

Delegitimizing or Supportive Agenda Framings? Media Coverage of the Extinction Rebellion's Agenda in Finland

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Thematic news coverage of social movement protests can help legitimize a movement's agenda, whereas a focus on negative aspects, such as protest violence, can have delegitimizing effects. Especially movements that use more disruptive or radical protest tactics, such as the new climate movement, are at risk of getting delegitimizing coverage. This article analyzes the agenda that journalists attribute to the Extinction Rebellion (XR) movement in Finland (XRF). Using news material from 2021 from 2 news outlets (*Helsingin Sanomat* and *Yle*; $n = 100$), the inductive frame analysis suggests that the XRF has been successful in getting its own framings into the agenda coverage, most notably its two biggest goals: "tell the truth" and "act now." However, a deeper context of the climate crisis is lacking in the news coverage. Since the XR, despite its global outreach, acts locally, these types of local examinations can advance our understanding of how media coverage affects the movement.

Keywords: extinction rebellion, climate movement, frame analysis, media framings, news media

In recent years, climate movements demanding better and faster climate policies to fight the climate crisis have emerged. The new climate movement, with its different branches, uses different types of protest and civil disobedience acts to bring attention to the crisis that the United Nations has characterized as "the defining crisis of our time" (United Nations, n.d.). Research on environmental movements suggests that climate activists are typically motivated by the aim to influence political leaders and to hold them accountable (de Moor, Catney, & Doherty, 2021; Marquardt, 2020). They are social movements with aims for policy change—and they need attention and support for their agenda to influence real change. To gain attention, but also to gain the public's support, mobilize potential supporters, and bring forth political change, social movements have traditionally needed media attention (Detenber, Gotlieb, Douglas, McLeod, & Malinkina, 2007; Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Gitlin, 1980). Despite the rise of social media, which allows other channels for communication, the importance of media framings prevails. This article examines media framings of a climate movement, the Extinction Rebellion (XR) in Finland (XRF).

The relationship between media and social movements is a complex one: since social movements need attention, they organize public demonstrations to attract media coverage for issues they deem

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important (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001); however, (1) it is not easy to gain attention, and (2) even if the movement gains attention, it might not be favorable for the movement. Movements want to gain attention for their cause, whereas the media wants to focus on issues that they deem newsworthy—thus, it is not certain how the news coverage will interpret or frame the social movement’s message and cause (Smith et al., 2001; Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2012). As Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2012) write, news coverage can legitimize the existence and the claims of the movement and make it a relevant actor to be considered by those holding political power, but it can also undermine or neutralize the movement’s agenda. The media attention around social movements’ protest actions often focuses on the so-called protest paradigm. It is a paradoxical situation where the movement needs protest coverage, however, instead of a focus on the movement’s goals and issues, the media portrays protests that challenge the status quo in a negative way (i.e., the protest paradigm; e.g., Brown & Harlow, 2019; McLeod & Detenber, 1999), focusing on, for example, violence or interpersonal relationships, which delegitimizes the protest (McLeod & Detenber, 1999).

I argue that the protest paradigm is not the only way news coverage may undermine social movements; *how* the movement’s *agenda* is presented in the media also matters. Therefore, rather than a more typical focus on the protest paradigm, this study contributes to the literature on social movements, protests, and media by examining social movements’ framings by focusing on how news media presents a social movements’ agenda, the agenda that journalists attribute to the movement.¹ These journalistically attributed agendas are here called “agenda framings.” Since movements aim for thematic media attention for their cause (see Smith et al., 2001), focusing on agenda coverage and framings can reveal new insights into whether thematic media attention automatically supports the movement’s cause or if the news coverage can still be delegitimizing even outside the protest paradigm. This article also contributes to the framing literature by expanding on Iyengar’s (1992) thematic and McLeod and Hertog’s (1999) debate frames by examining specifically news coverage that entails a journalistic interpretation of the movement’s agenda (i.e., the underlying reason they are taking action).

The XR is a climate strike movement that seeks policy changes in issues related to the climate crisis using civil disobedience in their protest actions. The agenda framings are examined by conducting an inductive frame analysis on newspaper coverage (in *HS* and *Yle*, $n = 100$) of the XRF in 2021. This article is exploratory of its nature and aims to identify, describe, and analyze the agenda frames visible in the news coverage. To preview the findings, the XRF appears to have been successful in getting their own frames and main agenda into media, but the deeper context of the climate crisis, the root cause for their protest action, is not explained in the news material.

The State of the Art: Social Movements, Protests, and Media Attention

Protests are a form of noninstitutional collective action (Klandermans, 2016, p. 76) and an important means through which citizens can voice their concerns and press their claims in contemporary societies (Lee, 2014). As Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2012) suggest, for most social movements the only

¹ The journalistically attributed agenda is not necessarily the same as the movement’s own idea of its agenda.

real means of influencing politics and policies is playing on public opinion, and one of the most often-employed tools to get into the news is to organize protest activities. Since most protests are witnessed by only a few people, social movements often need media attention to spread their messages and to gain public support and opportunities for political influence, as well as real political change (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Lee, 2014), even though the rise of social media has given alternative opportunities for communication. Although social media can help activists gain visibility for their causes, it does not ensure that media or politicians engage in the campaigns started by activists (Uldam & Askanius, 2022). The importance of news media prevails, and not only is it important that social movements get media attention for their actions but what kind of coverage the protests receive matters.

Positive coverage of protests can amplify and legitimize the protesters' messages, thus furthering the chances for the protest to gain public support and influence governmental authorities (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Lee, 2014), whereas negative coverage can have negative effects on the movement.² Previous research shows that media outlets tend to portray protests in ways that may undermine the social movement's agenda (Smith et al., 2001). As McLeod and Detenber's (1999) influential work suggests, instead of spreading the protest messages, news outlets may focus on covering, for example, violence that occurred in the protests, any internal conflicts, or personal details of the movement's leaders. What is known as the protest paradigm has been a prevalent frame in protest news coverage, even though it has become less prevalent because of social movements and protests becoming more normalized (Lee, 2014). The protest paradigm refers to the pattern of how news coverage delegitimizes protests by focusing on the violent and/or disruptive aspects of the protest activities (Lee, 2014). Because of the protest paradigm, a movement's agenda does not gain the pursued media attention and publicity: Journalists focus on events that they find newsworthy, which leads to them covering the protest actions without generating information about the backgrounds, claims, or agendas of the events, or the movement behind the protests (Brown & Harlow, 2019). The protest paradigm creates a paradox: Movements must appeal to the media logic by adapting their actions to get coverage, but when they do, they gain negative attention and their agendas and messages get underreported (Brown & Harlow, 2019).

The protest paradigm is just one example of potential news framings of protests. Framing is often used to study social movement's media coverage (McCurdy, 2012). A frame functions as the overarching narrative of a story (Brown & Harlow, 2019), and in framing studies, researchers consider how meaning is constructed based on what parts of a news story are emphasized (Harlow, Salaverría, Kilgo, & García-Perdomo, 2017). Research suggests that protest framing is the factor that most consistently predicts how engaged the public is with the social movement's issues and how the protest is interpreted (see Brown & Harlow, 2019; Harlow et al., 2017). Theory suggests that frames used to cover protests both delegitimize the protests and affect the public opinion negatively (Brown & Harlow, 2019; McLeod & Detenber, 1999). In addition to the protest paradigm, other typologies of protest

² "Positive" and "negative" are used here to refer to coverage or framings that may have either a disempowering effect (by focusing on nonagenda elements and disruptive elements of the protests; negative) or a potentially empowering effect (by focusing on the underlining reason for the protests; positive).

framings are, for example, McLeod and Hertog's (1999)³ five framing categories: confrontation, riot, circus (or carnival or spectacle), debate, and protest. The first three frames emphasize conflict, violence, and protest-related drama and can thus be considered delegitimizing as they act to turn public opinion against the protesters (Harlow et al., 2017; Hertog & McLeod, 2001; McLeod & Hertog, 1999; Proust & Saldaña, 2022). The debate frame that is considered the only positive frame in this typology, however, focuses on the underlying reasons for protest (the movement's agenda), thus allowing a more legitimizing view of protesters and their demands (McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Frames that focus on a movement's cause and demands provide the possibility to engage the public with the actual agenda of the social movements (Brown & Harlow, 2019). There are, of course, alternative ways to understand and categorize the different kinds of agenda-oriented frames. Iyengar (1992), for example, focuses on "episodic" and "thematic" frames, where episodic frames focus on concrete instances or specific events, such as specific protests, while thematic frames are focused on more general trends, place the protest issue in a more general or abstract context, see the conditions that contribute to problems, and provide information that contextualizes the issue/problem. Smith et al. (2001) suggest that social movements seek thematic framing, as this is best for their aims as a movement but found that "controversy-generated media coverage was more episodic" (p. 1415) and that most news coverage around protests is episodic. The episodic nature of protest coverage also seems to be an issue in social media protest communications (Poell, 2020) since attention to different causes online is often reliant on triggering political events or controversial debates (Meyer, Peach, Guenther, Kedar, & Brüggemann, 2023).

The focus in this article is on news coverage that falls somewhat under the McLeod and Hertog (1999) debate frame, or the Iyengar (1992) thematic frame: Instead of a general frame analysis of news coverage around a social movement, I focus only on news coverage that entails some journalistic interpretation of the movement's agenda, the reason the activists are taking action. This article aims to add nuance to the protest-framing literature by examining how the agenda is presented, what implications that might have on the movement in general, and by providing more specific framing that is present in the news coverage of a movement's agenda. The so-called agenda coverage examination can further our knowledge of both media framings and successful social media tactics for social movements, which are not only passive objects but also active in creating their own framings of their cause.

The New Climate Movement and the XR

In 2018, a new wave of climate activism emerged and quickly grew into a global mass movement with different branches. The different branches, Fridays for Future (FFF), School strike 4 climate, Extinction Rebellion, and so on, take old climate concerns but use new tactics to demand political change. Especially the FFF movement has received a lot of scholarly attention in recent years. This article focuses on the Extinction Rebellion (XR), which was founded in 2018 in the United Kingdom by Roger Hallam (Buzogany & Scherhauer, 2023). The movement, in contrast to FFF, which is characterized by its large-scale global demonstrations, makes use of a broader repertoire of smaller and more disruptive protests using nonviolent

³ Many researchers make use of some adaptation of this McLeod and Hertog (1999) typology, while other researchers have developed their own typologies of protest framing (see, e.g., Dardis, 2006, and his typology of 14 categories).

civil disobedience and direct action (Buzogany & Scherhauser, 2023; de Moor, De Vydt, Uba, & Wahlström, 2021). These activities include street blockades, activists sticking themselves to protest sites, throwing paint or soup on artwork, and gluing themselves to cars and other property. Disruptive or radical protest activities do not necessarily reduce public support for a movement (Buzogany & Scherhauser, 2023). Despite findings that people support social movements less when they use more extreme actions (see, e.g., Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020), some recent studies conducted about the XR show that despite the movements' disruptive protests, there has not been a loss of support for climate policies or alienation from sustainable lifestyles (Kountouris & Williams, 2023; Özden & Glover, 2022). Some studies even suggest that by causing constructive disruption, civil disobedience can increase support among resistant groups (Shuman, Saguy, van Zomeren, & Halperin, 2021). However, the frames used in protest coverage matter as they can delegitimize the protests and have a negative effect on public opinion (Brown & Harlow, 2019; McLeod & Detenber, 1999).

Previous framing research of the new climate movement highlights different findings. Chen and colleagues (2022) research in the United States, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom examined the focus of news coverage around climate change. Their findings suggest that news coverage emphasizes the political implications of the climate crisis and highlights how the climate crisis would influence the economy and industry, as well as industry response to the crisis, and tends to also report on politicians (in)action in climate policies (Chen et al., 2022). Their study also indicates that from 2018 to 2020, there was a shift from "uncertainty and economic framing" to coverage that was more policy and action-oriented, meaning a shift to demands for more collective solutions (Chen et al., 2022, p. 401). In Germany, research suggests that the young climate protestors' (FFF) voices were reduced to apolitical testimonies in the media—the movement's agenda did not get coverage, and thereby, the movement's agenda and demands were depoliticized (von Zabern & Tulloch, 2021). Findings from Finland also suggest some disempowering elements in the media framings of the FFF movement: Both social and news media tend to focus on individual-level action instead of collective activities, and the media coverage was characterized by a dominating adult voice (Huttunen & Albrecht, 2021). Findings from Belgium, in contrast, suggest that in the media coverage of Youth for Climate, the most dominant news frames were the ones that focused on young people's capability to voice their demands and be agents of change (Poot & Bauwens, 2022). However, also negative framings of young people as citizens-in-making were present in the news coverage (Poot & Bauwens, 2022). This article builds on this foundation and examines the agenda framings of the XR in Finland.

Materials and Methods

The material consists of news articles from *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS) and *Yle* from 2021. HS is the largest daily newspaper in Finland and politically independent.⁴ Yle here refers to the news production of the national broadcasting company.⁵ These two outlets were chosen for two reasons: (1) the study focuses on so-called quality media, and (2) the aim was to examine quality news outlets that reach a substantial

⁴ Most newspapers in Finland (95% in 2016) are nonaffiliated and independent ("Finland," n.d.). Newspapers are mostly regional, with the capital region's newspaper (HS) being the most-read daily newspaper.

⁵ Despite being a national public broadcaster, Yle's journalistic decisions are not influenced by politicians (<https://rsf.org/en/country/finland>).

number of Finns each week. Both news outlets are considered among the most reliable news sources in the country by its citizens (Ignatius, 2024) and are by far the most read daily news outlets in the country ("Finland," n.d.).⁶

The data were collected in 2022 online. All articles with the search word "elokapina" ("extinction rebellion" in the majority language Finnish) from 2021 were collected, leading to 140 articles altogether in *HS* and 180 in *Yle*.⁷ After a preliminary review of the material, it was concluded that 51 of the articles in *HS* (36.5%) and 55 articles in *Yle* (30.6%) mentioned the movement's agenda. An article was deemed to mention the movement's agenda if it provided some reason as to why the movement was engaging in its actions. Only articles about the Finnish XR (XRF) and those mentioning the movement's agenda were included in the final material to be analyzed. Of all the articles, 100 (44 *HS*, 56 *Yle*) fit these requirements. Thus, the material that is analyzed consists of 100 articles.

The year 2021 was selected as the data collection point for several reasons. In 2021, the movement was still in its early stages. The XR movement first gained some attention in Finland in 2019.⁸ However, because of the COVID-19 pandemic and restrictions about large gatherings, the movement did not really break into the mainstream knowledge and debate until the restrictions were lifted. In 2020, the media space was dominated by COVID-19 discussions, whereas in 2021, the media space was again more open for other topics.

Frame Analysis

In framing studies, researchers consider how meaning is constructed based on what parts of a news story are emphasized (Harlow et al., 2017), since frames, as central organizing ideas, encourage specific interpretive lenses derived from existing narratives and traditions (Allen, 2017; Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Frames provide journalists guidance on how to select, emphasize, and present news stories by providing patterns for how to package events and issues (Detenber et al., 2007). Framing can be done in many different ways; for example, in media studies, frame analysis can be done by drawing from an active selection of frames based on previous research (Entman, 1993). This is done, for example, when the existence of the protest paradigm is examined (see, e.g., Lee, 2014). Here, however, the aim is not to categorize the existing material onto theoretically existing frames but rather to build theory on how the XR movement (and perhaps other more radical environmental movements) are framed in the media.

The question of how the XRF's agenda was framed in the news media was examined inductively in a frame analysis. Here, the agenda refers to the agenda journalists attribute to the XRF—not what the movement itself sees as its agenda. The frame analysis was done in several parts. The material was first compiled. All articles about the movement's agenda were included in the material. Then, the material was systematically

⁶ There are also two widely read tabloids in Finland. However, as the focus was on quality media, these news outlets were not included in the data collection.

⁷ *Yle* often produces long news article chains with several separate news pieces. All entries were counted as separate news articles.

⁸ Based on a news search from *Yle*.

examined to identify the frames. When identifying the frames, no differences were made based on what type of article an article was. Merely the parts where the agenda was presented were taken into the material to identify the frames. News articles could present several agendas in the same piece. After the frames were established, the material was systematically categorized, keeping flexibility and an open mind. Then, the frames and the material were further explored to shed light on what these frames mean for the movement's news coverage. The analysis process is further presented in the Supplementary Appendix.

The Case: XRF and Finland

This article focuses on one branch of the climate movement, the XR in Finland (XRF). Despite being a global movement, the new climate movement operates on a local level where the context (social, socioeconomic, and political) plays a role (Soler-i-Martí, Fernández-Planells, & Pérez-Altamira, 2022). By examining the local contexts of this global movement, we gain valuable knowledge of the local branches of the new climate movement and the contextual differences.

Finland is an established democracy with a consensus-driven political culture, where citizens typically have high levels of satisfaction with democracy and trust in political institutions (Kestilä-Kekkonen & Söderlund, 2016; Rapeli & Koskimaa, 2020). Finnish people have fairly conventional participation patterns; yet climate movements, most notably the FFF, have also been popular in Finland. In general, researching the Finnish case can reveal to us how framing activism is done in a country where activism is not the norm and where citizens trust the political system. Since Finland is similar to its Nordic neighbors in terms of political and social cultures, the other Nordic countries provide the most natural point of reference.

Similarly to the global XR movement, the XRF uses civil disobedience (typically in the form of sit-ins on public streets) as a form of protest. The movement has three demands: demand for crisis communication and the declaration of climate and environmental emergency ("tell the truth"), demand for binding legislation for carbon neutrality by 2025 and immediate ecological reconstruction ("act now"), and the expansion of democracy by introducing deliberative citizens' assemblies ("go beyond politics"; Elokapina, n.d.).

Analysis

Figure 1 summarizes the final frames that emerged from the material in the systemic examination process and shows the prevalence of each of the frames in the material. In some articles, several frames were present.

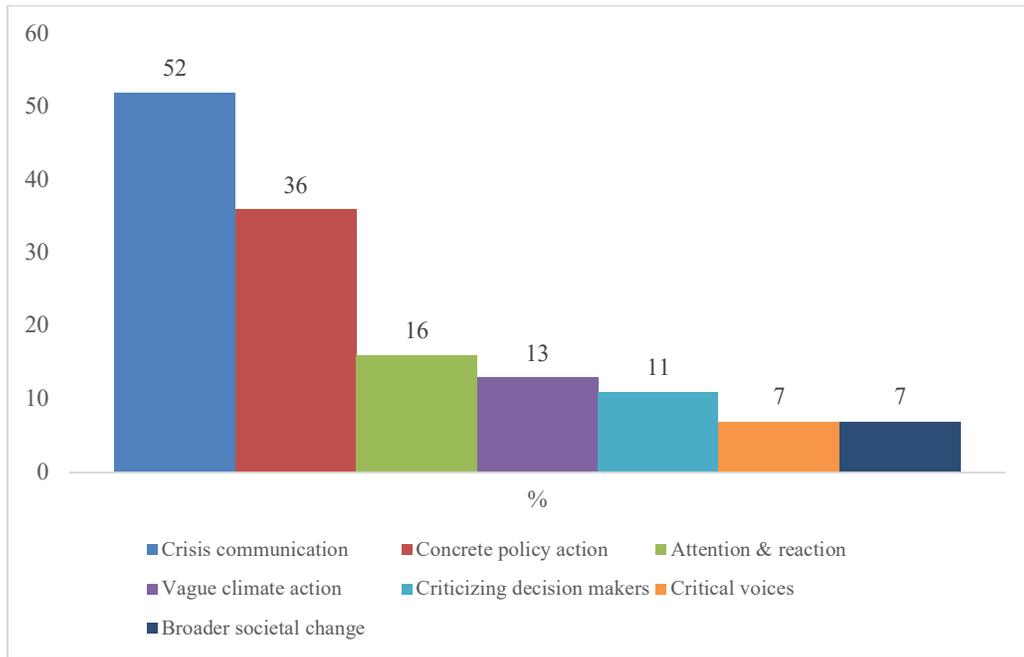


Figure 1. Frames in the XRF news coverage (%).

The Identified Frames

Frame 1: Crisis Communication (52%)

In the first frame, the movement’s agenda is presented as a communicative issue: as a demand for certain kinds of communication around the climate crisis. The frame presents that the reason for XRF’s actions is to affect communication around the climate crisis. Notable about this frame is that it is one-to-one similar with XRF’s (and XR’s) own “tell the truth” agenda, suggesting that the XRF has been successful in getting their own framing and agenda into the media, despite previous research suggesting that social movement’s messages are very rarely identical to the media’s coverage of the issues (Terkildsen, Schnell, & Ling, 1998).

This frame includes both the demand for a declaration of climate (and environmental) emergency from government officials (present in 42% of all the articles) and demands for certain types of journalism aimed at media and journalists (in 10% of all the articles). The most prevalent theme in all the news coverage around the XRF’s agenda is the movement’s demand for a climate (and environmental) emergency declaration. Despite its prevalence, the demand for emergency declaration is presented rather vaguely: nowhere in the media coverage is it explicitly said what the declaration of climate emergency in practice means, what it would entail, or how it would help in the fight against the climate crisis. The declaration of a climate emergency is not a policy goal but rather a communicative goal—it is in fact acknowledging the current state of affairs about climate change. Similarly, the demand for “better” journalism is a communicative agenda. The XRF seems to feel that the media has not been

able to present an accurate picture of the state of the climate crisis to the public (Perttu, 2021; *HS*) and demands more comprehensive news coverage about the seriousness and vastness of the climate change from Finnish media outlets (Niemi, 2021; *HS*). The responsibility for concrete action is left to media professionals, however, an XRF spokesperson mentions daily, real-time climate news coverage as one solution (Perttu, 2021; *HS*).

Frame 2: Concrete Policy Action (36%)

In the second identified frame, the movement's agenda is framed as a demand for actual policies in the fight against the climate crisis. The policies range from the agenda of carbon neutrality by 2025 (and similar wordings about specific emissions targets or carbon dioxide emissions) to more small-scale and local policy aims. Similarly to the first frame, this frame also bears one-to-one similarities with the XR/XRF movement's own "act now" goal, with demands for carbon neutrality by 2025. The demands for carbon neutrality or reduction of emissions were especially prominent: this policy goal was present in 24% of the material. Some wordings within this frame and issue were vaguer, such as demands to "significantly tighten the specific emissions targets" (Hara, 2021, para. 22; *Yle*), while others were very specific in mentioning the movement's goal of carbon neutrality by 2025 (13%).

However, this frame also includes other policy requests. In the material, the other policies were related to, for example, peat production, Black Friday shopping day and overconsumption, alleged green washing done by a Finnish company (Fortum), a new suggested car tunnel in the capital city Helsinki, loss of biodiversity, and protection of local forests and nature, among other things. All the goals were concrete, targeting either one specific policy goal or broader goals related to biodiversity.

Frame 3: Attention and Reaction (16%)

In the third frame, the movement's agenda is framed as an aim for attention in general or as a desire for a reaction (from politicians). The protest activities that the movement is engaging in are framed as a way to get or seek attention. With protests, the movement "seeks visibility (with police arrests)" (Torvinen, 2021, para. 25; *HS*) and "has been able to get attention to its goals" (Aaltonen, 2021, para. 44; *HS*). Attention and visibility are the reasons the activists engage in their specific chosen activities and why they cannot, for example, move their protest to a less public and disturbing place (Moilanen, 2021b; *HS*).

The reaction agenda is typically presented in connection to the government in general, but sometimes specific politicians, such as Prime Minister Sanna Marin or the government party leaders, are mentioned. The activists are street protesting because they are waiting for the government to react to their demands. Often, the demands are not specified in the news article (or they are related to frames 1 and 2). The reaction frame is presented especially in ad hoc protest coverage, where the activists "will continue until the government answers to their [demands]" (Näveri, 2021, para. 3; *Yle*). In the coverage, the desire for attention/reaction is sometimes combined with other communicative goals: the activists invite specific politicians to engage in discussions or ask specific politicians about their views on climate matters.

Frame 4: Vague Climate Action (13%)

The fourth frame is dubbed the "vague climate action" frame. The articles that include this frame acknowledge that the movement's agenda is to affect the climate crisis and that something must be done about the crisis but are vague about how or about the more specific goals. The agenda is presented as a demand or a wish for "climate action"⁹ or for "climate politics" ("ilmastopoliittikkaa"). The demand for climate action is often accompanied by adjectives such as "quick, immediate, stronger," and "more efficient"; the movement's agenda is presented, for example, as "demanding concrete and fast action to stop climate change" (Marttinen, 2021, para. 9; *Yle*), or "more active climate politics from the decision-makers" (Lius, 2021, para. 1; *Yle*).

Some articles present the agenda even more vaguely, portraying it as a wish or reminder for climate action rather than a demand. Some even do not mention climate or nature at all, instead noting that "Extinction Rebellion demanded action for an alternative future" (Ahlroth, 2021, para. 24; *HS*). This frame does not explain the details of XRF's agenda or the reasons for protesting. However, this frame acknowledges the need for climate policies and the existence of the climate crisis and still makes it visible that the XRF movement is protesting to demand climate action.

Frame 5: Criticizing Decision Makers (11%)

In the fifth frame, the movement's agenda is framed as criticism toward the decision makers and government. The action of the movement is derived from their criticism toward politicians: There is openly stated direct criticism and disappointment toward the government (and certain politicians; Aalto, 2021; Aholainen, 2021; *HS*), and critical voices aimed at the speed of climate actions (Lähteenmaa, 2021; *HS*). The agenda for protests is also presented as criticism of the wrong priorities of the government (Aholainen, 2021; Moilanen, 2021a; *HS*), since activists feel that especially economic issues gain too much importance over climate. This frame thus presents that the movement's agenda is to criticize the insufficient climate action taken by the authorities.

Frame 6: Critical Voices (7%)

Most news coverage around the XRF's agenda was neutral toward the agenda. The sixth frame includes all the perspectives that paint the movement's agenda in a critical light. It is a diverse frame: The agenda is simultaneously impossible and too ambitious, too conventional, and only symbolic. This frame includes critical voices that see the XRF agenda as too vague; as Prime Minister Sanna Marin states, "it is not declarations that move us forward very much, but practical actions" (Auvinen & Hämäläinen, 2021, para. 17; *Yle*); and the agenda is criticized for the lack of concrete solutions; the declaration of climate emergency is seen as more a symbolic fight. In addition, the "protesters demand politically impossible things from the government" (referring to carbon neutrality by 2025 and daily catastrophe news/better communication; "Elokapina luo painetta," 2021, para. 6; *HS*), but also have too mild goals; the demands of the XRF are "kind and conventional" (Tervonen, 2021, para. 9; *Yle*). The sixth frame suggests that the movement's agenda can be criticized from different perspectives.

⁹ "ilmastotekoja" and "ilmastotoimia," both translate to the same English term.

Frame 7: Broader Societal Change (7%)

The seventh frame frames the movement's agenda as a desire for broader societal change. This frame captures the idea that the activists are on the streets to reform the society at large. These reformist ideas include ideas of "ecosocially just society" (Kallionpää, 2021, para. 9; *HS*) and "ecological reconstruction" (Salomaa, n.d., para. 11; *HS*), but also merely the idea that to overturn the climate crisis, the current social system needs to be abolished ("Demokratiasta luopuminen," 2021; *HS*). However, it is noteworthy that these ideas are not presented or discussed in length in the media coverage, rather they are only mentioned in passing.

This frame also includes criticism of how democracy is organized and captures the movement's third goal about the citizens' assemblies. However, the citizens' assemblies gained only two mentions in the whole material (one within this frame and another in the critical frame) and were not really discussed in length, meaning that in this regard, the movement was unsuccessful in bringing their third own agenda into the news coverage.

Discussion and Conclusions

The rise of social media has given social movements more opportunities for protest communications. Yet, the picture painted of the protests by the mass media can have a large effect on a protest's effectiveness in achieving its political goals (Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2012). Thus, social movement framings matter; some agenda frames may legitimize social movements and help a movement gain support and political wins (McLeod & Hertog, 1999). The findings from this study tell us how the XRF's agenda was framed in two qualitative news outlets with wide reach in Finnish society. The findings show the success of the XRF in getting its own agenda in the media. However, the agenda coverage also fails to convey the political implications of the climate crisis. Since the deeper context behind the protests goes unreported, even thematic agenda coverage may undermine the social movement by not conveying the urgency for action to battle the impending crisis.

The first main finding is that the two most prevalent frames were one-to-one with the XRF's main goals, which could be seen as unsurprising; Terkildsen et al. (1998) found in their study on abortion that in the early years of the debate, the interest groups were successful in getting their framings into media, whereas later, the media invented their own analytical frames. As 2021 marks an early year for the XRF, a similar trend could explain the prevalence of their own framings. However, since movements that use civil disobedience as protest tactics are more prone to suffer from the protest paradigm (Lee, 2014) and previous research on the new climate movement suggests depoliticizing framings (see Huttunen & Albrecht, 2021; von Zabern & Tulloch, 2021), the prevalence of the movement's own frames is noteworthy. The findings suggest that the movement has successfully worked with the constraints of media and has been able to provide framings and arguments that fit conventional news narratives (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Terkildsen et al., 1998). In comparison to von Zabern and Tulloch's (2021) findings from the FFF movement in Germany, the XRF's voices were politicized, and their direct demands got attention in the news media. While the FFF in Finland was presented through an individualized action lens (Huttunen & Albrecht, 2021), the XRF's agenda was presented as political demands. Perhaps the less youthful nature of the XR, in comparison to the FFF movement, plays a role in this; civil disobedience and police arrests evoke a different image than school strikes. Alternatively, the XRF having three clear, concrete, and quotable (policy)

demands (in contrast to FFF's more abstract demands of listening to science and keeping the temperature rise under 1.5 degrees) is likely to matter for their prevalence in the news coverage: Concrete demands serve the journalistic agenda better by providing clear demands that fit into the news coverage. However, this finding is also likely affected by the decision to focus specifically on agenda coverage.

The second main finding is, however, what is lacking in news coverage: a deeper dive into the topic of the climate crisis. Terkildsen and colleagues (1998) suggest that despite the fact that media might pick up a movement's theme, the advocate's position may not be transmitted in its totality; it may be placed in an unfavorable context or even altered. In the agenda coverage, the actions taken by the XRF movement were not put in the broader context; the media coverage did not explain the climate crisis, its effects, or why it should be combated. The McLeod and Hertog (1999) debate frame, the only positive protest frame, expects not only a focus on the agenda to legitimize the protesters and their political agenda but also the focus on the underlying reasons for protest. The broader framework is missing in the XRF agenda coverage, and the agenda and fight against climate change are presented on a shallower level.

In contrast to Chen and colleagues' (2022) findings, which indicate that news coverage around climate change emphasizes the political implications of the climate crisis, the political implications did not emerge in Finnish news coverage. There is acknowledgment that climate crisis exists and that the XRF takes action to do something about it, but that is the extent of it. The news coverage is rather characterized by vagueness instead of discussion around the background of the crisis or the collective responsibility. This is in line with previous findings from Finland, which suggest that the FFF movement was framed in disempowering ways by focusing on individual-level action, instead of focusing on the collective responsibility (Huttunen & Albrecht, 2021). For the broader goal of the new climate movement—sufficient climate policies and action to fight global warming—this media focus may be challenging. Even if the movement is successful in getting its agenda into the media, if the collective aspect of the climate crisis and the political realities do not gain visibility in the news coverage, the full agenda is not conveyed to the larger audience. Thereby, the pressure for climate policy may be insufficient to battle the crisis. Whereas Chen and colleagues (2022) found the tendency to also report on politicians' (in)action in climate policies, when politicians were discussed in the Finnish coverage, the focus was on activists' demands—not on politicians' actions.

Another finding is the lack of critical voices about the XRF's agenda. It could be expected that the climate movement's agenda is presented in a critical light, as the issue of climate change and especially what actions activists should take to demand the mitigation of the crisis is still very much debated. Yet, critical voices were few. This is likely because of the focus on agenda framings (in contrast to news coverage in general). Since most (77%) Finns believe that climate change is a major global threat (Kotila & Hyry, 2023), there may not be a need to be critical toward the climate mitigation goals suggested by the XRF. Also, the selection of media outlets is likely to impact the lack of critical voices, which may have been more prevalent if tabloids were included. In future research, the media framings in tabloids should be explored to verify this expectation.

It is important to note that only around a third of all the news articles derived with the search term "elokapina" had anything about the XRF agenda. Thus, despite the success of the movement's agendas in media coverage, the agenda still does not take the central stage in most of the media coverage. Yet, it must also be pointed out that many of the articles that were found with the search word were not focused on the movement itself; rather, often, the movement was only mentioned in passing.

This study has limitations. The decisions to focus on agenda framings and only two quality news outlets limit the depth of the findings. Also, as McCurdy (2012) puts it, framing is about struggles for power—thus, it is not enough to focus on media output; the movement's tactics should also be analyzed. This article has focused only on the media end of the question. Similar questions should be studied with material from different media outlets and in other country contexts to provide more insights into the larger trend within the news coverage of the new climate movement since, as we know, there are national differences in the agendas.

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Appendix

Table A1 describes examples of identified theme devices (movement's agenda presented as . . .), the initial identified frames, the core themes identified after further evaluation rounds of the material, and the final frames. The analysis and coding were done by one person (the author) "by hand," that is, no programs were used in the analysis and coding.

Table A1. The Evolution of Frames.

Examples of news excerpts as theme devices	Initial identified frames	Identified core themes
Crisis communication		
Climate emergency; declaration of climate emergency; climate and environmental emergency; climate emergency now!; acknowledge climate crisis as an emergency	Climate emergency	Communication, climate focus
Crisis communication; more comprehensive coverage of the seriousness of climate change; better climate journalism; solutions to climate journalism from journalists; realistic climate journalism; catastrophe information in the style of COVID coverage; the government starts to tell the truth about climate crisis; regular national crisis information; regular communication about the climate crisis.	Better information/ journalism	Communication, climate focus
Concrete policy action		
Carbon neutrality; carbon neutrality by 2025; carbon emissions; carbon dioxide emissions; faster emission reduction targets; advance the goal to 2025; immediate and necessary carbon reductions; binding legislation to achieve carbon neutrality; climate neutrality.	Carbon emissions	Concrete policy solutions, carbon emissions, climate focus
Natural forests and their diversity; stopping the disappearance of fraction of species; endangered species; no new car tunnel in Helsinki; against Black Friday; no green washing; substituting peat production with other production forms; stopping the overconsumption of natural resources; counting consumption-based emissions into the emission reduction targets; reminding current and future municipal politicians about municipalities responsibilities in climate crisis; pro forests.	Local & concrete goals	Concrete policy solutions, varying goals, climate focus
Vague climate action		
Concrete and fast action; more active climate politics; stronger than current action; reminding of the environment's emergency; harder climate action; fast climate action; quick climate action; need for hurried climate action; more efficient climate action; action for a different kind of future; "what do we want? Climate action!"; concrete and fast action; better climate politics.	Vague climate action	Climate focus, taking action, vagueness
Attention and reaction and Criticizing decision makers		
Gaining attention to its goals in media; publicity for the movement; seeks visibility [by police arrest]; wants attention with its demonstrations; attention to climate and environmental catastrophe; be in a place where politicians cannot look past us.	Attention	Getting attention, no clear climate focus, focus on the movement, action focus (Attention and reaction)
Use the pressure from protests to get decision makers to react; pressure on actors that are harmful for climate and environment; showing disappointment to the current government; societal wakeup call; to be taken seriously and being heard; [civil disobedience] as a mean to open the discussion and dialogue.	Expressing emotions, wanting to be heard	Getting reactions, being heard, no clear climate focus, focused on the movement, action focus (Attention and reaction)

Influence the Finnish government; encourage politicians to do better in climate issues; [asking specific politicians for answers and responsibility]; influence democratically elected decision-makers; demand action from decision makers; waiting for government's reaction; [protest] until the government answers to the demands; dialogue with decision makers; politicians have failed us; the action and speeches of politicians do not support each other; have not gotten answers to our questions from politicians; to express disappointment that PM Marin says the government will not declare a climate emergency; the moral failure of the current government; a rebellion against the government; the government does not realize the Paris treaty; making climate goals more important than economic growth.

Broader societal change

For ecosocially just society; to overthrow the current social order; the ecological rebuilding of the Finnish society; nature's capacity and people's global well-being as the premise for politics; quick societal change; the ethical and moral consequences of climate change; everyone's right to get to live a good life.

Starting a randomly selected citizens' forum for discussion, research and recommendations in climate emergency; system-level changes.

Critical voices

Lack of concrete solutions; symbolic fight; impossible goals; are emission cuts possible in capitalism; goals are very kind and conventional; saving the world "right" and "not posing with wrong kind of people," "declarations do not take us forward, practical action does" PM Marin.

Goals related to politicians

Getting attention or a reaction, being heard by politicians
(Attention and reaction) and disappointment and criticism toward politicians and their (in)action
(Criticizing decision makers)

Moral and ethical change

Broader system-level change, moral societal change

Changes to democracy

System-level change

Critique

Criticism toward the movement