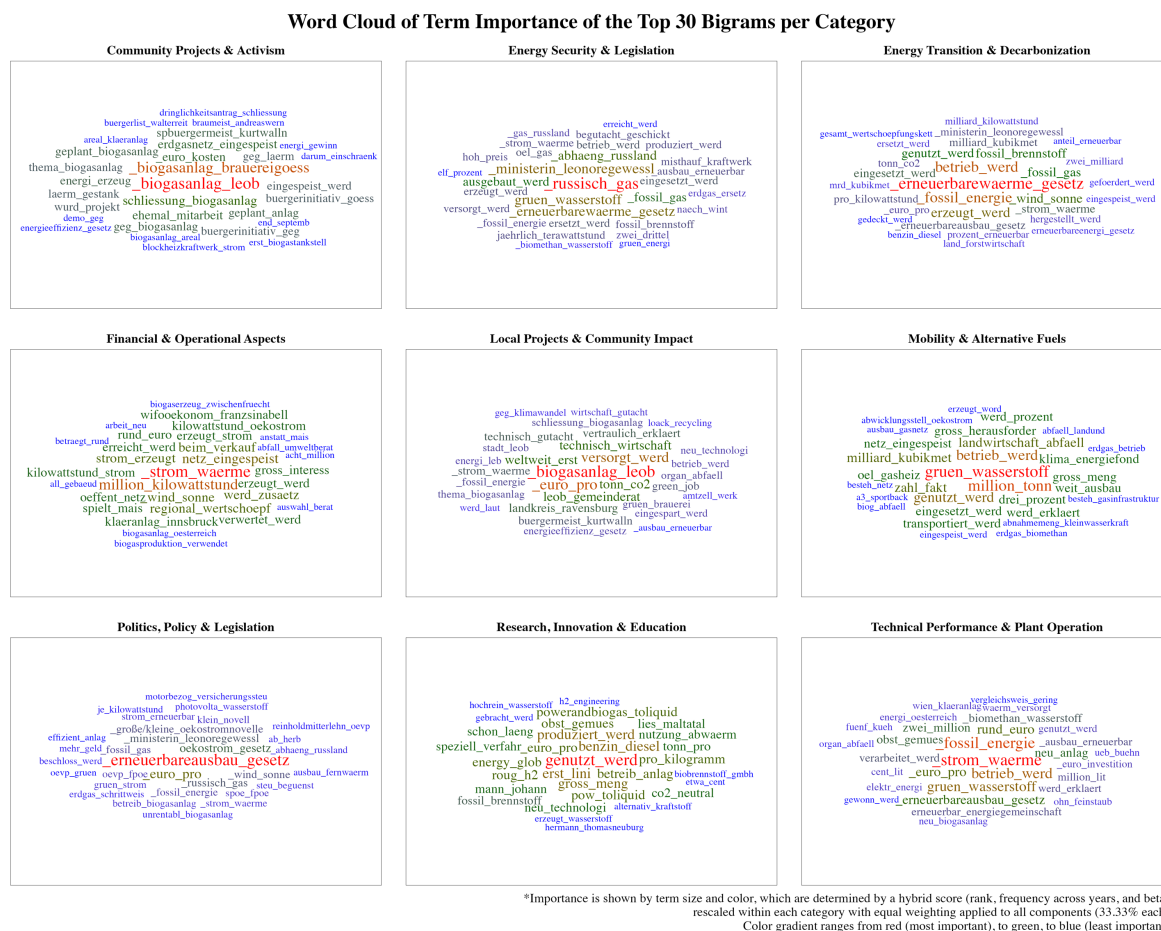


Figure 9: Word Clouds of Term Importance of the Top 30 Bigrams within Each Category Across All Years.

Note. Own visualization.

If, for example, a year results in 4 topics, this does not mean that other themes were completely absent. It only indicates that they were not dominant enough to be identified as an individual topic. For clarity, an example will be used from the data. In 2022, four topics were identified: Local Projects & Community Impact, Energy Security & Legislation, Technical Performance & Plant Operation, and Energy Transition & Decarbonization. This, however, can by no means be interpreted as the total absence of discussions on, e.g., Politics, Policy & Legislation, within the corpus of this year.

5.2 Absolute Coverage Volume and Temporal Shifts

When looking at absolute coverage, as shown in Table 9 the coverage on biogas remains relatively stable throughout most of the period, with moderate upward trends in 2016, 2017, 2019, 2021, and 2024. The year 2021 shows the highest percentage increase to date, with a

38.9% rise compared to 2020, resulting in the highest annual article count of 275 articles. The year 2022 stands out as a clear outlier, reaching the highest level of media attention with 467 articles. It is, however, directly followed by a drastic decline of 45% in the next year to 257 articles. This downward trend was followed by a slight recovery in 2024, where the number of articles rose by 3.9% to 267 articles.

Only *Kleine Zeitung* maintained the same number of articles as in the previous year. In 2022, all newspaper outlets expanded their coverage on biogas, followed by declines for all outlets except *Kleine Zeitung* in 2023. The year 2024 again reflects volatility, with some newspaper outlets showing rising trends and others reporting less on the topic of biogas.

The strong percentage fluctuations over the years are strongly influenced by the relatively low article counts per year, where even a small absolute change results in strong percentage shifts. At the same time, many newspapers exhibit very similar year-to-year trends, such as the collective increases in 2021 and 2022 and declines in 2015 and 2023. Increasing trends in 2016 and 2019 show somewhat weaker but still visible shared patterns. These patterns indicate that broader contextual macro-level factors impacted coverage dynamics across multiple news outlets.

Article Counts by Newspaper and Year												
Annual article counts with year-over-year percent change in parentheses												
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total
Der Standard	15	15 (0%)	20 (+33.3%)	24 (+20%)	14 (-41.7%)	10 (-28.6%)	18 (+80%)	27 (+50%)	39 (+44.4%)	24 (-38.5%)	44 (+83.3%)	250
Die Presse	16	13 (-18.8%)	22 (+69.2%)	17 (-22.7%)	22 (+29.4%)	25 (+13.6%)	29 (+16%)	30 (+3.4%)	61 (+103.3%)	31 (-49.2%)	42 (+35.5%)	308
Kleine Zeitung	41	36 (-12.2%)	44 (+22.2%)	49 (+11.4%)	18 (-63.3%)	27 (+50%)	27 (0%)	27 (0%)	48 (+77.8%)	50 (+4.2%)	37 (-26%)	404
Kronenzeitung	33	15 (-54.5%)	32 (+113.3%)	52 (+62.5%)	26 (-50%)	44 (+69.2%)	39 (-11.4%)	43 (+10.3%)	92 (+114%)	49 (-46.7%)	51 (+4.1%)	476
Oberösterreichische Nachrichten	20	14 (-30%)	14 (0%)	19 (+35.7%)	13 (-31.6%)	16 (+23.1%)	20 (+25%)	39 (+95%)	63 (+61.5%)	47 (-25.4%)	37 (-21.3%)	302
Salzburger Nachrichten	22	11 (-50%)	23 (+109.1%)	10 (-56.5%)	23 (+130%)	29 (+26.1%)	14 (-51.7%)	23 (+64.3%)	50 (+117.4%)	13 (-74%)	25 (+92.3%)	243
Tiroler Tageszeitung	19	18 (-5.3%)	19 (+5.6%)	28 (+47.4%)	23 (-17.9%)	28 (+21.7%)	25 (-10.7%)	36 (+44%)	46 (+27.8%)	17 (-63%)	16 (-5.9%)	275
Vorarlberger Nachrichten	33	29 (-12.1%)	22 (-24.1%)	27 (+22.7%)	20 (-25.9%)	25 (+25%)	16 (-36%)	26 (+62.5%)	34 (+30.8%)	11 (-67.6%)	15 (+36.4%)	258
Wiener Zeitung	14	9 (-35.7%)	10 (+11.1%)	18 (+80%)	7 (-61.1%)	13 (+85.7%)	10 (-23.1%)	24 (+140%)	34 (+41.7%)	15 (-55.9%)	—	154
Total	213	160 (-24.9%)	206 (+28.8%)	244 (+18.4%)	166 (-32%)	217 (+30.7%)	198 (-8.8%)	275 (+38.9%)	467 (+69.8%)	257 (-45%)	267 (+3.9%)	2670

Table 9: Article Count and Percent Change by Newspaper and Year.
Note. Own visualization.

5.3 Quantitative Overview of Thematic Focus by Year

When examining the relative dominance of topics over the years, persistent themes as well as volatility are notable. The topics Energy Transition & Decarbonization and Technical Performance & Plant Operation appear specifically dominant across the analyzed years.

Energy Transition & Decarbonization is present as a theme in 10 out of the 11 years, thus every year except 2024, with its share ranging from about 22% to 27% of annual coverage. The high presence and percentage indicate that biogas is consistently contextualized within a broader debate on decarbonization and hence anchored in the wider narrative of Austria's energy transition. Technical Performance & Plant Operation is also a stable category, present in 8 out of 11 years, with a percentage ranging from 24% to 27% over the years. The continued reporting on the topic can be interpreted as an ongoing interest in the practical and technical aspects of biogas production, reaching the highest level in 2019.

Further, there were topics that noted more variability over time but still prominence over several years: Local Projects & Community Impact and Policy, Politics & Legislation. Local Projects & Community Impact was identified as a topic in 4 of the 11 years, with a percentage peak in 2016, with 27%. Policy, Politics & Legislation was identified in 7 out of 11 years, peaking in 2017 with 29%. What is interesting about the two topics is that while Local Projects & Community Impact is present in two main phases, first until 2016, and second, from 2023 to 2024. Policy, Politics & Legislation is prominent continuously from 2016 until 2021 and then again in 2024.

While 2014 does not have a topic in the category Local Projects & Community Impact, the identified topic Public Perception & Protest Movements is profoundly local-driven. While there might have been several protest movements throughout the analyzed timespan, it is only in 2014 that they were prominent enough to result in a separate LDA topic. Similarly, sporadically, there is the topic Research, Innovation & Education that resulted as an individual topic in 2017 and 2021, as well as Mobility & Alternative Fuels that only appeared as a separate topic in the year 2020, and Financial & Operational Aspects that only appears as a topic in 2015.

Lastly, a topic that has been absent for many years but appears in a clustered way is Energy Security & Legislation. The topic only occurs in the years 2022 and 2023. There is also the topic Mixed Category, which, as the name says, appeared too diverse and accidental to be labeled a separate category and thus result in this unspecific label. It appeared in 2014, 2018, 2021, and 2024, so in 4 out of 11 years. Finally, a total of five topics were excluded due to reproducibility and are labeled as such.

So overall, when looking from a relative dominance perspective, the results can be categorized into three distinct phases:

- **2014-2016:** Local, financial, and acceptance aspects are highly present.
- **2017-2021:** Shift to policy-heavy years with stable representation of technical and decarbonization topics and appearance of innovation and fuel debates.
- **2022-2024:** The area of energy insecurity and dependence debates. Local relevance returns and integrates with policy and technical discussions.

5.4 Quantitative Trends and Thematic Dynamics

This section combines the quantitative analysis with the thematic composition in the analyzed years to examine how coverage intensity changes over time and to identify underlying dynamics. There is a strong volatility in coverage volume, and the first years of the analysis are characterized by primarily stable numbers, followed by drastic rises in 2021 and 2022, and then followed by a drastic decline in 2023. The absolute peak in coverage volume was noted in 2022, which is also the year of the introduction of a new topic, Energy Security & Legislation.

While there are also thematic shifts before the introduction of Energy Security & Legislation in 2022, the appearance of the topic in two consecutive years, together with the extremely high rise in reporting numbers by 69.8 % compared to 2021, does mark a shift in reporting compared to the years prior. However, another year that shows fewer extreme changes in reporting numbers, but also the combination of rising reporting numbers and the introduction of a new topic is the year 2016. In 2016, Politics, Policy & Legislation appeared as an individual topic for the first time. In the same year, overall reporting across all topics and articles increased by 28.8% compared to 2015. This was followed by another year of growth, with an additional increase of 18.4%, alongside a rise in the share of “Policy and Legislation” from 25% to 29%.

What is further noticeable is that the topic of Research, Innovation & Education only appears as a separate topic in years that are generally characterized by a rising trend in reporting quantity, 2017 and 2021. This pattern is, however, not applicable to all topics: 2020 is the only year with the category presence of Mobility & Alternative Fuels but does overall see a decline in coverage of 8.8% compared to 2019.

It is viewable which ones are the core sectoral concerns, those that are consistently present: Technical Performance & Plant Operation, Energy Transition & Decarbonization, and Politics, Policy & Legislation.

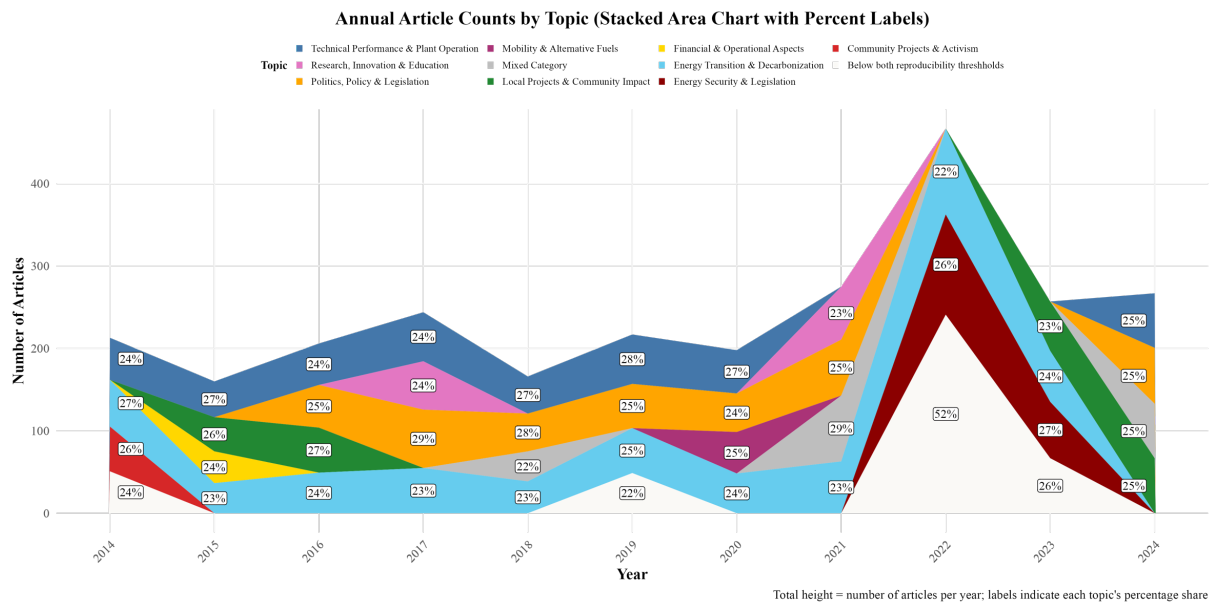


*Figure 10: Annual Article Count by Topic (Stacked Area Chart).
Note. Own visualization.*

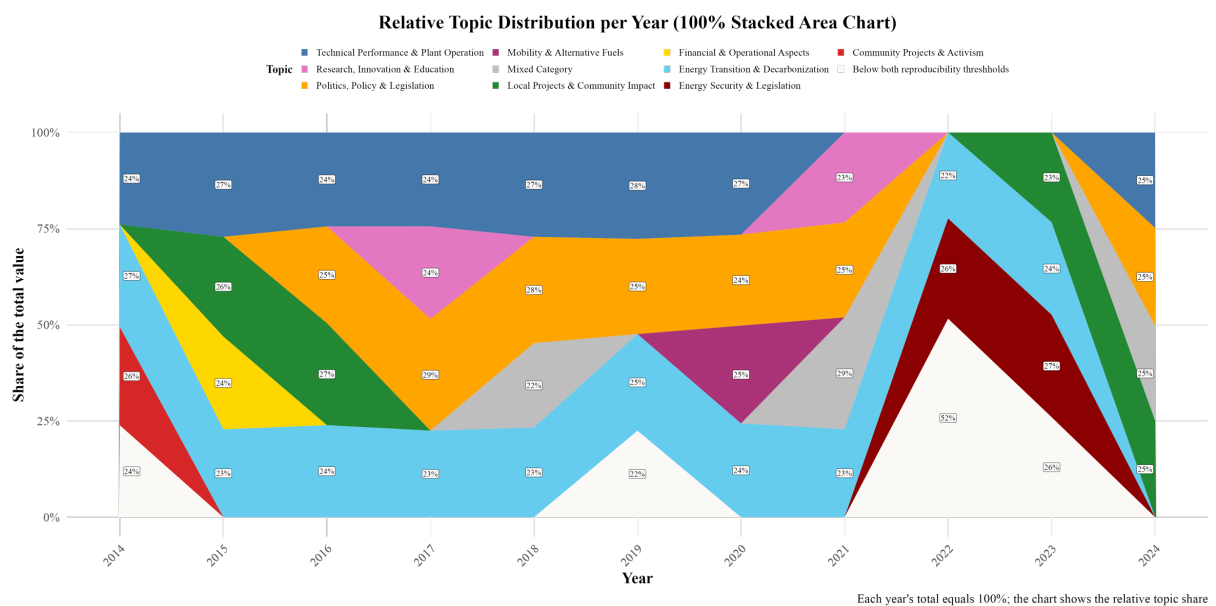


*Figure 11: Relative Topic Distribution Per Year (100% Stacked Area Chart).
Note. Own visualization.*

5.5 Regional and Newspaper-Specific Variations in Quantitative Trends and Thematic Dynamics

In *Figure 12*, the relative focus of each newspaper on the different topics is shown as a percentage of total coverage. This section investigates year-to-year changes across newspapers while also examining the absolute development in article numbers, as presented in *Table 9*. The aim is to identify and highlight noticeable patterns and shifts in coverage, identifying trend allocation of different newspapers that are situated within their distinct regional contexts.

To identify overall patterns, the average gamma value per newspaper and topic was calculated. In order to prevent distortion by years that show a particularly high or low count of articles, all present years were weighted equally per topic. As *Kleine Zeitung* is a regional newspaper serving both Styria and Carinthia, values were used for both regions. It should be noted that the *Wiener Zeitung* stopped publishing in mid-2023, which may have marginally affected the thematic patterns observed for Vienna. Further, topics that appear only once or twice during the observed period, like Community Projects & Activism or Mobility & Alternative Fuels, tend to produce comparatively extreme values since they cannot be balanced by data from other years. The interpretation of these topics, therefore, requires particular caution. For several of the topics, clear newspaper-specific trends emerge in how the matter of biogas is framed and embedded across different regional contexts.

The analyzed newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* from Vienna ranks highest in the category Politics, Policy & Legislation with 39.28%, Energy Security & Legislation with 38.34% and Energy Transition & Decarbonization with 27.91%. This indicates a strong focus on governance, system-level energy transition, and policy matters. Vorarlberg, with the *Vorarlberger Nachrichten* has the highest share across all regions in Local Projects & Community Impact with 33.61% and in Technical Performance & Plant Operation with 32.10%, and thus, emphasizes local implementation, technical performance, and operational aspects. The *Kleine Zeitung* in Carinthia and Styria ranks highest in Community Projects & Activism with 60.96%. The regions also have comparatively high shares in Politics, Policy & Legislation with 28.59% and in Local Projects & Community Impact with 27.39%. This reinforces a community and locally grounded framing on biogas.

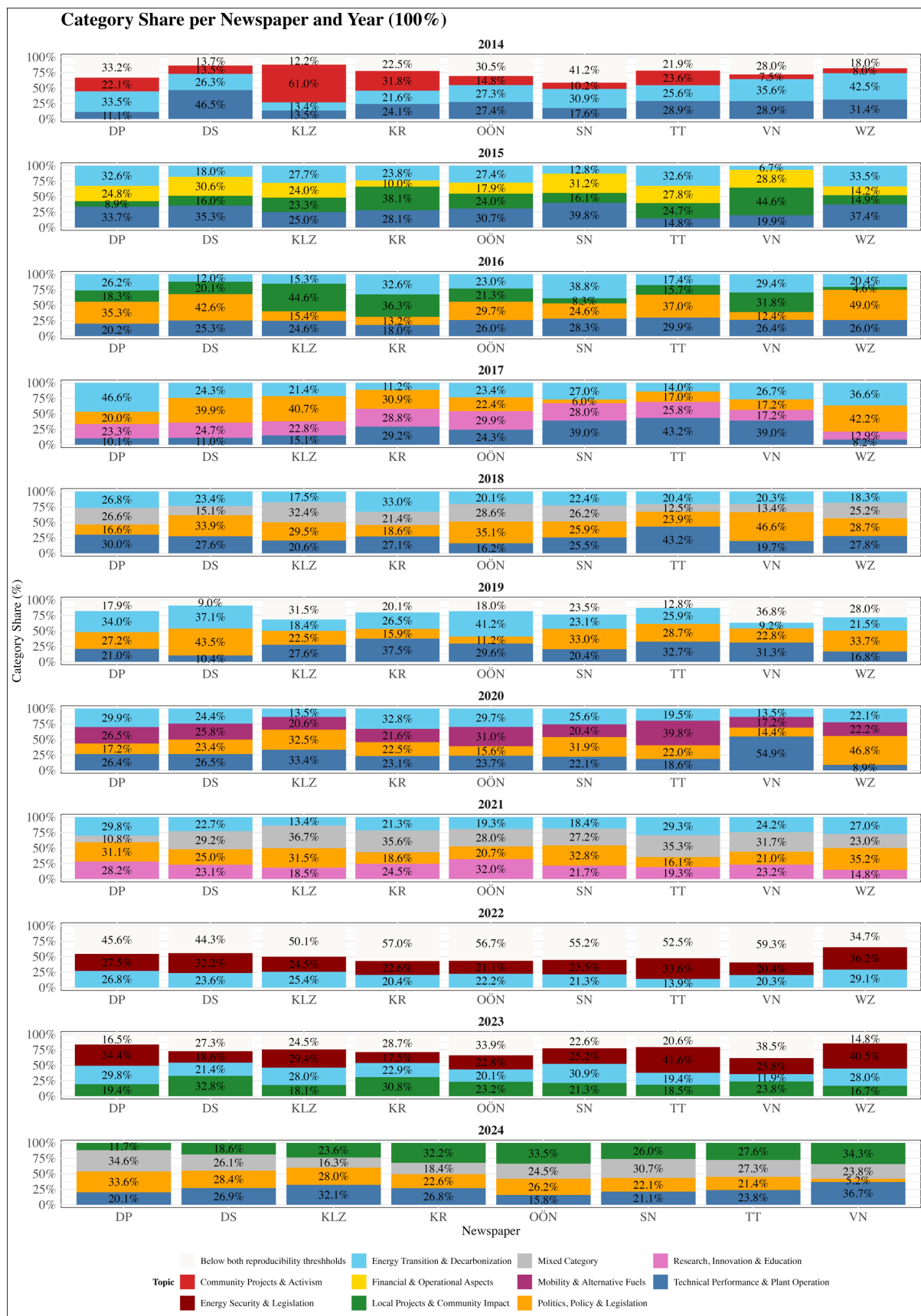
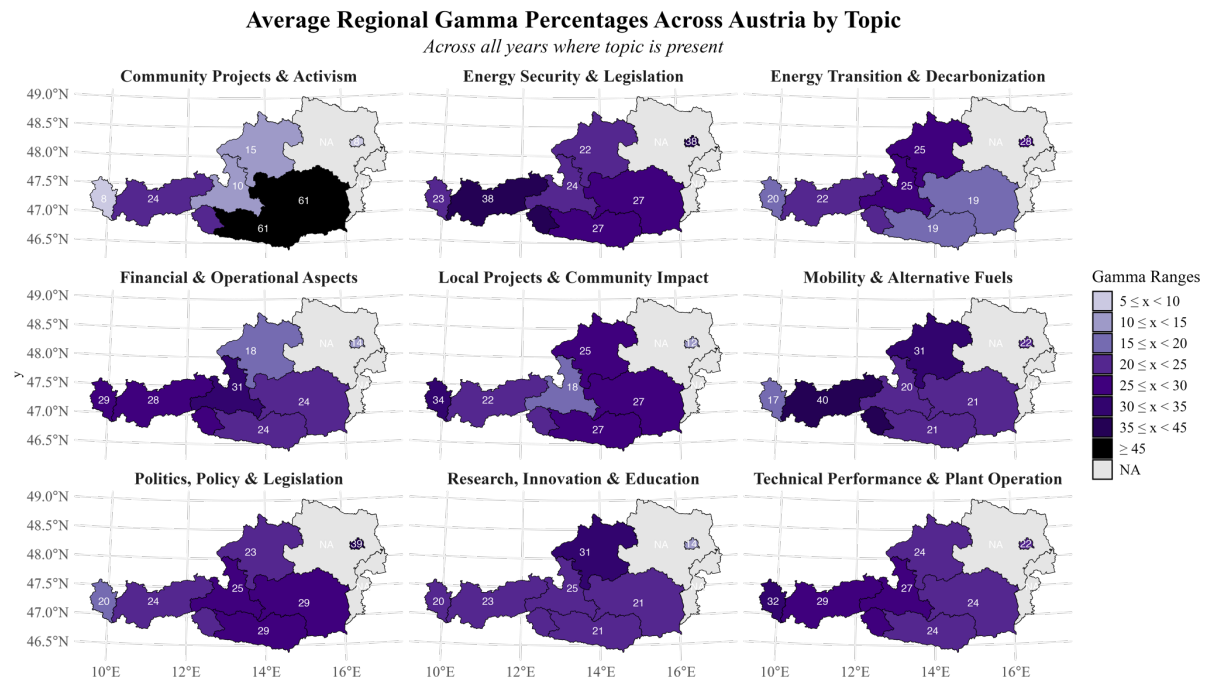


Figure 12: Relative Topic Share by Year and Newspaper (100% Stacked Bars).
Note. Own visualization.

Tyrol, with the newspaper *Tiroler Nachrichten*, ranks highest in the category Mobility & Alternative Fuels with 39.82% and second nationally in Energy Security & Legislation (37.59%) and Technical Performance & Plant Operation (29.39%), reflecting a focus on transport, infrastructural, and operational elements as well as on energy security. Salzburg, with the *Salzburger Nachrichten*, has the biggest share in the category Financial & Operational Aspects with 31.22% and ranks second in Research, Innovation & Education with 24.84%. This indicates a focus on economic and knowledge-based dimensions of biogas in the region. Upper Austria, with the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, has the nationally highest share in the topic Research, Innovation & Education with 30.99% and ranks second in the categories Mobility & Alternative Fuels with 31.04% and Energy Transition & Decarbonization with 25.36%. This shows a thematic focus on innovation, mobility, and system-level energy transition. These results show that biogas coverage across regional newspapers in Austria is diverse, with each region exhibiting a different thematic focus. An overview of the described average gamma values can be seen in *Figure 13*.

Also, at the national level, *Figure 12* makes viewable that there are big differences across the three newspapers. Across all analyzed years, *Der Standard* shows the strongest focus on Politics, Policy & Legislation (33.83%), followed by Financial & Operational Aspects (30.64%), which indicates a policy and economy focus. *Die Presse* ranks highest across all national outlets in Energy Transition & Decarbonization (31.61%) and in Energy Security & Legislation (30.95%), which indicates a comparatively high focus on system-wide energy matters. Lastly, *Kronenzeitung* has the highest share in the topic Local Projects & Community Impact (34.35%) and in Community Projects & Activism (31.76%), which suggests an emphasis on regional and community-level matters.

While the figures and the average gamma values per topic and region provide a descriptive overview of yearly topic distribution across newspapers, a regression analysis was also conducted to examine systemic differences. The aim of this regression analysis was to see whether articles from particular newspapers (or regions) differ systematically in their gamma score compared with articles from other sources. The analysis was run in two groups: national media outlets and regional media outlets.



A simple linear regression was fitted per topic: $\text{gamma} = \text{beta0} + \text{beta1} \cdot \text{is_src}$, where is_src is the indicator for a given newspaper. The coefficient beta1 estimates the mean difference in gamma values between the investigated newspaper and all other newspapers. Wiener Zeitung articles after 2022 were removed, since reporting stopped in the middle of the year, and results may be affected. Because many comparisons were performed (one regression model per newspaper per category), p-values were adjusted to control the false discovery rate using the Benjamini-Hochberg (BH) procedure (Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995). The procedure was conducted in R using `p.adjust("BH")` from the *stats* package (R Core Team, 2025).

The results are presented in two blocks: national media and regional media. For each block, comparisons that remain significant after the Benjamini-Hochberg procedure ($p_{\text{adj}} \leq 0.05$) are reported first, comparisons that were significant at the unadjusted level ($p < 0.05$) but not after the adjustment are presented second. The latter are considered exploratory and should be interpreted cautiously. However, since all analyzed data consist of LDA-derived gamma values, which are probabilistic topic proportions rather than direct observations, these marginal differences still provide meaningful insights and may be considered informative within the exploratory framework of this thesis.

They were still considered in the analysis. This approach is justified because, in the context of this thesis, the regression results are treated as exploratory rather than treated as “hard truths.” They support the exploratory framework of the thesis and the LDA-based topic assignment and are primarily included to provide additional interpretative insight into topic proportion patterns in the analysis output.

The three national media outlets, *Kronenzeitung*, *Die Presse*, and *Der Standard* show that *Die Presse* reports 7.3 percentage points more on Energy Transition & Decarbonization than the other national news outlets and 13.6 percentage points less on Local Projects & Community Impact. *Kronenzeitung*, however, reports 14.9 percentage points more on Local Projects & Community Impact.

Category	Source	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	CI Lower	CI Upper	N (Source)	N (Other)	Adj. p-value
Energy Security & Legislation	Kronenzeitung	-0.078	0.031	1.25×10^{-2}	-0.140	-0.017	141	155	3.75×10^{-2}
Energy Transition & Decarbonization	Die Presse	0.073	0.021	6.29×10^{-4}	0.031	0.115	266	631	1.89×10^{-3}
Local Projects & Community Impact	Kronenzeitung	0.149	0.033	9.86×10^{-6}	0.084	0.215	147	211	2.96×10^{-5}
Local Projects & Community Impact	Die Presse	-0.136	0.036	1.78×10^{-4}	-0.207	-0.066	108	250	2.67×10^{-4}
Politics, Policy & Legislation	Der Standard	0.090	0.029	2.04×10^{-3}	0.033	0.147	157	474	3.06×10^{-3}
Politics, Policy & Legislation	Kronenzeitung	-0.082	0.025	1.12×10^{-3}	-0.132	-0.033	287	344	3.06×10^{-3}

Table 10: National Regression Results with Statistically Significant Effects (BH-Adjusted, $p_{adj} \leq 0.05$).
Note. Own visualization.

Energy Security & Legislation shows gamma values 7.1 percentage points higher in *Die Presse* relative to other national outlets. This difference was statistically significant at the unadjusted level ($p < 0.05$) but did not outlast the Bernjamini-Hochberg adjustment. It should therefore be interpreted with caution.

Category	Source	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	CI Lower	CI Upper	N (Source)	N (Other)	Adj. p-value
Energy Security & Legislation	Die Presse	0.071	0.034	3.66×10^{-2}	0.004	0.137	92	204	5.49×10^{-2}

Table 11: National Regression Results with Marginally Significant Effects (BH-Adjusted, $0.05 < p_{adj} \leq 0.06$).
Note. Own visualization.

When looking at the regional media outlets, the *Wiener Zeitung* reports 7.0 percentage points more on Energy Transition & Decarbonization and 14.4 percentage points more on Politics, Policy & Legislation. The *Vorarlberger Nachrichten* reports 12.0 percentage points more on Local Projects & Community Impact and 23.3 percentage points less on Community Projects

& Activism. And the *Kleine Zeitung* reports 48.6 percentage points more on Community Projects & Activism.

Category	Source	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	CI Lower	CI Upper	N (Source)	N (Other)	Adj. p-value
Community Projects & Activism	Kleine Zeitung	0.486	0.052	1.05×10^{-16}	0.384	0.589	41	108	6.28×10^{-16}
Community Projects & Activism	Vorarlberger Nachrichten	-0.233	0.068	7.47×10^{-4}	-0.367	-0.099	33	116	2.24×10^{-3}
Energy Transition & Decarbonization	Wiener Zeitung	0.070	0.026	6.10×10^{-3}	0.020	0.120	139	1352	3.66×10^{-2}
Local Projects & Community Impact	Vorarlberger Nachrichten	0.120	0.040	2.48×10^{-3}	0.043	0.198	77	440	1.49×10^{-2}
Politics, Policy & Legislation	Wiener Zeitung	0.144	0.038	1.30×10^{-4}	0.071	0.218	82	860	7.78×10^{-4}

Table 12: Regional Regression Results with Statistically Significant Effects (BH-Adjusted, $p_{adj} \leq 0.05$).
Note. Own visualization.

Table 13 provides an overview of the results that were statistically significant at the unadjusted level ($p < 0.5$) but did not pass Benjamini-Hochberg adjustment.

Category	Source	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	CI Lower	CI Upper	N (Source)	N (Other)	Adj. p-value
Community Projects & Activism	Salzburger Nachrichten	-0.182	0.081	2.65×10^{-2}	-0.342	-0.021	22	127	5.30×10^{-2}
Energy Security & Legislation	Tiroler Tageszeitung	0.107	0.041	9.60×10^{-3}	0.026	0.188	63	350	5.76×10^{-2}
Local Projects & Community Impact	Salzburger Nachrichten	-0.089	0.041	2.94×10^{-2}	-0.170	-0.009	72	445	5.89×10^{-2}
Local Projects & Community Impact	Wiener Zeitung	-0.168	0.075	2.59×10^{-2}	-0.316	-0.020	19	498	5.89×10^{-2}
Mobility & Alternative Fuels	Tiroler Tageszeitung	0.173	0.070	1.55×10^{-2}	0.033	0.312	25	87	9.32×10^{-2}
Politics, Policy & Legislation	Vorarlberger Nachrichten	-0.064	0.029	2.71×10^{-2}	-0.121	-0.007	151	791	8.12×10^{-2}
Research, Innovation & Education	Oberösterreichische Nachrichten	0.110	0.044	1.31×10^{-2}	0.023	0.196	58	268	7.86×10^{-2}

Table 13: Regional Regression Results with Marginally Significant Effects (BH-Adjusted, 0.05).
Note. Own visualization.

Although these findings should be interpreted with caution, the following section will analyze those results that have an adjusted p value > 0.05 , since they might provide valuable exploratory insights. The *Salzburger Nachrichten* reported lower gamma values for Community Projects & Activism by 18.2 percentage points compared to other regional outlets. Additionally, the *Salzburger Nachrichten* reported 8.9 percentage points less on Local Projects & Community Impact. Also, the *Wiener Zeitung* reported less on Local Projects & Community Impact by 16.8 percentage points. The *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, in contrast, reported 10.7 percentage points more on the topic Energy Security & Legislation and 17.3 percentage points more on Mobility & Alternative Fuels. Further, the *Vorarlberger Nachrichten* reported 6.4 percentage points less on Politics, Policy & Legislation and the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* reported 11 percentage

points more on Research, Innovation & Education. These findings align well with a manual screening of the results in *Figure 12*.

The results of the regression analysis support many of the patterns observed in the gamma values and may point out systematic differences across newspapers.

5.6 Qualitative Insights and In-Depth Contextualization

The process behind the label assignment is already described in Section 4.5.3. In this upcoming section, the resulting topics are analyzed qualitatively. The Mixed Category topic is left out in this section. As discussed in 5.1.1, some topics failed to meet the reproducibility thresholds used and were therefore classified as not reproducible and excluded from the thematic longitudinal analysis. The affected topics were, however, maintained within the qualitative examination, since the representative articles provided relevant insights into the public debate on biogas in Austria and were clearly linkable to topics. The decision to include them in the qualitative interpretation was made since the topics, despite being considered explorative, provided an interesting addition to the ongoing debate on biogas in Austria in the respective assigned topics. This approach avoids overly strict elimination of debates that appear less prominent, e.g., due to the specific newspaper selection, limited number of articles, and other analytical specifications and limitations. An example is the case of the topic Community Projects and Activism. It was originally present in the years 2014 and 2023 but did not pass the reproducibility thresholds in 2023. By keeping the 2023 topic in, a relevant background for the topic can be provided. For mixed topics, however, the top five articles did not form a coherent topic and therefore were excluded from the analysis.

In the context of the following analysis, only the top five articles per topic and year were considered. The following section is thus a qualitative, exploratory, in-depth perspective on the identified topics.

5.6.1 Technical Performance & Plant Operation

The period from 2014 to 2016 was shaped by pilot projects and scaling efforts in biogas. The analyzed articles in 2014 primarily demonstrate experimental or innovative efforts, ranging from the use of algae facades for biogas production (#1738) to biogas generation from whey at the company Schärdinger (#8). At the same time, infrastructural elements such as the construction of a biogas refueling station and biogas pipeline were present (#2561; #76), highlighting efforts to create an infrastructural environment that allows for scaling of the technology. By 2015–2016, some articles reflect a shift to formal, long-term projects with multi-million-euro investments, such as a new conception of a Vienna wastewater plant aiming to become “energy positive” by 2020 (#1757), as well as similar ambitions with university involvement at a wastewater treatment plant in Tirol (#1140). These projects show a growing institutionalization of projects and highlight a shift from loosely organized pilot projects to more formal, time-bound projects, which generally aligns well with the rising share of electricity feed-in from sewage biogas at the time (Statistik Austria, 2025).

From an ASID perspective, the 2014–2015 time frame can be interpreted as follows: several structural (**S**) elements act simultaneously as constraints as well as enablers within the analyzed articles, including local feedstock availability, existing network assets, and emerging distribution infrastructure. Analyzed media refer to low availability volumes of feedstock (#2203). However, it also points to investments in infrastructure, such as pipes that enable biogas transport (#2561). This shows that there is progress in structural building but also emphasizes limitations posed. At the agency (**A**) level, a broad range of actors is present, including farmers and small pilot projects, municipal operators, and technology vendors such as Siemens and Stadtwerke Bregenz. Discourse (**D**) is shaped by the narrative of sustainability and modernization. However, legitimacy and local impact issues are also part of the public debate, particularly in the case of the proposed power plant expansion in Graz (#783).

From 2017 to 2019, agency (**A**) is primarily characterized by plant operators as well as research consortia (#2294). Biogas and wastewater plant infrastructure (**S**) is discussed as functioning production platform; one that does operate with constraints. Specifically, the issue of sorting so-called “Störstoffe” (impurities) is mentioned as being a complicating factor in processing and a cost driver (#2294, #2343). With regard to institution (**I**), the media discussed Tirol as a model region regarding biogas generation in wastewater plants (#2294). Also, regional

initiatives, such as the “traffic light campaign,” implemented between Land Tirol and Arge Kompost Biogas, aimed to raise awareness about the correct separation of biogenic waste by assigning colors to the wastebins of households (#2374). These initiatives show a form of governance that is focused on awareness-raising at the regional level.

Critique was raised about the potential impact of biogas production on biodiversity deriving from energy crop cultivation (#1180). The dominant discourse (**D**) during this period is characterized by contrasting narratives, combining themes of modernization and scalability with critical assessment of practical and environmental concerns.

The period from 2020 to 2021 is characterized by heightened public tension and large operational projects. Agency (**A**) is driven by technology vendors, industry associations, municipal actors, and consortia, such as a consortium involving Vienna Technical University in collaboration with the EU (#1140). The structural dimension (**S**) is characterized by material, infrastructure, and spatial constraints. Since existing plants and networks had to keep operating and maintain treatment quality, while new installations were integrated, in the case of Vienna’s E_OS wastewater treatment project, existing infrastructure was a key structural constraint (#241). Also, odor from sewage drying showed direct physical and spatial consequences, affecting the feasibility and social acceptance of biogas technology (#1996).

At the same time, localized, smaller-scale installations, like the biogas and PV heating at a kindergarten in Bregenz, show integration of biogas into municipal infrastructure. (#2703). Institutional factors (**I**) affect projects through funding and sector programs that affect the potential for scale-up. A study by the Austrian Renewable Energy Association (EEÖ) demonstrates that investment in renewable energy, including biogas, could result in reduced CO₂ emissions, over 100,000 jobs, and a significant rise in GDP. The study can be interpreted as an institutional knowledge resource (#2709). Corporate structures, rules, and decisions are discussed as potentially having significant impacts on who bears operational risks and if and how environmental impacts are managed. An example is the biogas plant Zellinger, where company decisions led to odor and air quality issues, and poor communication was noted to be counterproductive for the acceptance of biogas plants (#1996). Another example is the Wolf Nudeln site, where operational choices directly shaped the economic and environmental outcomes (#606). Discourse (**D**) in this period is shaped by macro-level narratives, such as job

creation, CO₂ reduction, and energy autonomy, as well as local acceptance, environmental impacts, and legitimacy issues.

The articles in 2022 are characterized by agency (**A**) driven by municipal actors, emergency services, and authorities/auditors, as well as producers, political actors, and recyclers. Agency unfolds in the context of an accident at a biogas silo (#355), a failed sewage sludge and biogas plant in Straß, that faced a state audit and left municipalities with 18.7€ million in debt (#164) and cross-border waste logistics, where politicians urged for a transnational swap agreement between companies in Vorarlberg (Austria) and Amzell (Germany) (#382). The structural (**S**) components in 2022 were of a material, infrastructural, and logistical nature in cases of accidents and malfunctioning plants. In addition, territorial and cross-border infrastructures appeared as structural factors. On the institutional (**I**) level ownership structures, EU procurement rules, and audits shaped operational practices in terms of how waste was managed and who bore financial liabilities. In the context of cross-border waste logistics, institutional frameworks and private contracts affect how inefficiencies in waste management can be treated. The discourse (**D**) in 2022 is strongly risk- and problem-focused, with emphasis on safety, financial liability, and governance failures. The sustainability and modernization narrative is, however, still present.

Finally, the media analyzed in 2024 is characterized by political leaders, ministerial actors, real labs, wastewater associations, and technology partners as agents (**A**). From a structural (**S**) perspective, physical integration of systems dominates. Projects connected heat-recovery pipes, PV and biogas systems, and new facilities converting biomass into gaseous and liquid fuels (#1699; #480). These changes are cost-intensive and include significant investments in infrastructure, such as grid connections. Better network capacity is needed before wider scaling is possible. Institutional (**I**) factors that were mentioned are public funding that “de-risks” pilot projects, and court rulings and contracts determine when projects can start and who can operate them. The discourse (**D**) connects sustainability narratives to resilience and reduced fossil fuel import dependence. Simultaneously, the issue of legitimacy and local acceptance is part of the discussion.

5.6.2 Politics, Policy & Legislation

The Politics, Policy & Legislation topic is driven by repeated institutional interventions (**I**) that shape market structure (**S**), resulting in actor responses (**A**), and public legitimacy and distributional discourse (**D**). The responses to institutional intervention then feed back into institutional adjustment. The following section documents this pattern across the analyzed years.

The discussions in 2016 are characterized by the announcement of a change to the renewable electricity regime and changes in the payment regimes affecting the biogas sector (#788). This institutional signal mattered because the existing legislative design had resulted in a large subsidy flow (#2258), and hence the announcement of changes resulted in stranded risks for existing plants (#107). The government simultaneously drafted remedial measures such as extensions, exit payments, and follow-on tariffs (#788, #2280). Analytically, 2016 can be interpreted as a turning point: it not only marks the first presence of Politics, Policy & Legislation as a major topic but also reveals structural vulnerability through institutional signals.

The year 2017 was characterized by immediate consequences from the producer side as well as local political support. Protests were held due to concerns about an abrupt loss of income (#1468, #1470). Parliamentary actors negotiated the “Kleine Ökostromnovelle,” an amendment to the Green Electricity Act, in June 2017, that introduced exit aids and specific support measures for high-efficiency plants (#812). These sections illustrate the core feedback: I -> S produced A -> I. The discourse (**D**) at this time is primarily shaped by fairness and continuity debates.

The focus of the topic shifted in 2018. After what may be interpreted as crisis management in 2016–2017, the institutional frame changed towards being more proactive and systematic in 2018–2019. In late 2018, the Council of Ministers adopted a point-by-point agreement regarding the planned Renewable Energy Expansion Act with intended changes in tax and quota concepts for green gas and renewable electricity (#1193, #2348). In 2019, discussions on tax reform between coalition partners (ÖVP and FPÖ) included environmental measures. However, NGOs like WWF called for stronger incentives for low-emission vehicles and green technologies, including biogas, and experts such as Martin Kocher note that planned measures

were insufficient to meet climate goals (#588, #2671). As mentioned above, there is a shift in this period. It shows institutions moving from reactive redistribution to proactive steering.

The year 2020 was characterized by a shift from high-level planning to the specification of concrete rules regarding support that is planned to be laid out and quantitative capacity targets of green energy by 2030 (e.g., +27 TWh by 2030) (#1811; #610). While this step generally can be interpreted as an incentive for firms to invest, some actors judged the framework as incomplete and not being a foundation for a fundamental energy transition and not delivering the necessary legal framework for biogas. Concerns about household costs are also part of the discourse, primarily driven by the opposition (SPÖ) and the AK (#610). Overall, the pattern in this year is that institutional planning and signals **(I)** create credible demand for new infrastructure **(S)** and firms and other actors **(A)** to plan accordingly.

In 2021, discussions in the Politics, Policy & Legislation topic were dominated by the operationalization of previously planned renewable support instruments. In July 2021, the Renewable Energy Expansion Act was enacted, which is a big change in institution **(I)** (#1588, #2727). The law included detailed instruments for renewable energy, including green gas, coupled with financial allocation (€80 million annually for hydrogen and green gas) (#1588, #2727). The institutional framework, however, encountered broader structural constraints within the energy system, such as delays in grid connections and limits in network infrastructure **(S)** that affected the measures that were put into place (#1250, #2727). Market actors **(A)** reorganized projects, potentially, as a response to the institutional changes that were already anticipated in previous years. An example is the TINEKT spin-off from TIWAG (#2443) that may reflect the adaptation to the changes in the institutional framework. The discourse around the newly implemented law was highly shaped by considerations of fairness and legitimacy, especially regarding the effects and exemptions of renewable energy charges on vulnerable households (#1588, #2727). So, overall, 2021 is characterized by institutional changes **(I)**, that act within structural constraints **(S)**, resulting in responses from market actors **(A)** and discourse **(D)** centered on fairness and legitimacy.

While 2022 and 2023 included policy discussions, policy was not the main topic but rather an enabler for issues such as energy security. In 2024, however, the debate on policy returned as a main topic. The year is characterized by the announcement of the planned EGG, a new

renewable gas bill, that would include legally binding biogas quotas aiming for full substitution of fossil gas in 2040 (#1023, #1701).

The proposal included sanctions for suppliers when missing quotas for biogas shares that were planned to be put into support for building new biogas plants. This proposal, however, faced a lot of criticism from industry as well as energy providers, arguing that the sanction level was too high and warning that the policy would result in artificially high prices for biogas. Also, from the political side, criticism was raised. The fear of higher costs that would eventually be paid by households and small businesses was raised, as well as the lack of protection measures for vulnerable households. As a response to criticism, the government reduced the sanction level (#1023). The legitimacy concerns were, however, not solved in time, which resulted in a failed parliamentary attempt on July 4, 2024 (Parlament Österreich, 2024) (#2526). The Green Party wanted to get an updated draft to a parliamentary vote in September, but the government announced that negotiations had failed and no further opportunity for adopting the Renewable Gas Act remained. (#2526) (SEG - Servicestelle Erneuerbare Gase, 2024).

In ASID terms, 2024 was marked by a strong institutional (**I**) signal: the planned Renewable Gas Act. Strong opposition from actors (**A**), including suppliers, the Federation of Austrian Industries (“Industriellenvereinigung”), and political actors, ultimately led to no legal changes affecting the institutional (**I**) dimension of the ASID framework. The public and the political discourse were focused on legitimacy, energy security, and distributional issues.

5.6.3 Local Projects & Community Impact and Community Projects & Activism

The decision was made to analyze the two topics together in this qualitative section, since they empirically overlap in many of the ASID components. They were labeled separately to account for years that showed particularly prominent levels of activism reporting in the media.

From 2014 to 2016, the analyzed media reflect conflict as well as technical learnings regarding local projects. The agency (**A**) realm brought together municipal leaders, councilors, experts, company representatives, producers, and investors, as well as citizens, activists, and whistleblowers. Agency was expressed through protest and closure demands, whistleblowing, and media revelations that collectively influenced institutions to review plant safety and governance (#1327, #1347, #1417). The identified structural (**S**) elements are primarily of a physical nature: plant configuration and deficient equipment (#1347, #1389, #2222). On an

institutional (**I**) level, local authorities commissioned an expert assessment of a criticized local plant. The local authorities also held financial responsibility regarding the financing of capacity upgrades (#1352, #2222, #1408). The discourse (**D**) is strongly driven by legitimacy concerns about odor as well as worker safety and the financial risk of local plants (#1327, #1352, #1417).

In 2019, the analyzed media articles foreground local demonstration projects. From an agency (**A**) perspective, farms, firms, and research teams worked, e.g., on a microgrid pilot project as well as initiatives converting stall manure into biogas for on-site household supply (#1536; #1520). At the structural (**S**) level, the efforts mentioned above relied on modular infrastructure (PV, digesters, localized heat recovery) and resulted in concrete local outcomes (#1536; #1202). From an institutional (**I**) perspective, the governed research/pilot partnerships can be seen as building technical capacity as well as legitimizing the project through public outreach, and providing governance templates for scaling initiatives (#1536, #522, #2120, #2456). In 2019, discourse (**D**) is primarily shaped by local employment and circular benefits, including local energy security. However, cost and technical limitations are still part of the discussion (#1536, #1520).

From 2022 to 2024, texts assigned to Local Projects & Community Impact and Community Projects & Activism involved a wide range of actors and activities. Agency (**A**) was exercised by firms, research partners, and local actors who initiated or operated biogas plants, coordinated waste collection, and piloted new processing technologies (#375, #2781, #2456). Also, NGOs and activists were part of the actor landscape in the form of protest actions (#1286). The structural (**S**) level is represented by physical and logistical components regarding digester setup, modular treatment units, and waste collection systems (#375, #2781, #2163). Transport logistics and cross-border waste flows also appear as structural constraints (#2780). institutionally (**I**) the projects were embedded within legislative frameworks such as EU procurement rules and government energy programs. National and regional meetings and conferences, alongside an important court ruling, had effects on technical requirements for biogas plants, in particular regarding Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (#2780, #2456, #1034, #463). The discourse (**D**) from 2022 to 2024 included positive sustainability and modernization frames, alongside activist and public debates that questioned the validity of those sustainability claims (#2753, #2163, #411, #2781).

5.6.4 Energy Transition & Decarbonization

At the beginning of the period of 2014 to 2016, agency **(A)** was mainly driven by municipal and small-scale actors that aimed for local decarbonization. While there is a case of municipal heating supplied by a regional energy firm (#2548), other articles discuss the financial difficulties of operators (#1328). At the same time, EU pilot projects like bin2grid (#776) and fueling infrastructure for vehicles in Tirol (#2226) show how EU-level initiatives complement local ones. In 2016, the landscape expanded to include corporate actors such as Shell, which explores biogas (#785), alongside pilot projects in the wastewater treatment sector aiming for an elevation of local decarbonization efforts (#1151). On a structural **(S)** level, aspects mentioned in the analyzed articles are primarily related to the plant level and feedstock availability. An insolvency case highlights sensitivity to raw material prices and supply (#1328). Institutional **(I)** factors discussed include tariff and subsidy design (“Ökostrom-Einspeisetarifverordnung”) (#2218) as well as municipal decisions aiming for decarbonization. (#2548). The dominant discourse **(D)** emphasizes the sustainability narrative and climate ethics next to financial concerns (#776, #1328).

From 2017 to 2019, agency **(A)** was characterized by a strong political presence as well as an organized industry that discussed subsidy design and the strategic role of biogas. While politicians such as Christian Kern (SPÖ) criticized sector lobbying and demanded subsidy cuts, industry groups urged to keeping or expanding subsidies in the industry by emphasizing the system value of biogas (#818, #1778, #1800, #1977, #1077). On the structural **(S)** level, the fiscal system is highly discussed since subsidies and cost-efficiency are debated (#818). Also, the infrastructure considerations, especially regarding the storage potential of biogas, are part of the discussion (#1800). Institutional **(I)** activity also relates to the discussed subsidy debates in relation to the “Ökostromnovelle” from 2017, including parliamentary decisions and political proposals, that were already discussed in previous sections. Discourse **(D)** in the analyzed articles primarily surrounds two main concepts: cost-efficiency and modernization and decarbonization.

In 2020–2021, the sectoral debate increasingly included hydrogen usage in the discussions. Agency **(A)** in the analyzed texts was implemented by large incumbents and regional energy firms that secured network assets in green gas technologies, including hydrogen (#886). Regional governments and private energy providers are also part of the actor landscape: one

case in Tirol, where the government argues that Tigas, the regional gas supplier, cannot sustainably cover regional heat demand by biogas (#2424). From the perspective of structure (**S**), resource limits are part of the discussion. It is argued in the media that only a limited share of Austria's green gas demand can be met with green gas from biogenic feedstocks (#2424, #914). Institution (**I**) is present in that there were regulatory changes in gas grid injection limits for hydrogen, as well as state-influenced reconfiguration of infrastructure through the Verbund acquisition of GCA (#2423, #2001). Further ministerial guidance on the prioritization of biogenic gas, as well as regional legal disputes, was part of the debate (#2424, #914). The discourse (**D**) around biogas treats it as a valuable but scarce element and debates where it should be prioritized (#914).

The 2022–2023 period was characterized by strong voices from the industry and technical side, demanding clearer legal and financial frameworks (#1868). From the economic side, there was a critique regarding (politically) discussed expansion plans, emphasizing that economic and grid restrictions must be more central in the debate (#2073). The period is characterized by national and regional political actors (**A**) who discussed investment decrees and production for biogas (#312, #1688). Farmers and producers are discussed as critical actors, since biogas plants were viewed skeptically by policymakers a few years ago, which results in uncertainty about whether farmers will invest in new facilities (#40). The population and private consumers are named as becoming more and more accepting of renewable technologies and willing to save energy (#1881). On the structural (**S**) level, the media frames the war in Ukraine as a driver of the energy transition, highlighting record highs in replacing gas and oil heating systems (#401). Analysts and studies highlight hard structural limits and note that technical potentials in political plans are often presented without economic or grid-capacity constraints (#1860, #2073). The lack of a clear implementation strategy and research is also discussed in the context of planned institutional adjustment regarding increased green gas targets through the EAG (#401).

Critical voices from actors show that 2022 was characterized by institutional (**I**) gaps regarding the already mentioned lack of legal and financial framework (#1868). The year 2023 brought institutional developments such as legal drafts, investment decisions, and target values for biogas production. These, however, directly faced criticism regarding structural and economic problems, and new negotiations emerged (#401, #402). Biogas is described as “champagne of

the energy transition” that must be used selectively, where there are no alternatives yet (#402). The discourse also includes social distribution matters and price concerns for households if biogas is being continually used in space heating, especially in the context of legal exemptions allowing gas heaters to remain in use with green gas (#402). With the state taking institutional steps in extending biogas capacities, biogas is framed as a key substitute for fossil gas.

5.6.5 Financial & Operational Aspects

Firstly, it is important to note that financial matters are part of a large number of articles. As a matter of fact, the bigram “million_euro” was filtered out prior to the LDA analysis because it was disproportionately frequent across the texts compared to other terms. So financial aspects are part of nearly all topics to some extent. Topic 3 in 2015, however, is the sole topic that was labeled specifically Financial & Operational Aspects. From an agency (**A**) perspective, plant operators, farmers, and industry focused on maize-based biogas strategies, because of its profitability and attraction from a business perspective (#515). Further, banks and project developers made financial decisions that later were proven risky and resulted in losses (#516). The articles suggest that maize has become a growing structural element (**S**) of the biogas sector (#515, #1922), influencing market patterns, with high recapitalization demands in Austria compared to Germany (#516), which can be seen as an indicator for structural vulnerability. From the perspective of institution (**I**), regional subsidy rules altered financial incentives: Burgenland decided not to support biogas plants with high maize percentage anymore (#515). The discourse (**D**) brings together competing frames regarding biogas: while efficiency and savings are discussed, sustainability problems (e.g., with maize cultivation) as well as economic concerns are present (#515, #774).

5.6.6 Mobility & Alternative Fuels

The agency (**A**) landscape in 2020 on this topic is structured as follows: utilities, local actors, and firms actively promote biogas projects and feed-in agreements. In contrast, industry stakeholders such as network operators lobby against measures such as restrictions on new gas boilers (#2382, #896). The structure (**S**) is characterized by cost and infrastructure factors. Articles discuss that biogas is substantially more expensive than fossil gas, and hydrogen is described as not process-ready in the context of replacing natural gas (#897). Plant expansion is also mentioned, as well as negotiations with regional feedstock suppliers (#2382). From an

institutional perspective (**I**), regulatory debates regarding bans and network rules matter because the industry argues that banning gas use would have devaluing effects on pipeline networks and block a cost-efficient switch to green gas (#896). The discourse (**D**) is shaped by two competing narratives. Biogas is either described as a near-term emission reduction option or as comparatively expensive, with practical limits, such as grid access and scaling (#2393, #897).

5.6.7 Research, Innovation & Education

From 2017 to 2021, the only two years where the topic of Research, Innovation & Education was identified as a separate topic through LDA, the topic has shifted from small-scale experimentation to organized, system-oriented R&D. In 2017, agency (**A**) was primarily driven by producers and local firms experimenting with heat and substrate management (#572, #810). By 2021, firms, universities, and startups shaped the article landscape through reports on launched pilot projects and prototypes to investigate new biogas and biorefinery concepts (#905, #2043). Structurally (**S**), there was a shift from local heat loops and small plants to full value chains, biorefineries, and complex conversion technology and pathways (#1818, #2719). However, in 2017, there was, e.g., an article discussing the Songdo piping model, a large integrated waste-to-energy system (#1488). The institutional (**I**) conditions appeared fragile in 2017, as municipalities reported having problems with reduced funding in the biogas sector resulting from reduced subsidies (#1944). In 2021, the analyzed articles show a broader institutional environment including public research funders and university involvement (#905, #2043). The discourse (**D**) shifted from primarily local problem-solving to circular-economy and system-level considerations.

5.6.8 Energy Security & Legislation

The top articles for 2022 were dominated by immediate institutional (**I**) reactions to the gas crisis (Schramm, 2024), which was triggered by Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the resultant concern that Russia could cut gas exports to Austria (#2484). Institutional reactions were immediate and centered around saving energy, and they also included discussions regarding the drastic expansion of inland biogas production in Austria (#1262). Also, an emergency "Lenkungsmaßnahmen-Verordnung" (Energy Rationing Ordinance) was initiated by political actors such as Minister Leonore Gewessler, and discussions included the reactivation of the

coal plant Mellach and the utilization of various other assets (#2484). In addition, long-term legislative programs were also part of the institutional discussions, such as the Renewable Heat Act (#1636). From an agency perspective (**A**), next to political actors, NGOs such as Greenpeace and Global 2000 were part of the actor landscape, criticizing planned exceptions for biogas in the Renewable Heat Act (#1636). While plans to increase biogas and hydrogen production are part of political discussions, structurally (**S**) technical limitations and short-term necessity to rely on existing facilities and other fuels are reported on. The discourse (**D**) frames biogas and hydrogen as strategic options regarding the prominent debate on energy security and energy dependency on Russia. Additionally, a sustainability debate discussed the exclusion of biogas from the gas heater ban in the Renewable Heat Act.

In 2023, the institutional (**I**) dimension in the analyzed articles shifted from short-term emergency contingency to legislative commitment: the Renewable Gas Act became subject to parliamentary debate. The at-the-time planned law included concrete quantitative biogas targets, offtake guarantees, and sanctions for non-compliance (#2778, #687). On a structural (**S**) level, the discussions of the Renewable Gas Act, including offtake-promises and quotas, sent signals to the market and may have resulted in investment decisions and directly impacted market conditions, such as changes in demand and supply. Agency (**A**) was driven by the national government through legislative debates, as well as by NGOs such as Greenpeace, which demanded “Klimagesetz jetzt!” (“Climate law now!”) (#1878). While legislative debates and laws are frequently discussed, the primary focus of these discussions, and the underlying “why” behind them, is the matter of energy security. Thus, the discourse (**D**), similar to 2022, remains highly focused on energy security and Russian gas dependency. In 2024, the debate continues, but the discourse broadens, which is why the label Politics, Policy & Legislation was assigned for 2024.

Table 14 provides an overview of the qualitative exploratory results portrayed in the above passages.

Years	Agency(A)	Structure (S)	Institution (I)	Discourse (D)
Energy Transition & Decarbonization				
2014–2016	Municipal/small-scale actors; EU pilots; later corporate actors (e.g., Shell)	Plant-level factors; feedstock availability; sensitivity to raw material prices/supply; fueling infrastructure	Tariff/subsidy design (Ökostrom-Einspeisetarifverordnung); municipal decarbonization decisions	Sustainability/climate ethics; financial concerns
2017–2019	Politicians; organized industry (subsidy design, role of biogas)	Subsidies/cost-efficiency debates; storage potential	Ökostromnovelle 2017 debates (parliamentary decisions/proposals)	Cost-efficiency; modernization/decarbonization
2020–2021	Incumbents & regional energy firms (green gas/hydrogen); regional gov + providers	Limited biogenic resources; network asset considerations	H ₂ /green-gas regulation and infrastructure decisions; ministerial guidance; regional disputes	Biogas as valuable but scarce; prioritization debates
2022–2023	Industry/technical voices; national/regional politics; farmers/producers; consumers	Ukraine war as transition driver; heating-system replacement; hard economic/grid limits; missing implementation strategy/research	Ongoing institutional adjustment: gaps in legal/financial framework alongside drafts, targets and investment decisions (incl. via EAG) → renewed negotiations/critique	Biogas as fossil-gas substitute but “champagne” to use selectively; price/distribution concerns
Local Projects & Community Impact & Community Projects & Activism				
2014–2016	Municipal/corporate actors + citizens/activists/whistleblowers	Plant configuration; deficient equipment	Expert assessments; municipal financing of upgrades; safety/governance review	Odor; worker safety; financial risk (legitimacy focus)
2019	Farms/firms/research pilots	Modular infrastructure (PV, digesters, localized heat recovery) delivering concrete local outcomes	Pilot partnerships + outreach; templates for scaling	Local jobs/circular benefits/energy security; cost/tech limits
2022–2024	Operators/research/local actors + NGOs/activists	Digester setup & modular treatment; waste-collection systems; transport/cross-border flows	EU procurement + government energy programs; meetings/court ruling shape technical requirements (esp. EIA)	Sustainability/modernization frames + contested sustainability claims
Technical Performance & Plant Operation				
2014–2016	Farmers/pilots; municipal operators; tech vendors	Low feedstock; build-out of pipes/pipeline/refueling infrastructure	Shift to formal, long-term, high-investment wastewater projects	Sustainability/modernization; legitimacy/local impact
2017–2019	Operators; research consortia	Functioning plants but constrained; impurity (“Störstoffe”) sorting costly	Tirol as model region for wastewater-biogas; regional awareness (“traffic light” waste separation)	Modernization/scaling; practical & biodiversity critique (linked to energy crop cultivation)
2020–2021	Vendors; associations; municipalities; EU/uni consortia	Integration into existing infrastructure under material/infrastructure & spatial constraints; odor affects acceptance	Funding/programs; EEO study as knowledge resource; corporate decisions shape risk/impacts	Jobs/CO ₂ /autonomy; local acceptance/legitimacy
2022	Municipal actors; emergency services; authorities/audits; producers; politics/recyclers	Accidents/failures; logistics; cross-border infrastructure	Ownership/liability; EU procurement; audits/contracts shape practice & burdens	Risk/safety/liability focus; modernization/sustainability secondary
2024	Political/ministerial actors; real labs; wastewater associations; tech partners	PV–heat–biogas system coupling; costly grid connections; network capacity limits	Funding de-risks pilots; courts/contracts determine start/operators	Resilience/import-independence framing; acceptance/legitimacy secondary
Financial & Operational Aspect				
2015	Plant operators; farmers; industry (maize-based strategies); banks; project developers	Maize as growing structural element; market patterns; high recapitalization demands (vs Germany) → structural vulnerability	Regional subsidy rule change: Burgenland stops supporting plants with high maize share	Efficiency/savings; sustainability problems (maize cultivation); economic concerns
Politics, Policy & Legislation				
2016–2017	Producers/protests; local political support; parliamentary actors	Stranding risk for existing plants due to subsidy/payment design	Announcement of renewable electricity/payment changes; remedial measures (extensions, exit payments, follow-on tariffs); “Kleine Ökostromnovelle” (June 2017) with exit aids + support for high-efficiency plants	Fairness/continuity; distributional concerns
2018–2019	Council of Ministers; coalition partners; NGOs (WWF); experts	Tax/quota concepts used as steering levers	Shift to proactive/systematic steering: agreement on planned Renewable Energy Expansion Act; tax reform debates incl. environmental measures	Climate-ambition debate; critique measures insufficient
2020	Firms/actors plan investment; opposition (SPÖ) + AK raise cost concerns	Targets create demand for new infrastructure; framework seen as incomplete by some	Concrete support rules + 2030 capacity targets (e.g., +27 TWh by 2030)	Household cost concerns; adequacy/legal framework questioned
2021	Market actors reorganize projects (e.g., TINEKT spin-off)	Grid-connection delays; network limits	Renewable Energy Expansion Act enacted (July 2021); instruments incl. green gas; €80m/year for H ₂ /green gas	Fairness/legitimacy (charges, exemptions, vulnerable households)
2024	Suppliers; political opposition; government lowers sanctions; vote fails	Expected price effects; cost pass-through concerns	Planned Renewable Gas Act (EGG): binding quotas to replace fossil gas by 2040; sanctions design adjusted; no adoption (failed vote July 4, 2024)	Legitimacy; energy security; distributional issues
Research, Innovation & Education				
2017	Producers; local firms; international reference cases	Small plants/local heat loops; international integrated waste-to-energy model (e.g., Songdo piping system)	Fragile local funding; reduced subsidies constrain municipal activity	Local problem-solving/technical learning
2021	Firms; universities; startups; international R&D networks	Full value chains; biorefineries; complex conversion pathways	Broader institutional ecosystem: public research funders + university involvement	Circular-economy and system-level framing (incl. international innovation narratives)
Mobility & Alternative Fuels				
2020	Utilities; local actors/firms promote biogas projects & feed-in agreements; network operators/industry lobby against gas-boiler restrictions	High relative cost of biogas; infrastructure constraints; hydrogen not yet process-ready; plant expansion + feedstock-supplier negotiations	Regulatory debates on bans and network rules; concerns about devaluing pipeline networks and blocking cost-efficient switch to green gas	Biogas as near-term emissions cut vs expensive/limited (grid access, scaling)
Energy Security & Legislation				
2022	Government/ministry actors; NGOs (e.g., Greenpeace, Global 2000)	Technical limits; short-term reliance on existing facilities and other fuels	Crisis response to gas shock: energy-saving measures; “Lenkungsmaßnahmen-Verordnung”; expansion talk for domestic biogas; asset use (e.g., Mellach); Renewable Heat Act debated	Energy security/independence from Russia; sustainability debate around biogas exceptions in heating policy
2023	National government (parliamentary debates); NGOs (e.g., “Klimagesetz jetzt!”)	Quotas/offtake promises signal demand and shape investment/market expectations	Renewable Gas Act debated: targets, offtake guarantees, sanctions	Energy security and Russian gas dependency remain central

Table 14: Summary Table of Qualitative Exploratory Results of the Top 5 Texts Per Year and Topic. Note. Own visualization.

6 Discussion

While the individual topics were contextualized within the ASID framework in 5.6, this discussion aims to cohesively answer the research question, “What are the dominant topics in media coverage of biogas in Austria, how have they evolved from 2014 to 2024, and how do they differ across Austrian federal states?” The discussion integrates the previously identified quantitative and qualitative findings through the methodological ASID lens, contextualizes patterns in media coverage, and draws broader implications.

6.1 Quantitative Patterns and Topic Persistence

The combined analysis of absolute coverage and relative thematic dominance over the years shows that both the thematic relative focus of biogas reporting as well as absolute coverage are responsive to societal and sector developments, including politics, policy discussions, and global developments. In the early years of the analysis (2014–2020), the amount of reporting remained comparatively stable, accompanied by periodic upward trends tied to policy events. The year 2016, for example, was marked by a substantial rise in reporting volumes as well as the first appearance of Policy and Legislation as a standalone topic, driven by legislative debates and announcements regarding the Green Electricity Act, including plans on changing subsidy schemes for renewable energy, including biogas. The discussions in 2016 were followed by the enactment of the “Kleine Ökostromnovelle,” a substantial amendment to the Green Electricity Act, in 2017. The rise in reporting volumes may also reflect the growing share of biogas production in Austria at the time, which reported steady increases in electricity and heat production in the timespan until and including 2017.

More severe rises in reporting happened in 2021 and even more in 2022, which leads to the interpretation that media reporting on biogas is adapting to changing contexts. In 2021, the analyzed media outlets reported 38.9% more on biogas than in 2020. In 2022, however, there was an unprecedented increase of 69.8% to 467 articles compared to 2021. The year 2022 also marks the year of the first appearance of Energy Security & Legislation as a main topic and may be interpreted in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war initiated through Russia’s invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 (Katchanovski, 2026, p. 220). The war resulted in debates and concerns over dependence on Russian natural gas, which appear to have reinforced political as

well as media framing of biogas as a potential domestic energy alternative, tackling the issue of energy security. The drastic decline in media attention in 2023 by 45% compared to 2022, despite the ongoing war in Ukraine, shows how fast media attention can drop when the crisis-driven urgency of a matter stagnates or declines. Prior to 2022, the energy security debate was occasionally mentioned but not prominently addressed in public discourse. In 2022, biogas was then framed with optimism as a local substitute for Russian natural gas, followed by a growing recognition of costs, efforts, and limitations, and subsequently a decline in interest. As a result, the topic that previously dominated public debate started to fade from the spotlight. Nevertheless, despite the reduced media visibility, there are still ongoing discussions regarding the Renewable Gas Act (ÖVP et al., 2025, p. 56). It has not been implemented yet and is still a matter of political discussion as of January 2026.

Media reporting on biogas over the observed period is therefore not only characterized by shifts in reporting volume but also by shifts in thematic focus, including the emergence, persistence, and dominance of specific topics. The identified topics can be categorized into different patterns of topic emergence and persistence:

1. Topics consistently present across nearly all years:

Energy Transition & Decarbonization is present and above the reproducibility threshold in all years except 2024, which shows that biogas is consistently discussed as part of decarbonization and climate politics in Austria. Similarly, Technical Performance & Plant Operation appears continually in all years except 2021 and 2023; however, it did not pass reproducibility measures in 2022.

2. Topics that emerge and persist in consecutive years:

As mentioned above, Politics, Policy & Legislation appears first as a standalone topic in 2016 and appears in all years from 2016 to 2021, returning in 2024. From 2022 to 2023, Politics, Policy & Legislation is part of the discussion, but the matter of energy security dominates the discourse, resulting in no separate topic in those years. Similarly, the topic Energy Security & Legislation appears first in 2022 and reappears in 2023, as discussed in the paragraph above. Further, Local Projects & Community Impact appeared consecutively. It remains a reproducible topic from 2015 to 2016 and then again from 2023 to 2024.

3. Topics that appear sporadically and irregularly:

Certain topics appear only intermittently, such as Financial & Operational Aspects in 2015, Mobility & Alternative Fuels in 2020, and Research, Innovation & Education in 2017 and 2021. None of these topics appears in consecutive years.

4. Ambiguous or mixed topics:

There are three cases of topics in 2018, 2021, and 2024 that appear unspecific and random despite passing the defined reproducibility criteria. The topics may be LDA artifacts rather than coherent discourse themes.

5. Topics that did not pass reproducibility measures in any year:

Further, there are five topics that did not pass the reproducibility metrics thresholds.

6.2 Regional and Newspaper-Specific Patterns

The comparison of national and regional newspapers indicates that the regional as well as editorial contexts have a central effect on the framing of biogas in Austrian news reporting.

At the national level, the results widely align with known editorial profiles of the newspapers. In this analysis, *Der Standard* and *Die Presse* have a stronger thematic orientation toward politics, governance, and long-term societal developments, while the more popularly oriented *Kronenzeitung* reported comparatively more on concrete local projects and impact. These results may be interpreted as giving the overall results credibility in that they align well with the known editorial orientations of the respective outlets.

The analysis of the regional newspapers shows that biogas is not discussed as a homogenous topic across regions but receives different meaning attribution across them. While the broad categorization into four categories per year does not allow for granular findings here, it does provide an overall sense of thematic focus across the regions.

In Vienna, biogas is, compared to other topics, often discussed within political and institutional contexts, while practical and local projects get comparatively less attention.

By contrast, western and southern regions exhibit a stronger focus on local application cases. Vorarlberg has a stronger focus on local projects and technical aspects, presenting and discussing biogas as a functional component of regional energy infrastructure. Styria and Carinthia comparatively report a lot on protest and community-related matters, showing a strong social component opposite a sole technical or legislative focus.

Other regions, in comparison, show different thematic accents, which reflect differences in regional discourse. In Tirol, there is a comparatively stronger focus on energy security as well as mobility and technical specificities. This highlights the significance of infrastructural integration in regional discourse. In contrast, Salzburg comparatively reports more on economic and innovation dimensions, emphasizing the economic assessment and innovation potential of biogas. Upper Austria reports relatively more on technological innovation and systemic energy transition, which may be based on biogas framing as a technology at the intersection of innovation and energy policy realignment. These patterns show that biogas is differently framed, depending on the regional context.

The societal perception of biogas depends not solely on its technical potential but also strongly on how it is reported on in the media. The identified regional thematic differences, hence, shape which aspects of biogas are highlighted and how projects, policies, or stakeholders in the sphere of biogas are perceived, discussed, and valued. The comparatively strong focus on governance, legislative frameworks, and decarbonization in Vienna could, for example, result in a rather distanced view on local practices and make biogas appear as a political or institutional concern distant to concrete components and impacts of its actual infrastructure, which are, however, crucial for effective policy design and implementation.

It is noteworthy that while only some of the above-named differences were statistically significant after adjustment, non-significant variations remain meaningful in this context. These findings are grounded in the top five articles per topic and year, and thus, results can be seen as explorative and give an overview of the most prominent debates in media.

6.3 Exploratory Qualitative Analysis of Key Media Debates

Agency

Media reporting in the early years of the analysis portrays biogas as an institutionally backed, primarily local, and decentralized innovation. Agency-related media discourse from 2014 to 2016 primarily discussed local actors like farmers, small research groups, and actors in the communal sphere. Examples range from local debates on the potential closure of economically unviable biogas plants and experimental biogas production processes from waste products such as whey to municipal investment in biogas compatible gas grid in Bregenz (#8, #2561, #1417). An example of international inspiration, reporting on an algae facade project in Hamburg, which explores algae as an energy source within building infrastructure, shows awareness and interest in biogas innovations on an international scale (#1738). Also, protest groups and movements were part of the actor landscape in this time period, ranging from whistleblowers to citizens' initiatives, primarily regarding concerns of air quality and odor near biogas sites. These movements also resulted in institutional responses, including expert evaluations (#1352, #1417).

From 2017 to 2021, the analyzed media articles on biogas were increasingly dominated by political and institutional actors, specifically in the context of the expiration of feed-in tariffs defined in the Green Electricity Act from 2002 and the introduction of the amendment to the Green Electricity Act in 2017. The amendment was a reaction to significant protest movements from plant operators, who were concerned about the financial sustainability of their plants without long-standing feed-in tariffs. (#1468, Stürmer et al., 2021, pp. 4–5). These protests show the reliance of the sector on institutional measures and make visible that the sector is vulnerable in phases of political change. The reporting in this time-period, however, also includes articles on collaborations regarding a big sewage biogas project between a university, communal organizations, and private companies (#2709).

The gas crisis (Schramm, 2024) resulted in a broad involvement of actors, with partly opposing interests, in the years 2022–2024. There was a political draft for the Renewable Heat Act that planned to allow strategic replacement of biogas as a substitute for natural gas in space heating (#2484, #1262). NGO actors like Greenpeace criticized these plans for being climate-harming (#2478). Also, regarding the Renewable Gas Act, various actors were part of the actor

landscape. Private households, political actors and NGOs, protested in response to concerns regarding the social fairness of cost allocation coming with the planned law, while the industrial side lobbied against sanctions for industry when not fulfilling planned biogas quotas (#2526, #1701).

Structure

The analyzed media in the first years of the analysis, from 2014 to 2016, reported on structural (S) constraints such as shortage and high prices of raw materials and investments in grid connectivity. One structural investment that was mentioned in the analyzed articles was the medium-pressure pipeline in Bregenz that was built to allow for biogas produced from biogenic waste to be transmitted to customers (#2561). Projects such as the E_OS project in Vienna plan infrastructure investments to transform sewage plants into eco-power plants by 2030 (#1760). In 2015, maize was discussed as a profitable and increasingly important biogas feedstock, while reduced subsidies on the state level were highlighted as institutional factors (#515). Other articles, however, reported on obsolete configurations at biogas plants not meeting safety and technical standards (#1347).

From 2017 to 2021, reporting included achievements in the generation of biomethane from sewage plants, achieved through a research project by various regional partners, positioning Tirol as a model region for Austria, and achieving energy autarchy at a described plant (#2294). Media also reported on developments in the use of captured CO₂ (e.g., by biogas plants), to generate synthetic fuel through a process called Fischer-Tropsch (#1231). Also, the E_OS wastewater treatment biogas project in Vienna was reported to be successfully completed despite facing logistical challenges during the construction, since operation had to remain ongoing and wastewater treatment quality had to be guaranteed throughout the whole construction period (#241). The reporting shows that biogas is actively being integrated with other modern technologies in this period.

The crisis-driven reporting from 2022 to 2024 emphasizes the urgency of transforming energy infrastructure and investing in biogas and green hydrogen production facilities. Also, it highlights the adaptation of existing gas supply networks to reduce reliance on Russian gas, aiming for more imports from, e.g., Norway (#1262). There are also reports on wastewater treatment in Vorarlberg, where, as a reaction to rising energy prices and blackout risk,

infrastructure optimization by combining biogas and photovoltaic systems at a wastewater treatment plant was implemented to achieve near-total energy autonomy.

Institution

From an institutional (**I**) perspective, the early years of the analysis portray institutions primarily as enablers that create the regulatory foundation and financial security for the biogas sector, mainly through the Green Electricity Act from 2002 with its feed-in tariffs (#2218).

The years 2016 to 2021 were characterized by policy change. The amendment to the Green Electricity Act in 2017 aimed to mitigate financial risks for existing biogas plants that faced uncertainty due to the expiration of the feed-in tariffs that had been introduced in 2002. Also, new subsidy schemes for highly efficient plants were introduced (#812). In 2021, the Renewable Expansion Act was enacted as a replacement for the Green Electricity Act (Parlament Österreich, 2021). It introduced a market premium support system and a shift in focus away from electricity generation to biomethane feed-in (#1588; #2727).

From 2022 to 2024, the analyzed media showed that the rising energy prices and the gas crisis exposed institutional fragility. Planned exceptions for biogas from gas phase-out plans in spatial heating were strongly criticized by NGOs and researchers (#2478). Also, the failure of the planned Renewable Gas Act in 2024 showed clearly how difficult it can be to achieve institutional consensus when contesting interests such as environmental sustainability, social equity, and economic feasibility collide (#2526).

Discourse

When looking at discourse, early reporting from 2014 to 2016 framed biogas primarily as an opportunity for a climate-friendly and sustainable energy on a regional level. This framing was, however, accompanied by concerns of local consequences such as odor and security. From 2017 to 2021, economic aspects were a central aspect of the discussion on biogas. Biogas subventions and their efficiency, as well as biogas' contribution to the reduction of fossil emissions were present. Throughout the energy crisis years from 2022 to 2024, biogas was treated as a valuable but limited resource in public discourse, namely as the “Champagne of the Energy Transition” (#402). In 2024, the debate primarily concerned social equity and cost distribution issues that would have accompanied the planned expansion of biogas through the Renewable Gas Act, which ultimately failed in 2024.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Key Findings

Throughout the analysis period, some topics show stability across nearly all years, while others appear clustered or sporadic. Particularly persistent was reporting on Energy Transition & Decarbonization, as well as Technical Performance & Plant Operation, that nearly across the whole time period localizes biogas within the context of the energy transition and practical implementation. Local Projects & Community Impact and Policy, Politics & Legislation show a sharper temporal variability, which shows that there are varying phases of institutional and local focus. Further topics in the spheres of research, mobility, and financial matters appeared rather sporadic without a clear temporal trend, while Energy Security & Legislation appeared in 2022 and looks clearly crisis-induced. Overall, it can be said that media reporting on biogas quantitatively and qualitatively reacted to political and energy policy developments and global crises. Relevant topics did not only emerge during peak moments of attention; rather, the overall volume of reporting also increased when new issues entered the public agenda.

Overall, the ASID analysis of the selection of media articles over the years shows that biogas has changed from being discussed as a locally situated and generally considered sustainable innovation to a politically discussed and controversial topic that is regularly part of policy debates. While the actor landscape became more diverse over the analyzed timespan, structural challenges, such as grid connectivity and constraints related to feedstock availability and composition, remained present. In particular, the use of maize as feedstock was increasingly debated and finally also led to limits on its usage as part of subsidy schemes. This reflects the structural tension between energy production, agricultural practices, and sustainability concerns. Institutions played a fundamental role in creating incentives; however, they came under pressure under crisis conditions. Also, it is noticeable that biomethane and its grid feed-in have increasingly gained prominence in media reporting over the analyzed timeframe. This shift aligns well with institutional developments, like the implementation of the Renewable Expansion Act, which shifts away from the prior legislative focus on electricity generation from biogas. Biogas used to be discussed mainly as a local renewable energy option, but over time it has become part of the national energy conversation. Today, it's mostly discussed in terms of both energy security and sustainability. As of January 2026, the Renewable Gas Act has not yet

been implemented, and the future of biogas in Austria's energy landscape therefore remains uncertain.

7.2 Limitations and Future Research Suggestions

This thesis is subject to several limitations that will be described in the following passage. First, the data retrieval process relied on manual extraction of PDF documents. This approach may have resulted in inconsistencies during the transfer of text to the dataset. This step, as well as the cleaning of the data requested a substantial amount of manual work, which resulted in a limit of article count. LDA would be able to manage much larger datasets and potentially gain more granular and detailed results; however, this was not feasible due to the high workload associated with the data retrieval and cleaning process.

In addition, there were some structural limitations regarding the data source WISO, where it was not possible to filter for regional editions of newspapers such as *Kronen Zeitung* and *Kleine Zeitung*. Potential regional differences in reporting could thus not be discovered, and many duplicates occurred, a large amount of which were, however, successfully deleted before the analysis. Further, many articles named *APA* as the source, often resulting in similar, sometimes equal passages across different newspapers. To account for this, the dataset was filtered not solely by removing fully identical text segments but also by identifying and eliminating segments with 80% similarity. In cases of duplicates, it was not always possible to do so systematically, so the choice of which version to keep was essentially random. This approach may have introduced a slight bias in the dataset, as certain newspaper outlets could be over- or underrepresented. Finally, the qualitative analysis of this study, which is based on only five texts per year and topic, is explorative in nature. This approach did allow for a focused investigation of the identified LDA topics and provided detailed context to the thesis. However, it does not provide a complete representation of all articles.

The findings of this thesis may be interpreted under acknowledgment of the limitations stated above. The LDA analysis allowed for the identification of patterns in media discourse of biogas in Austria across 2,670 articles but did not detect all nuances of the discourse. The qualitative analysis is based on a small selection of texts and thus is exploratory. Nevertheless, the results do provide an overview of media reporting on biogas over eleven years, and the qualitative analysis provided important context alongside quantitative reporting analysis and thematic

LDA trends. This combination offers a meaningful overview of biogas media discourse in Austria and may serve as inspiration for the application of similar or more extensive approaches to biogas or other renewable energy topics in future research.

Future research could address these limitations by using automated data collection methods, which would enable a larger dataset. This may result in more granular topics and findings. A bigger number of articles would further make it possible to run individual LDA models for each newspaper and hence result in more detailed regional findings. Additionally, the application of this approach to the broader thematic scope of renewable energy in Austrian media could provide comparative insights across different technologies and reveal overarching trends in energy-related media discourse.

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9 Appendix

9.1 Top Documents per Topic and Year

Top Documents per Topic and Year											
Top 5 documents per topic (ranked by γ)											
	Year_2014	Year_2015	Year_2016	Year_2017	Year_2018	Year_2019	Year_2020	Year_2021	Year_2022	Year_2023	Year_2024
1	2014_AT#2551 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2015_AT#1389 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2016_AT#2258 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2017_AT#814 ($\gamma=0.993$)	2018_AT#2343 ($\gamma=0.97$)	2019_AT#1536 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2020_AT#610 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2021_AT#1250 ($\gamma=0.993$)	2022_AT#1868 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2023_AT#2781 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2024_AT#1048 ($\gamma=0.992$)
	2014_AT#19 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2015_AT#2581 ($\gamma=0.979$)	2016_AT#1763 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2017_AT#1778 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2018_AT#2342 ($\gamma=0.968$)	2019_AT#2694 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2020_AT#1557 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2021_AT#1588 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2022_AT#312 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2023_AT#2780 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2024_AT#1030 ($\gamma=0.99$)
	2014_AT#1747 ($\gamma=0.975$)	2015_AT#2570 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2016_AT#788 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2017_AT#815 ($\gamma=0.967$)	2018_AT#155 ($\gamma=0.967$)	2019_AT#1534 ($\gamma=0.977$)	2020_AT#1555 ($\gamma=0.95$)	2021_AT#1835 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2022_AT#2073 ($\gamma=0.976$)	2023_AT#2120 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2024_AT#2517 ($\gamma=0.985$)
	2014_AT#2557 ($\gamma=0.973$)	2015_AT#2569 ($\gamma=0.968$)	2016_AT#2280 ($\gamma=0.975$)	2017_AT#818 ($\gamma=0.964$)	2018_AT#1180 ($\gamma=0.963$)	2019_AT#1520 ($\gamma=0.976$)	2020_AT#1231 ($\gamma=0.932$)	2021_AT#2443 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2022_AT#2476 ($\gamma=0.96$)	2023_AT#405 ($\gamma=0.976$)	2024_AT#1032 ($\gamma=0.967$)
	2014_AT#1346 ($\gamma=0.972$)	2015_AT#522 ($\gamma=0.967$)	2016_AT#2251 ($\gamma=0.973$)	2017_AT#1449 ($\gamma=0.946$)	2018_AT#1789 ($\gamma=0.961$)	2019_AT#1202 ($\gamma=0.974$)	2020_AT#1811 ($\gamma=0.931$)	2021_AT#2727 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2022_AT#1860 ($\gamma=0.958$)	2023_AT#2127 ($\gamma=0.976$)	2024_AT#1703 ($\gamma=0.965$)
2	2014_AT#2222 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2015_AT#776 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2016_AT#785 ($\gamma=0.995$)	2017_AT#812 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2018_AT#1077 ($\gamma=0.998$)	2019_AT#2671 ($\gamma=0.993$)	2020_AT#606 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2021_AT#2429 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2022_AT#355 ($\gamma=0.993$)	2023_AT#2778 ($\gamma=0.993$)	2024_AT#1034 ($\gamma=0.99$)
	2014_AT#1347 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2015_AT#1384 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2016_AT#1151 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2017_AT#1479 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2018_AT#147 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2019_AT#1794 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2020_AT#1996 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2021_AT#280 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2022_AT#2455 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2023_AT#1878 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2024_AT#463 ($\gamma=0.983$)
	2014_AT#1352 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2015_AT#2232 ($\gamma=0.903$)	2016_AT#1435 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2017_AT#1470 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2018_AT#1076 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2019_AT#1972 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2020_AT#2703 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2021_AT#2436 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2022_AT#2746 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2023_AT#2498 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2024_AT#2521 ($\gamma=0.981$)
	2014_AT#1327 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2015_AT#2226 ($\gamma=0.864$)	2016_AT#1150 ($\gamma=0.977$)	2017_AT#107 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2018_AT#2656 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2019_AT#2368 ($\gamma=0.976$)	2020_AT#2709 ($\gamma=0.974$)	2021_AT#295 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2022_AT#382 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2023_AT#2777 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2024_AT#2163 ($\gamma=0.978$)
	2014_AT#6 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2015_AT#778 ($\gamma=0.863$)	2016_AT#2601 ($\gamma=0.972$)	2017_AT#1468 ($\gamma=0.98$)	2018_AT#2666 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2019_AT#588 ($\gamma=0.975$)	2020_AT#241 ($\gamma=0.968$)	2021_AT#2409 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2022_AT#1641 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2023_AT#687 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2024_AT#1705 ($\gamma=0.975$)
3	2014_AT#2548 ($\gamma=0.994$)	2015_AT#774 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2016_AT#1760 ($\gamma=0.997$)	2017_AT#810 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2018_AT#839 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2019_AT#1974 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2020_AT#887 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2021_AT#914 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2022_AT#2474 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2023_AT#2141 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2024_AT#2526 ($\gamma=0.989$)
	2014_AT#1749 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2015_AT#1139 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2016_AT#2272 ($\gamma=0.967$)	2017_AT#572 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2018_AT#1502 ($\gamma=0.974$)	2019_AT#1977 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2020_AT#1813 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2021_AT#2423 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2022_AT#315 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2023_AT#414 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2024_AT#1023 ($\gamma=0.985$)
	2014_AT#2218 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2015_AT#515 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2016_AT#2619 ($\gamma=0.948$)	2017_AT#1488 ($\gamma=0.974$)	2018_AT#1179 ($\gamma=0.964$)	2019_AT#199 ($\gamma=0.972$)	2020_AT#2007 ($\gamma=0.978$)	2021_AT#1834 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2022_AT#2753 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2023_AT#1286 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2024_AT#1701 ($\gamma=0.984$)
	2014_AT#1328 ($\gamma=0.977$)	2015_AT#1922 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2016_AT#76 ($\gamma=0.938$)	2017_AT#1471 ($\gamma=0.964$)	2018_AT#1793 ($\gamma=0.958$)	2019_AT#1800 ($\gamma=0.969$)	2020_AT#2001 ($\gamma=0.967$)	2021_AT#2424 ($\gamma=0.973$)	2022_AT#2456 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2023_AT#411 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2024_AT#2186 ($\gamma=0.979$)
	2014_AT#2566 ($\gamma=0.973$)	2015_AT#516 ($\gamma=0.977$)	2016_AT#1925 ($\gamma=0.902$)	2017_AT#1944 ($\gamma=0.957$)	2018_AT#838 ($\gamma=0.951$)	2019_AT#1517 ($\gamma=0.966$)	2020_AT#886 ($\gamma=0.955$)	2021_AT#260 ($\gamma=0.964$)	2022_AT#375 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2023_AT#2159 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2024_AT#2172 ($\gamma=0.976$)
4	2014_AT#2561 ($\gamma=0.995$)	2015_AT#1140 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2016_AT#2605 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2017_AT#2291 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2018_AT#2654 ($\gamma=0.99$)	2019_AT#1522 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2020_AT#2393 ($\gamma=0.992$)	2021_AT#2024 ($\gamma=0.994$)	2022_AT#1262 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2023_AT#402 ($\gamma=0.996$)	2024_AT#480 ($\gamma=0.99$)
	2014_AT#2203 ($\gamma=0.994$)	2015_AT#1383 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2016_AT#2610 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2017_AT#2621 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2018_AT#2348 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2019_AT#2374 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2020_AT#2382 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2021_AT#905 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2022_AT#2111 ($\gamma=0.991$)	2023_AT#1688 ($\gamma=0.979$)	2024_AT#1702 ($\gamma=0.988$)
	2014_AT#8 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2015_AT#783 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2016_AT#1408 ($\gamma=0.988$)	2017_AT#2643 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2018_AT#1181 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2019_AT#854 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2020_AT#896 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2021_AT#2043 ($\gamma=0.972$)	2022_AT#2484 ($\gamma=0.986$)	2023_AT#401 ($\gamma=0.952$)	2024_AT#2795 ($\gamma=0.987$)
	2014_AT#1738 ($\gamma=0.987$)	2015_AT#1135 ($\gamma=0.974$)	2016_AT#1417 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2017_AT#2310 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2018_AT#1193 ($\gamma=0.989$)	2019_AT#2678 ($\gamma=0.981$)	2020_AT#2699 ($\gamma=0.984$)	2021_AT#1818 ($\gamma=0.964$)	2022_AT#1636 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2023_AT#1881 ($\gamma=0.95$)	2024_AT#1699 ($\gamma=0.986$)
	2014_AT#2562 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2015_AT#1757 ($\gamma=0.969$)	2016_AT#2600 ($\gamma=0.983$)	2017_AT#2294 ($\gamma=0.98$)	2018_AT#2663 ($\gamma=0.985$)	2019_AT#1799 ($\gamma=0.968$)	2020_AT#897 ($\gamma=0.982$)	2021_AT#2719 ($\gamma=0.952$)	2022_AT#2478 ($\gamma=0.979$)	2023_AT#1020 ($\gamma=0.92$)	2024_AT#2193 ($\gamma=0.983$)

9.2 Article Metadata Overview

The list below consists of the 2,670 analyzed articles. Because the numeric parts of the article codes are unique, the main text cites the shortened form (e.g., #6) for readability; the full codes were retained during analysis to enable direct metadata lookup.

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"DocumentName","Date","Title","Newspaper","Author","WordCountOriginal","WordCountRelevant"
"2014_AT#1",2014-01-08,"Geplante Forschungsstätte verschlingt 200 Millionen Euro","Kronenzeitung",NA,142,140
"2014_AT#2",2014-01-29,"Leoben Am Dienstag beklagten die Anrainer der Biogasanlage in...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,31,30
"2014_AT#3",2014-02-01,"Gaspreis-Garantie Nach dem Winterrabatt bietet die Erdgas OÖ nun...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,47,47
"2014_AT#4",2014-02-05,""Kompostkaiser" geehrt", "Kronenzeitung",NA,67,65
"2014_AT#5",2014-02-05,"Leoben Die Brauunion möchte in der Traditionsbrauerei Göss eine...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,89,83
"2014_AT#6",2014-02-07,""Bei Biogasanlage passierten Fehler""", "Kronenzeitung",NA,265,195
"2014_AT#7",2014-02-07,"Leoben startet in eine neue Ära", "Kronenzeitung",NA,173,150
"2014_AT#8",2014-02-14,"Wertvolles aus dem Bergland", "Kronenzeitung",NA,275,140
"2014_AT#9",2014-02-21,"Windräder am Ofenauerberg", "Kronenzeitung",NA,218,135
"2014_AT#10",2014-02-27,"Magna präsentiert Concept-Car", "Kronenzeitung",NA,111,109
"2014_AT#11",2014-03-06,"Man könnte glatt meinen, der Genfer Autosalon sei in die steirische...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,360,201
"2014_AT#13",2014-04-03,"Startschuss für nachhaltig wirksames Projekt", "Kronenzeitung",NA,182,182
"2014_AT#14",2014-04-04,"Leoben Lambert Schönleitner, Obersteiermark-Sprecher der Grünen...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,40,37
"2014_AT#15",2014-04-25,"Kindberg/Krieglach Das sind bedenkliche Zahlen: Laut Verkehrsclub...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,51,50
"2014_AT#16",2014-05-08,"Von unserem Welt-Anlagenbaukonzern Andritz AG über die Frohnleitner...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,239,130
"2014_AT#17",2014-05-18,"Assling produziert mehr Energie als es benötigt", "Kronenzeitung",NA,117,115
"2014_AT#18",2014-05-18,""Es stinkt zum Himmel"" Bürger wettern gegen Biogasanlage", "Kronenzeitung",NA,234,155
"2014_AT#19",2014-05-22,"Lösung bei ""Sonnensteuer""", "Kronenzeitung",NA,103,103
"2014_AT#20",2014-05-28,"Leoben Wirkungsvolle Maßnahmen gegen die Biogasanlage in Leoben...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,103,102
"2014_AT#22",2014-06-26,"Leoben Heute stellen die Freiheitlichen bei der Gemeinderatssitzung...", "Kronenzeitung",NA,26,26
"2014_AT#23",2014-07-02,"Sudburgenland zapft Fördertopf kräftig an", "Kronenzeitung",NA,127,127
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"2014 AT#24", 2014-07-27, "Der McDonald's Umweltpreis ging dieses Jahr an das Team von Loek...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 51, 51
"2014 AT#25", 2014-07-30, "Biomethan statt Russen-Erdgas", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 63, 57
"2014 AT#26", 2014-09-04, "Rechnungshof deckt auf: Wie bei Hypo weiter Geld versickert", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 252, 163
"2014 AT#27", 2014-09-15, "Bier ist der Inbegriff des Steiertums!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 638, 198
"2014 AT#28", 2014-09-27, "Applaus von Landesschulratspräsident Fritz Erzenhofer fürs...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 230, 167
"2014 AT#29", 2014-09-27, "Leoben Seit Jahren beklagen Anrainer Gestank aus der Biogasanlage...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 171, 109
"2014 AT#30", 2014-10-19, "Erdgas als Treibstoff: Umweltfreundlich und sparsam", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 200, 178
"2014 AT#31", 2014-10-21, "Leoben Für eine Schließung der Biogas-Anlage in Leoben machte sich...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 174, 106
"2014 AT#32", 2014-11-04, "Kaffee in kleinenÖko-Dosen", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 219, 201
"2014 AT#33", 2014-11-22, "Biogas-Tankstelle im Zillertal eröffnet", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 89, 88
"2014 AT#34", 2014-12-09, "Gratulation an die Exportpreissieger von Mides Health Care und GAW...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 137, 120
"2014 AT#35", 2014-12-28, "Bad Gleichenberg Der Kurort Bad Gleichenberg verfügt nun über...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 41, 40
"2015 AT#36", 2015-01-15, "Für aktiven Klimaschutz", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 159, 140
"2015 AT#37", 2015-01-17, "Schweighofers neuesSäge-Imperium", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 272, 171
"2015 AT#38", 2015-02-12, "Wozu denn ""Güssing II""?", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 227, 223
"2015 AT#39", 2015-03-04, "Die klimaneutralen Erdäpfel-Spezialitäten", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 294, 201
"2015 AT#40", 2015-03-12, "Vandalen schlugen zu!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 252, 201
"2015 AT#41", 2015-04-01, "Klimaschutz auf der Alm", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 231, 132
"2015 AT#42", 2015-05-24, "Vorteile von Biogas...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 52, 47
"2015 AT#44", 2015-07-16, "Afrikanische Gäste in der Bio-Heuregion!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 286, 201
"2015 AT#45", 2015-08-30, "Großbrand in Recycling-Firma!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 228, 201
"2015 AT#46", 2015-09-13, "Nie mehr Monster-Masten", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 359, 200
"2015 AT#48", 2015-09-21, "Gefängnis mit offenen Türen", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 567, 319
"2015 AT#49", 2015-10-13, "Für weitere Großställe wird's eng", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 171, 115
"2015 AT#50", 2015-10-27, "Das Salz der Wirtschaft", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 292, 139
"2015 AT#51", 2015-11-28, "Vorrang für Sonne, Wasser, Wind", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 139, 139
"2015 AT#52", 2015-12-30, "Sauberer Strom für den Export", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 232, 174
"2016 AT#55", 2016-03-03, "Energiebewusste Exkursionen", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 149, 148
"2016 AT#56", 2016-03-12, "Großalarm! Feuer drohteBioheizwerk zu zerstören", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 218, 193
"2016 AT#57", 2016-03-19, "Studium mit Zukunft: Pflanzenforschung", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 202, 162
"2016 AT#58", 2016-03-26, "Die großen Plänemit der Plane", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 198, 135
"2016 AT#59", 2016-04-01, "Öko-Stadt Güssing droht Serie von Firmenpleiten", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 56, 55
"2016 AT#60", 2016-04-13, "10 Prozent des Strombedarfs in der Region Mostviertel-Mitte...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 59, 59
"2016 AT#61", 2016-04-23, "Zurückgerufene Schokoriegel werden zu Biogas verarbeitet", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 77, 77
"2016 AT#62", 2016-05-12, "Gutachten führen zu Polit-Streit", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 107, 107
"2016 AT#63", 2016-05-12, "Den Plastikmüll „mit nach Wien“ nehmen", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 120, 116
"2016 AT#64", 2016-05-19, "Noch kann man sich für ein FH-Studium in Kapfenberg bewerben...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 282, 178
"2016 AT#66", 2016-06-01, "Wir sindUmwelt-Kaiser!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 388, 237
"2016 AT#67", 2016-06-03, "FH Schützenhöfer und LT-Präsidentin Vollath ehrten Josef Rath...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 179, 178
"2016 AT#68", 2016-06-17, "Prozess um Hypo-Schiffbruch", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 301, 124
"2016 AT#69", 2016-06-19, "Österreichs Nespresso-Chef setzt voll auf „Öko-Kaffee“", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 69, 67
"2016 AT#70", 2016-06-29, "Biogasanlage: EndlichLösung", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 165, 127
"2016 AT#71", 2016-07-01, "„Soziales Wien“...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 405, 145
"2016 AT#72", 2016-07-23, "In Biogaswerk brachFeuer ausMehr als 120 Helferim Einsatz", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 176, 161
"2016 AT#73", 2016-07-30, "Nach Rückzugjetzt mit Vollgas", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 188, 157
"2016 AT#74", 2016-07-30, "Aufatmen in der Südsteiermark: UVP-Pflicht für neuen Megastall", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 122, 122
"2016 AT#75", 2016-07-31, "Gülle-Importe waren illegal!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 107, 106
"2016 AT#76", 2016-08-20, "Tourismus-Schulung: Das AMS Tirol fördert auch heuer die...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 132, 130
"2016 AT#79", 2016-09-10, "Musiklehrer...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 83, 82
"2016 AT#80", 2016-09-12, "Nachhaltigkeitund ein tolles Bierjahr!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 644, 154
"2016 AT#81", 2016-09-16, "Wasserkraft liefert Öko-Strom für Zwettl", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 135, 135
"2016 AT#82", 2016-09-17, "15.000 Tonnen illegalerMüll", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 199, 189
"2016 AT#83", 2016-10-01, "Große Freude am Loser: Die Millioneninvestition ist gesichert!...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 268, 201
"2016 AT#84", 2016-10-15, "Heimischen Betreibern von Biogasanlagen geht Luft aus", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 283, 272
"2016 AT#85", 2016-10-19, "Öko-Energie aus Klärschlamm", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 182, 130
"2016 AT#86", 2016-10-19, "„Grüne“ und günstige Lösung", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 198, 142
"2016 AT#87", 2016-10-23, "Im Einklang mit der Natur", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 231, 154
"2016 AT#88", 2016-11-17, "Papst-Appell bei Klimakonferenz", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 220, 201
"2016 AT#89", 2016-12-06, "Alternative zu E-Autos", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 343, 201
"2017 AT#91", 2017-01-30, "Verlust mit Biogas", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 37, 37
"2017 AT#92", 2017-01-31, "Was das „Paket“ kostet und was es bringt", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 417, 179
"2017 AT#93", 2017-02-18, "GnasWeil die Holzspresse einer Leiter brach, stürzte am...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 38, 38
"2017 AT#94", 2017-02-23, "Ökostrom billiger für Konsumenten", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 62, 58
"2017 AT#95", 2017-03-01, "Neue Regelung für Ökostrom-Anlagen", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 51, 52
"2017 AT#96", 2017-03-07, "Millionen für alte Kraftwerke", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 199, 199
"2017 AT#97", 2017-03-12, "Am Beispiel Lengau: Wettlauf und Betriebe, Märkte und Einwohner...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 576, 201
"2017 AT#98", 2017-03-17, "Viele Chancen für Firmen in Griechenland", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 101, 99
"2017 AT#99", 2017-03-21, "Made in Austria", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 98, 98
"2017 AT#100", 2017-03-26, "Biogas-Anlagen vor dem Aus?", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 236, 236
"2017 AT#101", 2017-03-26, "Bad Blumau „Wer Ökostrom abdreht, dreht Atomstrom auf“, wettet...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 109, 104
"2017 AT#102", 2017-03-28, "Causa Biogas: Großes Zittern bei Betreibern", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 257, 145
"2017 AT#103", 2017-03-28, "Der Ren(n)t mit Turbine", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 134, 110
"2017 AT#104", 2017-03-29, "Mittel für Biogas bleiben in Region", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 166, 166
"2017 AT#105", 2017-03-30, "Biogasanlagen: Hoffnung lebt", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 115, 115
"2017 AT#106", 2017-04-05, "Biogas-Tanke Die erste Biogas-Zapfsäule Vorarlbergs wurde nun in...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 66, 64
"2017 AT#107", 2017-04-12, "Biogas-Branche rüstet sich für Schicksalstag", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 236, 172
"2017 AT#108", 2017-04-21, "Bio-Strom droht Blackout!", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 104, 103
"2017 AT#109", 2017-04-22, "Mit einer Petition versuchten am Freitag Bürgermeister Martin...", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 36, 37
"2017 AT#110", 2017-04-26, "Energie aus Biomasse wird Hahn abgedreht", "Kronenzeitung", NA, 126, 123
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