

Twitter Discourse of a Novel Environmental Social Movement Organization:
Framing by and of Extinction Rebellion

Student name: Arina Ermakova

Student number: 412501

Supervisor: Dr. Janna Michael

Second supervisor: Frank Weij

Arts, Culture, and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture, and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

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Abstract

The present study's key objective is exploration of that was employed by the British and Dutch branches of a novel environmental social movement organisation, Extinction Rebellion (XR), and their public in the context of Twitter discourse across three distinct time periods. Furthermore, predominantly utilised dimensions of collective action frames as well as the extent of generated audience engagement were analysed. To provide an answer, a mixed methods approach was adopted, integrating a content analysis of Twitter posts' framing as well as quantitative analysis of the frame and audience response frequencies and ANOVA. The findings demonstrated that branches articulated a large variety of frames, including all three dimensions of collective action frames as well as additional frames constructing their public image and supporting their standpoint. Such a broad range of employed framing reflects the nature of social media discourse and suggests that social network sites might be suitable for a global citizens' assembly, however, less valuable when mobilizing local adherents. Twitter public response presented support and counter-framing to the framing of XR, hence, imposing frame contests. Finally, time periods presented a significant effect on the level of audience engagement, which led to an assumption that external conditions of the time have a great effect on how the public perceives and engages in social media discourse.

Keywords: social movement, framing, collective action frames, social media discourse, audience engagement.

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Introduction

The broad theme of environmentalism has been a subject of many political, social, economic as well as scholarly discussions since the second half of the 20th century (Milton, 2002) and it is ever more addressed today. Since the increased international attention to concerns about levels of pollution and the state of global warming, many public actors and bodies have to address the issues surrounding the notion of climate change and discuss methods of environmental protection. In 2018, one environmental social movement organization (SMO), in particular, was established to declare that there was a climate and environmental emergency and it had to be acknowledged and acted upon. The group is known as Extinction Rebellion (XR) and recognised across many parts of the world, having 65 national branches (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-h).

Recent years have further been marked by the wide spread of online communication tools. Social networking sites have become actively used by social movements as another method of information-sharing stimulating mobilisation of adherents (Bennett, 2003; Greengard, 2009; Pickerill, 2001). An online environment presents a space where an SMO induces framing, which, in essence, is a selected perception of reality, upon matters at hand (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974, 1981; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow et al., 1986; Van Dijk, 1977). Through conceptual tools particular to social movement organizations, namely, collective action frames, organizations display their position on what the issue is, who is to blame, what the plan of action is, what solutions are needed, and what is believed to be a motive for action. The presented perspective aims at mobilisation of people in order to achieve the solutions and what the organization sees as its goal. Hence, previous research indicated that in order for framing to be successfully received by future adherents, the organization has to account for broader cultures in which it operates and include notions that people are accustomed with (Entman, 1993; Goodwin & Jasper, 1999; Jasanoff, 2005; Reese & Newcombe, 2003; Ryan, 1991; Snow & Benford, 1988). Yet to date, little research has provided analysis of SMO's meaning construction through framing in the medium of social media. Therefore, a general question can be posed: what frames does a social movement organization utilise in online discourse and what reaction does its audience provide as a response?

Furthermore, as the process of framing has been previously associated with social movements and engaged in understanding of their meaning-making and public mobilization, it has been employed to examine the framing of Extinction Rebellion. Since framing has been noted to depend on external factors, two contexts have been chosen as examples of countries

where XR actions occur. Our case study presents a transnational organization, which reflects the changes that were brought by the phenomenon of globalisation and further provides a possibility for us to observe more than one context of operation. Due to methodological and practical reasons, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have been selected. The two countries present comparable political and social systems and have been incorporating environmental issues in the discussion as well as policy realm for some time, which indicates that it is possible to juxtapose them within a comparative analysis. However, due to the fact that the two countries have different patterns of political engagement as well as social perception of the issue of climate change, these contexts present intriguing cases to investigate how a new environmental social movement organization is taken up and what response it creates amongst its audience.

Moreover, due to the multiplicity of viewpoints on and contexts of use of framing, we specify that the focus lies on three dimensions of collective action frames, namely, diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational, as the basis for the social movement framing. Any other frames that appeared during the analysis became a part of the framing parcel but lay outside of the notion of collective action frames. Furthermore, since the Web 2.0 provided space for online methods of information sharing among a wider audience, investigation of the discourse in social network sites is of special interest to us as it would display an organization's discernment and engagement with adherents and address counter-framing that occurs in the course of time.

Therefore, the present study seeks to contribute to the research on social movement framing by investigating the following three questions: (1) What frames and sub-frames do XR-UK and XR-The Netherlands employ in online social network discourse and how do they evolve over time? (2) What are the frames that the public induces upon the frames of the named XR branches? (3) Which dimension of collective action frames was utilised by XR branches the most and which dimension received the highest audience engagement?

The purpose of this study then is to explore how a contemporary social movement organization operating within the legacy of the environmental movement structures its social media discourse and what perspectives it induces in its online audience. Further, examination of which positions find the most reflection in individuals engaging with its messages will take place in order to understand how present-day society perceives the viewpoint of reality indicated by a social movement organization (SMO). Additionally, due to a social movement's eventual goal being action mobilisation for achievement of its agenda, it is necessary to comprehend framing employed as a response. Assessment of response framing

leads to the possibility of affirming if a social movement's framing is speaking to the online community to any degree or not.

The outlined questions have been approached from a number of theoretical perspectives since they reflect the disciplines of cultural sociology, communication studies, and political as well as environmental sciences. Influential works by Melucci (1980, 1985), Habermans (1981/2006), Klandermans (1988), Buechler (1995) as well as Goffman (1974, 1981), Gitlin, (1980), Entman (1993), Benford, Snow, and their colleagues (Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) provided the basis of the theoretical foundation for the present study as they reflected upon the major developments in social movement research of the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, namely, new social movement theory and social movement theory. Works by Dryzek and colleagues (2003), Milton (2002), Nisbet (1982), Offe (1985), Weart (2011) and governmental documents provided accounts of the environmental movement and developments in environmental policies. Moreover, a significant contribution to theoretical framework came from work of Jasanoff (2005a, 2005b), which presented dimensions that categorise national knowledge-production and decision-making. Lastly, we contextualised the two examined branches of XR by describing political and social contexts and addressing the current level of public's concerns about climate change.

To investigate the introduced questions, a mixed-method approach was chosen. A qualitative analysis of frames employed in online discourse by the two branches of Extinction Rebellion was selected for a detailed exploration of framing and to present an answer to the first two research questions. A subsequent quantitative analysis was done by calculating frequencies of use of collective action frames and their audience engagement and subsequently juxtaposing the means of engagement of different dimensions in a factorial ANOVA to examine if the engagement differed significantly across dimensions and time periods. The quantitative analysis was conducted to understand what aspect the two accounts emphasised the most and what generated the highest response, hence, to answer the third question. Public reactions displayed themes that were important to the wider Twitter audience and allowed for investigation into the differences between what the examined XR branches were addressing the most and what the Twitter audience was most responding to. Hence, an overview of discussion topics that could be utilised in order to spark a dialogue among or get a reaction from the public was discovered, which is ultimately of interest to the future social movement research and social movements themselves. Further, the outcomes of the

quantitative analysis revealed that external conditions indicated by events within the three time periods affect the level of audience engagement on Twitter.

Ultimately this study aims to enrich the social movement research conducted on the verge of disciplines of cultural sociology, politics, and communication studies and contribute to the discussion on framing in these fields. Regarding cultural sociology, we intend to provide deeper comprehension of how reality is fabricated by social movement organizations and what cultural phenomena and values audiences bring into the conversation. Moreover, by addressing the political environment in which an SMO operates and how it is accounted for in the process of framing contributes to the interplay between different actors within the political arena of a country. Finally, our analysis is based on a discourse induced on a social network site. Hence, the results add to the discussion on the use of social media communication for consensus mobilization of social movement organizations and provides insights into rhetorical strategies of a transnational social movement organization.

Bovens and 't Hard (1996) elegantly noted, "to frame is to explain" (p. 129). Hence, in the context of this research we aim to explore explanations constructed by a social movement organization to mobilise adherents and reflection of the audience on the SMO's position. On a societal level, the comprehension of such patterns sheds light on a contemporary account of environmental issues and individual inclination to take action in order to bring change to the current state of affairs. Ultimately, it points to the deeper systemic problems that can require continuous revision of policies and methods of action on local and global arenas.

The subsequent main body of text is structured in the following way. First, a theoretical framework is presented. This section discusses the preliminary ideas at the base of the social movement research, further addressing new social movement theory as well as framing theory together with the changes brought by the development of Web 2.0 and increased use of social media. Attention is then moved to the environmental movement and the organization of Extinction Rebellion, lastly presenting political and social contexts for its branches, specifically, in the UK and the Netherlands.

After the outline of main theoretical concepts, a section on methodology presents the choices made in regards to the research design, namely, reasons for opting for Twitter as an example of a social network site, motives for choosing three distinct time periods, and explanation of how audience engagement was measured. Further, the description of qualitative and quantitative data analyses is given.

The following section introduces results of the two analyses by first presenting and explaining reasoning behind frames that were utilised by XR branches and their audiences during selected time periods and secondly addressing results of the statistical analysis.

Finally, conclusions are presented leading to reflections on framing for further use of social movement organizations and social movement research, together with considerations of socio-cultural and political environments of the examined contexts and their implications for SMO's framing.

Theoretical Framework

Social Movement Research

From the 1960s onwards, with the emergence of “new social movements” (NSMs) (Della Porta & Diani, 2020, p. 6), collective actions and social movements have been a major part of sociological research (Kriesi, 1995). Though the label ‘new’ should not be perceived in a literal sense as it has been in use for more than 50 years and been assigned to a family of movements (Della Porta & Rucht, 1991). Their establishment happened in the West as a response to cleavages occurring in the fabric of society due to political, economic, cultural or social types of transformations (Kriesi, 1995) as well as a move away from Marxian proletariat collective action (Buechler, 1995). Today, the analysis of social movements still takes a significant place in academic discussions and creates a stage for debate since post-industrialisation (Pichardo, 1997) and globalisation brought around changes to structures of people's relationships as well as modes of communication (Della Porta & Diani, 2020).

There are a number of general questions that researchers within the field of social movement research are focused on. Exploration of why some movements receive support and others do not and how the organization of employed campaigns, communication modes, and strategies assists to that (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) is of interest to the scholars. The questions stem from the ultimate goal of a social movement – mobilization of people in order to attain pre-defined goals through collective action, described as “joint action in pursuit of common ends” (Tilly, 1978, p. 84). While there are a number of theories that account for the establishment of collective action and factors that assist to it, we will focus on two theories that present some of the most major paradigmatic developments in the field of social movement research of the recent decades, namely, social constructionism, and particularly social movement framing theory, as well as new social movement theory (Buechler, 1995).

Since the shift occurred in the late-20th century, known as the ‘cultural turn’ (Jacobs & Spillman, 2005; Johnston & Klandermans, 1995), research in the fields of humanities and social sciences diverted to cultural analysis (e.g.: Fine, 1985; Swidler, 1986), signifying the importance of cultural standings when analyzing any types of processes. Within social movement research, the focus has shifted to factors affecting movements’ ideologies at various structural levels (Stoecker, 1995) and the importance of culture in the context of social movements’ arena of action, which became known as new social movement theory (Buechler, 1995).

New social movements and new social movement theory.

New social movement theory arose in the 1980s as a rebuttal of the Marxist paradigm of the analysis of class relations previously used to theorize collective action. New social movement theory forefathers, such Castells (1983), Cohen (1983, 1985), Habermans (1981/2006), and Melucci (1980, 1985), started addressing politics, culture, and ideology as factors leading to collective action rather than class inequalities, which included socio-political and cultural realms to the discussion on collective action. Further, collective identity was looked at from the points of gender and ethnicity rather than identities resulting from the process of production (Buechler, 1995). Hence, new social movement theory is suggested to better explain why social movements and collective action occur and how social movements reflect the macro-level context in which they operate (Melucci, 1985).

These social changes found reflection in the paradigm of ‘new politics’ of the new social movements. The term is borrowed from Offe (1985), who addresses it through four components, namely, “values, issues, actors, [and] institutional practices” (p. 820). Offe provides a comparison between political paradigms employed by the traditional and new social movements. Traditional movements which usually include the labour movement, comparison to the traditional social movements, for instance, the labour movement, NSMs have a unique, intermediate place when it comes to the issues they address since they cannot be categorised as fully private or public in the realm of liberal theory (Cohen 1985; Offe, 1985). NSMs operate under the umbrella of ‘noninstitutional action’, meaning that there are no established norms or a doctrine for such networks. However, some NSMs fall under the category of ‘noninstitutional political action’, which occurs when they act by legitimate, in a sense of ‘lawful’, means and aim at an end results that affect the community at large rather than a distinct, selected group of people (Offe, 1985). In case the two named factors are

present, a movement is technically considered socio-political rather than purely social, which is applicable to the case study of present research.

Unlike traditional movements, NSMs are typically not trying to take centralised control of power (Della Porta & Diani, 1998/2000); instead they value “autonomy” and “identity” (Offe, 1985, p. 829). NSMs do not propose new values yet they reflect upon the current norms (Cohen, 1985; Melucci, 1980), find discrepancies in contemporary value systems and radicalise them (Offe, 1985). A similar approach is taken to the concerns they address: NSMs present issues in a new light or emphasise an angle previously left unnoticed. This fact directly links and helps to explain claims they make and actions they employ.

Externally, NSMs use unconventional strategies, such as performances and community organizing, in comparison to traditional social movements (e.g.: the labour movement) where lobbying for class-related issues is widely used (Offe, 1985). Moreover, strategies include negatively formulated slogans or demands that further indicate the binary nature of reality or outcomes, for instance, utilisation of ‘now’ or ‘never’ and words similar to ‘stop’ is often practiced. Offe argues that NSMs claim to address concerns of universal magnitude, which affect life of humans and the survival of species. Due to this reason, they might find violation of “rules of the game” (Offe, 1985, p. 853), which is presented through the choice of noninstitutional action, to be acceptable, even necessary, and their demands to be non-negotiable and of extreme urgency.

Further, internally, the NSMs tend to work with egalitarian principles and have a much more “fluid”, “discursive” and “impermanent” (Dryzek, Downes, Hunold, Schlosberg, & Hernes, 2003, p. 11) structure. Offe (1985) refers to it as “de-differentiation” (p. 829), signifying that in principle there are no ‘leaders’ and ‘followers’ or ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in NSMs. However, since the 1980s, many organizations operating within the NSM model conventionalised their methods and structural relations to be more involved in the realm of institutional politics (Kriesi, 1995).

Lastly, actors within new social movements appear to aim at certain identities in order to move to social groups to act. However, this development does not mean that only one identity is associated with every movement, but rather that movements find it important to articulate their collective identity and use it as a technique to bring individuals the whole of humankind, as in case of environmental movements, rather than particular homogenous identities (Offe, 1985). However, such an all-encompassing self-identification does not reflect the actual composition of such movements, which are often presented by the new middle class together with individuals of the old middle class that dissent from the former

dynamics, and the so-called “peripheral” groups represented by actors such as students and unemployed workers (Offe, 1985, p. 856). This emphasis is created in order to present movement’s scope which tends to cover a wide range of countries and social strata. However, currently the inclusivity of NSMs is not a status quo since some groups perceive them as representing one type of identity rather than a spectrum.

Taking into account the above-indicated features, theorists working within the framework of new social movements define them as “networks of informal relationships between a multiplicity of individuals and organizations, who share a distinctive collective identity, and mobilize resources on conflictual issues” (Diani, 2000, p. 387) by unconventional, pragmatic means in order to achieve systemic change (Dalton, Keuchler, & Ross, 1990). Broadly speaking, such movements critique patterns created within and by the state (Habermans, 1981/2006) and often seek to attain social equality.

Social movement framing theory.

Another development in collective action and social movement research, which arisen during the cultural turn, revolved around meaning-making based on various cultural aspects that was aimed at audience mobilization. For the large part, it resulted in application of the notion of framing to social movement research.

The notion of collective identity presented above is often described as the product of continuous interaction between social movement’s actors and its audiences through the process of framing (Snow & Benford, 1988). Collective identity, then, can be seen as a synthesis of values, behavioural norms, and agreed-upon commitments guiding the group’s actions. When the collective identity of a social movement organization (SMO), one of the forms of manifestation of a social movement (Zald & Ash, 1966), is closely linked to an individual identity of audience members, there is a higher chance of consensus and, subsequently, action mobilization (Klandermans, 1988; Snow et al., 1986). Both mobilizations are, in turn, required in order for SMOs, in particular, and social movements, in general, to realise their goals. Since NSMs focus on reshaping of social understanding of inconsistencies formed by and within the current system of values, there is a need for a careful consideration, on their side, of existing values and beliefs (Snow et al., 1986) in order to maximize identity convergence between them and their possible adherents (Klandermans, 1988). Hence, social movement theorists further concentrated on the analysis of the process of collective identity creation and evolvement. This process is shaped by selective identification of a problematic issue, its causes, and a way of overcoming it through

collective action against the background of the socio-cultural context in which a movement operates. The notion of selective shaping is, in turn, connected to the concept of framing.

The notion of framing.

The concept of framing has altered the direction of research conducted on social movements and focused it on the “cultural and discursive realm” (Snow, Benford, McCammon, Hewitt, & Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 31). Scholars have started to look into the way social movements create meaning and how they structure claims within the constructed social reality.

Originating from the discipline of psychology (Bartlett, 1932), the notion of framing has been adopted to sociology (Goffman, 1974¹) and communication and media studies (Tuchman, 1978; Entman, 1993) among other fields. Due to its wide range of applications, the concept has a variety of descriptions. In order to eliminate vagueness, the definition used in the context of this study derives from the descriptions generated within the three fields that are applicable to the current research, namely, sociology (Goffman, 1974, 1981), sociological research on social movements (Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow et al., 1986), and communication and media studies (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Van Dijk, 1977). Hence, the working definition is the following: framing is a dynamic, evolving process of identification of reality perception by selecting and promoting certain points of emphasis that prompt a context for interpretation. A frame, then, is an element of framing, a conceptual tool, which defines a way of meaning construction and reality perception. As Boldwin Van Gorp (2007) accurately noticed, “frames seem to be everywhere, but no one knows where exactly they begin and where they end” (p. 62). In order to make sense of framing and frames, we shall start by comprehending how frames are established and how social movements apply framing.

Framing has been referred to as a type of metacommunication, indicating that the meaning the reader receives from a message comes not directly from the content itself but rather from the message embedded between the lines (Gurevitch & Levy, 1986). The receiver possesses a predisposition to interpret a message from his or her point of view with the knowledge that she or he bears (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). This fact underpins the view of frames as cultural phenomena, originally promoted by Goffman (1981). Hence, frames can be seen as a product of culture in which they are established. Since culture is said to define the

¹ Erving Goffman wrote a major influential work, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974), which influenced all the future sociological studies related to framing. Hence, Goffman is always cited as the forefather of framing theory in the field of sociology.

way we perceive reality (Hall, 1997), the cultural environment in which an SMO operates has to be under consideration of frame analysis (Benford & Snow, 2000; Goodwin & Jasper, 1999; Reese & Newcombe, 2003; Ryan, 1991; Snow & Benford, 1988). Culture shapes what people perceive as good or bad, as worthy of support or not, as rational or irrational (Jasanoff, 2005; Polletta, 1997). Entman (1993) describes culture as:

[T]he stock of commonly invoked frames; in fact, culture might be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping. (p. 52)

Hence, evaluation of cultural conditions leads to a better understanding of the social groups comprising the given culture, which can provide a social movement organization with cues on how to make their communication more effective and create cultural resonance (Ryan, 1991) of their frames. The frame “activate[s] knowledge, stimulate[s] stocks of cultural mores and values” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 47) and acts as a context, similar to a boundary of a camera lens, within which a certain idea can be depicted and construed. The more the frame builds upon pre-existing values of a culture, the higher the chances of it being taken as a status quo. Building further on the camera example, just like the same focal point can be shot from various perspectives, so can the same topic be framed differently. However, it also works the other way around – the same frame can be used in numerous situations and applied to different topics, which would depend on the context and overall conditions. The multi-applicability of frames and the variety of possible framing of a topic presents one of the reasons for their analysis since it can shed light on how various communities or cultures address the same situation or how one frame can be related to a number of occasions.

Besides cultural environment, political settings have been shown to be of importance (Marullo, Pagnucco, & Smith, 1996) as an SMO is aiming to change statues and charters contradicting to its values and beliefs and has to be aware of the political context of a community it mobilizes powers in (Bernstein, 1997; Kriesi, 1995; Meyer, 1997). SMOs construct a certain reality in order to obtain consensus, the sense of collective understanding of and agreement upon what the issue is, why it appeared, who to blame, and how to act upon it (Klandermans, 1984). Hence, one of the objectives of an SMO then is being able to employ frames that could resonate with present and future adherents’ perception of reality, or which would be useful in shifting their existing perception and aligning it with that of the SMO. In the end, consensus leads to action mobilisation, the practical operation aimed at the articulated target and eventual attainment of SMO’s goals. In accordance with social movement framing theory, by promoting particular ideas and producing new operational

meanings to general concepts, actors within social movements act as active agents (Snow & Benford, 1988), similar to the state organizations or media sources. Moreover, those actors become a part of “the politics of signification”, as described by Stuart Hall (1982/2005, p. 64), which can be interpreted in a sense that they have a power to present (signify) a subject, situation, or issue in their preferred manner. Hall states that signification is “the means by which collective social understandings are created – and thus the means by which consent for particular outcomes can be effectively mobilized” (Hall, 1982/2005, p. 65). Therefore, social movements operate in an environment contested with other actors promoting their interpretations of reality, hence, the conditions in which SMOs function need to be accounted for during the analysis of employed framing.

The preferred manner, the framework, through which social movement actors construct a particular perception of reality, that Hall (1982/2005) is referring to, is known as ‘collective action frames’ (CAFs) (Benford & Snow, 2000). The authors define them as “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Elsewhere, CAFs are referred to as “an idea, statement, or word that provides a movement with a way to interpret the world” (Jenkins, Sriram, & Choi, 2017, p. 298), which are a subject to change depending on activists’ environments (Reese & Newcombe, 2003). Hence, CAFs are the product of framing process undertaken by a social movement or social movements organization directed at consensus and action mobilization. Analysing them allows researchers to interpret the standpoint of a single social movement organization as well as the course of rhetorical action it has decided to take.

Core framing tasks.

Scholars who made a significant contribution to the framing theory of social movements, Robert Benford and David Snow (2000), state that as a movement continues to evolve, so do collective action frames it activates. Hence, framing and frames are susceptible to change and have a number of factors which stimulate this characteristic, such as cultural and political environments. The process of frame development and evolution is based on three “core framing tasks” articulated by Snow and Benford (1988, p. 199), which have also been referred to as “elements” and “dimensions” by Gerhards and Rucht (1992, p. 579). Hence, it is possible to say that collective actions frames can be structured into the three dimensions, namely, “diagnostic framing”, “prognostic framing” and “motivational framing” (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 199). While acknowledging the original term, we will continue to identify them as ‘dimensions’ or refer to them collectively as ‘collective action frames’.

The first, diagnostic, dimension refers to identification of the problem or issue which needs attention and what the stem of this problem is. The prognostic dimension addresses a method or plan of how to solve the stated issue and constitutes a distinguishing element of one SMO from another one within the movement it belongs to. For instance, one organization may choose to adopt lobbying as a method of action, while a different organization opts for direct action. Lastly, the third task, motivational framing signifies the “agency” (Gamson, 1995, p. 94), mobilizing people for collective action by utilizing particular “vocabularies of motive” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617) and expressing ‘we can make a difference together’-position. Later, these tasks were also articulated by Robert Entman (1993), who gave a clear definition to the functioning of frames, stating that frames “define problems”, “diagnose causes”, “make moral judgements” and “suggest remedies” (p. 52).

Framing processes.

Framing further attends to three processes: discursive, strategic, and contested (Gamson, 1992; Johnston & Snow, 1998). While all of these processes are overlapping when it comes to frame development, they can be viewed and analyzed separately. To briefly describe them, discursive framing processes refer to “speech acts” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 623) and other communications of movement actors. In turn, strategic processes, conceptualized as “frame alignment processes” (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 464), address the purposeful and deliberate use of framing in the context of movement strategizing in order to reach participation and action mobilization. Lastly, contested processes signify the complexity of frame construction within social reality, as frames inevitably become involved in the politics of signification. In the following paragraphs, the attention will be devoted to two particular processes, discursive and contested. These processes are of particular relevance to the present study since they lead to a deeper understanding of the CAF’s evolution (Benford & Snow, 2000) as well as perception of frames by a community a social movement communicates to and are further visible when analyzing online discourse, which is applicable to the present research.

Discursive processes lay the foundation for generation of collective action frames. Through these processes social movement actors communicate frames to current and future adherents. In particular, there are two processes – “frame articulation” and “amplification” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 624) – responsible for that. The first named process comprises incorporating segments of ‘reality’, such as events, into a cohesive story with an outcome directed at establishment of a new, or, mostly, revised, perspective on the question (situation, event, etc.) at hand. Hence, framing is a manner for a communicator to display a particular

message in a way which will lead a receiver to a certain interpretation (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). In this way, frame articulation may involve idealization of some facts and belittling of others (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Frame amplification, in turn, is a process of emphasizing and conceptualizing particular beliefs or elements in a manner that further unifies the story created by frame articulation and bonds a collective action frame of a social movement organization with the overall movement. For instance, a “Power to the People” slogan bears such a function.

In turn, contested processes, largely addressed in context of the constructionist approach to social movement research, refers to the fact that framing happens in an arena contested with other actors aiming to provide their version of reality, which in the end has an effect on frames generated by a movement and a social movement organization as well as their reception and perception (Benford, 1987; Benford & Snow, 2000). Within these processes, we will address and focus on two aspects involved in the rival of signification, specifically, counter-framing and “frame contests” (Ryan, 1991, p. 75). These two closely linked notions take part in guiding a certain line of reasoning. The side opposing the diagnostic and prognostic framings of the SMO may publicly challenge its position and become involved in frame contests. Such contests stand for a demonstration of opposing arguments and another framing presenting reality in a light contradicting to the one displayed earlier.

In this sense, counter-framing is a technique of undermining one’s position by affording an alternative perspective (frame) and making it as sound and convincing as the dominant frame (Ryan, 1991). Overall, this process of opposing framing to counter-framing is known as frame contests (Ryan, 1991). Examining the field of media framing of grassroots movements, Charlotte Ryan (1991) titled one section of a chapter of her book as “[f]rames emerge in contests” (p. 75). This title reflects the idea of constantly evolving, dynamic framing (Benford & Snow, 2000), as dominant frames may undergo a process of reframing whilst in, or after, the frame contest (Ryan, 1991). A clear example of a frame contest is framing of a presidential candidate, where the frames used by the candidate’s office and media can be contradicting. In case media try to counter-frame the position of the candidate, his or her campaign aims to change the image created in those news articles and may emphasise other elements of the earlier induced frame or reframe it.

Therefore, when analyzing the process of frame evolvment, these processes should be kept in mind as they help clarify framing choices that an SMO makes over time and further display how recipients perceive and operate with the articulated positions.

Social movements in the digital age.

Another significant change within the present-day social movement research occurred at the outset of the century as a consequence of the development of what became known as ‘Web 2.0’. This innovation led to the emergence of social networking sites aimed at information sharing and interconnectedness (Ellison & boyd, 2013)², such as MySpace and Facebook. Websites of this kind allow users to create social networks and interact with other users’ networks.

With digitalization, social movements have enlarged their repertoire of methods by adding online means of information sharing, mobilization of people, and opposition countering (Bennett, 2003; Della Porta & Diani, 1998/2020; Snow et al., 2014). Online platforms, such as Twitter, provided space for framing activities (Snow et al., 2014) as well as social mobilization since they operate on a grassroots level and allow movement’s actors to engage with a larger group of possible adherents (Greengard, 2009; Pickerill, 2001). Further, it allows for low-cost reach of a large variety of places and people (Earl & Kimport, 2011). Users can further quickly identify like-minded individuals due to the increased level of self-expression on social media (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011). Hence, it was suggested that social media assists people to build meaningful social interactions and networks (Ellison et al., 2011) and that there is a great potential for social media to change how social movements operate and what the outcomes of their actions are (Tan, Ponnam, Gillham, Edwards, & Johnson, 2013).

A number of studies demonstrated that there was a positive effect of online social media activities on offline participation in movements commonly known as ‘Arab Spring’ (Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney, & Pearce, 2011) and ‘Occupy Wall Street’ (Tan et al., 2013). Moreover, digital spaces create a zone of what can be described as non boundness. This characteristic renders online engagement in discussions as well as “metavoicing”, as Majchrzak and colleagues (2013, p. 41) names it, to be free and not necessarily exhibiting commitment, as opposed to the undertaking displayed when being physically present at a rally. Metavoicing is signified through liking and sharing a post, which then generates additional attention to the original post and increases a chance for others to see it. Hence, it can facilitate information sharing. However, as stated above, such interactive action does not automatically mean that engaged users will display commitment in reality. Thus, patterns of

² In her works, danah boyd spells her name lowercase. To be respectful of her choices, her name will consistently be spelt in that manner.

metavoicing should be analysed and further explained keeping their inconclusive nature in mind.

One of the most popular social media platforms based on the number of users is Twitter (Ellison & boyd, 2013, Statista, 2020). According to Statista (2020), there are 386 million Twitter users worldwide as of 2020. This vast number demonstrates the amount of people who have a potential to be reached by the information spread on the named social network site. At present, Twitter promotes itself as a platform displaying “what’s happening in the world and what people are talking about right now” (Twitter, n.d.-a, section About, para. 1), further stating that “when it happens, it happens on Twitter” (Twitter, n.d.-a, section About, para. 2). Through such identification, Twitter seems to assert the reflection of present reality and be a source of information on any dynamic that occurs across the globe.

Twitter is a space where people can share textual messages limited to 280 characters, together with pictures, videos, GIFs, and links (Twitter, n.d.-b), which are then accessible to anyone³ and can be shared with third-parties (Twitter, n.d.-c). Each user may choose to follow other users of their preference. Twitter is often used to follow people whom the user does not know personally but is interested in what they have to say (Marwick & boyd, 2011). In the end, updates in a form of new posts that users share will appear on the ‘feed’ of those who follow them. The feed is a timeline of posted messages displayed in reversed chronological order⁴ (Twitter, n.d.-d).

Apart from posting messages and replying to the tweets of others, users can utilise two tools, namely, retweet and like. The former one allows users to ‘forward’ posts of other users and display it in one’s own post (boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010; Twitter, n.d.-f). Besides serving as a way to spread the original message, it contributes to what boyd and colleagues (2010) call “a conversational ecology” (p. 1), meaning that retweeting provides context for other messages posted on a topic. Furthermore, this practice allows users to engage new actors in the discussion as well as become a part of a larger conversation themselves (boyd et al., 2010). The least engaging option is that of liking, which is displayed through an icon in shape of a heart under a Twitter post. The user can indicate its support for or appreciation of a post through a like (Twitter, n.d.-e) without being a part of a conversation (boyd et al., 2010).

Finally, the use of hashtags on Twitter needs to be addressed. Hashtags, a word or phrase without spaces preceded by the ‘#’ symbol, act as a way to link one’s message to the bigger

³ Unless the user decided to make his or her account private, in which case only followers of that account will be able to see posted messages.

⁴ Further, a user has an option of choosing to view posts from the accounts he or she likes the most at the top of the timeline.

discussion since people can see the whole variety of recently posted messages referenced with the same hashtag by clicking on the hashtag (Ellison & boyd, 2013; Twitter, n.d.-g). Therefore, it acts as a label and is useful when people want to relate a message to a conversation at large. Further, hashtags that are used in a high number of messages around the same time turn into 'trending topics' (Twitter, n.d.-g). This function then can help messages to be spread further than the original user's space where a post was made.

Al-Jenaibi (2014), who conducted research on the use of social media in the discussion surrounding the Arab Spring, argues that social media is used as a way to verify a story. Hence, people tend to make use of it in order to inform themselves about events and discussions of their interest. In this case, Twitter presents a useful platform. Besides that, it is common practice on Twitter to share links (boyd et al., 2010), which, in turn, also contributes to Twitter being an information-sharing platform. Due to such an image, Twitter was shown to be used in the context of social movements as a way to expand the debate on an existing topic (Theocharis, Lowe, Van Deth, & Garcia-Albacete, 2015). People participate in a discussion and share a movement's agenda by sharing links to other media content (Theocharis et al., 2015). Previous research (Howard et al., 2011; Lotan et al., 2011) further indicated that social media and Twitter, in particular, facilitates communication and can serve as a way to mobilise people to protest in times of crisis.

However, digital space also presents challenges for social movements. Since online platforms, especially social media, are usually hubs of heterogeneous viewpoints, one social movement's agenda can be dispersed by the variability of expressed framings. As Druckman (2001) previously noticed, individuals can construct their judgement based on points emphasised by others. When this emphasis lays the foundation for a person's opinion, a phenomenon known as a framing effect occurs, which in the end means that people start advocating for what preceding frames stand for. In the context of social media where any number of remarks can be posted and seen by millions of people, it is hard for social movement actors to control what is being seen by whom. Furthermore, since it is believed that in online settings, people are less likely to express opinions based on recently received information (e.g.: message they have just encountered), they are therefore presenting their pre-existing viewpoints. Changing viewpoints of others and a study of it thus presents a longitudinal process.

Moreover, the notion of audience is of relevance. Marwick and boyd (2010) indicate that when one imagines an online audience of an account or a message, one thinks about it in limited terms. The imagined audience is tailored to through choices of what language and

style of writing to use (Scheidt, 2013) and identity to emphasize (Marwick & boyd, 2010). Hence, each account has an imagined audience whom it talks to. However, users who actually read generated posts might be somewhat or entirely different from the imagined public. In case of Twitter, the audience is said to be networked (Marwick & boyd, 2010). This notion derived from the fact that it is essentially unknown since it is relatively impossible to know the exact people who are reading the posts (Marwick & boyd, 2010). However, connections between users are possible and can differ in strength, hence, the Twitter audience may have elements of familiarity, meaning that there is a possibility to create a network of users to which one communicates.

Therefore, online spaces provide an arena for public deliberation. In this light, it is of importance to account for such environments when examining contemporary social movements and to understand the effect that the structure and content of computer-mediated communications have on actors engaged with a movement (Ester & Vinken, 2003; Gillan, 2009). Framing and counter-framing which happens in online spaces further constitutes a new area of social movement research and offers stage for a more detailed investigation of continuous framing processes, allowing to see not only what frames are used and how they are applied, but also how they evolve and how users' response influences the original framing, if it does.

Having deliberated on the dominant social movement theories laying the foundation for present research, we shall continue with a discussion on the subject of this thesis – a social movement arousing a plurality of opinions and causing controversy among various parties, namely, the environmental movement.

The Environmental Movement

One of the prime examples of NSMs and a movement named “the single most important social movement” originating in the 20th century (Nisbet, 1982, p. 101) is the environmental movement (Cohen, 1985; Dryzek et al., 2003; Offe, 1985). As we continue, the focus will lie on the movement, and one of the organizations within it, in particular, in order to get an understanding of the present-day importance of the movement and the complexities revolving around it.

Environmentalism as an ideology and a movement has become mainly established and deliberated in the 1960s when environmental issues and concerns started broadly occupying the minds of not only scientists but also politicians and the public (Touraine, Gęsicka, & Denby, 1983) across what is often being referred to as “developed” nations (Dryzek et al.,

2003). These issues had been detected before; however, the coverage had been minimal in comparison to the 1960s when left-wing political advocates realised that this movement could bring together millions of people. Later, in the 1980s, Western countries shifted towards 'greener' politics (Adams, 2008). Today, environmentalism is a construct which holds a place in most debates on social, political, and economic development (Milton, 2002).

Though it can be interpreted from a variety of perspectives, in its essence, it refers to the need for reassessment of ways of engaging with our environment through cultural, socio-political, and economic change. Environmentalism advocates for the need of "the transformation of government, economy, and society in the interest of [...] the liberation of nature from human exploitation" (Nisbet, 1982, p. 101). While the quote is fairly old, it still holds true and reflects the essence of what environmentalists advocate for. Further, environmentalism asks for systemic change, which requires revision of the idea of material prosperity. It attacks "the central values and ideology of industrial society" (Cotgrove & Duff, 1980, p. 333), indicating the need for improving our and future generations' quality of life (Witherspoon & Martin, 1993) and focusing on the postmaterialist approach (Rootes, 1995) rather than capitalist ideals (Hofrichter & Reif, 1990; Pakulski & Crook, 1998).

Operating within the ideology of environmentalism, the environmental movement as a construct can be understood as a non-institutionalised network which is based on interactions and collective actions of individuals or groups as well as more formal organizations driven by shared identity and focused on environmental issues (Diani, 1995). The notion of shared identity is, in turn, connected to the idea of global civil society.

Wapner (1996) described it as the "slice of associational life that exists above the individual and below the state, but also across national boundaries" (p. 4) and is directed at influencing global governance. Elsewhere, the duality created between the state and individuals is altered by inclusion of the sector of commerce to better describe the position that civil society takes (Schaefer Caniglia, Brulle, & Szasz, 2015). Due to its position outside of the two large sectors, it falls under 'the third sector' (Anheier, 2005), as its operation is directed at influencing the decision- and policy-making in state and business governance. In Wapner's definition, an intermediary position that global civil society takes and the transnational and non-governmental character of global civil society are highlighted, which appear to be the core principles of this concept. While the term itself is considered to be ambiguous among scholars (Bartelson, 2006) due to its continuous evolution (see Cohen & Arato, 1992 for a detailed account of transformations that the term underwent) and

applicability to various theoretical frameworks (Alexander, 2006; Harrebye, 2011), it has nonetheless taken a strong position in academic circles.

One of the areas of application of the term is socio-political activism. Edwards (2005) stated, “the idea of civil society can explain a great deal about the course of politics and social change, and serve as a practical framework for organizing both resistance and alternative solutions to social, economic and political problems” (p. 6). Actors that constitute civil society are a wide array of nongovernmental organizations, community groups, professional associations, and other groups. Examples of organizations that fall under the notion of civil society include Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and the World Wild Fund for Nature, to name a few (Jezard, 2018). What binds global civil society and activism is the public sphere, a concept which was described by Manuel Castells (2008) as “the cultural/informational repository of ideas and projects that feed public debate” (p. 79). Hence, through the discourse occurring within the public sphere, civil society is enacted to express its autonomous perspectives and subsequently affect the decisions the state makes (Habermas, 1996).

Since civil society is seen to be standing in an intermediary position, it is also often believed to have a mediating role (Harrebye, 2011). Applying this idea to the new social movement research, activists have been viewed as actors with a leading role in mediating civil society, since they are operating between private citizens and the public system of regulations and policies. As Harrebye (2011) further indicates in her analysis of civil society, activists, being active citizens, work in the cacophony of other discourses and actions, such as political, media, and police, which affect how activists structure their discussion in the public sphere.

The environmental movement is seen as leading the advancement of global civil society due to its worldwide coverage and understanding of the power of non-state governance forms (Wapner, 1996) to challenge existing principles and the hegemony of capitalist globalisation (Carroll, 2007; Ford, 2003). However, during the past years, the movement and actors operating under its umbrella, such as Greenpeace, have become too institutionalised, as some noted (Ford, 2003), since they are not only operating on a grassroots levels but also attend global meetings such as COPs, which in the end makes them less likely to have radical stands against current hegemony. Therefore, cooperation between grassroots and institutionalised organizations is said to be needed to achieve change that the movement is advocating for.

However, even though the new social movements are advocating for a systemic change, Tarrow (2012) stated that the power of state is not decreasing at such a rate that the global

civil society could substitute it. He believes that the transnational collaboration between social movements and NGOs as well as other formal institutions still needs to be improved as domestic politics have a tendency to take over once international campaigns are over. As the array of issues addressed by the environmental movement affects humanity as a whole, it only make sense for organizations to engage the worldwide community.

Political context.

There is a variety of themes encompassing environmentalism, such as preservation of natural (eco)systems, reevaluation of the use of energy sources, especially the nuclear energy due to its severely harming effects (Nisbet, 1982), sustainable development (Adams, 2008), no-growth economy, recycling, and “the idea that individual advancement and social progress are measurable not so much in material terms, but are attainable through social justice and individual mental and spiritual fulfillment” (Pepper, 1864/2018, p. 4).

Many of these themes were voiced in the second half of the 20th century during the 1972 *Stockholm Conference of the United Nations on the Human Environment*. This conference results in a declaration that indicated a number of important normative acts for the governments of the parties directed at acknowledgement, protection, and maintenance of the environment, which humans inhabit (Sohn, 1973). This declaration is believed to have set broad objectives that were enhanced and detailed at later times. Further, in 1985 the *International Conference on the Assessment of the Role of Carbon Dioxide and of Other Greenhouse Gases in Climate Variation and Associated Impacts* in Villach (Austria) took place. Some of the conclusions stated that the warming of earth was considered inevitable due to previous activities, however, “the rate [...] of future warming could be profoundly affected by governmental policies” (Bolin et al., 1986, p. x-xii, as cited in Weart, 2011, p. 70) and that there was a need for “global convention”. While a vast number of world-wide conventions were established since then, a few of them cannot be overlooked in the context of present discussion.

A conference often linked to the Stockholm Conference (Handl, 2012) is the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. During this conference, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) came into existence (United Nations Climate Change[UNCC], n.d.-a) and was signed by 165 parties. The objective set out by the convention states that achievement of “stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (United Nations,

1992, p. 9), which stemmed from the Montreal Protocol (1987), an international treaty aimed at protection of the ozone layer. The convention further stated that the efforts put to ensure a sustainable future had to be proportionate to the current development rates of a party, a sustainable model of economic development had to be guaranteed, and measures needed to be taken to prevent or alleviate the effects of climate change should not be postponed due to “lack of full scientific certainty” (United Nations, 1992, p. 9). Moreover, the need for public participation in safeguarding the environment was stated, which meant that information regarding the topic must be made available and accessible for the public. The convention became active in 1994 and subsequently in 1995 the first meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) was held (UNCC, n.d.-b). Since then the meetings have generally been scheduled once a year. The COP holds a decision-making role and assesses the measures taken by various parties in regards to the Convention and progress made towards achieving stated goals.

During the COP-21 in 2015, the Paris Agreement was discussed and later ratified. It is considered to be a new turn in climate policy (Falkner, 2016) as it proclaimed the bottom-up approach, which placed responsibility of responding to climate change on a country level by indicating national efforts and setting goals. Later in 2019, before the COP-25, the EU Parliament legally declared a climate and environmental emergency both in Europe and on a global level (European Parliament, 2019), indicating the goal to be carbon-neutral by 2050, which was later endorsed by the European Commission (European Commission, n.d.). Such conventions signify the acknowledgement of the international community of the issue of the environmental pollution and recognition of the role human activity plays in it.

Social context.

A shift from public environment-prone behaviour to individual-focused environmentalism was noticed in the last decades of the 20th century and studied by a number of authors (Hopper & Nielsen, 1991; Sandbach, 1980), especially with the rise of green consumerism and domestic recycling practices (Eden, 1993). This fact goes along the idea of individualism brought about by modernization. Drawing upon Raschke, Kriesi (1995) specifies that “the rise of the new social movements was intimately linked to the slow, but profound, transformation of the society’s conflict structure in the course of the macrohistorical process of modernization” (p. 28). Modernization brought with itself individualisation, as people started loosening ties with family, religious groups and class relations (Kriesi, 1995). Individualisation further created a possibility for many underground

cultures to be developed and flourish, as individuals started having their own interests and goals. Further, it strengthened the importance of personal norms in how we behave and what we consider imperative (Hopper & Nielsen, 1991).

Johnston and Klandermans (1995) note that new social movements' cultures tend to form at the "cracks" (p. 4) of the overarching culture in times when "established identities and social statuses no longer correspond to possibilities that are opened up by advances in knowledge and technology" (p. 4). In line with Johnston and Klandermans, some argue that recent technological advancement and the fall of many physical and fictitious barriers (e.g.: racial and gender biases, closed borders), which were created before and during the 20th century, have opened up many possibilities for people to find and express their own voice within and through NSMs. Notwithstanding, there are opponents to such a view, who indicate that a large body of NSMs are focused solely on one type of identity and hence mobilise within a limited span on society, thereby, struggling to address issues relevant for the wider public. While it important to address the issue of identity politics, it will not elaborated further, as the topic is intricate and deserves due attention on its own.

The environmental movement today.

Two of the most prominent social movement organizations of today are FridaysForFuture (FFF) and Extinction Rebellion (XR). The former movement was started by a Swedish high school student Greta Thunberg who was striking school every Friday (hence the name) in order to stress that there will be no need or application for children's education in case the humanity does not change the way the capitalist system works (Fridays For Future [FFF], n.d.-a). Thunberg advocates for immediate climate change preventative action from politicians. At present, she is followed by thousands of other students and non-students in her pursuit. The latter one, in turn, addresses the possibility of the Holocene extinction through its name and talks about the need to mobilise 3.5% of the earth's population in order to achieve system change (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a). Both movements have gained significant attention from different sides, including governments, journalists and public (O'Grady, 2019). Hence, these movements can be considered as important agents of today's fighting for the transformation to ensure a possibility for better future.

Besides that, both XR and FFF can be viewed as transnational social movement organizations. Such a type of a movement organization is believed to have first appeared in the last decade of the 20th century (Tarrow, 2012) and have become more prominent with the increased globalization (Doherty & Doyle, 2006; Edwards & Gaventa, 2001/2013).

Transnational social movements organizations majorly differ from ‘national’ SMOs in their reach, which affects their operational strategies as they ultimately aim to attain the same goal while working in different environments. Hence, activities of such organizations are bridging the local and global contexts (Tarrow, 2012). Tarrow (2012) further argues that within transnational contention, actors may focus on various positions. Some utilize national opportunities while acting on behalf of the international organizations, others bring international issues to the national politics, and yet others can operate on both levels, local and global. However, with it comes a challenge of creating a collective identity which can resonate internationally, hence, their framing has to strategically reflect this idea. Benford (1997) suggests that future research in the field has to opt for a transnational social movement organization and assess the context in which its framing occurs.

For the purpose of this research, the transnational social movement organization Extinction Rebellion is chosen as a case study rather due to its radical stand regarding the issue of climate change, a diverse scope of activities of non-institutional nature, and liquid structure, all of which are very distinct features of new social movements. Further, the choice was stimulated by a more elaborate activity of the group, since national branches organize action of different kinds throughout the year, whereas Fridays for Future are known for their protests on Fridays and organized not on a regular basis (FFF, n.d.-b).

Extinction Rebellion.

Started off in the UK by Gail Bradbrook and Roger Hallam as well as a few other people, who were members of another activist group, known as RisingUp! (Barclay & Irfan, 2019), with an event declaring rebellion against the state government in October of 2018, XR gained attention of media and support of thousands of people in no time (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a). Spreading from the UK to 65 other countries, XR advocates for a much-needed radical change in economic and political affairs, which the past decades of climate activism and governmental action did not bring.

According to Extinction Rebellion, while the science, being represented by the Union of Concerned Scientists, the UN as well as the IPCC, and the International Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, has had the proof of life-threatening outcomes of climate change, there has been little action from the governments (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-b). Hence, they encourage urgent action to prevent as much damage to the planet’s ecosystem as possible.

Extinction Rebellion named three main demands from the governments of the world on their international website (<https://rebellion.global>, see Figure 1):

- 1** | **TELL THE TRUTH**
Government must tell the truth by declaring a climate and ecological emergency, working with other institutions to communicate the urgency for change.
- 2** | **ACT NOW**
Government must act now to halt biodiversity loss and reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025.
- 3** | **BEYOND POLITICS**
Government must create and be led by the decisions of a Citizens' Assembly on climate and ecological justice.

Figure 1. A screenshot of the XR demands with explanations published on their website.

Source: <https://rebellion.global/about-us/>

The first demand concerns the need for the government to inform its population about the present situation emphasising the urgency for action. XR states that there is a need to declare a climate emergency and, moreover, act upon it, which is what the second demand indicates. By action, XR expects governments to move towards the target goal of net-zero emissions by 2025 and stimulate the preservation of biodiversity of the earth. Lastly, the group asks for creation of a citizens' assembly and its active participation in the governments' decision-making on the topic of the climate change. The first time this body comprised of randomly selected citizens was introduced in 2004 in Canada in order to discuss the possible alteration of the voting system (Lang, 2007). Since then, citizens' assemblies have been used in a number of countries, including the UK where XR was first established, to bring citizens with various interests and expertise to the political decision-making process. Further, since XR indicates the need to mobilise 3.5% of the world population in order to achieve change (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a), citizens' assemblies can be perceived as a step in the direction of consensus mobilization, which potentially can lead to action mobilization.

In order to realise these demands, the group has undertaken a disruptive mode of action (Piven & Cloward, 1979), namely, nonviolent direct action (NVDA). Such a method breaks the 'usual' course of life and disorient it for a period of time (Piven & Cloward, 1979). The method has a variety of forms, one of which is civil disobedience. Such a form of resilience has been employed previously by a number of groups at different times of history. Originating from the 19th century (Thoreau, 1849/1993), nonviolent resilience is seen as one of the 'irregular tactics', meaning that it is not considered as conventional political strategies, and stands for societal disobedience to the state (Cunningham, 2013). Based Chenoweth and Stephan's (2011) book *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent*

Conflict, where they state that campaigns based on nonviolence have a high tendency to succeed in all parts of the world (p. 74), it is fair to assume that Extinction Rebellion chose nonviolent civil disobedience for its possibility of mass public engagement and high probability of success. In view of the new social movement's paradigm, it is also not surprising that XR has decided to utilise an unconventional approach. According to its website, XR's strategy lies in economic and civil disruption for the purposes of raising awareness about the environmental issues and protecting the planet in forms of road blockades, public performances, public discussion meetings and other non-violent direct actions (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-b). Furthermore, they also advocate for other forms of engagement in nonviolent rebellion, as they refer to it, such as spreading the message through social media (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a).

Social and political response to XR's actions.

After the declaration of rebellion in October of 2018, XR staged a number of actions in November of 2018 and April of 2019. In November activists blocked five London bridges to alarm about the climate crisis and bring attention to the issue, as reported by Independent (Forrest, 2018). According to the report made by the Guardian, on Monday April 15, protesters blocked five main pathways and landmarks, among which were the Waterloo Bridge, a bridge in the city-centre, connecting the area around Covent Garden with the other side of the river Thames, and the Parliament Square (Taylor & Gayle, 2019). Protest organisers hoped that the occupation of the landmarks could continue for days and it did, for ten days, causing a lot of nuisance, as Vox reports (Barclay & Irfan, 2019).

While the actions undertaken by the Extinction Rebellion were evaluated from various perspectives, with some, including the current and previous city mayors, asking to stop the disruption and allow the city to return to 'business as usual', while others found it to be an excellent opportunity to demonstrate support for the need of system change. In the end, the actions of XR as well as other environmental activists have "turned the wheel", as former Labour Party's leader Jeremy Corbyn motioned for an environment and climate emergency in the Parliament referencing the protests (UK Parliament, 2019). His motion was endorsed by the Members of the Parliament declaring an environment and climate emergency in May of 2019 ("UK Parliament," 2019). Such a step had a significant effect due its nation-wide spread and commitment to the net-zero emission by 2050 program, setting "off a wave of action from parliaments and governments around the globe" ("UK Parliament," 2019, para. 6).

Besides the declaration of a climate emergency, the UK also made use of a citizens' assembly on the question of the climate change. As a project of the House of Commons, the Climate Assembly UK is created to bring together a wide array of people with different backgrounds, different opinions on the problem, and different expertise to discuss the further steps (the what and the how) necessary for the UK in order to reach net-zero emissions by 2050 (Climate Assembly UK, n.d.-a; Climate Assembly UK, n.d.-b).

Later, the EU Parliament also voted on declaring a climate emergency, passing it through on the 28th of November and requiring all the member states to embark on the "net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050" (European Parliament, 2019, para. 1) at the latest. While it is hard to pinpoint what exactly led the EU Parliament to declare the emergency, it would be unfair to say that the social unrest happening all over the Western world and beyond during the Global Climate Strike in September of 2019 received little attention from politicians.

Interestingly, the Oxford Dictionary named 'climate emergency' the word of the year in 2019, specifying that during the year the public got increasingly concerned with climate change, which "has generated enormous discussion of what the UN Secretary General has called 'the defining issue of our time'" (Oxford University Press, n.d., para. 4).

Yet despite the seemingly positive reactions that XR activists, together with thousands of other environmental activists, received as demonstrated through governmental actions, criticism is being voiced on the group's current actions, as it was, for instance, described in the Independent (O'Grady, 2019) and can be seen on online social networks (such as Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/extinctionrebellion/> and Twitter <https://twitter.com/ExtinctionR>). The criticism can be accounted for a difference in social concern about climate change (Pidgeon, 2012; Tvinnereim & Fløttum, 2015). Research by Steentjes and colleagues (2017) demonstrates that even in four European countries people perceive the issue with a various degree of distress and do not consider it to be important to tackle in the coming years. Further, people vary in how much they are ready to compromise their own material wellbeing in order to preserve the collective welfare. While it is important to mention that discrepancies exist both in individuals' reasoning to support or oppose the discussion on the importance of climate change and in what they see appropriate to jeopardise, the topic is vast and falls outside of the scope of the present study. Hence, it will not be discussed in detail further.

Contextualising Extinction Rebellion: The UK and the Netherlands

After the first protests in the UK in November of 2018, the group started building local groups in other countries and have spread to 65 countries as of April 2020, including the Netherlands. Though there is a big difference in the number of branches, 32 in the Netherlands (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-c) and 397 in the UK (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-d) activists of both countries are regularly staging and participating in actions.

The importance of the culture in which an SMO operates has been addressed earlier in the section on social movement research. Apart from cultural context, previous research (Alexander, 2006; Poortinga, Whitmarsh, Steg, Böhm, & Fisher, 2019) has pointed out that a number of other factors, such as political orientation, value system as well as demographic characteristics, influence people's beliefs on climate change and their level of concern. Further, social context impacts recognition of statements and claims (Alexander, 2006). Therefore, in order to provide contextualisation for the countries, specifically, the UK and the Netherlands, which will continue to be the focus of this study, the following section presents a cross national comparison of political and social cultures as well as identifies similarities and differences of perception of environmental issues in two out of many contexts in which the Extinction Rebellion group operates.

Political culture.

On a state level, both countries represent a parliamentary constitutional monarchy. This means that the Netherlands as well as the UK have a monarch, which does not exercise the executive power, and a government which holds the power. The government officially consists out of the monarch and the council of ministers, as in case of the Netherlands, and the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and ministers (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.-b), as in case of the UK (Government UK, n.d.-a). Further, both countries have a parliament, which controls the decisions of the government and is elected by citizens. Lastly, the liberal democratic nature of both states anticipates universal suffrage, which grants every citizen without any discrimination an ability to present his or her opinion through the power of voting.

During the UK general election of 2019, 67.3% of the population of the UK presented their vote, which was close to that of 2017 when the turnout was 68.8%. As a result, the Conservative Party won the majority of seats in the Parliament with the runner up being the Labour Party (Audickas, Cracknell, & Loft, 2020). The current UK government presided by Boris Johnson is also a conservative government. In 2010 the Green Party won its first and

only Parliament seat. The highest vote share was received in 2015 when the party had a 3.8% share.

In turn, the 2017 general election for the House of Representative, the Dutch parliament, received a turnout of 81.9% of eligible voters (Kiesraad, 2017). The election was won by Mark Rutte and VVD, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, having received almost twice as many votes as the follow-up. The party reserved the highest number of seats in the parliament similar to the previous election. The second largest share of seats was won by PVV, the Party for Freedom, being closely followed by CDA, the Christian Democratic Appeal, with GroenLinks, the green party, coming fifth and sharing 14 seats (Kriesraag, 2017).

Regarding climate-related policies, both countries present states that have been long using natural capital accounting (NCA) when informing policy decisions (Schenau, 2017; Vardon, Bass, Ahlroth, & Ruijs, 2017). Such an approach indicates the need to account for the sustainable development goals, green growth and economy as well as climate change (Vardon et al., 2017, p. xvi), which the Netherlands and the UK have been doing for a number of years now and have successfully implemented NCA in their policy making. The Netherlands incorporated statistics of environmental accounts, such as "ozone depletion, acidification, [...] and waste" (Ruijs & van der Esch, 2017, p. 32) in 1969 and since then the number of account has been extended to include air and water emissions as well as energy accounts among others.

Over the years the accounts have changed due to a variety of reasons which were concerned with budget cuts as well as other political or social developments, such as what jobs in the green sectors would become available and needed. All the data collected by Statistics Netherlands are available to every citizen to insure transparency. Further, reports that provide a more comprehensive account of the raw data are published for the use of policy makers, businesses and the general public.

Moreover, the Netherlands has a national environmental policy plan which got adopted in 1989 by the Netherlands Institute of Public Health and Environmental Protection and has been revised four times since. The last revision was published in 2001 (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijk Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2001)⁵. The last plan names seven biggest environmental problems, with the top-3 being the loss of biodiversity, climate change, and overexploitation of natural resources, and addresses the plans for transitions to

⁵ Trans. from Dutch: Ministry of Spatial Planning and the Environment.

sustainable development in a span of a few decades. This version of the plan addresses the time period ending in 2030.

In turn, the UK created an advisory body called the Natural Capital Committee in 2012 which was established to assess the state of natural capitals in the UK and develop a plan directed at protecting and sustaining natural capital. In 2015 the Committee advised the government to prepare a 25-year environmental plan, which is in the stage of development right now. Further, Barter (2017) writes that the success of the Committee can be attributed to its independence from other bodies, its clear-cut examples of how incorporation of care for natural capital can be helpful, its direct reporting to the government, and its authoritative chairperson.

The incorporation of scientific and other prominent assessments into policy-making as well as for the presentation of the general public is linked to the idea of civic epistemologies, a term introduced by Sheila Jasanoff in her work on biotechnology and related policies (2005a). The notion stands for ways of making sense and producing knowledge that stem from historical and political developments in the context of a culture. Political culture can be described as “systematic means by which political community makes binding collective choices” (Jasanoff, 2005a, p. 21). Hence, a civic epistemology is tacit knowledge which explains public’s validation or refusal of scientific claims that lay the foundation for collective choices.

Politics are characterised by cultural specificity, which means that there are built within a system of knowledge-making particular to a place. Social interactions involve exposure of one’s knowledge and “participation in the generation of new knowledge or reinforcement of existing knowledge” (Milton, 2002, p. 21). Hence, the interaction of three bodies, the state, science, and public, which all play a role in political decision-making, occurs in pre-existing traditions of institutional practices and ways of knowing (Jasanoff, 2005a). Contemporary democratic states work in a way which gives citizens a selective role in the beginning by letting them choose their representatives, however, afterwards, the active role in knowledge production and decision-making is moved to those representatives. Democratic leaders are then trusted the power of knowing the needs and wants of the citizens and of application of science to decision-making. However, laymen do not always exercise their right to influence the relationship between science and state down the line (Jasanoff, 2005b). Hence, many positions and opinions remain unheard. Jasanoff (2005a) displayed that the kind of information and knowledge people consider valid and meaningful depends upon the earlier

established civic epistemologies and cannot be ignored when addressing such a pressing contemporary issue as climate change.

Jasanoff argues that universal scientific knowledge has a variety of interpretations in different contexts, since in order for science to be integrated in social order, it has to be politicised and legitimised. This reflects the reason why countries act differently upon scientific data. Issues are framed by means of causal narratives to stimulate needed responses. When analysing civic epistemologies of national cultures, we can see what reasoning is applied to acceptance of and trust in a claim and how knowledge is being further applied to political decision-making.

Furthermore, two works contributed to the arguments of Jasanoff (2005a) for the need to account for cultural, social, and political contexts when addressing knowledge production. First, a study by Beck (2012), who assessed the reception of global climate matters on a national level with a focus on Germany, contributed to the idea that context matters for the generation of knowledge. Secondly, research by Skelton and colleagues (2017), who determined the differences in national climate scenarios of the UK, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, further supported reasoning that Jasanoff provided. Based on their research, it is possible to say that science has to account for a cultural dimension when presenting its results, as it would generate a more salient output for national political decisions. Since social and political cultures influence public's comprehension of climate information (Webber, 2015), there is a need to assess cultural particularities that shape the arena for knowledge production and affect the positions given to the governmental, scientific, and public actors in relation to decision-making (Beck, 2012; Skelton, Porter, Dessai, Bresch, & Knutti, 2017). Therefore, civic epistemologies of the UK and the Netherlands are presented below.

Civic epistemologies of the UK and the Netherlands.

My review of civic epistemology of the UK is based largely on Jasanoff's (2005a) account as she provided a detailed comparison between the US, the UK, and Germany. In turn, the Netherlands is described parallel to the UK based on descriptions of a number of authors (Achterberg, Houtman, van Bohemen, & Manevska, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2010; Skelton et al., 2017; van de Brugge, Rotmans, & Loorbach, 2005) on topics corresponding to the dimensions of civic epistemologies identified by Jasanoff (2005a). According to her conceptualisation, there are six dimensions which reflect public knowledge-making, namely, (1) "styles of public knowledge-making", (2) "public accountability", (3) "demonstration", (4) "objectivity", (5) "expertise", and (6) "visibility of expert bodies" (p. 259).

The first dimension denotes the characteristics of a national knowledge-making that create a distinct style of political culture. The British style is presented to reflect the need for a multiplicity of trustworthy parties that can discern public needs, present reliable information with levels of uncertainty, and are open to public inputs (Jasanoff, 2005a; Skelton et al., 2017). However, a vast power is also given to the state. In turn, in the Netherlands, any decision-making generally involved continuous participation and discussion of various parties with diverse interests (Van de Brugge, Rotmans, & Loorbach, 2005). The initial knowledge production can, however, stem from one party (Skelton et al., 2017).

Secondly, when it comes to public accountability, methods that are required to build people's trust towards those who make a claim, the two cultures have a diverging approach as well. British experts acquire trust over time by showing their capabilities and public commitment.

The dimension of demonstration represents what factors the public trusts when it comes to proving or disproving a claim. In the UK empirical proof and claims which do not go beyond reality, meaning that they are observable, are more widely accepted. In case of climate change scenarios, different possibilities are backed up by various expert evidence and judgements (Jenkins et al., 2009), which in the end presents a relative diversity of opinions on what impact climate change has and how it can be tackled.

The public trust of the Dutch public seem to stem from cultural predispositions and one's level of scientific knowledge, when it comes to assessment of technological subjects. Coming from the conclusions of research conducted by Achterberg, Houtman, van Bohemen, and Manevska (2010) on perception of hydrogen technology within the Dutch society based on knowledge about new technology and cultural predispositions, such as trust in technology, environmental concern, and Christian stewardship, it is possible to say that those with more knowledge about the subject tended to display more support for it. Yet the authors also concluded that the more trust people had in technology, the more they were concerned with environmental issues, and higher their belief in stewardship was, the more they supported hydrogen technology. Further, in case people were not predisposed to the three named factors, having more knowledge on the topic did not raise their support for the technology, while in the opposing instance having more information inclined people to display stronger support. This conclusion leads to a stipulation that in case people did not have a predisposition to trust in science, having more proof would not change their position.

The fourth dimension, objectivity, stands for what people perceive as objective, unbiased knowledge, which does not skew towards representation of the interests of those who

produce it. In Britain claims are tested through the expertise of individuals who are believed to display impartiality and present discernment. In the Netherlands, judging from the example of how an advisory body, the Health Council committee, is formed (Hendriks, Bal, & Bijker, 2004), people who are entitled experts are perceived to be able to show disinterestedness and evaluate issues open-mindedly, which is then similar to the UK.

The dimension of expertise reflects the need for somebody to ensure the credibility of measures and solution at times when the public is uncertain. Bases of expertise refer to factors that legitimate their expertise. In the UK experience of an individual expert in regards to understanding of social affairs is highly valued.

The final dimension, visibility of expert bodies, addresses the visibility of the environment in which experts operate. It represents what the public is shown and how much they are allowed to know from the conditions laying the foundation for policies and decisions. British expert bodies vary in how much information they release and how transparent they are. Speaking of climate change, information on various effects of global warming produced by expert institutions was freely available to the public including additional explanations (Skelton et al., 2017). In turn, in the Netherlands people want to have democratic control of science, meaning that they want to have information be made available for them to make weighted judgements (Makarovs & Achterberg, 2018). In case of environmental data that the Statistics Netherlands provide, the whole dataset is available for everyone together with additional reports that summarise information for policy-makers and other interested bodies. Perhaps, this difference can be accounted for how democratic the two states are, since Makarovs and Achterberg (2018) displayed that the more democratic the state is, the more engagement with and control of science people want to have. In their analysis, the Netherlands appeared to stand on the seventh place of the most democratic European countries, while the UK took the 15th spot out of the 32 analysed countries.

Social culture and concerns about climate change.

At the turn of the century, the Dutch public was actively engaged in a number of political and social organizations, such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International, displaying some of the highest percentages of national support to and membership in the organizations. However, in the later years, a decrease of active participation in organizations of political and social nature was noticed. Despite that, people still presented interest in the issues at hand. Further, drawing on the Dutch Parliamentary Study from 2012, Andeweg and Irwin (2014) addressed the high percentage (more than 20%) of people who were engaged in a digital

discussion as well as action of political nature. Other forms of political activities, for instance, contacting political leaders or taking part in a protest were utilised only by 11% or lower.

The UK population also showed a decreased participation in voluntary activities for political parties at the turn of the century compared to 1964 (Whiteley, 2012). Making an observation based on a list titled “The most popular charities & organisations in the UK” provided on the website YouGov (<https://yougov.co.uk>), that collects public opinion on various topics, it is possible to say that the top organizations are health-related. Keep Britain Tidy, an environmental charity organization, stands on the 8th position, and the World Wild Fund for Nature on the 13th, which signifies that people are most supportive of health organizations and charities.

Therefore, both countries experienced a decrease in social participation in political and voluntary activities in the previous years. This fact suggests that the public might be difficult to mobilise, especially when it concerns action mobilisation.

Moreover, as the institutional models of knowledge-making take different forms in two countries, as was demonstrated in the political culture section, so do the positions people take on the question of climate change. In accordance to Ipsos MORI Issues Index (Skinner & Clemente, 2020a), top-3 issues which the UK public perceived to be of highest importance in 2019 were Brexit, healthcare, and “law and order” (p. 2). Climate change and environmental concerns took the 8th place, getting ahead of immigration issues and “lack of faith in politics [and] government” (Skinner & Clemente, 2020a, p. 2). The audience who was highly concerned in this matter, presented by the paper as generation Z, or more commonly viewed as people born between 1993 and 2005 (Turner, 2015), took the lead placing it as their 3rd most important issue, with Brexit and healthcare system still taking top positions.

Recently, in January of 2020, British public as a whole indicated climate change as their third most important concern and significantly more (7% more) people named it to be the issue of most importance (Skinner & Clemente, 2020b). The report also provides a graph indicating the shift in concerns since 2010, demonstrating a consistently increasing attention to environmental issues since 2013. There was a considerable variability of concern levels in 2019, peaking in January 2020 and constituting the highest score on this position since September of 1989.

The situation has a similar pattern in the Netherlands. According to the report created by the Social and Cultural Planning Office⁶ in March of 2019 the Dutch population had concerns about the climate, however, other issues, such as immigration and health, remained to be considered more important for them since some people believe that activating the climate policies might be too costly for the citizens (Dekker & den Ridder, 2019). It has to be viewed as a significant change from 2018 when it was considered as one of the many focuses of the spending policy changes, taking 11th place out of the 18 named modifications. Fast forward to December of 2019, the issue of climate, climate change, environment, and sustainability moved from the seventh to the second place in the national problem awareness rating (den Ridder, Miltenburg, Huijnk, & van Rijnberk, 2019). Further, in the report from the last quarter of 2019, a graph indicating the development of the concern about the environmental issue since 2008 demonstrated that it was taking the lowest position among issues such as living situation, economy, health and immigration up until the second quarter of 2019. The concern started being more prominent starting in 2017 yet only in the last half a year it really sparked general public's attention due to demonstrations and policy changes (Den Ridder et al., 2019). However, what can also be seen from the conducted research is that people are diverging in their beliefs regarding what has to be done and how they view the issue, with some stating that the Netherlands have to do more and others protesting against new advised policies.

Hence, presently climate change is an arena of active discussions, the analysis of which may provide an important insight into what aspects of the problem or solution people focus on and how they address it in public spaces, such as social media platforms, by communicating with those demonstrating an active position on the issue. Further, the inconsistency between the high concern of the British population and lower levels of involvement in environmental groups suggests that the public might believe there is a problem but not ready to act upon it on a personal level.

Research Aims

From the extensive analysis of literature it is seen that the topics of social movements, their contexts, and framing have been explored by a number of scholars, yet there are some gaps to be filled within the application of framing theory to social movements'

⁶ Original: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau

communication employed on social network sites and how audience recognises movements' perception of reality.

Operating within the framework of environmental movement, the recently established transnational social movement organization Extinction Rebellion presents an attractive case study for the frame analysis of online discourse as it has a vast spread in the world arena having branches in 65 countries and thus aiming at mobilisation in a variety of contexts and cultures. With no centralized structural system, XR's branches represent the name, yet may utilize other ways of addressing the far-reaching demands identified by the original XR, which can find more resonance in their corresponding environments. Operating within pre-existing social and political cultures, Extinction Rebellion faces a challenging task of presenting its position in a manner that would resonate with many people across cultures and mobilise the desired 3.5% of the world population.

This study seeks to systematically outline frames employed by two Extinction Rebellion branches, namely, the British and the Dutch ones, and their noticeable Twitter audiences. It aims to assess the pattern of the used collective action frames as well as the magnitude of engagement they generate. In the end, the goal is to investigate if the ideas and values promoted by the two branches and their audiences converge and whether frames and periods of time affect Twitter audience engagement.

Methodology

The following section presents methodological choices made in order to investigate the stated research questions. First, argumentation for the selected study design is presented. Secondly, the data collection procedure is described followed by an explanation of the qualitative and quantitative employed analyses. Lastly, the questions of validity and reliability as well as consideration of ethical concerns are addressed.

Research Design

As discussed in the literature review, currently social movement organizations utilize online arenas to engage with the public and mobilise the society. For this reason, in the course of investigation of a contemporary movement, a social media analysis uncovers a great deal of movement's viewpoint, hence, framing, and the relationship of it to the environment it operates in as well as public response.

In order analyze the evolvement of social movement frames, Benford and Snow (2000) specify the need for the "retrieval of the discourse that is part and parcel of the framing

process” (p. 624). Therefore, for the purpose of investigating the evolution of Extinction Rebellion’s frames and how the Twitter users engaged with them as a response, a mixed-method approach was applied. The method combined qualitative and quantitative analyses of frames employed in Twitter posts of the British and Dutch branches of XR. The former approach concerned the first two research questions, namely, (1) what frames and sub-frames do XR-UK and XR-The Netherlands employ in online social network discourse and how do they change over time? and (2) what are the frames that the public induces upon the XR frames? In turn, the latter approach was employed to find an answer to the third research question: which dimension of collective action frames do the named branches use the most in their social network discourse and which dimension creates the highest public engagement?

While qualitative approaches found application in a large body of previous social movement research (Cress & Snow, 2000; Gamson, 1992; Pan & Kosicki, 1993), quantitative analyses are said to require further development (Snow et al., 2014). In order to account for that and understand the amplification of the prominent frames generated as a result of qualitative methodology, we added a quantitative dimension. Furthermore, due to the nature of the study being largely exploratory, the extension of methods allowed for a deeper consideration of patterns appearing during the qualitative analysis.

Twitter was chosen as a case of a social network site where SMOs can engage with their audiences. Our choice fell on this platform due to its open access to posted content, as 91% of Twitter accounts are open to every registered user (Mislove, Lehmann, Ahn, Onnela, & Rosenquist, 2011), and transparency of feed-generating mechanisms, since no internal instruments are affecting the content people see, unlike for example Facebook (Hargreaves, 2018). Therefore, there is a lower chance of people to be skewed to solely see content supporting one position. Being in the top-5 of the most popular SNSs of 2020 (Kallas, 2020), Twitter creates a space allowing for an analysis of a wide user population on different research topics (Mislove et al., 2011). Moreover, inhabitants of both the UK and the Netherlands are active users of this social network site, with 16.7 (Clement, 2020) and 2.8 millions of users respectively (De Best, 2020). These numbers mean that 24.63% of the population in the UK and 16.35% in the Netherlands can potentially directly see the content produced by the named SMO and engage with its posts.

Moreover, as discussed in the theoretical chapter, Twitter has been shown to act as a platform for information broadcasting and sharing as well as validation of opinions of one another (Choy and Park (2013) provide a detailed overview of previous studies on the functional use of Twitter). The first aspect points to the possibility of a social movement

organization and its followers to spread the word and shine a light on the issues they want to raise considerably fast and without sufficient costs. Retweet is an effective tool in this case, since it allows Twitter users to engage in discussions by simply reposting one's comment and dispersing it among a new circle of users. The second function indicates that people have a tendency to show their appreciation in a form of like or a comment or criticism explicitly stated in a reply. Therefore, Twitter can be used to discuss issues and address a variety of viewpoints. In the end, it can help social movements to bring people together and mobilize them for action.

Data Collection

To collect the data, scraping of Twitter posts was used. The method of scraping was chosen due to its wide coverage since we wanted to inquire the possible variety of angles of the XR and public's perspectives. In order to do that, Twitter accounts of the two branches were used as a source of data. Since the XR's branches did not appear at the same time, we first began by looking at the account (@ExtinctionR) of the original branch, the UK, created in July of 2018 and which subsequently became the account representing the organization as a whole (<https://twitter.com/ExtinctionR>), and the account of XR-Netherlands (@NLRebellion), created in November of 2018 (<https://twitter.com/NLRebellion>). Once a separate account for XR-UK appeared in April of 2019 (<https://twitter.com/XRebellionUK>), the source of information for the British branch framing shifted to its separate page (@XRebellionUK).

The fact that accounts appeared not simultaneously asks for an address of the their audiences. Literature (Marwick & boyd, 2010; Scheidt, 2013) indicated that in online environments users communicate with an imagined public, signifying the audience that a user imagines engaging with his or her posts in a form. In cases of the two branches, such audience can be assumed to be residents of the respective countries. The assumption is based on the language used by the accounts. The Dutch branch presented messages in both Dutch and English, which leads one to think that the account was aiming to cater to both locals and expats. However, the presence of Dutch posts further indicates that the branch did not directly intend to engage with the international community as a whole, but rather with the Dutch audience mostly and those who are interested in their activities in the Netherlands. The British branch, in turn, communicated solely in English. Hence, the international community had no practical obstacles to follow the branch, hence, the scope of imagined audience in case of the British branch could be greater than that of the Netherlands.

Messages of these accounts were scraped together with comments as well as the number of retweets and likes each of the messages received (Appendix A). Moreover, replies posted by the stated XR accounts were noted together with the messages they responded to, as we wanted to take into account all the messages posted by the accounts of the two branches. Finally, direct and secondary replies to the XR posts were included to examine the entirety of comments that were present under the posts of XR. A direct reply is presented as a first-level comment, which appears directly under one's post. A secondary reply stands for a second-level comment, hence, a comment to a comment. Once a comment to a comment occurs, a thread is formed. Such threads were indicated in the data by placing '(1)', '(2)', etc. next to the secondary replies to logistically separate conversations.

Besides the text of messages, visual content was collected and subsequently analysed. It was previously observed that visuals were often missed or excluded from the frame analysis, however, they yielded as important of content as text did and sometimes provided context for the textual material (Matthes, 2009). Thereby, any file attached to a post was noted down. In an instant of a visual material, such as a photograph or a video, the description of the material was presented. Emojis and gifs employed in posts were also described. Additionally, in case a retweet or a link was provided, the link was recorded together with the title of the page and the retweet was written down together with an indication of who is the original author, since it provided additional context as it was noted earlier in the review of literature.

The analysis of both XR accounts' posts and comments provided the basis for investigation of frames employed by XR and those used by the public. Therefore, it was possible to capture discords which appeared between the original message and the public response as well as among the audience members themselves. The analysis of engagement tools, such as likes, retweets, and a comment option provided the foundation for understanding of what framing was the most engaging for the public (boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010; Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015).

The data was collected from three time periods occurring in the duration that XR operated. A variety of time frames was selected due to Benford's (1997) reasoning regarding how to ensure a fruitful and detailed analysis. He argued that dynamics over time had to be addressed when studying frame development. Snow and colleagues (2007) talked about this point further, implying that research of frame variation was needed and could be done using consecutive time periods as well as various actors, since framing could change depending on the external conditions (Benford & Snow, 2000). Based on these studies, it has been chosen to examine a number of time frames. The first two periods were selected due to their

significance in the movement's history, namely, its first month of action and the moment when the movement started operating on an international scale. The third time period corresponded with the present day and reflected the dynamics occurring in the movement's framing one and a half years after their public emergence. The chosen periods were:

(1) Early stages of XR action

This period demonstrated frames employed by XR and responses of people at the beginning stages of XR actions. As noted above, the two branches did not appear at the same time, which motivated the decision to measure the first time period by two separate intervals, which represent the early stages of the movement in the two countries.

For the UK, the first time frame came to be November 17, 2018 (known as 'Rebellion Day') until the 24th. This time period marks the Rebellion Day (the 17th of November) together with the following week (including Rebellion Day 2 – the 24th of November) and signifies the time of first major protests of XR which created disruption in main cities of the UK (London, Oxford, Manchester, York, Edinburgh among others) (BBC, 2018; Spowart, 2018; The Guardian, 2018).

In turn, for the Netherlands, this period was marked by April 15 – 20, 2019 and presents the time of the declaration of rebellion to the Dutch government (Extinction Rebellion Nederland, n.d.-a). The event followed by a week of disruptions and performances in various cities across the Netherlands.

(2) International Rebellion: October 7 – 9, 2019.

This time period corresponded with the first days of the International Rebellion, a two-week XR campaign used to promote its beliefs and actions globally. The campaign took place across 60 major cities, such as Paris, London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Cape Town, Los Angeles, and Sydney, and aimed at bringing worldwide attention to concerns over climate change (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-e; Brenna, 2019). XR staged a number of performances and road blockades as well as engaged people in discussions over issues and organised various support groups for those who joined protests. It represented the moment when daily operation in many cities was disrupted at once and gave a look at social response to such actions. Further, this period provided a possibility to analyse the change (or consistency) that occurred in frames employed by XR-UK and XR-Netherlands.

(3) Present day: March 30 – April 5, 2020.

The final time frame was closest to the time of data collection. March 2020 indicated 1.5 years since XR had declared rebellion against the British government. Hence, the period

allowed to see the evolvement of frames employed by XR from its beginning until the present day.

The time of the data collection coincided with the period when the pandemic of COVID-19 was spreading across the world, hence, public gatherings as well as collective actions were not permitted (Government of the Netherlands, 2020). While a number of actions were planned for April and May, they had to be postponed or cancelled (Extinction Rebellion Nederland, n.d.-b; Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-e). However, that time presented space for XR for extensive online interaction and further expansion of their adherents.

Therefore, various time periods were used to examine the themes and arguments that had been utilised in the Twitter discourse. Different time intervals provided a possibility to assess the changes which occurred in online interaction of the two examined branches along the way, both within the employed framing and the responses produced by the public.

As it can be noticed, time periods differed in length, which has a practical explanation. The first period is one week long due to a week-long action agenda during that time period, hence, it was believed to be of importance to include the whole conversation occurring during the initial stages of action. The second period presents a time interval of three days as it reflected the beginning of the international wave of XR actions. Originally, the plan was to include posts from throughout the week following the 7th of October, however, due to the volume of messages that were posted on the 7th and 8th of October, and hence recorded in data, it has been decided to shorten the time period and include the first three days of that week as it presented the most raw response to the actions of XR. The final period, in turn, again reflects a week of actions, similarly to the first period in order to present a comparable interval. Therefore, it should be noted that the second time period might present biased information as different patterns could have occurred during the other days of that week, hence, the data were analysed with caution.

To date (April 2020), XR's global Twitter account had 355K followers, the Dutch one had 7.3K, and the British branch had 41.1K, which demonstrated that all three accounts engage a significant number of users.⁷ It can be noticed that there is a difference between the

⁷ While it is clearly visible that the number of followers of the stated accounts greatly varies, we tried to see if it was still possible to compare them on some level in terms of coverage. Taking into account the overall amount of Twitter users in the two countries, a ratio of the number of followers of the accounts against the overall number of users was calculated. The ratios were 0.002 for the UK and 0.003 for the Netherlands, which displays that the proportion of followers of the two accounts was approximately equal in contrast to the nation-wide number of Twitter users. However, no further judgements should be made based on this calculation, since as indicated in the literature review section, it is hardly possible to indicate the profile of followers of one's account. The majority of people following each account do not necessarily have to be from a country which the

number of users that chose to follow the discussion induced by the two branches. The difference can have implications for the outcomes of the study since the difference in how much one account posts and how users engage with it might be dependent on the number of followers which can in turn be associated with the audiences the branches believe to be communicating with. Further, we do not possess the number of followers at the time chosen as time intervals, hence, there is a chance that the distribution of followers was considerably different. We acknowledge that the present factor can have an effect on the outcomes of the data analysis.

Data Analysis

The overall corpus of data was comprised out of 4861 of messages, out of which 665 were by XR and 4196 by the commentators. The British account posted 480 messages⁸, while the Dutch branch posted 185 messages. Furthermore, 3141 comments were being attributed to the British account and 1055 to the Dutch one. A content analysis of frames was used to identify the frames articulated by the branches of XR and the public. As the unit of analysis, a single Twitter post was taken. Messages were collected and coded in Excel and subsequently transferred to SPSS for further quantitative analysis of frequencies and ANOVAs.

Qualitative analysis.

The qualitative analysis revolved around identification of presence of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational type of collective action frames, as well as any other frames employed by XR and commentators. Diagnostic framing was denoted by scholars working in the field of social movements and frame analysis as a reflection of what the problem is and who is to blame. Prognostic framing, in turn, presents a plan of action or a method that the movement proposes as a solution to the problem. Lastly, motivational framing signifies agency and indicates the motives for action in order to mobilise the wider public. Frames which did not fall into the category of collective actions frames were further indicated during the data analysis and categorised according to the concept and perspective they were addressing.

The initial stage of analysis was based on an inductive data-driven approach (Chi, 1997), where recurring words and hashtags as well as the themes and sub-themes emerging from the

account represents. Yet it still presents an interesting indication of the percentage of people that are following European national branches of this social movement organization.

⁸ This number represents posts made by @ExtinctionR during the first period and @XRRebellionUK during the second and third periods.

text were recorded and, whenever necessary, additional explanation for references indicated in posts was given. Inductive coding is believed to be applicable when conducting an explorative study directed at identification of patterns in narratives (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). The analysis of daily content was done until saturation was reached. Once no new themes were emerging, the analysis continued onto the next recorded day.

As the time progressed, patterns became apparent and certain originally given codes were recoded into new codes, as links between various notions became clearer. Hashtags presented an interesting material as they were sometimes used as a part of a sentence as well as separately after the main body of text. Within the text, hashtags were linked to particular frames and subsequently appearance of those hashtags was also noted as the frame they were presenting. Moreover, visual material was analysed. It provided context for some of the frames as not all messages were explicit and, hence, at time visual content clarified what viewpoint a message was underpinning.

As a part of his analysis of frames of a Guatemalan justice movement employed in Facebook posts, Harlow (2011) used a notion of sub-frames. Such an approach allowed to create a more systematic analysis. While Harlow did not converge sub-frames with collective action frames, we decided to employ his approach to identify overarching themes that comprised each of the types of CAFs and recognize different themes or functions that each unit of analysis had that became reflected in such words such as “motives”, “support”, “counter-framing”, and “counter-framing to counter-framing”.

Once the most often recurring categories were identified, they were used to label the rest of the comments. In case new frames, sub-frames or sub-topics appeared, they were added to the code book with an indication of which period they occurred in and what type of account, namely, one of the XR branches or the audience, utilised it. The frames were coded in the following manner:

Frame: Government diagnostic framing

Sub-frame: Government inaction

Sub-topic: Criminal inaction / negligence

Boris Johnson

University's failure to act

Hashtag:

Description: The government is held accountable for the emergency. Posts identify government's (criminal) inaction as the cause of problems.

Example: @GOVUK is not protecting future generations due to its criminal inaction in the face of #climatebreakdown.

Time period: I

User: XR-UK

The full list of frames was as following: items 1 to 27 present frames utilized by XR branches and their supporters; in turn, items 28 to 34 denote frames utilized exclusively by the Twitter audience.

1. Emergency diagnostic frame
2. Ecocide diagnostic frame
3. Government diagnostic frame
4. Polluters diagnostic frame
5. Capitalism diagnostic frame
6. Injustice diagnostic frame
7. Public health crisis diagnostic frame
8. Tell the truth prognostic frame
9. Climate justice prognostic frame
10. Sustainability prognostic frame
11. System change prognostic frame
12. NVDA prognostic frame
13. Social distancing prognostic frame
14. Action prognostic frame
15. Future life motivational frame
16. Planet motivational frame
17. Urgency motivational frame
18. Morality motivational frame
19. Callings motivational frame
20. Peace frame
21. Diversity frame
22. Solidarity frame
23. Rights frame
24. Expert truth frame
25. Media-induced frame
26. Police frame
27. Counter-framing to counter-framing

28. Support
29. Diagnostic counter-framing
30. Prognostic counter-framing
31. Public image counter-framing
32. Hypocrisy counter-framing
33. Police counter-framing
34. Human rights counter-framing

The full list together with sub-frames, description of each frame, utilized hashtags, and examples can be found in Appendix B. While the list is quite extensive, not all of the frames were utilized in the messages to the same extent, hence, this categorization should provide a general understanding of the broadness of the XR and commentators' perspectives.

Furthermore, such an extensive coding list indicates the intricacy of information captured in the data. However, at the same time it increases complexity of the coding scheme and hence can have a negative effect on reliability (Hrushka et al., 2004).

It is important to note that research on media framing presents a different categorization of frames, such as issue-specific vs. generic (de Vreese, 2005), generic can then be split into thematic and episodic framing (Iyengar, 1991/1994), which can be divided further into smaller categories (see Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Due to the primary focus of the study being a social movement, the emphasis is placed on the collective action frames rather than other possible framings employed by media. In order to provide clarity, frames which are not considered representative of CAFs, were framed in terms of their general concepts such as 'peace' and 'solidarity', which sometimes fell into what one might call values. In our case, we viewed them as elements of public image construction. It has been decided to refrain from further categorization and name them for what they are rather than labeling them along the line of media frames.

Quantitative analysis.

In order to further analyse the evolution of frames and public engagement and resonance generated by them, a quantitative approach was used. This step was inspired by Ghaziani and Ventresca's work (2005) on the frame analysis of keywords, which included a systematic coding of frequencies (including individual reference to a keyword in posts as well as reposts), and earlier mentioned research by Harlow (2011), which considered the frequency of use of each of the three framing tasks. In our case, we calculated the amount of times each dimension was used and pinpointed the mainly employed frames by each branch

of XR during the three periods. Messages that included more than one theme within a dimension were in the end transformed into messages with or without a specific dimension. To illustrate, in case a message contained the emergency and injustice diagnostic frames, it was coded as a message that include diagnostic framing and counted as one item. Hence, dimensions were counted per message rather than per number of times each frame appeared in messages. Further, frames were assessed on the number of retweets, likes, and comments in order to indicate which frame generated the highest public engagement.

Before the quantitative analysis began, frames were assigned a number and applied to each of the XR messages to prepare the data for SPSS. Furthermore, only direct comments were used to count the number of comments for each of the XR's posts due the clarity of what is considered a direct comment, namely, a post made directly to the original message of a user. Moreover, direct messages are clearly seen when a user accesses the original post, whereas, second-level comments (i.e. comments to comments) are not always apparent. Hence, it is problematic to claim that all of the indirect comments appeared because of what XR presented in its posts rather than because of what someone else said. For this reason, the number of non-direct comments was excluded from the quantitative analysis. Lastly, messages of XR that were presented as a part of a thread, meaning that a message was posted as a comment to another message, were noted down separately with an indication that it was a direct or second-level comment on another XR post or a direct or second-level comment to posts of other users. In this way, it was possible to analyse all the messages posted by XR as well as the engagement they generated.

Once the preparatory arrangements were finished, the data were analysed in SPSS. The analysis included examination of frequencies distribution to examine how collective action frames were distributed across the time periods in messages of XR branches. Further, two-way ANOVAs were used to examine if time periods and dimensions of framing had an influence on the engagement of posts, displayed through the average number of likes, retweets, and comments per post. Due to the possibility of inclusion of more than one frame per post, dimensions of framing were split up into four categories, specifically, diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and a mix.

Reliability, Validity, and Ethical Concerns

Addressing the present study in respect to reliability and validity, it is believed to be fairly difficult to properly assess measurements when one researcher conducts a study. Nonetheless, these two verifications and how the present research aimed to achieve them

have to be discussed. While inter-coder reliability was not feasible in the context of this study, we aimed at securing intra-coder reliability by checking consistency of coding over time (Chen & Krauss, 2004). In order to insure stability and consistency, similarly to research with open-ended data by Hruschka and colleagues (2004), systematic coding was used which found reflection in a codebook (Appendix B) and was used throughout the whole process of qualitative data analysis. Furthermore, since messages of XR branches were reviewed for the second time during the preparation of data for the quantitative analysis, earlier identified qualitative codes assigned to the data from the first day of the first examined period were juxtaposed to the newly assigned numbered codes to see if one message received the same code on the two instances, which it did in most cases. Instances that had deviation in coding were reviewed additionally and adjusted to come to the final categorization. While such a comparison was made, intra-coder reliability is not perceived to be the strongest measure of reliability (Chen & Krauss, 2004). Lastly, due to the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative dimensions, a more thorough and rigorous analysis was assured.

Further, validity was attempted through the use of terminology based on additional literature to contextualise terms and categories presenting uncertainties and reduce a researcher bias. For instance, to ascertain what constitutes nonviolent direct action, Gene Sharp's work titled *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973) was used. In this way, the level of objectivity was amplified as the additional literature increased the chances of other scholars to assign the same title to the given frames. Moreover, the accuracy of the measurement of audience engagement on Twitter is insured by the reliance upon instruments employed by previous research (Golafshani, 2003; Lehner, 1979) to measure social media engagement.

Lastly, from an ethical point of view, even though users whose posts were collected and analysed were not aware of research, by signing the terms and conditions users gave permission for their tweets, usernames, and nicknames to be disclosed and publicly viewed⁹. Additionally, since users were not aware of researcher's presence, the information and position they presented was most likely true to one's beliefs that were expressed in 240 characters.

⁹ Twitter users have an option of closing their account and making their tweets unavailable for the wider public. In that case, text of any message they posted was not visible to the researcher. However, there was an indication of the fact that the message was posted by a user with a limited view preference.

Results

The analysis of twitter messages posted by Extinction Rebellion accounts of the British and Dutch branches and comments to those posts demonstrated a number of recurring frames and sub-frames as well as revealed the differences between approaches taken by the two branches and the level of public engagement. The following chapter is divided into two parts. The first one bears insights of the qualitative analysis and presents frames employed by XR-UK and XR-The Netherlands in their messages posted on the Twitter platform during the three selected periods between 2018 and 2020 as well as the public responses to the messages. Further, changes that occurred over time are discussed. The second part presents the results of the quantitative analysis by describing which dimension of collective action frames was utilized by each of the XR branches the most and what dimension received the highest public engagement.

Before directing attention to the results, a few general comments are worth mentioning. While both accounts were active and posted daily throughout the analysed periods¹⁰, the account of the British branch made a higher amount of entries in each period than did the Dutch account. Further regarding the posting behaviour, XR-NL engaged more with the public by answering users' comments, which occurred only less on the side of XR-UK.

Lastly, it is important to note that tweets used as examples of frames might include more than one framing at a time due to its conciseness. Thus each section will accentuate particular aspects of a twitter message or used sentence and will clearly present the focus of attention beforehand. For this reason, some frames introduced later in the text might become apparent to the reader in advance. Additionally, while photographs and video frames were displayed only in instances of a few frames due to their particular relevance in the narrative, visual material and slogans used on posters in the photographs attached to posts were further reflecting the frames discussed below.

Part 1: Framing of Extinction Rebellion and the Twitter Audience

The subsequent paragraphs present results of the qualitative analysis of twitter threads. First, frames used by XR-UK and XR-The Netherlands across different time periods are discussed. Seven diagnostic frames, seven prognostic frames, six motivational frames, four frames presenting various values, and frames addressing support for XR's position, namely, expert truth frame, media framing, and counter-framing to counter-framing, as well as a grey

¹⁰ There was one exception – on the 30th of March 2020 the account of XR-NL did not post any messages.

area in the form of the ‘police’ frame are addressed. Secondly, Twitter public’s reactions and positions are displayed in connection to the earlier presented frames of XR branches through the lenses of support and opposition.

Extinction Rebellion framing.

Both XR branches used specific terminology, such as ‘climate emergency’ and ‘ecological collapse’, ‘tell the truth’, ‘nonviolent direct action’, and other terms, which displayed their interconnectedness. However, it was noticeable that in some cases certain sub-frames appeared in the discourse of only one of the branches, hence signifying existing contrasts. Both of these features signify that in their online Twitter discourse, both branches exhibited characteristics, namely, affiliation as well as autonomy, distinctive to transnational social movement organizations (Tarrow, 2012).

Diagnostic framing.

Throughout the three analysed periods, both branches defined a variety of problems, which were presented through four diagnostic framings, specifically, emergency, ecocide, injustice, and public health crisis. The focus lied on one or more in each period. While frames of emergency, ecocide, and injustice were present throughout the three stages, the public health crisis framing occurred only during the third period in the light of the global pandemic of COVID-19. Apart from ascertaining the issues, messages of the two accounts framed culprits represented by the government, various polluters, which are either supporting the fossil fuel industry or directly contributing to environmental pollution, and the capitalist system.

To maintain the logic of reasoning and since it is easier to understand the problem of injustice after the address of those who XR holds accountable, the diagnostic frame of injustice will be presented last.

Emergency diagnostic framing.

The most prominent diagnostic framing presented by the two branches on Twitter during the analysed periods was that of emergency. The frame revolved around the topics of climate and ecological emergencies together with their consequences for the natural world in a form of existential crisis and extinction, which appeared to be presented as *the* problem and was interwoven with other diagnostic frames defining problems.

During the first period, the British branch was much more expressive than the Dutch regarding the essence of the issue. Its posts included a multitude of equivalents of climate and ecological emergencies, such “*climate crisis*”, “*climate chaos*”, “*ecological collapse*”,

“*environmental breakdown*”, and “*climate breakdown*” being the most prevalent, specifying the problematic nature of the situation through the use of synonymous words and the critical conditions the group finds our world in. Messages often came in the following form: “*This is an #EcologicalCrisis. This is a #ClimateEmergency.*” (ExtinctionR¹¹, 19-11-18)¹². XR-UK further amplified the crisis by drawing attention to its deadly nature stating that “[...] *almost 10,000 Londoners a year die prematurely because the government is under the influence of the extractive industries*” (ExtinctionR, 18-11-18).

During the time of International Rebellion, the second analysed period, the emergency was articulated as “*the biggest issue of our generation*” (XRebellionUK, 07-10-19) and “*the greatest existential threat we’ve ever faced*” (XRebellionUK, 07-10-19). The use of superlative adjectives might indicate that XR-UK wanted to stress the importance of the issue and alert people about the degree of the emergency.

The Dutch counterpart presented the problem in a similar manner yet not as diversely as XR-UK did. It addressed the problem as “*climate change*” during the first period, subsequently switching to terms such as “*ecological crisis*”, “*climate crisis*”, and “*climate emergency*”. Furthermore, the topic of existential crisis was presented through a more graphic name, “*Blood of our Children*” (NLRebellion, 16-04-19), which was reflected in an act performed by protesters. The performance included pouring fake blood, presumably water mixed with dye, by protesters on a square in the city centre of The Hague. Photographs from this action were accompanied by the slogan “*Klimaatverandering = massamoord [Climate change = mass murder]*” (NLRebellion, 15-04-19), which provided a link between the broader issue of climate change which the environmental movement addresses and Extinction Rebellion’s perception of the problem – its emphasis on existential crisis. This was further stressed by a so-called funeral procession that expressed sorrow for “*all lives lost past, present & future*” (NLRebellion, 20-04-19).

Neither the phrase, nor visuals of the action were present in messages of the British branch during the analysed periods. XR-UK referenced an action of the New York City branch in the Financial District when the blood was poured on the Charging Bull, also known as the Wall Street Bull:

Extinction Rebellion NYC begins by targeting the financial district.

¹¹ Information in the brackets indicates the nickname (without @) of a user to whom the stated quote is attributed and the date of the post.

¹² The structure of the original twitter post (i.e. paragraphs, spacing between lines, and words) is not always kept to preserve page space.

“We are here to tell the truth & to demand our government do the same: The emergency is accelerating & we must act like it. Climate justice demands immediate action.”

@XR_NYC #EverybodyNow [retweet of @XR_NYC: “Financial sectors profit from ecocide, so we must rebel #ExtinctionRebellion #EverybodyNow” [video from the Wall Street where an XR protester stands on top of the bull which is covered in fake blood]] (XRRebellionUK, 07-10-19).

However, the message did not read as being connected to the climate emergency but rather ecocide and indication of whom to place the blame on, frames which will be discussed next. There is a chance that the phrase ‘Blood of our children’ and action of pouring blood were utilised by XR-UK at a point which was not covered by the analysis. Or else, such a portrayal of the sub-frame of an existential crisis might have been utilised exclusively by the Dutch branch since every group is free to adapt actions and discussions to a local context as long as they are in line with the XR belief system, which is displayed through ten principles and values, such as autonomy and inclusivity, which the organization indicates as the foundation for its work (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-f).

During the most recent period the framing of emergency received a new hue as it was contrasted with the crisis of public health, caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, which will be addressed in more detail further. Messages of both branches did not purely indicate the problem of climate and ecological emergency but talked about it in the context of the health crisis, presenting the need to address one problem keeping the second one in mind:

De toekomst is NU. De klimaat- en ecologische crisis heeft geen lockdown gekregen, die dendert gewoon door. Daarom gaan we door met protesteren. Daarom moeten we in alle plannen die we maken rondom de Coronacrisis ook rekening houden met de klimaat- en ecologische crisis. [The future is NOW. The climate and ecological crisis has not had a lockdown, it just keeps on going. That is why we continue to protest. That is why we must also take the climate and ecological crisis into account in all plans we make regarding the Corona crisis.]. (NLRebellion, 03-04-20)

Moreover, in this message, the climate and ecological crisis was presented as one notion, which may signify a shift to viewing them as a single concept rather than isolated ones by the Dutch branch. However, it is also possible to perceive it as a generalization of the problem, which XR uses to avoid repetition or bring attention to both aspects of the problem at once. Such an explanation stems from the fact that both branches made a similar reference earlier, during the first two periods. However, the address of the problem in terms of a ‘climate crisis’, ‘climate emergency’, and ‘climate change’ remained overall prevalent. This

observation can indicate that both branches found the given phrases to be the most comprehensible for people since ‘climate change’ is a widely used collocation.

Ecocide diagnostic framing.

Apart from the framing of emergency, the Dutch branch used the ecocide diagnostic framing during the first two analysed periods, which constituted the second main theme within the scope of problem identification. Ecocide is framed as a problem due to its criminal nature and the need to be considered on the same level as other affairs of the International Criminal Court (ICC). To date, four crimes fall under the jurisdiction of the ICC, namely, genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression on a state level (International Criminal Court, n.d.), which provides an idea of seriousness of XR-NL’s claim on the crime of ecocide. A possible explanation for such a firm focus on the topic of ecocide can lie in the location of the ICC – The Hague (International Criminal Court, section ‘Contact Us,’ n.d.), hence, the Dutch protesters had a possibility to be physically present in front of the ICC building and present their concern about this problem there, which further found reflection in the branch’s posts.

Within the frame of ecocide, a number of sub-frames were adopted to present examples of the destruction of ecosystems: the ‘sea level rise’ during the first period and ‘wildlife trafficking’ as well as ‘deforestation’ during the second period (Ecocide Law, n.d.). The sea level rise presents a naturally occurring ecocide and was addressed solely in the early period. The branch addressed it by saying “*Rise up faster than the Sea*” (NLRebellion, 15-04-19) and “*People are gonna rise like the water!!!!*” (NLRebellion, 20-04-19). These phrases reflect the most deplorable outcome of the sea level rise for the low-lying Netherlands (Keijsers et al., 2015). Hence, it is not surprising that XR-NL decided to indicate this problem and utilise such a reference in their messages. In this case, it is interesting that the necessity to act is emphasized by indicating that the water level will rise, hence presenting the problem, yet pointing out that mobilization should be faster than the process itself. The sub-frames of deforestation and wildlife trafficking were presented in messages displaying solidarity with other regions of the world and appeared during the International Rebellion.

Why did the Dutch branch place such a focus on the problem of ecocide? The actual reason is hard to determine based on the data that were collected. Nonetheless, it is possible to assume that in the context of the Netherlands, where values are stated to be law-based (Yang & van der Wal, 2014), meaning that the law rules over values such as morality, one has a need to make the destruction of the ecosystems and environment an official crime rather

than something colloquial. Hence, this detail might explain a wider employment of the ecocide frame within the narrative of the Dutch branch.

Additionally, during the final analysed period, the British branch focused most of its attention on the issue of destruction of ancient woodlands due to the construction of HS2 (High Speed 2), a railway that will run from London to the North (High Speed Two Ltd, 2019). The destruction of natural forests is viewed as a human induced ecocide and hence falls in the scope of the problem of ecocide. XR-UK addressed the sub-frame together with the presentation of the emergency-diagnostic framing, indicating the interconnectedness of the two problems: “*HS2 devastation at Steeple Clayson. Ancient trees reduced to woodchip. Ancient Woodland under threat in climate and ecological emergency.*” (XR Rebellion UK, 02-04-20). The quote reveals an example of the plexus of the ‘emergency’ framing with other frames, in this case, with the ‘ecocide’ one. The tendency of both branches to juxtapose framings is curious and can be noted throughout the whole set of data, where some dominant frames, such as the emergency framing, in case of the diagnostic framing, are addressed together with the new or less prominent framing and discussed in relation to one another. The following frame presents yet another example of this trend.

Furthermore, as it can be noted from the sea rising levels, construction of HS2, and public health crisis, XR branches have a tendency to bring their messages into the bigger discussion on socio-cultural and political affairs of the time. Hence, the group acknowledges its operation in a bigger context and adds topics that might be familiar to the public or which are already circulating on Twitter. The explanation for it can lie in Twitter’s way of working with hashtags and ‘trending’ topics, hence, when many accounts discuss the same topics and link it to the same hashtag, the topic has a higher visibility (Ellison & Boyd, 2013; Twitter, n.d.-g). XR brings in their dominant framings, such as the emergency framing, to the conversation on the public health crisis, thus linking the problem which it views to be of importance with other topics and debates that are perceived as important or timely by others. While no definite claims can be made, it is possible to assume that XR branches aim to stay visible. The question is then whether or not they did some actions, such as sitting-in on the trees next to the construction area of the HS2, solely because they could record it and display for the world to see on Twitter or other social media platforms. In this case, the role of social media becomes a crucial factor, as there is a chance for certain actions to have taken place, especially the ones which have a very minor effect in reality.

Public health crisis diagnostic framing.

A frame that stands apart from the rest of diagnostic frames identifying problems is the one of a public health crisis. The last period under examination coincided with the time when the world was dealing with a global pandemic of COVID-19. Due to contagiousness of the disease and its rapid spread across the world (as of May 2020 there were 216 affected areas (World Health Organisation, n.d.)), many countries had to go into lockdown and limit citizens' movement. Measures taken in the Netherlands and the UK included cancellation of public events, which affected all public gatherings (Government of the Netherlands, n.d. a; Government UK, n.d.). Therefore, pre-scheduled protests of XR could not go through as planned either. In this light, both branches switched to other means and addressed the problem of public health crisis together with earlier identified frame of emergency:

“Slecht achteraf zullen we begrijpen welke gok we genomen hebben en wat we zijn kwijtgeraakt door niet snel genoeg actie te ondernemen”¹³ Artikel in de @nytimes over hoe we reageren op #Corona en klimaatverandering. #RebelForLife #ExtinctionRebellion (NLRebellion, 05-04-20).

@HS2Ltd are endangering lives right now during the #COVID2019 crisis. We demand that the #NHS comes first! Join the CALLING CAMPAIGN this week and lobby HS2 Ltd and contractors to stop work and save lives. [...] #NHSnotHS2 (XRebellionUK, 05-04-20)

These messages demonstrate the address of COVID-19 in line with what the group stands for and present its way of turning the global health issue in the direction bringing attention to the problems associated with climate change. It is suggested by a number of researchers in the field of medical science that the majority of zoonotic infectious diseases, especially originating from wildlife, emerge from places with high population density (Weiss & McMichael, 2004) and wildlife biodiversity (Keesing, Belden, & Daszak, 2010), and further transmitted by the globalized travel (Hufnagel, Brockmann, & Geisel, 2004) as well as trade (Weiss & McMichael, 2004). However, none of these aspects were addressed by XR branches in their discussion on the public health crisis. This fact is rather surprising since the factors of emergence and spread of infectious diseases are thought to be associated with anthropogenic and ecological changes. Hence, our assumption is that the branches did not want to engage in another contested discussion.

¹³ The double brackets are original.

Government diagnostic framing.

One of the villains in the story of XR branches is the government. From the beginning, both accounts pointed to the government's inaction, often described as 'criminal' by the British branch, as a cause of the climate emergency problem:

@GOVUK is not protecting future generations due to its criminal inaction in the face of #climatebreakdown. (XR-UK, 21-11-18)

We are lying down [referring to an act of die-in] because of the government's and university's failure [Nijmegen University] to act. (NLRebellion, 18-04-19).

The messages reflecting this framing continued throughout all action periods by both branches, although the emphasis was much stronger on the British side where the government was proclaimed 'ecocidal' during the early action days: "*The ecocidal British government has failed to protect us.*" (ExtinctionR, 19-11-18).

Starting from the time of the International Rebellion, XR-UK drew special attention to Boris Johnson, the prime minister of the UK since 2019, addressing messages directly to him:

*@BorisJohnson we know you love us! Calling us "uncooperative crusties" makes us smile. We know deep down you care. You cried last week when Extinction Rebellion Activists sang to you at Chequers - <http://ow.ly/pOlQ50wFsjm>
<http://ow.ly/GLUg50wFsiZ> #TellTheTruth #ActNow (XRebellionUK, 08-10-19).*

This particular message was posted four times during that day. The reason for that might be the desire to get his attention or spark a conversation, however, there was no direct comment from him. Furthermore, during the public health crisis, the account further deemed Boris Johnson as the one who was failing at taking the needed action, making him responsible for the decisions that the government did or did not make: "[...] *how can @BorisJohnson justify turning a blind eye to the unsafe practices at HS2 [High Speed 2]?*" (XRebellionUK, 04-04-20). Therefore, while the government in general was considered accountable, after the man became the British prime minister, a portion of attention and guilt was shifted to him. This element is a sign that the British branch singled out the prime minister. However, one of the ten XR's principles indicates "no one individual is to blame" (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a, section Our Values, para. 9). The case of Boris Johnson might be an exception to the rule since he is a part of the government and hence, XR-UK possibly chose to talk directly to its principal representative. However, it still presents a contradiction to what XR stands for and one may wonder what the future implications of deviations from the core values can be.

During the third stage, the government was addressed in terms of HS2. The decision to build HS2 is of governmental nature, and the Department of Transport is sponsoring HS2

Ltd. For this reason, XR indicated that HS2 and hence the government wants to “*destroy ancient woodlands*” (XRRebellionUK, 01-04-20). Further, its messages claim that HS2 Ltd goes against the guidelines of social distancing thereby compromising the lives of others.

In contrast to the UK, the Dutch branch did not single out any individuals and was giving more general references to the government. For instance, the account posted one message during the International Rebellion indicating that policies adopted by the government did not prioritise what should be spotlighted, namely, interests of citizens:

[...] het beleid van de overheid faciliteert disproportioneel de belangen van grote bedrijven (niet burgers) : subsidies olie kolen gas: '2,5 miljard per jaar' [government policy disproportionately facilitates the interests of large companies (not citizens): subsidies oil coal gas: '2.5 billion a year'] (NLRebellion, 08-10-19).

Moreover, during the third period, the time of the public health crisis, XR-NL started a ‘Geen poen zonder plan [No money without a plan]’ petition, which was directed to the government indicating that at present the government was providing financial aid in a way that did not stimulate the development of the green economy and, hence, such an approach needed to be changed. However, overall, while it was a prevalent frame indicating a culprit in the discourse of the British branch, the Dutch counterpart addressed it only briefly, focusing its attention on other frames instead. A possible explanation for that may lie the power that is given to the state in public eyes in the UK, as stated earlier by Jasanoff (2005a) as well as Skelton and his colleagues (2017). Since individual citizens expect the state to take action upon matters of concern, in this case, their reaction is no different. XR-UK then goes along with that preconception and calls the government out for their inaction. This development further points to the interlacement of SMO’s expressed position and social dynamics, previously noted by Cappella and Jamieson (1997) and Ryan (1991).

Polluters diagnostic framing.

Another antagonist from XR’s perspective was the polluters – various actors that contribute to pollution and therefore cause environmental problems.

While the British branch largely used the government diagnostic framing when placing blame, the framing of polluters received a broader narration in the posts of the Dutch branch. Nonetheless, throughout the three periods, both branches named a variety of agents and spheres contaminating the environment.

During the first stage, both XR-NL and XR-UK specified that fossil fuel companies are creating a great amount of pollution that was threatening lives of humans, as stated by XR-UK, and the rest of the species, as XR-NL claimed:

Millions of working class people are being killed each year because of the fossil fuel companies. (ExtinctionR, 22-11-18)

Shell is een van de grootste vervuilers in de wereld en bedreigt daardoor het bestaan van miljoenen soorten. [...] [Shell is one of the largest polluters in the world and therefore threatens the existence of millions of species.]. (NLRebellion, 19-04-19)

XR-UK further addressed humans in general as the ones responsible for the damage caused to the planet: *“This is our time to ripen as a species, our time to mature. We’ve been teenagers a long time, and we really trashed the place.”* (ExtinctionR, 17-11-18).

During the second period, XR-NL indicated big names such as the ABN AMRO bank (a Dutch national bank) and Vattenfal (a Swedish energy company that has a branch in the Netherlands) as companies whose actions are causing environmental harm. In appeal to ABN, XR-NL addressed this point by stating, *“investing billions in fossil fuels is being part of the problem”* (NLRebellion, 08-10-19). In turn, talking about the construction of the KeystoneXL oil pipeline that would run from Alberta to Nebraska (TC Energy, n.d.) during the third period, XR-UK also expressed disapproval of it: *“As we focus on global health the fossil fuel industry revives long dead projects expands its infrastructure.”* (XRebellionUK, 05-04-20).

The British branch also brought attention to polluters by staging an action inside of the City Airport (London) during the International Rebellion to emphasise the negative impact of air traveling on the environment, hence, indicating the sub-frame of air pollution within the polluters-diagnostic framing.

To sum up, actors causing pollution were called out by the two branches, signifying that their actions are also at the heart of the problem of climate emergency and ecocide. Why the Dutch branch underlined these culprits more than the British branch and the government? An explanation can lie in the position of the country being a hotspot for large energy companies and their investors, which again points to the decision of branches to bring conversation to the domestic context and find narratives that would resonate with individuals living in the given environments. Hence, while the messages of both branches can be read by individuals across the globe (Kallas, 2020), their imagined audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010; Scheidt, 2013) is the people living in the two countries. This observation can further be supported by the Dutch posts being written in English and Dutch, since the social contingent of the Netherlands is varied and consistent of Dutch-speaking and non-speaking population. Hence, the branch was aiming at communicating with different fragments of society.

Capitalism diagnostic framing.

The final cause of problems is addressed through the capitalism frame. These messages speak about the negative sides of the capitalist regime and its effect on the choices people make. Even though the frame was not prevalent in posts of either one of the branches, it was nonetheless briefly present throughout and constituted another subject the two branches considered destructive.

The timing of actions of the British group in 2018 included a Black Friday sale, a weekend in November when the majority of stores have high discounts on their products and hence it is the time when people make many purchases. In a timely manner, XR-UK also addressed the problem of excess generated by the capitalist system and asked people to think about unnecessary spending and purchases: “*#ExtinctionRebellion take a stand against @blackfriday and the needless destruction of capitalist spending on Oxford Street*” (ExtinctionR, 23-11-18). Later, in the second analysed period, the same topic was raised by XR-NL by staging a fashion show with pieces created out of second-hand clothing with a phrase plainly reading: “*Say no to #fastfashion*” (NLRebellion, 07-10-19). However, in case of the Dutch branch it was a more general proclamation bearing the indication of the problem of fast fashion. Furthermore, the frame was not broadly utilised as it appeared only in one message, which can indicate that XR-NL did not perceive capitalism to be as problematic as XR-UK did.

The British branch further made a reference to the “*toxic systems of capitalism*” (XRRebellionUK, 07-10-19) and indicated that “*10% of the worlds richest produces half of the globes carbon emission*” (XRRebellionUK, 09-10-19), which linked the framing of polluters to capitalism and presented interconnectedness of the two and the problems that come with the rich nations. Additionally, during the recent times, the branch specified that problems in the system were “*causing us [supposedly, humans] to kill life on Earth*” (XRRebellionUK, 02-04-20), which displayed a connection between systematic issues and ecocide. Therefore, the British branch was concerned with the consequences of the capitalist regime for the bigger systems, such as the ecosystem. It is possible that the interconnected between frames in messages of the British branch specifically points to how citizens reason. One issue might become more important when the bigger picture is presented, when the outcome concerns each individual. Research by Goffman (1981) and Jasanoff (2005a, 2005b) did state that the ways people reason and subsequently perceive and understand information depends upon socio-cultural patterns. The present study presents evidence to further support their observations.

Prognostic framing.

Messages of both branches further articulated propositions of what should be done in order to solve the stated issues. Some of the solutions were reflected in demands of XR to the government and businesses, such as a need to tell the truth, for the government to take action, for climate justice, and a need for a system change as a whole.

Other solutions were articulated in a form of methods that the general public should undertake in order to bring change. Such approaches included utilization of nonviolent direct action techniques in case of climate emergency and ecocide, and social distancing, when it came to solving the public health crisis. One framing stood on the verge of the institutional and individual spheres, namely, the theme of sustainability, as it involved topics that were directed at both actor groups.

System change prognostic framing.

One solution proposed by XR branches was system change. While the capitalist regime with its advocacy for industrial development and desire for money generation was presented as a problem during both first and second periods by XR-UK and solely during the second period by XR-NL, both branches addressed a need for a change as such in the early period exclusively:

Join us for more actions this week to demand changes to this toxic system. (ExtinctionR, 20-11-18)

Je levensstijl aanpassen is geweldig maar wat we nodig hebben is dat we het systeem aanpassen [Adjusting your lifestyle is great but what we need is adjusting the system]. (NLRebellion, 18-04-19)

During the second period, however, this frame also appeared in the context of giving power to people rather than let it be in the hands of the government and businesses. XR-UK consistently stated that “[p]ower belongs to the people” (XRRebellionUK, 07-10-19). The utilisation of such a slogan further presents an example of amplification processes described by Benford and Snow (2000), since the phrase links XR with the environmental and civil rights movements, since both movements are known for the use of the phrase (Davis, 2011).

Due to the more wide-ranging account of this frame, displayed through the indication of the overall need for systemic change, and its infrequent appearance in comparison to other prognostic frames, it is possible to assume that both branches decided to opt for a more precise articulation of solutions as the time progressed. The reason for that can lie in the obscurity and, at the same time, fundamentality of changes implied by the notion of system change.

Tell the truth prognostic framing.

One other solution indicated in the first two periods by XR-UK and XR-NL was the need for the government to tell the truth, which both branches emphasised as a demand: “*the first of the #ExtinctionRebellion demands is about how the government must tell the truth about how deadly #ClimateBreakdown & #EcologicalCrisis is*” (ExtinctionR, 19-11-18). The truth in case of this demand referred to the climate and ecological emergency which was portrayed as a fact, which can be seen from the following message: “*We got to love @GeorgeMonbiot [a writer and Guardian columnist]. Head over to Westminster Abbey to hear him tell the truth!*” (XRRebellionUK, 09-10-19). Therefore, ‘tell the truth’ framing enables XR to stress the need for the government to promulgate information about the crisis.

XR-NL does not diverge from its counterpart when expressing this position. Most likely, the reason for that comes from the origin of the demand. ‘Tell the truth’ is a statement articulated by the global XR (Extinction Rebellion, Section “About Us,” n.d.) and, therefore, gets adopted by all the branches that join the movement.

During the second period the Dutch branch also brought attention to the need for businesses to adopt such a strategy:

We communicated our demands to @VattenvalNL & look forward to their formal response. Our demands are: 1. Formally declare #climateemergency - #telltthetruth about the #existentialcrisis we face, and act accordingly 1/2. (NLRebellion, 08-10-19)

This message presents an XR-NL’s demand to the company to be transparent about the crisis and then take further actions on it, which indicates the action prognostic framing, presented in the following section.

Interestingly, ‘tell the truth’ framing did not find reflection in the most recent period, while the diagnostic framing of emergency did appear in both cases on the background of the public health crisis framing. Such a tendency may indicate redirection of attention and the consent of both branches with the governmental presentation of the public health crisis and sufficiency of provided information, since authorities of both countries have held press conferences to address the issue (Evening Standard, n.d.; NOS, n.d.) and regularly update measures taken to tackle COVID-19 on a website of the national government (Government UK, n.d.-c; Rijksoverheid¹⁴, n.d.). Furthermore, the request for action in various forms was more prevalent during that time and, hence, took over ‘tell the truth’ framing.

¹⁴ Trans. from Dutch: National government.

Climate justice prognostic framing.

The second prognostic frame, which was most widely cited, was the ‘climate justice’ frame. The essentiality of achieving climate justice was stated in one way or another throughout all analysed periods by both branches. This frame included three main sub-frames, specifically, climate justice itself, climate policy, and citizens’ assembly.

The sub-frame of climate justice presented the notion and discussed it as a goal that needed to be achieved:

En ondanks dat onze tactieken anders zijn is ons doel hetzelfde:

klimaatrechtvaardigheid. [And despite our tactics being different [referring to tactics of Climate Action group], our goal is the same: climate justice.]. (NLRebellion, 07-10-19).

We demanded climate justice now. (XRebellionUK, 07-10-19).

This sub-frame further found reflection in the chants of XR protesters both in the UK and the Netherlands, as they were reciting, “*What do we want? Climate justice. When do we want it? Now.*” (ExtinctionR, 24-11-18; NLRebellion, 16-04-19), and singing “*people are gonna rise like water ... Climate justice now*” (NLRebellion, 20-04-19). Both of the displayed collocations further indicate the frame of urgency, discussed later in the context of motivational framing. The use of that framing together with other frames, and that of ‘climate justice’ in this case, presents the imperativeness of the stated solution.

While the topic was widely addressed during the first two periods, it was mentioned once during the recent period in a message that related to a media article on collective action on climate change, where XR-UK stated, “*Fight for Climate Justice!*” (XRebellionUK, 05-04-20). This fact displays a surprising digression from the previous insistence upon this solution. Within the present research we have a chance of seeing how a social movement organization operates at times when its chosen methods of actions are not possible. In the context of the public health crisis, the group exhibited framing different from other periods of activity.

Another theme within the climate justice prognostic framing reflected climate policy as a method of mitigating climate crisis. The incorporated propositions included the declaration of climate emergency on a company and state level, zero carbon by 2025 policy, and declaring ecocide as a crime. The British branch was more diligent in specifying the named climate policies during its early stage. Its Dutch counterpart began addressing the need for policies utilizing the vocabulary of XR-UK during the second period, however, it promoted “*#makeecocideacrime*” policy during its first period (NLRebellion, 15-04-19).

More recently, in the context of the public health crisis, only XR-NL presented the need for climate policy as part of crisis management in response to COVID-19. It was used within a promotional campaign for its petition ‘Geen poen zonder plan [No money without a plan]’:

[...]#GeenPoenZonderPlan Steun van de overheid? Niet zonder klimaatbeleid!

[#GeenPoenZonderPlan Government support? Not without climate policy!]

(NLRebellion, 31-03-20)

In case of this campaign the demand of climate policy aimed at reduction of carbon emissions was direct at businesses wishing to receive governmental aid to sustain their operation during the lockdown. In the case of the named petition, climate policy is requested from polluters, the main culprit in the story of XR-NL, however, the petition is directed at the government, who is making decision regarding which companies to provide help to. Therefore, the branch catches attention of many actors at once specifying that the operational change has to occur now at times of the public health crisis in order to see the bigger change in the future.

Within the sub-frame of climate policy, the topic of declaration of climate emergency presented a grey zone between ‘tell the truth’ and ‘climate justice’ prognostic framings. Some posts addressed the declaration of emergency as a separate action which had a more legal character: “*We are calling on the @GOVUK to declare a state of #ClimateEmergency!*” (ExtinctionR, 21-11-18). Such an appeal appeared during the early periods and at the beginning of the International Rebellion. However, some posts further presented the acts of telling the truth and declaration as a continuation of one another: “*1. #TellTheTruth Government must tell the truth by declaring a climate and ecological emergency.*” (XRebellionUK, 09-10-19), which better reflected the demand of telling the truth as it is presented on XR’s global website (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a). The statement on the website declares: “Governments must tell the truth by declaring a climate and ecological emergency, working with other institutions to communicate the urgency for change.” (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.-a, section Our Demands, para. “Tell the Truth”). Since the declaration of an emergency bears a legal character and has more power than a pure address of the issue, which is understood by the notion of telling the truth, this topic was viewed within the climate justice framing. Therefore, while XR demands might present it as two parts of one demand, the way XR branches addressed a climate emergency declaration in their posts together with its administrative nature pointed to the need to perceive it separately and address it within the sub-frame of ‘climate policy’ rather than ‘tell the truth’ framing, which is why in the context of the quantitative analysis it was viewed and coded as such.

In turn, the branch in the Netherlands addressed this demand only once during the second period: “*Formally demand that government declares #ClimateEmergency*” (NLRebellion, 08-10-19) and did not accentuate it further, putting more attention to the necessity to reduce harmful emissions, which comes in lines

The sub-frame of reduction of carbon emissions, the so-called, ‘Zero Carbon by 2025 policy’, was promoted by the British branch in the first two periods and addressed by the Dutch branch in the second one. For one reason or another, the UK passed a legislation committing to reduce “all greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2050, compared with the previous target of at least 80% reduction from 1990 levels” in June of 2019 (The Government, 2019, para. 2), which displays that some of the demands posted by XR were subsequently met.

Lastly, both XR branches discussed the need to introduce a body known as Citizens’ Assembly. This request was also deliberated as one of the key demands to the government. XR-NL concentrated on this topic only during the International Rebellion. Furthermore, both accounts did not explicitly articulate on the concept itself, which makes the connotation of it fairly vague in the context of their Twitter discourse. It might have been a conscious choice on the side of branches, however, it is tricky to make any claims since the motivation behind choices made by the branches are not considered in full in this analysis and research. Further, the introduction of citizens’ assemblies points to the idea of global civil society within the context of social movements. Previous research (Harrebye, 2011) stated that social movement actors hold the mediatory role between individual citizens and the institutions and are able to express positions of the general population. Citizens’ assemblies function as spaces where individuals can discuss issues of the day and account a multitude of perspectives (Dryzek, Bächtiger, & Milewicz, 2011). Hence, it appears that XR aims to stimulate such a discussion and brings individual opinions in perspective by organizing community talks in the analysed regions, therefore, contributing to the knowledge production and stimulation of taking higher level decision making in individual hands.

Nonviolent direct action prognostic framing.

The main method that XR indicated as an approach for the general public is nonviolent direct action (NVDA), which constitutes another prognostic framing. In their posts, both XR branches affirmed the campaign of civil disobedience as a form of NVDA and the many modes of it directed at the goal of making the government listen: “*Only through economic disruption and stopping business as usual, will @govUK be made to listen.*” (ExtinctionR, 21-11-18). The methods XR urged and used were swarming, marches, nonviolent

obstruction, sit-in's in a form of die-in's (imitation of lying dead) and nurse-in's (breast-feeding while blocking roads), seeking imprisonment in order to overload the system, performances by a group known as the Red Brigade and mock funerals, mass petitions, and a direct action of tree planting and people's assemblies.

The NVDA prognostic framing was presented in the text of a twitter post or as a hashtag in each stage by both branches. The most active utilization of this framing occurred during the time of the International Rebellion since the vast majority of branches' messages contained hashtags '#RebelForLife' (or a Dutch version, '#opstaanvoorhetleven'), '#InternationalRebellion', '#RebelWithoutBorders', and '#ExtinctionOrRebellion', all of which signified that rebellion was *the* way to proceed:

Honderden vreedzame Rebellen blokkeren de Stadhouderskade voor het #Rijksmuseum tijdens #RebelWithoutBorders om onze eis Vertel de Waarheid kracht bij te zetten. #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife [Hundreds of peaceful Rebels block the Stadhouderskade [a street in Amsterdam] in front of the #Rijksmuseum during #RebelWithoutBorders to support our demand Tell the Truth. #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife]. (NLRebellion, 07-10-19)

In the early stage, XR-UK also mentioned that such actions might have a possibility of law violation, however, it was not the goal driving the group: “[A]ctivists¹⁵ are not the sort of people who enjoy breaking the law... We are... [disrupting] the economy... [so the ecocidal government] will... listen” (ExtinctionR, 22-11-18). In general, XR-UK did address the notion of disruption more, specifying that “Movements win by causing disruption.” (XRRebellionUK, 02-04-20). XR-NL did not use the ‘disruption’ sub-topic at all when talking about civil disobedience.

During the most recent period, the framing of NVDA became apparent in a form of digital activities as well as of petitions since they are also viewed as an example of nonviolent direct action. Online activities that addressed the notions falling under the umbrella of NVDA, such as a ‘strike’, were presented within this frame. This reflects a development of extension of action repertoire in the context of online spaces earlier indicated by Theocharis and colleagues (2015). In this case, NVDA extended its mode to online spaces and Twitter in particular. Hence, it shows the adaptability of actions employed by XR. Adaptability is a word that be generally applicable to this group, since it further emphasises its liquidity. Both characteristics further enforce the qualities regularly associated with

¹⁵ All of the square brackets are original.

contemporary transnational organizations operating under the umbrella of new social movements (Buechler, 1995; Della Porta & Diani, 1998/2000; Dryzek et al., 2003).

Further, the UK branch endorsed a petition 'Repeal the 2013 and 2017 HS2 Hybrid Bills halting all HS2 works immediately' aimed at discontinuing construction work on HS2. XR-NL created the already mentioned 'Geen poen zonder plan [No money without a plan]' petition. It appears as a pragmatic way of working towards tackling earlier defined climate issues in times of social isolation. While nobody predicted that it could have happened, both groups chose to work through online methods in order to keep the momentum going. Though, this method was also used earlier, as XR-UK shared a petition to the European Commission requesting to stop subsidising diesel that contained palm oil during the first period.

Social distancing prognostic framing.

As a response to the public health crisis, XR-UK addressed social distancing as a method of action: "*Social distancing saves lives and slashes infection rate.*" (XRRebellionUK, 04-04-20). This approach corresponds with the measures put in place by the authorities of most countries – lockdown and self-isolation. Hence, this framing shows compliance with the institutional plan.

Furthermore, in the context of social distancing framing, XR branches started a number of digital strategies encouraging people to learn more about activism and XR's methods. The sub-frame of digital actions found reflection under the scope of social distancing as well as NVDA, as digital means have been used by XR during other periods as well, even the discussion on Twitter is a method to mobilise more people. However, in instances when digital strategies that XR branches were addressing were framed around the notion of social distancing or reflected the fact that measures of switching to the digital realm were due to the public health crisis, social distancing framing came in place. The Dutch branch organised a digital strike day, where they asked people to post a picture of themselves holding a poster indicating something they do not want to lose due to any crisis. Further, it launched a number of online activities and trainings as a way to connect with people:

These events are part of our effort to move activities online during #Covid19. For a concise overview of all other events, updated daily, see <http://bit.ly/XROnline> #SamenAlleen #RebelForLife #ExtinctionRebellion (NLRebellion, 04-04-20)

XR-UK also started a so-called Regenerative Rebellion, online events directed at activism, wellbeing, and various discussions:

One way to cope with the lockdown is to upgrade your activism skills with free online training. Today, you can learn how to facilitate an online People's Assembly and make

sure everyone's voices are heard. Starts 2pm. #RegenerativeRebellion (XRebellionUK, 04-04-20)

Hence, both groups switched to a digital form and proposed new ways of taking action in line with the limitations of social distancing, signifying that the action should not stop when circumstances change. However, it might be a rather privileged position to take. Thus, messages might across as insensitive to those who felt the consequences of the public health crisis on their own shoulders. This, in turn, links to counter-framing, that will be addressed at a later point, since commentators indicated the privileged position of being able not (to go) to work and occupy the streets to protest. Hence, the time of health crisis might have also revealed greater social problems that exist and were indicated within counter-framing; however, they did not find reflection in the branches' messages.

Sustainability prognostic framing.

Finally, branches of XR address the necessity for sustainable way of living and sustainable development with some topics being intended for the government, such as a proposal for rewilding and use of renewable energy, and some sub-frames addressed approaches on the account of the wider population, namely, abolishment of fast fashion and transition to plant-based nutrition. The frame was mainly implied in the messages of the British branch.

The sub-frame of renewable energy sources was addressed by XR-UK during the first and third periods, indicating that it was necessary to switch to other sources of energy while omitting the use of fossil fuels. The examples of the sub-frame are presented below in Figure 2 and a Twitter post:



Figure 2. A photograph posted by ExtinctionR in a message from 24-11-18.

First daytime 'rebate' for green energy users as wind and solar supply almost 60% of power. #decarbonise (XRebellionUK, 05-04-20).

The latter message addressed an article by the Guardian that described a surge of green energy generated during lockdown.

In turn, rewilding was discussed as a viable option for the ecological crisis reversal: *“Rewilding the UK would reverse biodiversity loss and restore natural carbon sinks.”* (XRebellion, 05-04-20).

Regarding what individual citizens can do to live a more sustainable life and help fight the crisis, XR-UK supported the switch to plant-based food choices by sharing visuals where such a diet was addressed. The photograph can be seen in Figure 3:



Figure 3. A photograph posted by XRebellionUK in a message from 07-10-19.

Finally, although XR-UK identified the issue of fast fashion in context of Black Friday during its early stage, in the second period the Dutch branch explained the necessity to abstain from fast fashion having performed a fashion show where people wore second-hand clothes (Figure 4):



Figure 4. Screenshots from a video posted by NLRebellion in a message from 07-10-19.

Motivational framing.

The motivational dimension of collective action frames also found reflection in messages of XR branches through ‘callings’ and motives for action. The latter was revealed through a number of reasons: ‘future life’, the ‘planet’, ‘health, climate, and ecology’, ‘morality’, and ‘urgency’.

Callings motivational framing. This framing was reflected in direct calls, specifically, calls for support, for donation, and for action, and remained stable throughout the campaigns of both branches.

Such messages were addressed to the public and displayed an invitation to the join the movement:

We are in open Rebellion against the Governments inaction on #ClimateCrisis #ActNow to make them #TellTheTruth and take the action urgently needed #EverybodyNow #TheTimeIsNow the #MomentOfTruth for the planet Join us or #Extinction looms. Soon. (XRRebellionUK, 08-09-19).

Sometimes, messages were presented in a humorous manner:

Bij XR vlieg je zonder te vervuilen. [At XR you are flying without polluting.] *Video @go_enviral #airmiles #extinctionrebellion #xr #amsterdam #klimaat* [video of policemen carrying a protestor in such a way as if he is flying and it ends with “flying in to a better future #act now” text] (NLRebellion, 08-10-19).

The Dutch account pointed out the “positive” side of taking action and being carried away from a protest site by the police, signifying that a person can experience flying without causing any pollution and bring closer the possibility of “a better future”.

As it can be seen from examples, a few hashtags were also used by both branches in an address of this framing, namely, ‘#ActNow’, ‘#ActionNow’, ‘#EverybodyNow’. Hashtags were most actively utilized during the International Rebellion when XR branches from more than 60 cities across the world organised a week of protests and displayed calls for action either in text or via hashtags in almost every post.

During the final period, ‘#SamenAlleen’ together with ‘#ActNow’ reflected the framing of callings in messages of the Dutch account referring to the online trainings.

Future life motivational framing.

The framing of future life comprised two sub-frames, which can be deducted from the frame label: future and life. These frame reflected that the motive for action is the life itself and that of future generations and was prominent in messages of both branches.

The call for action to bring about the possibility for having a future was addressed through phrases such as:

[...] if we and the Government don't face the climate emergency, we do not have a future.

(ExtinctionR, 21-11-18)

We are trying to show what the future looks like, a future without fossil fuels. This future is possible. We can build a better world. (XRebellionUK, 07-10-19)

Besides that, the 'future' sub-frame was often presented through the wording, which included children as a representation of future: *"We're trying to prevent a far greater harm to all our children's futures [...]"* (ExtinctionR, 23-11-18). However, this sub-topic was presented directly in the text of Twitter posts mostly by the British branch.

XR-NL addressed it mainly through performances and chants. During XR-NL's early period, the branch staged a few performances that directed attention to the topic. The action named 'Blood of our children' was mentioned earlier when discussing the 'emergency' frame. The title references children as those facing existential crisis, and in this way, possibly, emphasizing that the action is taken for the sake of their lives. Another performance constituted a mourning procession *"for our future"* (NLRebellion, 20-04-19). The British branch also staged an analogous action, where people were holding a coffin saying 'our future'. As XR-NL explains it, *"[f]uneral procession organised by @XR_Rotterdam with keening involved (for our Irish brethren) mourning all lives lost past, present & future."* (NLRebellion, 20-04-19). Later, during the International Rebellion, protesters occupying streets of Amsterdam chanted *"police, we love you, we are fighting for your children"* (NLRebellion, 07-10-19).

The earlier mentioned hashtag '#RebelForLife' (#opstandvoorhetleven) was denoting the topic of life within the 'future life' framing and was actively used throughout different time periods in the messages where the NVDA-prognostic framing and callings motivational framing were employed. Unlike XR-UK which used the hashtag as a part of the text: *"Are you ready to #RebelForLife? See you on the streets for our #InternationalRebellion against Extinction"* (XRebellionUK, 08-10-19), XR-NL had a tendency to consistently mention it but oftentimes as a general reference to the action of rebellion: *"Some of our happy Rebels at #RebelWithoutBorders today in Amsterdam asking the government to #TellTheTruth about the climate- and ecologicalcrises. #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife"* (NLRebellion, 07-10-19).

Lastly, when it came to the public health crisis, the following message provided the 'future life' framing as a motive for action: *"The Covid-19 pandemic has unleashed*

humanity's instinct to transform itself in the face of a universal threat & it can help us do the same to create a liveable planet for future generations” (XRRebellionUK, 01-04-20).

However, this message presented the only reference to this motivational framing during that period.

Planet motivational framing.

Planet Earth was presented as another reason for action. This framing appeared during the first two stages in messages and images of XR-UK, with its Dutch counterpart having more visual references to it.

The overall message was always along the lines of “[...] *we are striving for nothing less than the fate of our planet.*” (ExtinctionR, 22-11-18). Or as XR-NL poetically stated: “*It's a new dawn, it's a new day, will it be a new life for this planet?*” (NLRebellion, 08-10-19).

Furthermore, placards were addressing this framing too with slogans such as “*This planet need you to give a shit*” (see Figure 5) and “*Good planets are hard to find*” (see Figure 6).



Figure 5. A photograph posted by NLRebellion in a message from 07-10-19.



Figure 6. A photograph posted by NLRebellion in a message from 09-10-19.

Similarly, to the ‘future life’ motivational framing, this frame was used scarcely by both branches during the third period: once as a part of the message presented in the last paragraph of the previous section addressing new opportunities for saving Earth generated through the pandemic, and one time by XR-NL when talking about a protester who was found guilty of destruction: “*Een extreme straf: haar actie was [...] in het belang van een schone aarde. [An extreme punishment: her action was in interest of a clean earth.]*” (NLRebellion, 31-03-20). This fact comes as surprising especially on the side of the British branch since during this

period their actions were focused on stopping the destruction of ancient woodland, yet they did not really present a bigger picture for why it was important to preserve it.

Urgency motivational framing.

Many messages from both branches included hashtags that ended with a word “now”: ‘#ActNow’, ‘#EverybodyNow’, ‘#ClimateJusticeNow’, ‘#NowOrNever’, ‘#TheTimeIsNow’, to name a few. The emphasis on the ‘now’ seems to indicate the urgency of the issue of climate emergency. Even the word ‘emergency’ implies the need for *immediate* action.

Besides the hashtags, XR-UK specified that “*we have a planet to save, and less than 12 years to do it.*” (ExtinctionR, 22-11-18). Later, XR-NL posted a photograph with a similar phrase (see Figure 7):



Figure 7. A picture posted by NLRebellion in a message from 17-04-19.

All in all, messages were stating that “*Time is of the essence!*” (NLRebellion, 07-10-19), indicating that there was a need for an immediate action.

Public image construction.

The following section includes framing that was adopted by XR to create a positive public image of the groups and their actions through display of values that they stand for, namely, peace, diversity, solidarity, and rights.

Peace frame.

Both national branches framed the group and its action through the prism of the peace frame. Throughout various stages of XR’s development, this frame did not undergo any changes as both accounts continued to constitute that their protesters and actions were and are non-violent and peaceful. Presumably, such a prominence of this frame occurs in order to counteract the possible negative perception of direct action, civil disobedience, and disruption notions articulated in the prognostic framing. Hence, peace frame can be said to provide a balancing mechanism.

Diversity frame.

This frame also appeared a number of times in messages of both branches. Messages articulating the frame addressed the diverse background of protesters and displayed them as being open to individuals of various ages, races, beliefs, orientations, and professions:

1000s of people of diverse backgrounds & ages occupied five central London bridges.
(XRebellion, 20-11-18)

EXTINCTION REBELLION (XR) is strictly peaceful and open to people of all ages, races, religions and orientations. (NLRebellion, 17-04-19)

However, the frame of diversity was omitted in posts of the most recent period, which points to the difference of the first two periods in comparison to the third one. It makes us think that in one way or another either the public health crisis, an external condition that occurred during that time, could have an influence on what XR branches were communicating to their Twitter audiences. In this case, XR-UK and XR-NL abstained from describing their groups as diverse. In general, frames constructing the public image appear to present the group in a light that would stimulate mobilization. Therefore, it is surprising that diversity frame was not present during the last periods even though XR branches were mobilizing people through online activities and workshops. The importance of this frame during the time of protests can then indicate that in online spaces not that many people question the homogeneity of the group, while when protests are happening in the cities, this characteristic is more visible to the outside world.

Solidarity frame.

The frame of solidarity was presented by three interconnected sub-frames: solidarity of people with one another, solidarity of various XR branches, and solidarity of XR with other environmental groups.

Solidarity of people came in three forms, with one being solidarity of protesters with each other: *“I felt most powerful when there were rows and rows of us, and whenever someone was taken, we would fill in for them. It showed us that people will always fill in for us, that we’re in this together.”* (NLRebellion, 07-10-19). Another form addressed solidarity with those who are or will be most affected by the crisis and its outcomes:

Extinction Rebellion sit in at Westminster stn, in solidarity with Westminster rough sleepers, to block gate used to keep out rough sleepers from keeping warm & dry. An increasing number of people on Britain's streets are displaced by extreme climate events in the Global South. (XRebellionUK, 08-10-19)

Lastly, solidarity of XR with the community of people, which was presented through solidarity with the police agents. This sub-topic was presented only by XR-NL during the second period when it stated “*POLICE WE LOVE YOU*” (NLRebellion, 07-10-19) and demonstrated a video where protesters were chanting the same phrase. It indicated XR’s desire to be viewed as a part of a bigger community and presented its solidarity with other people working for the good of society.

Solidarity with other XR branches and groups was displayed in messages of both accounts as well. During the first period, XR-NL gave references to various groups involved in one action or another, signifying the network that was growing in the country: “*Today @XR_Amsterdam organized a die-in at @UvA_Amsterdam to draw attention to suffering as a consequence of climate change. #RebelForLife.*” (NLRebellion, 18-04-19)

Some groups also showed solidarity to the branch and XR-NL reflected that support back, by either commenting on their posts or copying the original message to their own tweet. An example of such a thread is:

[a post presenting solidarity with XR]:

Thank you Rebels!! Greetings from “XR Schagerbrug” (uhm, that’s me). I hope the arrested rebels will be releases soon!! @NLRebellion @XrLeiden [retweet of @XrLeiden : “Waiting for the rest of the rebels to be released after the Shell action @NLRebellion @ExtinctionR [video of people sitting on the grass] (frigologic, 19-04-19)

[a reply from XR]

Go XR Schagerbrug!! (NLRebellion, 19-04-19).

Overall, the British branch had a tendency to address the topic of solidarity with other XR branches more often during the first two periods and especially during the International Rebellion action. Groups such as XR France, XR NYC, XR Berlin, XR Youth and XR Elders, as well as Christian Climate Action and local London groups were pointed out and whose actions were recognised, promoted and supported by XR-UK:

First day of the #InternationalRebellion from our fellow Rebels @XR_NYC #EverybodyNow #ExtinctionRebellion [link to : (October 7th - Extinction Rebellion NYC) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0bh_LDrxC0&feature=youtu.be] (XRebellionUK, 08-10-19)

Moreover, some posts presented solidarity with other environmental groups, groups which stand by environmental issues or which are fighting for human rights. These messages were mostly in a single count for each organisation, except for Fridays For Future and

350.org, which appeared in more than one time period. Fridays For Future was addressed either in a direct reference to the group or indirectly by addressing Greta Thunberg, the founder of Friday For Future, solely by the British branch:

#FridaysForFuture #ClimateStrike in solidarity w/ Greta

Nov, 23, 11 AM - 12 PM

Millicent Garrett Fawcett statue, Parliament Square, London, SW1P 3JX

#ExtinctionRebellion [emoji: Raised fist]

#SchoolStrike [emoji: Raised fist]

<https://facebook.com/events/290077288309455/>

<https://rebellion.earth/events/> (ExtinctionR, 22-11-18)

Greta demonstrated her support by taking action in Sweden together with XR-Sweden at the time when protests were happening in London in November of 2018.

In the recent period, branches brought attention to the current activities of other groups, such as 350.org and Greenpeace, or called for many environment groups and activists to unite to find a new action approach for fighting climate change. Hence, the branches displayed networks of actors whom they support or work with. Therefore, such actions on the side of XR indicate that there is a link, that Tarrow (2012) was addressing, between the grassroots movements and more established nongovernmental organization. In the end, these collaborations may lead to the global promotion of social movement's concerns both within and outside of institutional politics.

Rights frame.

Lastly, the frame of rights was presented to express the validity and legitimacy of XR actions as well as destabilize positions of authoritative bodies in the UK and the Netherlands during the second period.

Messages of the Dutch branch that were framed through the sub-frame of human rights mainly indicated that the actions undertaken by XR were legitimate. They clarified that demonstrations were a human right since the right to protest proclaims that:

Belangrijk om te weten dat demonstreren in het #vondelpark gewoon is toegestaan (ook al heeft de burgemeester het niet toegestaan) valt het onder recht op vrije meningsuiting en demonstratie. [It is important to know that demonstration in the #vondelpark is simply allowed (even if the mayor did not allow it), it is subject to the right of free speech and demonstration.]. (NLRebellion, 08-10-19).

On the side of the UK, the 'rights' framing was used to present protesters with their legal rights or indicate their violation. The UK branch informed activists that the 'stop and search'

practice used by the police is “*regularly misused as an intimidation tool*” and hence, it was important to “*to know your rights around the process. You do not have to give your personal details at any point during your stop and search.*” (XRRebellionUK, 08-10-19). Furthermore, the branch called the metropolitan police out for their preemptive arrests:

“First there was a trickle. MPs start to call-out pre-emptive arrests and seizure of protest equipment as an assault on civil liberties. [...]” Attempts to remove essential well-being facilities would be an abuse of police powers” #EverybodyNow (XRRebellionUK, 07-10-19)

Such arrests are viewed as violation of the principles of democracy and human rights.

Consecutively, XR-NL indicated that Dutch banks contribute to the destruction of Amazon rainforests and violate human rights:

NL banken @ABNAMRO @ING_news @RaboFoodAgri financieren handelaren die bijdragen aan vernietiging amazone #ontbossing & #mensenrechtenschendingen 1 miljard US\$(2013-2018) rapport @AmazonWatch @GreenpeaceNL
<https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/natuur/17768/nederlandse-banken-financieren-handelaren-die-bijdragen-aan-ontbossing/> #RebelWithoutBorders #everybodynow [NL banks @ABNAMRO @ING_news @RaboFoodAgri finance traders contributing to Amazon destruction #deforestation & #humanrightsviolation \$1 billion(2013-2018) report @AmazonWatch @GreenpeaceNL] (NLRebellion, 08-10-19)

However, in both cases the descriptions were not detailed and presented only short mentions of the bigger framing.

Additional framing.

A few frames appeared to stand apart from the rest of frames utilized by the British and Dutch branches and the public. However, they provided context for the discussed frames and therefore created a better understanding of the sources of information and how they were utilized in order to provide a viewpoint. The following frames, namely, expert truth frame, media framing, and police, were presented in messages of both sides in a similar manner, hence, it was decided to address them separately and compare XR’s use to that of the public.

Expert truth frame.

The notion of the truth has previously been mentioned in the context of prognostic framing, where it has been explained that in the eyes of XR the truth is that there is a climate and ecological emergency, which required urgent action on behalf of the government, businesses, and society. However, the reader, a prospective supporter, may wonder what the group’s truth is based on. Perchance anticipating this question, both branches indicated their

sources. It is fair to say that not all messages representing the given frame are clear or point directly to the original source. Some posts were as imprecise as “*People need to take their heads out the sand & look at the science*” (ExtinctionR, 18-11-18), citing a quote from one of the founders of XR, Gail Bradbrook. Some messages presented information that was a little more explicit:

Goed om te horen dat jullie bezorgd zijn heren. Wij ook namelijk. Onze acties komen voort uit bezorgdheid. Een bezorgdheid die ook gedeeld wordt door VN Sec-Gen António Guterres: “What we still lack is the leadership and ambition to do what is needed.”

[Good to hear that you are concerned men. We are too. Our actions stem from concern. A concern also shared by the UN Secretary-General António Guterres] [link to (Secretary-General Antonio Guterres calls for global action on climate change)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNe-jBVij-g>] (NLRebellion, 17-04-19)

In this case, the message presented a public address of the UN Secretary General, who specified the problem of climate change and the need to act upon it, as the reasoning for the Dutch branch to be concerned. It has to be noted that both branches had examples of either ways of presenting reasoning behind their claims.

Why such a frame was utilised? It is possible to assume that XR used it to legitimize its position, since previous research (Achterberg et al., 2010; Beck, 2012; Jasanoff, 2005a, 2005b; Jenkins et al., 2010; Milton, 2002; Skelton et al., 2017; van de Brugge et al., 2005) indicated that the way public knowledge is built depends on trust in science and political institutions. Hence, XR branches were constructing reasoning in a way that the Twitter audience, mostly addressing imagined audience, comes from the environment they know. Hence, it might not have been intended in such a way, yet it was consciously chosen to persuade others through the use of knowledge they perceive as valuable.

Media-induced framing.

This framing is represented by media articles that address Extinction Rebellion and its actions in the UK and the Netherlands as well as other subjects. Across all three investigated periods, both branches made use of media articles that presented activity of the group in a manner corresponding to the XR’s position. In that case, branches took a quote that was often representative of its position and then linked the original article, in some instances also tagging the media source as well as the author of the article. This presentation did not change over time and the arrangement of the message remained the same among countries:

*@BBCNews reports "Extinction Rebellion: Arrests at Sydney and Amsterdam protests"
<https://bbc.com/news/world-49959227> #opstandvoorhetleven #rebelswithoutborders
 #Amsterdam @ExtinctionR. (NLRebellion, 07-10-19)*

Hence, it seems that XR checks the media-framing and uses it to its own benefit and for further promotion.

Besides the use of media article to support their own vision and claims, XR branches presented critique of media framing in instances when the displayed information or the way the group was portrayed did not correspond with how XR wanted to be viewed. In the following example, the British branch displayed its discontent with the material displayed by a British daily newspaper, Daily Mail:

Let's just say that the @MailOnline article is full of non / mis & disinformation about the 1000s of conscientious protectors of people [...] ¹⁶ & planet [...] who blocked some bridges [...] & planted some trees [...] today & leave it at that. [...] [Link to <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6400395/Day-chaos-London-Radical-climate-change-activists-crime-spree-capital.html>] (ExtinctionR, 18-11-18)

Messages of such kind seem to further provide clarification for what happened, presenting their version of reality, hence counter-framing the negative framing used by media.

Comments to XR posts also presented examples of such a critique.

In its first early period, the Dutch branch expressed a general disappointment by the local media since it did not provide coverage the group believed it deserved:

Buitenlandse pers besteedt inderdaad aardig wat aandacht aan onze actie van gisteren. Nederlandse pers.... not so much. [Foreign press does indeed pay quite a bit of attention to our action yesterday. Dutch press.... not so much.] <https://extinctionrebellion.nl/media-pers/> (NLRebellion, 17-04-19)

However, during the International Rebellion, Dutch media did display more attention to the protests of XR, which the branch indicated by providing links to articles by Volkskrant, Het Parool, BBC, TV coverage by AT5, and De Speld.

Further, remarkably, the branches used the quotes from media articles explaining their demands, rather than citing their original website where demands were also clearly indicated:

*"What are #ExtinctionRebellion 's key demands? 1) Tell the truth 2) Net zero emissions by 2025 3) Citizens' assembly @guardian
<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/oct/08/what-are-extinction-rebellion->*

¹⁶ Places where emojis were are indicated by '[...]'.

*key-demands-climate-emergency?CMP=share_btn_tw #rebelwithoutborders
#everybodynow* [link to : (What are Extinction Rebellion's key demands?)
https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/oct/08/what-are-extinction-rebellion-key-demands-climate-emergency?CMP=share_btn_tw] (NLRebellion, 08-10-19)

This might imply that XR branches strategically aimed at increase of the exposure of their actions by linking media articles and tagging publishers. However, at other times, the link to the website of Extinction Rebellion was also present:

*Though we love #Amsterdam we will not stay any longer than we have to. So, again:
#TelltheTruth #ActNow #CitizensAssembly <https://rebellion.earth/the-truth/demands/>
<https://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/halsema-verdedigt-protest-extinction-rebellion-maar-wil-geen-lange-kampeeracties~b0ea0f9d/> #rebelswithoutborders #opstandvoorhetleven*
(NLRebellionUK, 09-10-19)

This example displays a different way of presenting media articles, where the message acts as a response or a comment to the linked article and the demands are not listed as clearly as in the quote from the Guardian but the reference to the XR's website is provided. Hence, it is unclear why they were not using paraphrasing or their own vocabulary while still linking articles, this way they would use their own vocabulary yet activate a publicity tool by citing the original publisher.

Moreover, sometimes a message created by media was a controversial one, yet XR-UK still provided a link to such an article, which again might display the branch's intention to make its actions more public and bring attention of a bigger audience rather than their own.

Police frame.

Finally, the discourse of XR branches included the account of police actions and, hence, frame of police the discourse of XR branches and cannot be left unnoticed. The police force happened to take a unique position in the course of events. Technically, police are representative of the government and act in accordance with legislations and regulations. However, on a practical side, it is hard to place police in the category of culprits under or next to the government, as messages of XR-NL and XR-UK did not address police as such:

The #ExtinctionRebellion blocked the bridges yesterday that they informed the police & emergency services about of in advance while almost 10,000 Londoners a year die prematurely because the government is under the influence of the extractive industries [emoji: Thinking face] (ExtinctionR, 18-11-19).

This post signifies that XR-UK was in cooperation with police, at least prior to the protest, and acted against the government and polluters. Such a position is further traced through the used quotes and statements that the branch provides:

@MailOnline – “Police... sparked outrage by urging motorists not to use... roads blocked by... [#ExtinctionRebellion]”, @brendmcfadden The government sparked the #rebellion through inaction on #ClimateBreakdown [emoji: Thinking face] #RebellionDay2: <https://rebellion.earth/rebellion-day/> (ExtinctionR, 23-11-18).

In this case, it is seen that police’s actions are addressed but without the expression of a specific attitude towards them.

Apart from that, posts that made references to police were mostly of informative nature and provided updates regarding the actions that police took before, during or after protests and other actions of XR. Citing one of the protesters, one XR-UK’s message states:

I came down from Sheffield... blocked off Lambeth Bridge... then was carried off by... police... [& arrested then] released [...] (ExtinctionR, 17-11-18).

This post was further accompanied by a photograph of a policeman taking a man, supposedly the one who made the comment, to a police car. Furthermore, notes on the release from police stations complemented the narration: “*Acton, Hounslow and Wembley have released all arrestees now.*” (ExtinctionR, 17-11-18). Messages of such character appeared often in posts of the British branch in the first two periods.

During the final period, XR-UK did present actions of policemen as dangerous due to them being at the site of HS2 instead of regulating life in cities. However, such a perspective raised a lot of concern on the side of the Twitter audience who claimed that calling on the police force in such times is irresponsible, which will be addressed in greater detail in the section on counter-framing.

In turn, XR-NL had a more conversational type of a message when it was addressing the police. During the first few days of actions, the branch did specify that some of the police actions were surprising or unlawful and that the group’s actions are nonviolent and peaceful, inducing an earlier-explained peace frame:

We want to reiterate to @POL_DenHaag [account of the police of The Hague] and @PaulineKrikke [mayor of The Hague at the time] that we are non-violent peaceful protestors. #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife #DeclarationofRebellion (NLRebellion, 15-04-19).

During the International Rebellion, the Dutch branch provided only descriptive messages of police actions: “*ME heeft de blokkeerders helemaal afgeschermd van de rest van de*

bewoonde wereld, maar toch proberen mensen vanaf de overkant van het water steun te betuigen.[ME has completely shielded the blockaders from the rest of the civilised world but people are still trying to show support from across the water.]” (NLRebellion, 07-10-19).

This message also presents the solidarity framing, indicating that disruptive police actions do not stop protesters from standing by each other. Moreover, XR-NL displayed the fact that protesters are on the same side as the police by directly addressing the police and chanting, “Police, we love you, we do this for your children”:

POLICE WE LOVE YOU WE DO THIS FOR YOUR CHILDREN. Seriously. [8 sec video of protesters saying 'police we love you, we do this for your children'] (NLRebellion, 07-10-19).

This approach can again be attributed to the dialogical nature of the Dutch branch communication with the police.

Lastly, in comparison to the UK messages of the first two periods, more visual material was attached to the posts of XR-NL displaying the police as being part of the action scenery.

Response Framing.

In response to posts of XR accounts, the Twitter public displayed a wide array of positions, some supportive and some conflicting. The majority of users that posted comments did so on a one-time basis. However, there was a group of users in cases of both accounts that expressed their opinions more regularly. Hence, the accounts have a relatively small audience that finds it important to recurrently state their position on the addressed matters, which may indicate that those are the adherents that form a part of the action group in one of the branches or find it important to voice their viewpoint online. The latter factor can stem from the fact that social media is used as method of involvement in a movement and spreading the word without physically participating in protests (Majchrzak et al., 2013). Furthermore, political leaders and other officials appeared not to engage in a discussion with the branches in the comment section, hence, presumably, the Twitter audience that engaged in conversation with the branches was ordinary citizens.

The present section demonstrates viewpoints of the commentators and addresses differences of opinion between XR, its supporters and opponents. However, not all comments were explicit and detailed. Some messages were as short as “*Thank you*” (GuyGFarber, 17-11-18) or “*Goed bezig! [Good job!]*” (Cypress_NL, 19-04-20). Others were more thorough: “*Wishing you all deep calm and steadiness. Thank you for making a stand. Stay peaceful, stay positive, stay powerful. ♥*” (catherine_v_p, 17-11-18). Oppositional comments also

provided instances of both: “*Climate fraud panhandlers.Fuck Off.*” (PlagueofProgs, 22-11-18) and “*your just been silly one day you will laugh at how the deep state global cabal duped ya.*” (Kkaiserrr, 17-11-18). While not all posts provided an understanding of how people who commented upon the XR posts look at the issues, methods, solutions, and reasoning presented by XR, there was a large body of comments that did present societal perspectives and framings. Further, a number of people responded multiple times on numerous posts, while the rest of commentators were unique and appeared only once. Moreover, few posts sparked an open discussion, with people mostly leaving individual comments or having a brief exchange of words.

The following segment introduces positions displayed in comments reflecting approval of XR and their standpoints.

Support.

Comments representing support largely corresponded with perspectives presented by XR groups at each stage. Nonetheless, some deviations occurred in sub-frames, topics and wording. Commentators were divided into those who utilised mostly the same terms as XR accounts did and those applying other words bearing the same meaning or addressing a new topic which they considered noteworthy.

This tendency indicated that XR might have a standardized vocabulary, which they use when presenting a theme or when performing a certain type of action. However, it is hard to say from the existing evidence if the vocabulary was predetermined beforehand and distributed to various branches in advance of actions or if it is a naturally occurring phenomenon and branches use each other’s way of reasoning and presenting information.

In general, supporters of both branches presented diagnostic framing in lines with that of XR and indicating a few additional sub-frames as well as excluding a number of them. With respect to prognostic frames, the public did not frame methods and solutions as diversely as XR branches did and mostly produced it as the sustainability and NVDA framings. Motivational framing was also scattered and displayed through a few sub-frames. Frames of peace, human rights, and solidarity were also present, however, in a sporadic manner. Lastly, a few frames presenting counter-framing to counter-framing were displayed. The notion of counter-framing to counter-framing refers to the idea of frame contests addressed when discussing contested processes of frame development. To give a brief reminder of the notion, frame contests stand for presentation of positions being in contradiction to one another and counter-framing each other’s perspectives, hence, the utilized name counter-framing to counter-framing.

Diagnostic framing.

The XR-UK identified a variety of problems, placing a special attention to the climate and ecological emergency, examples of ecocide, especially, the destruction of ancient woodland. In its turn, the Twitter public, which demonstrated support in the UK, presented similar patterns, however, in a more scattered manner.

In the first period some comments addressed the problem in the frame of emergency, presenting it in terms of “*climate change*” (chelseaplumber, 24-11-18), “*#ClimateBreakdown*” and “*#extinction*” (echofriendsUK, 18-11-18), “*existential threat*” (Nornenland, 19-11-18) and “*existential crisis*” (jennielgibson, 21-11-18), as well as “*catastrophe*” (Hydrogen2Energy, 18-11-18) and “*disaster*” (SubUrbanGrow, 23-11-18). A few comments further addressed ecocide mostly through hashtags. It was once mentioned as a “*biosphere murder*” (MillenniumTwain, 24-11-18)¹⁷ and by addressing the problem of coal opencast and wildlife trade. Further, animal agriculture was presented as a problem during the second period in the context of ecocide together with the ‘climate emergency’ and ‘existential crisis’ sub-frames of the emergency framing.

Responses in the Netherlands did not articulate the diagnostic framing broadly during the early time period. One user, however, indicated the issue of ecocide and specified who was to blame, namely, fossil fuel companies contributing to pollution. The position that businesses and capitalism were guilty was further supported on a singular basis.

Messages posted during the second period, the International Rebellion, sparked more discussion among commentators and a number of problems were indicated. The problem of climate emergency was addressed together with a reference to extinction. Following on the earlier stated issue of ecocide, one user specified the sea level rise as a concern. Moreover, capitalist system with the prioritization of profit was discussed as a stem of the problems that XR was addressing. However, similarly to the first period, identifications of these framings were not common.

When it came to positioning blame, comments to XR-UK posts addressed government, polluters, and capitalism. The idea of criminality and ecocidal nature of the government’s actions did not appear in the comments throughout the three periods. During the early stage, the three frames seemed to converge a lot, since people were presenting government, the ruling class, and big polluters in association with money and claimed the need for choosing sustaining the inhabitable environment and lives of people over profit: “*That’s why the*

¹⁷ This comment was posted multiple times during this period. The commentator further posted other content as well.

Rebellion is happening. To demand that Westminster serve the people and not the corporations as is the case now. We have to speak louder than money!" (GeoffKayum, 17-11-18).

Moreover, addressing the Black Friday, one response read:

I work in an IT team with some apparently "intelligent" people but unfortunately getting so excited with @blackfriday, it shows the power of consumerism from which the elite derive their control. Keep the masses "happy" then do any evil you wish.

(pursuitofsatya, 23-11-18)

The user expressed discontent regarding engrossing consumerism that controls society and acts as a mechanism of spreading power. While a different user rightfully pointed that if the Earth was uninhabitable, there would be "no jobs" and "no class system" (TalksWild, 22-11-18), bringing attention to the pointlessness of some people's present-day values in an event of not being able to preserve the planet.

Further, comments indicated humans and human activity as a cause of the issue of climate crisis within the polluters framing. One comment identified the older generations specifically as the culprit: "*We have to accept that the older generations have caused the problems.*" (mrjonnotweet, 18-11-18).

During the second stage, comments identifying culprits were not as converging as during the first period and presented one antagonist at a time. Moreover, in similarity to XR-UK posts, two response messages isolated Boris Johnson as a governmental figure to hold accountable for the problems, asking him, "*@BorisJohnson how can you continue to ignore this?*" (Plattfieldsmar1, 07-10-19). Hence, some people view the prime minister as a person to condemn, which can signify that they expect the authorities to take responsibility for problems that exist. Further, the framing of injustice also appeared in the comments of the British branch and was presented in the same manner as the account did: "*no such calls against the crimes of polluters or for preventing ecological catastrophe upscale of such negligence no doubt was #fukushima*" (welham_philip, 08-10-19).

Finally, responses to both groups during the last period displayed a few new frames and sub-frames within the diagnostic framing. Injustice framing was prevalent in comments on the Dutch posts. Users questioned fairness of the punishment given to one of XR protesters together with the bitter truth of the fact that sometimes those who are to make changes do not have the course to go against the accepted system, as for instances, judges who make the call on the punishment.

In turn, responses on the XR-UK messages during the final stage were more diverse and covered topics of the emergency framings, such as climate crisis and climate change, as well as presented the problems of ecocide and the public health crisis together with its effect on the economy. Government's inaction and actions of polluters, and HS2 specifically, were further addressed as the cause of problems. Boris Johnson was also brought to attention and called out to justify the HS2 project. Lastly, one user presented the KeystoneXL project in terms of it being a capitalist project presenting great harm. The variety of addressed positions presents support for the observation of Druckman (2001) that social media audience can include a wide range of opinions. However, in this case, the discussion is about users that provided a supporting position, hence, their framing was in line with that of XR-UK and brought attention to a variety of problems similarly to the branch itself.

Prognostic framing.

In respect to solutions to the problem, comments on XR-UK messages addressed the need to engage in a collective action of peaceful nature that would create disruption of the usual state of affairs, hence, framing it as NVDA prognostic framing in line with XR's position:

When government is NOT paying any damn attention when you're POLITE and CIVIL and play bey [sic] 'their rules' and they continue playing suicide games with Climate Change reality then you do this or die in silent complicity (47whitebuffalo, 17-11-18).

Moreover, action and system change prognostic framings found reflection through address of the need for reformation of democratic capitalism and a “*move to carbon neural economy*” (miroirdufou, 23-11-18), which further signifies agreement with the policy proposed by XR on reduction of carbon emissions by 2025. The system change and action framings were further promoted during the International Rebellion requesting modification of the capitalist system and action from the government.

Besides that, comments to XR-UK posts during the first period presented the need for renewable energy and proposed various energy sources, such as hydrogen power and geothermal energy. Further indicating that a solution lies in everyone's decision to switch to a sustainable mode of transportation and cut down on things that contribute to pollution such as fast fashion and products containing palm oil. During the second period, however, solutions in the frame of sustainability were not presented in the supporting messages.

In turn, responses on the posts of the Dutch branch promoted the solution of making ecocide a crime as a part of the climate justice framing, in the same way XR-NL did. Moreover, one person expressed an opinion that XR acted for justice, hence, acknowledging

the need for it. Further, system change and an NVDA in a form of rebellion were addressed as solutions in comments to the posts of the Dutch account during the period of the International Rebellion, similarly to the other group.

During the recent period, responses to the British branch indicated the need for system change as presented earlier as well as a more sustainable plan in regards to HS2, since destruction of ancient woodland was viewed as damaging, in line with XR-UK's position. Further, one person suggested that solution to the climate crisis should be found with the use of technologies at times of public health crisis following on the social distancing prognostic framing of XR. Another person employed 'tell the truth' prognostic framing by indicating the need for more openness on the side of the government regarding information on the pandemic. Finally, a few users proposed switching to renewable energy sources and finding a way to work with that.

Motivational framing.

Regarding motives for action, responses indicated that people agreed with the necessity to act on climate change issue "*for the sake of ourselves & generations to come*" (Rachel_Sparkle, 23-11-18). Comments of this kind were framed through the future life prism and demonstrated social desire to protect the environment for the future generations. Besides humans, users indicated the wish to protect the planet. And lastly, comments specified the urgency of the issue, similarly to XR.

A number of comments called for support, either on XR's actions or activities of other groups in various regions, hence using the platform as a way to spread information and bring attention to other issues of the environmental subject matter.

During the second period, responses to XR-NL posts also presented the motive of future life and especially children. However, some messages displayed it in a way where people were justifying actions of XR saying that they did it for the reason of future lives rather than that there was a need to fight to save future life. Moreover, the planet motivational framing was utilized, indicating that action that would account for protection of the Earth was needed. Furthermore, two people presented morality as a ground for action, saying "*The rebellion against #extinction is a #moral imperative.*" (RevAllenMorgan, 07-10-19), and "*Well yeah, a lot of people are acting illegally, doesn't mean they are morally wrong. Some of the best acts of humanity were illegal to do so.*" (EmilyBu03246067, 07-10-19).

Responses to the UK branch's messages also addressed children and collective future as well as the planet as a motive for action during the International Rebellion. Besides that, the framing of urgency appeared during that second period. Hashtags such as '#EverybodyNow'

and ‘#ActNow’ introduced in XR accounts were used by users to call other for action. XR-NL responses did not reflect this framing.

Moreover, responses included a number of callings for support for a number of petitions directed at the government and actions of other groups such as XR-NYC and XR-Vancouver. These actions reflect one of the functions of social media and Twitter, in particular, namely, spread of information (boyd et al., 2010; Greengard, 2009; Majchrzak, Faraj, Kane, & Azad, 2013; Pickerill, 2001). Users employed the platforms of XR branches to bring attention to issues they found important. However, we can argue that they wanted to call XR branches to further promote the indicated petitions and issues, since their comments could have been lost amidst the rest of comments.

Peace framing.

While referring to protesters and actions of XR across the three periods, responses to XR-UK also utilized peace framing indicating that the methods employed by XR were peaceful and action came “*from love not fear*” (SylviavonHahn9, 04-04-20). Hence, reinforcing the public image portrayed by Extinction Rebellion.

Counter-framing.

As stated earlier, Extinction Rebellion accounts did not only have comments displaying support but also those indicating an oppositional viewpoint, commonly known within the framing theory as counter-framing. Altogether commentators utilized six frames that presented perspectives alternative to what XR branches or their adherents maintained. They were diagnostic counter-framing, public image counter-frame, hypocrisy, prognostic counter-framing, and lastly, police counter-framing. As a part of this section counter-framing to counter-framing will further be addressed to display rebuttals.

Diagnostic counter-framing.

From the first period onwards, the comments on posts of both groups displayed diagnostic counter-framing. A sub-frame titled the myth of climate change was reflected in counter-framing of both branches across the analysed time periods, receiving a wider popularity during the early stage in the UK and later stages in the Netherlands. Phrases such as:

Anthropogenic climate change is a hoax the data is manipulated, we are entering a grand solar minimum mini ice age coming just wait n see.

Here as an indicator of whats to come news wise as the scam is exposed

<https://theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/15/brazil-foreign-minister-ernesto-araujo-climate-change-marxist-plot> (Kkaiserr, UK, 17-11-18)

and:

Enige wat je constant hoort is 'climate change'. En die focus op broeikasgassen en dan ook nog specifiek CO2 daar kan ik ook nog steeds helemaal niets van begrijpen. Totale onzinnige focus in mijn ogen. [The only thing you hear constantly is 'climate change'.

And that focus on greenhouse gases and also specifically on CO2 I still cannot understand at all. Total nonsensical focus in my view.] (Deep64052535, NL, 01-04-20) indicated people's disbelief in what was claimed by XR and displayed the point of view of skeptics.

Apart from being named as a myth, climate change was presented in a light of ideology by @Kkaiserrr through a media article (18-11-18) and later entitled "*the climate religion*" (Marcel4X, NL, 19-04-19). This idea was, however, counter-framed at times by those supporting XR: "*This is not about ideology but science and rational thought. The powers of religion and money are totally corrupt and killing everything. Collaboration and sustainability please. Peace and love.*" (mrjonnotweet, UK, 19-11-18).

Besides that, diagnostic counter-framing indicated a variety of other problems, namely, mass immigration, overpopulation, environmental crisis rather than climate crisis, and the point of no return, meaning that the world had passed the moment when change could have been achieved. Interestingly, the last theme did not appear during the most recent period, possibly signifying that people gained some hope. One comment also mentioned that Christianity is the cause of overpopulation since it rejects certain scientific ideas and the notion of sexuality.

Moreover, counter-framing presented polluters in a new light either indicating that some other public actors or nations were the ones to blame and they needed to be held accountable, or portraying companies displayed as culprits from a positive side.

Finally, during the latest period, commentators in the UK addressed the problem of prioritizing on the side of XR, signifying that public health crisis needed to take a priority at that moment, "*Think we have a little more to worry about at the moment your day will come guys !*" (MMalacrino, UK, 03-04-20), with the picture, displayed on the next page, attached to the message (Figure 8):



Figure 8. A picture posted by MMalacrino in a message from 03-04-20.

Public image counter-framing.

The counter-framing of public image presented a number of themes that were directed at undermining the position of XR. Commentators did so by framing the group as aggressive rather than peaceful, as a cult rather than freedom-bound group, as homogenous rather than diverse, as well as uneducated and unemployed pointing at their skills and knowledge as being undignified and unsuitable.

Furthermore, the opposition presented human rights counter-sub-frame, which addressed the right to freedom of movement as being jeopardized by XR actions. While not every message necessarily identified it as unlawful, some users did state that:

Ze brachten zo ook het verkeer in gevaar en ontnamen het recht van passeren van werkende mensen en toeristen. Niet lullen. Het was verboden dus tegen de wet. [They also endangered traffic and deprived the right of workers and tourists to pass. Not pricks. It was therefore prohibited against the law.] (HarryMelis3, NL, 07-10-19).

The latest two periods were especially fruitful on counter-framing of the public image offering a wide array of messages contradicting the representation of both XR branches. Hence, a curious pattern appeared where a broader visibility of and social familiarity with the group created a stronger opposition.

Prognostic counter-framing.

Apart from counter-framing the problems and XR's antagonists, comments critically addressed the methods that XR employed and proposed different solutions.

During the early period, people in the UK actively criticized XR's actions and framed them as crimes. Some comments indicated that XR was mostly talking, however, did not propose any concrete solutions, hence, the sub-frame of empty-words. The Dutch branch, in

turn, also faced a fair portion of disapproval, as people further questioned the usefulness of their nonviolent actions:

Dus als je bezorgd bent ga je niet normaal het gesprek aan, maar maak je troep en besmeur je het standbeeld van Willem van Oranje? Dat is idioot en smakeloos en draagt niet bij aan een normaal debat over klimaat [So if you are concerned you do not normally start the conversation, but make a mess and smudge the statue of William of Orange? That is insane and tasteless and does not contribute to a normal debate about climate.]. (ChrisvanderHelm, NL, 17-04-19)

The second period brought with itself more counter-framing of the chosen and proposed methods. While the crime sub-framing still persisted in the comments of both branches, attention was also brought to the fact that their actions stimulate other crimes to happen since they pull the police force capacities to themselves: “*De andere criminelen zullen je in ieder geval dankbaar zijn.* [At least the other criminals will thank you.]” (BlockedFries, NL, 08-10-19).

Apart from being viewed as crimes, outcomes of actions as well as changes XR proposed were also deemed costly on the account of public resources during the first two periods. Going in line with the public image counterframing and presentation of XR protesters as unemployed, messages of the following character appeared often among the Dutch users:

Ga gewoon werken, dan kost je de overheid geen geld dan lever je ze geld op en is er meer mogelijk wat betreft duurzame investeringen. Of de ABN zich om jullie druk maakt [emoji:Face with tears of joy] [Just go to work, you will not cost the government money, you will earn them money and there is more possible with regard to sustainable investments. Whether ABN cares about you] (LivingDutchman, NL, 08-10-19).

Furthermore, comments in the UK addressed birth control methods rather than blockade as a solution to the problem: “*Get a vasectomy. Hand out condoms. Talk about planned parenthood. Swarming leads to famine during habitat collapse.*” (DamnToads, UK, 19-11-18)

Lastly, some messages addressed the need to give people a choice, be that about being vegan or about choosing how to travel, hence indicating that Extinction Rebellion was deciding *for* people.

Hypocrisy counter-framing.

The framing of hypocrisy is another perspective often shared by those opposing XR and its actions, also presenting a view opposing the morality framing. These messages presented

the group as hypocrites whose immoral actions were going against what they claimed to stand for.

In general, comments of this kind to posts of both branches did not differ apart from the subject that was taken as a point of reference. To give an example, during the actions when attention was brought to pollution, hypocrisy-framed messages declared that protests caused a great amount of pollution as well:

You are genuinely and completely misguided. Your entire protest today basked in the hypocrisy of bringing traffic to a standstill, thus creating more carbon. I appreciate your cause, but your methods are honestly insane. Please find a more productive way to raise awareness. (EddWhite, UK, 17-11-18)

When protesters supporting XR-NL were taking action in Amsterdam, people said that protesters had to first reconsider their own choices:

Tja.. zo bereik je dus niets.. begin eens bij jezelf.. Ik zie allemaal Syntetische kleder, leren schoenen, van olie gemaakte spandoeken en nog veel meer

@lidwieneik_boom [Well.. so you don't achieve anything.. start with yourself.. I see all Synthetic clothes, leather shoes, oil-made banners and much more]. (dekoran1, NL, 07-10-10)

Further, comments addressed an indirect possibility of killing somebody due to road blockades and prevention of emergency vehicles from reaching necessary facilities:

So someone dies because your group of idiots have blocked vital access for the emergency services, what would you say to the grieving relatives? (Cumbrian_Carer, UK, 07-10-19)

When XR-UK had a few protesters up on the trees to protect woodlands from destruction for the sake of HS2 construction and blaming HS2 for breaking social distancing guidelines, people were calling them hypocrites for being out there, outside of their homes, breaking the same guidelines too:

What a bunch of #hypocrites you are! Here's one of your #covidiot protesters 'respecting' health and safety by putting people at risk. #hs2 [photograph of three men with faces covered by scarves]. (PaulMBigland, UK, 02-04-20)

Police counter-framing.

Another counter-framing which appeared mostly as a response to the Dutch messages presenting the group seemingly being on the same side as the police. A few posts presented police actions and messages addressed to them that stated that the protesters love them and are fighting for their children. Counter-framing took an opposing side presenting the police

force as an opponent. A large portion of messages used the ACAB abbreviation which stands for ‘All Cops Are Bastards’ and is associated with a number of subcultures. Due to the nature of the current study, it was not possible to identify for certain if users that utilised it in their comment knew the history of the acronym or its application in a wider context. Thus, messages of this kind might be reflective of a cyclical chain of action, suggesting that actions of one individual can cause another one to do a similar thing, hence provoking a chain reaction (Cooper & Upton, 1990), or of a systemic problem since some members of the society perceive police in negative terms. Further, comments drew attention to the vulnerability of black and minority ethnic groups and heightened police brutality in regards to those groups, which indicated that methods chosen by XR directed at arrests are insensitive. Such posts linked a broader discussion on privileges and racial discrimination to the existing discourse on direct actions and their consequences. Hence, while XR branches did not address the notion of police brutality in their messages and generally portrayed police from a positive or neutral perspective, the other side of the coin was not left unnoticed by the commentators. However, the sub-frame was not broadly employed in replied, which can be a sign of the complexity of the issue.

Counter-framing to counter-framing.

The final framing that will be addressed constituted counter-framing to counter-framing. This notion refers back to the idea of framing contests where sides with opposing viewpoints ‘compete’ with one another for the dominant position (Benford, 1987; Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson, 1992; Ryan, 1991). Counter-framing reflected opinions of users which were divergent from XR’s presentation. As a response to that, XR and mostly its supporters tended to justify undertaken actions and bring a different light to the oppositional comments. This framing found the majority of its articulation in discussions in comments, hence, what we previously addressed as second-level comments. This observation indicates that unless users read comments and choose to comments upon comments, counter-framing to counter-framing would not occur much and counter-framing might take over other voices.

As a response to counter-framing of public image of XR, one user presented opponents of XR as “fascists” (LouiseRawAuthor, UK, 30-03-20). While another comments indicated that it was not XR that was the problem but the “corrupte idioten [corrupt idiots]” (Gasschandaal, NL, 08-10-19), referring to the authorities. Furthermore, the Dutch branch and its Twitter audience addressed prejudice that some users appeared to hold against the group. They indicated that the belief that protesters were unemployed or useless comes from a place of prejudice rather than a more factual assessment.

Further, as stated in the section above, one portion of counter-frames concerned methods that XR opted for claiming that they were destructive and damaging. A number of comments opposed to that position, specifying that the choices that people make, such as to wear leather shoes or use a car, were as or more damaging. XR-NL also stated multiple times as a response, and possibly, justification, that protesters used chalk, which could be easily washed off. Moreover, while some asserted that XR had to present more choice to the community, a number of posts, commenting especially on the decision to provide vegan meals for protesters and those in need during the public health crisis, specified the practical aspect of making such a choice for mass distribution. The reason given was that it suited the majority of people regardless of their dietary preferences and was cheaper.

Therefore, while counter-framing was widely present, counter-framing to counter-framing did not appear as often. As indicated previously, some comments also presented counter-framing to negative media-induced framing, which can be regarded as counter-framing to counter-framing. However, as media-framing was not analysed in detail in this study, the given sub-frame was addressed as a part of critique of media-framing. Further, the fact that counter-framing to counter-framing was not widely present indicates that not many users wanted to challenge counterframing positions, which possibly signifies that they either agreed or did not wish to engage in a conversation with the users expressing those viewpoints. Both of these features lead to important implications for the social movement organization and future research, which will be addressed in the discussion.

Part 2: Quantitative Results

The second part presents the results of the quantitative analysis of collective action frames and public reactions in order to find an answer to the question of which dimension of collective action frames the named branches use the most in their Twitter discourse and which dimension create the highest audience engagement.

Overall, the British branch posted 480 messages¹⁸ during the three analysed periods, while the Dutch branch posted 185 messages. Out of 480 messages of XR-UK, 248 posts were made during the first period, 176 during the second, and 56 during the final period. In turn, XR-NL presented 57 messages during the early stage, 103 during the second, and 25 during the third period. Furthermore, the British branch received 1987 direct comments throughout the three periods, while the Dutch branch obtained 675 comments of this kind.

¹⁸ The number reflects a combination of posts of @ExtinctionR during the first period and @XR RebellionUK during the second and third periods.

The difference can be associated with the amount of posts made by the two branches, as the former one did post 2.6 times more messages than the latter one did during the time periods under examination.

The most utilized collective action frame.

XR-NL.

Out of the 185 messages posted by the Dutch branch, 67% (N = 124) articulated prognostic framing, 52% (N = 97) – motivational framing, and 29%¹⁹ (N = 54) – diagnostic framing, as Table 1 indicates, which signifies that prognostic framing describing a possible method of action and proposing solutions was overall prevailing. Table 1 further presents the ratios²⁰ of messages utilizing various dimensions per period to the overall number of messages per that period, indicated in the previous paragraph. Hence, it is possible to see how the ratio scores have changed throughout the three time periods.

To understand which particular frame was used the most within the dimension of prognostic framing, a comparison of individual frames was made. The analysis revealed that messages which framed the method of action through the ‘nonviolent direct action’ frame were the most utilised as the frame occurred 71% of the times (N = 111) that prognostic framing was applied, being followed by the ‘climate justice’ framing constituting 13% (N = 21). Hence, it is possible to say that the Dutch branch decided to focus reader’s attention on its action strategy by emphasizing nonviolent direct action methods and accentuating the means needed to be taken in order to achieve climate justice. The dominance of these frames is not surprising as both themes are reflective of the image that XR creates.

Table 1

Distribution of the three dimensions of collective action frames in XR messages across three time periods.

Branch	Time period	Diagnostic	Ratio	Prognostic	Ratio	Motivational	Ratio
XR-NL	I	16	.28	34	.60	37	.65
	II	26	.25	67	.65	45	.44
	III	12	.48	23	.92	15	.60
	Total	54	.29	124	.67	97	.52
XR-UK	I	89	.36	117	.47	122	.49
	II	46	.26	90	.51	128	.73
	III	38	.68	32	.57	18	.32

¹⁹ Please note that the percentage does not add up to 100% as twitter messages could contain more than one dimension of collective action frames.

²⁰ Percentages in text are calculated by multiplying a ratio by 100.

Total	173	.36	239	.50	268	.56
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While prognostic framing was indeed the most utilized framing during the last two periods, motivational framing was proportionally more present during the early stage, taking the lead over the prognostic one. This observation can indicate that at the beginning of its actions, XR-NL was actively calling for action and motivating the Twitter audience to get onboard to increase the number of adherents, while at later periods, especially during the third period, it highlighted how it is possible to achieve what the group wants to achieve. Interestingly, diagnostic framing found the least reflection in messages of the branch, which can imply that the group found it least necessary to specify what the problem was and who to place the blame on. It is possible that the branch considered people to be informed about the problem, at least in a general sense, since as stated previously, the Dutch population did view environmental and climate change as one of the most important issues starting from 2017 (Den Ridder, Miltenburg, Huijnk, & van Rijnberk, 2019) and had free access to materials on the topic due to the open data provided by Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This means that there was a belief that the Twitter audience realized that the issues of climate emergency and ecocide existed, and that those who contributed significantly to the level of environmental pollution had to be accounted for the problems. However, as previous research conducted by the Social and Cultural Planning Office stated, people were divided regarding what the solutions should be and whether climate policies were needed (Dekker & den Ridder, 2019), which might explain why the branch proceeded to actively utilise prognostic framing, and the ‘climate justice’ frame, in particular, across the three time stages.

Lastly, as it can be seen from Table 1, ratio scores of the diagnostic and prognostic framing during the third period were larger than during the two earlier ones. The reason behind the change can lie in the inability of the branch to organize live actions due to a global pandemic. Hence, it was important to use the time to promote that the problem of climate change still exists and that there are solutions to it, which it presented in light of digital forms of nonviolent direct action. Moreover, by utilising the motivational dimension of collective action frames, the branch aimed at further mobilisation of new adherents.

XR-UK.

In turn, the British branch framed the majority of its messages, namely, 56% (N = 268), through the motivational dimension as Table 1 demonstrates. Second most used framing was prognostic, being present in 50% of the posts (N = 239). Similarly to XR-NL, the main utilized framing was leading in two out of three periods, with an exception of the third period when diagnostic framing was employed in a higher amount of messages. The motivational

dimension presents the main reason behind utilisation of social network sites, namely, public mobilisation (Greengard, 2009; Pickerill, 2001). Out of the times the motivational framing was employed in the account's messages, the highest percentage, 40% (N = 181), belonged to the 'callings' frame. This fact provides support for the stated assumption regarding the use of social media for mass mobilisation. The second most utilized frame was 'urgency' with 26% (N = 120), which indicates that the British branch emphasised that the time was running out as a way to motivate the Twitter audience to act, hence, operating with motives classically associated with the new social movements (Offe, 1985).

It is surprising that during the third period, however, the branch did not emphasise it as much as in earlier stages, which signifies that at times when no active protesting happens or is envisioned, the branch is less likely to mobilise adherents. Furthermore, in line with XR-NL, XR-UK did not place much emphasis on the diagnostic framing. This observation can also be accounted for the pre-existing knowledge of the public on environmental issues, as Ipsos MORI Issues Index previously stated, the British citizens perceived climate change to be the third most important issue (Skinner & Clemente, 2020b). However, during the third period, with the public health crisis and construction of HS2, the branch found new reasons to blame the government and made it the focus of its messages of that time, which is reflected in their increased utilisation of the diagnostic framing.

The ratio distribution of the utilisation of dimensions revealed a pattern different from the Dutch branch as well. Table 1 displays that the proportion of messages with prognostic framing had been increasing from period to period, having its apogee in the third stage by being employed in 57.14% of all the posts of that period. However, all in all, the percentage of utilization of this dimension changed the least out of the three having a proportional difference of distribution of 0.1 from the first to the final time period. What this observation indicates is the British account's stable promotion of methods of action and solutions, hence, they found it important to distribute what can and needs to be done in order for the problems of climate and ecological emergency, ecocide, injustice, and public health crisis to be solved.

It should be noted that both branches utilised prognostic and motivational dimensions more than the diagnostic one. The frequent use of prognostic framing signifies that they aimed at making it clear what makes XR unique in comparison to other groups comprising the environmental movement (Snow & Benford, 1988). Motivational framing in turn was directed at mobilisation of people (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 1988) and was essential in context of a social media platform (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Audience engagement.

The engagement generated by messages posted by XR accounts varied between branches and time periods. The variation between countries was to be anticipated, as the number of followers of the two accounts was largely different and the number of messages posted by the branches differed. Furthermore, as it can be noted from Table 2 presenting the means and standard deviations of the three engagement indicators per dimension, the distribution of likes, retweets, and comments was not always normal, due to the relatively high standard deviations. Hence, the following figures have to be perceived and interpreted with caution²¹. Due to our interest lying in understanding of the dynamics of the Twitter audience engagement per dimension of collective action frames, we will discuss countries separately and briefly indicate similarities that are visible between engagement generated by the accounts. However, the main focus will be placed upon the differences between dimensions and time periods.

Reactions to the messages of the Dutch branch were the highest when motivational framing was employed, generating an average of 68.05 likes ($SD = 97.44$), 27.38 retweets ($SD = 37.19$), and 5.30 comments ($SD = 17.30$) per tweet. The reason for motivational framing generating the highest audience engagement, if judged across the three calculated parameters, can be attributed to the agency concept behind the motivational dimension (Gamson, 1995). Gamson (1995) stated that collective action frames of this kind were used to activate adherents in their pursuit of action. Therefore, users might have expressed agreement with such statements and opted for sharing of the calls for action and support among their followers by retweeting the messages.

Table 2 further demonstrates that during the first period, engagement generated by the three dimensions was higher than during the subsequent two periods in terms of retweets. Drawing on research by boyd and her colleagues (2010), such a tendency reflects the broadcasting of XR-NL messages during the early stage most likely to spread the word, get attention of a wider group of people, and possibly bring the account, and hence, the branch, in a larger disperse discussion. However, during the second stage the averages of comments posted to the messages framed through the prognostic and motivational dimensions were respectively 3.92 and 5.19 times higher in comparison to the earlier period. In turn, in the third period the number of comments reduced significantly, equaling to an average of less

²¹ Medians and modes were considered as a reflection of the central tendencies, however, due to our subsequent use of ANOVA for the comparison of different times periods and framings, it has been decided to opt for means.

than one comment per post across the three dimensions. This may point to the fact that messages of the last period did not address issues that sparked any conversation among the branch's audience. Moreover, there was a general reduction of engagement during the last analysed stage, which can denote that the Twitter public is less engaged when no physical activity on the side of XR-NL is happening, as events had to be postponed or cancelled due to the public health crisis. Finally, while it is also possible to consider the changed framing of XR branches to be linked to the reduction of user engagement, the results of ANOVA, discussed later, did not seem to point at this relationship.

Lastly, it is unexpected that the average amount of direct replies that the Dutch branch got for the messages with prognostic and motivational framing was higher than that of the British branch, even though the overall number of responses was higher on the side of XR-UK. This fact implies that the majority of messages for XR-UK were non-direct comments. Besides that, it points out that when more messages are posted by an account, people do not necessarily provide more engagement in return. On the contrary, as in case with XR-UK, when a large number of posts is made per day, the level of engagement in a form of comments decreases. Therefore, the Dutch branch managed to create a higher concentration of replies per post even though there was limitedness to its content.

Table 2

Distribution of engagement with the three dimensions of collective action frames per country per period.

		Diagnostic			Prognostic			Motivational		
		R ^a	L	C	R	L	C	R	L	C
NL	I	29.63 (37.13) ^b	62.44 (92.04)	2.06 (3.17)	31.91 (41.81)	67.69 (104.04)	1.97 (3.87)	32.38 (40.59)	67.43 (100.42)	1.89 (3.72)
	II	22.19 (31.45)	61.12 (85.72)	3.42 (5.50)	27.10 (34.94)	74.66 (92.45)	7.72 (20.53)	30.36 (38.35)	87.22 (104.74)	9.80 (24.55)
	III	7.67 (7.15)	14.42 (14.41)	0.33 (0.49)	5.91 (6.00)	10.70 (11.35)	0.22 (0.42)	6.13 (6.73)	12.07 (12.62)	0.20 (0.41)
	Average	21.17 (30.51)	51.13 (79.37)	2.33 (4.32)	24.49 (34.84)	60.88 (90.00)	4.75 (15.52)	27.38 (37.19)	68.05 (97.44)	5.30 (17.30)
UK	I	80.82 (92.46)	136.28 (135.18)	5.49 (8.79)	76.62 (111.82)	128.97 (135.89)	4.45 (6.94)	74.74 (95.87)	126.36 (140.30)	3.90 (6.66)
	II	39.43 (51.89)	90.93 (118.80)	5.09 (16.76)	25.81 (26.82)	65.64 (71.67)	3.50 (5.31)	33.20 (43.07)	84.40 (109.69)	5.70 (15.13)
	III	32.32 (53.33)	63.11 (153.29)	2.84 (7.36)	32.94 (57.58)	67.41 (165.69)	3.19 (7.97)	17.33 (19.38)	30.06 (35.27)	1.00 (1.37)
	Average	59.16 (78.71)	108.15 (137.96)	4.80 (11.21)	51.64 (86.03)	96.88 (124.45)	3.92 (6.53)	51.04 (74.55)	99.85 (124.45)	4.56 (11.43)

Note: ^a R = Retweets, L = Likes, C = Comments.

^b M (SD).

Audience engagement in the UK presented a different overall pattern as diagnostic framing generated the higher number of retweets ($M = 59.16$, $SD = 78.71$), likes ($M = 108.15$, $SD = 137.96$), and comments ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 11.21$). This development can be indicative of the agreement of the Twitter audience with the diagnosis of the problem and who to blame. However, at the same time, the high number of comments signifies that there was also a broader discussion on the themes included under the umbrella of diagnostic framing. Benford (1987) and Ryan (1991) previously indicated that counter-framing had a tendency to be directed at diagnostic framing. In this case, the higher number of comments might be a sign of this counterframing development, which could also be noticed from the high number of sub-frames within diagnostic counter-framing indicated in the results of qualitative analysis. However, the named authors (Benford, 1987; Ryan, 1991) further stated that prognostic framing presents another target for those engaged in counter-framing activities, yet the average amount of comments on messages with prognostic framing was not as high as that of motivational framing. Hence, while counter-framing of XR's methods was present, as addressed earlier in the results of the qualitative analysis, it is possible that more messages counter-framed the issue and culprits rather than methods and solutions. The motive for that might lie in XR-UK's limited employment of diagnostic framing in its messages, which then opens an arena for scrutiny and formulation of an oppositional view.

Corresponding to the Netherlands, messages posted during the first stage received the most engagement in a form of retweets. There was a significant drop in retweeting activity in the second and third periods compared to the first one, which can also be a sign of the supporters' wish to broadly disseminate the message specifically in the beginning. Further, the quantity of likes has also decreased as the time progressed. The observation indicates that the audience felt more urge to display support to the messages of the British account during its early days of action, and subsequently the likes got more scattered across the posted messages.

Finally, it has been previously addressed that the British branch generated lower levels of engagement displayed through comments for the messages with prognostic and motivational framing. In interaction with the British branch, the Twitter audience might have read a number of subsequent posts and then replied to one of them referring to the ideas presented in a variety of other messages, or simply used it as a way to be informed regarding what the activity of the branch rather than a space for direct communication with the group, which corresponds to the present-day image of the platform created by Twitter itself as an information space (Twitter, section "About," n.d.) and previous research on interaction of

citizens with social movements on online platforms (Al-Jenaibi, 2014; boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010).

Moreover, to see if there was a significant difference between engagement of various dimensions of collective action frames across three time periods, two-way ANOVA's were performed. When analyzing retweets to the messages of the British branch, the variable was not normally distributed across the groups, as there was a severe skewness in (e.g.: z-score_{1st time period} = 25.19). However, due to the fair robustness of ANOVA against the violation of the assumption of normality, especially in case the sample size is reasonable, this fact should not bias the results much. Further, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was not met since the variance ratio was 14.44 and Leven's test was significant, $F(11,379) = 3.20, p < .001$. ANOVA is less robust in case variances are not equal across different groups, hence, careful consideration of p-value is needed as it might be biased.

The analysis showed that there was a significant main effect of time periods, $F(2,379) = 8.11, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Table 3 further displays that 4.6% of variance in retweets is attributable to time periods and indicated dimensions. The average amount of retweets during the first period was higher by 43.54 retweets than during the second period, $p = .002$, and by 61.46 retweets in comparison to the third period, $p = .003$. Our results did not demonstrate a significant difference between the number of retweets in the second and third periods.

Table 3

Two-way ANOVA for the audience engagement of the messages of the British branch

DV	Retweets			Likes			Comments		
	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Time period	8.11(2,379)	.000	.04	4.39(2,379)	.01	.02	0.92(2,379)	.40	.01
Framing (4)	0.23(3,379)	.88	.002	0.99(3,379)	.40	.01	0.28(3,379)	.84	.002
Interaction	0.38(6,379)	.90	.01	0.91(6,379)	.49	.01	0.88(6,379)	.88	.01
Adjusted R^2	.046			.033			-.007		

As Figure 1 demonstrates, there was a substantial drop in the average number of retweets during the last two periods. This observation goes along with what has been discussed earlier regarding audience's engagement of XR-UK in the discussion on climate change and environmental issues or promotion of XR's message in their networks.

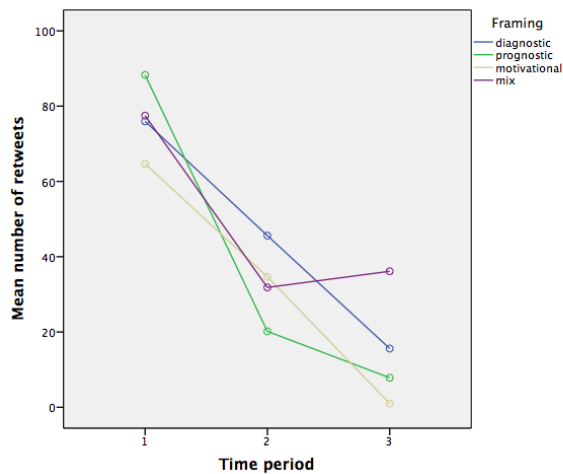


Figure 1. A graph demonstrating the fluctuation of the number of retweets based on the interaction of time periods and collective action frames' dimensions.

Furthermore, the audience engagement was measured through likes. Dependable variable was not normally distributed across groups either, however, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was met, as Levene's test did not show a significant result, $F(11,379) = 1.74, p = .06$. Hence, the results of ANOVA should be reliable. When the audience engagement was measured through likes, the time period was also demonstrating a significant main effect, $F(2,379) = 4.39, p = .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. Only 3% of variance in likes was attributable to time periods and dimensions of collective action frames. The difference between the number of likes per post during the first and third periods is equal to 81.66 likes, $p = .01$. Figure 2 further graphically displays the variation that occurred in the number of likes across different periods and dimensions.

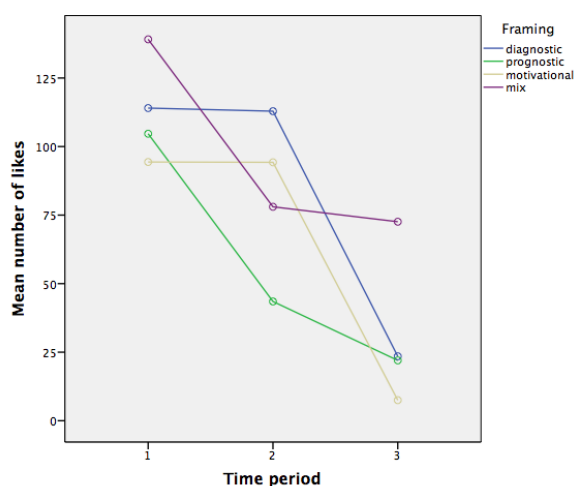


Figure 2. A graph demonstrating the fluctuation of the number of likes based on interaction of time periods and collective action frames' dimensions.

No significant difference was found between the first and second and second and third time periods. This difference implies that during the novelty of the movement sparked more action in a form likes. However, during the final stage less support was displayed, which can be a result of the new sub-frames that XR-UK brought in, indicating that construction of HS2 was reflecting an ecocidal activity and actively fighting it by staging sit-in's on the trees in the construction area. Furthermore, there is a possibility that due to the changed framing, people were not as interested in following the discussion of XR-UK, hence, less attention was paid to the posts in general and there might have been a fluctuation in the number of followers that was not taken into account in case of the present study. It is also possible to assume that during the periods of active action, the audience is more responsive and displays more support than during the periods of rather passive activity such as the third period. However, this would not explain why there was no significant difference between the second and third time periods.

As it can be observed from the discussion above, time periods rather than dimensions of collective action frames significantly affected patterns of engagement shown through retweets and likes. This presents an interesting topic of discussion since it is pointed out that not the framing used by the branch but the external context, be that actions of XR or other socio-cultural and political events of the time, that might have an effect on how and to what extent people engage with online content. As discussed earlier in the literature review section and subsequently referred to in the discussion of results of the qualitative analysis, the external environment is believed to have an influence on the utilized frames, which our findings further support.

The retweets, likes, and comments to the messages of the Dutch branch were more normally distributed than the British one, however, both skewness and kurtosis were still severe in cases of most groups. Further, the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met as across the three dependent variables Levene's test showed a significant result²². Hence, in case of the Dutch branch, the outcomes of ANOVA might not be completely reliable.

No statistically significant effects have been found in the engagement patterns with the messages of the Dutch branch, as Table 4 demonstrates. Hence, it is possible to state that the

²² Retweets: $F(9,128) = 2.44, p = .01$
Likes: $F(9,128) = 2.68, p = .01$
Comments: $F(9,128) = 2.31, p = .02$

differences in retweets, likes, and comments is not dependent on the two examined variables and the found differences are not generalizable for the wider population.

Table 4

Two-way ANOVA for the audience engagement of the messages of the Dutch branch

DV	Retweets			Likes			Comments		
	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2	<i>F</i> (df)	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Time period	0.96(2,128)	.39	.02	1.69(2,128)	.19	.03	0.59(2,128)	.56	.01
Framing (4)	0.46(3,128)	.71	.01	0.56(3,128)	.64	.01	0.24(2,128)	.87	.01
Interaction	0.20(4,128)	.94	.01	0.12(4,128)	.98	.004	0.18(4,128)	.95	.01
Adjusted R^2	.018			.025			-.002		

Conclusion and Discussion

The present study explored framing utilised by the British and Dutch national Twitter accounts of Extinction Rebellion and their audience throughout three distinct periods that occurred in the duration of one and a half years. The following chapter will present conclusions on the three questions that were explored within research. Implications for social movement organizations, social movement framing theory, and online discourse analysis are further presented and accompanied by a discussion of opportunities for future research.

In this research we explored and compared frames that the two branches employed and how they differed throughout time periods. Further, frames utilised by the Twitter audience as a response to the XR messages were analysed and compared across countries and time periods. Lastly, differences between the dominant dimensions of collective action frames used in the discourse of the two branches were examined together with the dimension that generated the highest audience engagement. Based on qualitative frame analysis and quantitative statistical analysis, a number of intriguing discoveries and conclusions can be drawn, which are presented in the subsequent paragraphs.

Framing by XR Branches

Both branches have utilised a wide variety of frames in their Twitter discourse and mostly used the same vocabulary when communicating with the Twitter audience, which was demonstrated by similarity in wording when discussing Extinction Rebellion's demands and reflecting principles. However, there was a clear presence of contextualisation as branches differed in frames that dominated the discourse. These observations suggested that there is a shared strategy between action and online content of different branches. However, the two

branches deviated from each other in the kind of frames they emphasised in their discourses. While the British branch pushed the emergency diagnostic framing together with the government diagnostic framing, the Dutch branch preferred to focus on the polluters diagnostic framing while also indicating the emergency of climate crisis since it fit its narrative in the national context better. Such differences indicated autonomous nature of the branches of this social movement organization and further presented evidence for previously emphasised importance of accounting for the environment in which an SMO operates. The dominant problem of climate and ecological emergency, the need to engage in nonviolent direct actions and fight for climate justice for the benefit of the planet and future generations as well as life in general were prevalent in messages of both branches. However, the subtle differences across time periods and frames pointed to a belief that XR branches work with the imagined audience in mind. In this case, the readers they imagine are residents of the two countries. Hence, the way they structure their discourse and presented positions reflects existing viewpoints of some parts of the population. What leads from the idea of imagined audiences (Marwick & boyd, 2011; Scheidt, 2013) then is the problem of discrepancy between the individuals the branches envisioned and the actual readers of the posts. While the accounts can direct their messages to one group of people, they might be followed and read by many different ones, especially because XR mobilises adherents across the globe. Therefore, even though XR's framing appears to support previous research in terms of corresponding to socio-cultural and political developments in the examined countries, the question that can be asked is, whether or not it is of use when an SMO works on a transnational level. Due to the global coverage of such social movements, there might be a need to redefine factors that are taken into consideration when constructing an online narrative. Social movements might have to combine global-local discussions (Bennett, 2005) and work on mobilisation on two fronts (Della Porta & Kriesi, 1999; Tsutsui & Shin, 2008), building a broad online community as well as dedicated offline supporters.

Moreover, the differences in framing across time periods appear to correspond with external changes. While such fluctuations were visible during the first two periods mostly due to the other narratives present in the countries, such as a known problem of rising sea levels in the Netherlands or a problem of housing for the homeless in the UK, it became undoubtedly obvious during the third period, when significant modifications occurred to the running of daily lives. The third period presented a stage which we did not expect to have at the beginning of research. However, it provided an invaluable insight into how a social movement organization acts during the times of unexpected crisis different from the one it

was previously promoting. In case of XR, the branches displayed further employment of earlier used frames and adoption of some new sub-frames that indicated that they were corresponding to the events of the time. Yet significant changes in the content of frames did not occur. XR appears to lose its momentum at times of reduced protest activities. This fact suggests that social movement organizations might have limited information resources, which, in turn, does not allow them to be actively involved in a greater conversation on the topics outside of their original scope. Some authors pointed to the necessity of social movements to interact and work together with more organised institutions, such as NGOs, due to their broader influence (Harrebye, 2011; Harrebye, 2016). Further, it allows SMOs to stay afloat and find reflection of their positions in broader discussions.

A number of frames reflected how XR branches justified and legitimised their positions and claims, namely, expert truth framing and media-induced framing. The two branches felt the need to demonstrate other discourses in order to pave their way to trust or support of the Twitter audience, which further connects it to the discussion on knowledge-building and decision-making (Jasannoff, 2005a; Jasannoff, 2005b; Milton, 2002; Webber, 2015). In the examined cultures experts, for instance, doctors and scientists, reflect a more objective position rather than that of a single individual (Achterberg, Houtman, van Bohemen, & Manevska, 2010; Jasannoff, 2005a; Makarovs & Achterberg, 2018). Media, however, are believed to be biased, as it might display a simplified image instead of a detailed objective analysis (Ruigrok, 2008; Sambrook, 2012).

Additionally, the two above-presented frames appear to fall outside of the scope of collective action frames. Due to social movements being different from news media on a metaphysical level, our choice for not combining the understanding of frames from the two research fields was presented earlier in the methodology section. However, the analysis of a social movement organization's frames displayed existence and utilization of frames that need to be further addressed and defined by social movement scholars. Hence, the question remains: what framework, in a general sense of the word, needs to be applied when referring to non-collective action frames within the discourse of social movements? Two possible approaches can be taken to find a solution to this question. On the one hand, theorists can decide to merge framing categorizations from different fields, for instance, media framing, political framing, and social movement framing, to create integrated definitions and contribute to a more thorough framing research, which was indicated to be lacking by preceding authors as well. On the other hand, there is a potential for further theoretical expansion of frames within social movement research. While it can still build on knowledge

of and definitions from other disciplines, such a ground-breaking development will benefit future research of social movement framing by providing it with unique classifications applicable to particularities of the attributes of social movements.

Furthermore, social media as a communication space of social movement organizations have to be addressed. It is believed that social network sites are an arena for the generation of a broad discussion with heterogeneous perspectives (Theocharis, Lowe, Van Deth, & Garcia-Albacete, 2015). Social movement actors, in turn, are viewed as mediators in the context of global civil society (Harrebye, 2011), denoting that social movements are a link between individual citizens and established non-governmental and governmental, local and global, commercial and non-commercial institutions. When the two notions are placed together, it is possible to view social media discourse as an arena for further stimulation of conversation between individual citizens and institutional bodies, hence development of global civil society. On Twitter, in particular, any user can follow any other user, and in case of an open account, engage in a discussion started by any user. Naturally, it is impossible to assume that each and every group of individuals comprising a society will be a part of the conversation due to the coverage of and access to digital and social media (Couldry, 2012; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). However, there are possibilities to hear opinions of a wide variety of people and push the changes that society finds needed, hence giving power to people, as previously noted by XR branches. Therefore, the social movement organization under examination needs to incorporate structured online discussions transcending the national boundaries. Citizens' assemblies are a way to hear domestic positions (Dryzek, Bächtiger, & Milewicz, 2011). Online global citizens' assemblies can lead to a deeper understanding and analysis of positions of individuals from distant places. Such an understanding is needed if social movements truly want to move the world and create global change, that XR, in this case, is aiming for.

To sum up, the two branches presented a fascinating example of how one grand narrative of a social movement organization can be localized and applied to domestic contexts reflecting pre-existing knowledge and interests of that community. While XR, as a group, aims at worldwide mobilisation, it communicates on a local level, which explains why employed framing was different among the branches and time periods. Framing of XR branches was aimed at mobilisation domestically, which could be seen from the themes

covered by identified frames²³. While both branches demonstrated their connectedness to the grand narrative of the environmental and other social movements by displaying solidarity with other groups and diversity within XR adherents, the present study indicated the necessity for a transnational social movement organization to place more effect on working with a global context in mind. Further, research demonstrated that framing, in itself, cannot explain increase or decrease in audience engagement. External factors that fell into different time periods appeared to play higher role in the patterns of engagement. Hence, in case XR branches want to further mobilise Twitter audience, they should consider building upon contemporary events that are deemed relevant and important by the communities in which they function.

Therefore, future research should extend the time periods further and analyse online discourse at times of offline inaction that was not caused by external conditions to see if there was a difference in framing patterns. Further, a longitudinal study of a transnational social movement organization in different contexts, both western and non-western, can extend the understanding of social movement scholars about factors leading to higher support of online and offline public. In case the means allow, it is recommended to include both online discourse analysis and interviews in order to put pieces of the framing puzzle together, since in many cases we made educated guesses when providing reasoning for observed patterns. Talking to the Twitter audience as well as SMO's media team members will provide a first-hand information and shed light onto schemata of interpretation that Goffman (1974) was talking about when discussing how individuals work with and process frames. Our findings did point to the weave of socio-cultural and political contexts into how messages are being framed and what information is presented. However, we did not analyse socio-psychological implications of the found patterns, which, in turn, can present a deeper understanding of how transnational issues placed in the domestic context are perceived and subsequently addressed as well as what factors were taken into account during the decision-making process to express support or opposition to the position presented by the branches.

²³ The UK branch can be perceived to be of a more international nature due to its use of an international language (i.e.: English) and wider familiarity across countries since it was the place where the group started its action. However, in its communication, many messages were related to the domestic context, since they drew on events occurring in the UK and actors known to the local public. A more general discussion on the implications of the existence of the national UK branch and its possible perception as a representative of XR in general is addressed further in the limitations.

Framing of XR Branches

As it could be noticed in the results, response framing was diverse, due to its duality. On the one hand, it revealed a wide support for Extinction Rebellion and its articulated perspectives, signifying that there is support for its standpoints and actions in the online community. On the other hand, opposing views indicated disagreements and irritation with the XR position. Therefore, the group evoked controversial responses.

Supporters of XR positions identified problems, culprits, and solutions similarly to how XR presented it, but freer in their vocabulary. Therefore, it shows that users that chose to display support tend to work with the framing employed by the branches and through this strengthen their narrative. However, such reinforcement is only possible when users truly present their positions, since in many cases support was displayed, however, further involvement in the discussion did not follow. Hence, many Twitter users are involved on a metavoicing level (Majchrzak, Faraj, Kane, & Azad, 2013). They support positions but choose to not actively participate in conversations, which was demonstrated through a relatively low average number of comments per branch's post. In the long run it presents implications for the possibilities of social mobilization in general. In case people do not wish to involve in an online discussion, can social movements expect them to participate in offline actions? Social media is said to be a convenient tool for public mobilization, however, what Twitter displayed is that user's engagement with the discourse of social movements on social media is relatively superficial, since the number of likes and retweets, an estranged form of engagement, exceeds the number of comments, a direct form of engagement. Previous research (Al-Jenaibi, 2014; Tan, Ponnampalasa, Gillham, Edwards, & Johnson, 2013) did show a relationship between online and offline arenas, however, in case of a transnational movement where online support can come from anywhere in the world, how do numbers of followers, commentators, and likes, reflect movement adherents? These questions might be of interest to scholars conducting future research based on a comparative analysis of social movements and their online discourse, since it can further support an assumption that social media is not the most suitable space for mass mobilization for action.

Moreover, response messages included counter-framing of branches' positions and their supporters. Messages of users that employed oppositional viewpoints problematized issues that XR addressed and chosen methods, and further aimed at damaging of the XR's image by arguing for its homogeneity and disruptive nature. However, the effect of counter-framing on framing of XR branches was not clearly visible in the message examined within this study. Hence, the process of reframing (Ryan, 1991) did not arise in the context of XR Twitter

discourse. This detail acts as a sign of either non-involvement with comments on the side of both branches, and XR-UK especially²⁴, or a sign of abstinence of taking notice of it by deeming it irrelevant. Messages with counter-framing were often of very negative nature, which can be accounted for what is called ‘trash talkers’ and ‘haters’ in online communities. Hence, counter-framing that was presented and disengagement of XR branches with such framing might be a direct result of the nature of social media, or particularly Twitter.

Further, the notion of privilege seems to appear in the context of counter-framing. When discussing privilege that comes with not going to work and being able to come to the streets and protest, the whole notion of XR as a wide-ranging group appears to be challenged. While the group may indeed strive to reflect every social, cultural, ethnic, gender, and political group, the reality can be far from the vision. While the socio-economic analysis of the XR adherents have not been done within the context of the present research, it is necessary to investigate what group of people follows the group and its actions. Hence, another suggestion for future research on the topic of XR and contemporary environmental social movement organizations is to compare aspirations of the movement with the objective situation.

Following the discussion on counter-framing, another interesting pattern appeared in counter-framing to counter-framing. Messages employing this framing were highly concentrated in second-level comments, meaning that users commented to the direct comments of other users. This observation suggests that frame contests occur mostly indirectly and might be hard to recognize if analysis only involves online discourse of a social movement organization or that with direct comments, which often constitute analysis of social media discourse, especially on Twitter. The reason for that being the main body of data for many studies comes from practical reasons. When using coding algorithms that scrape data from a social media platform, the easiest way is to scrape the actual messages without any comments. Direct comments can also be easily identified due to the structural arrangement of Twitter. However, in order to read and extract indirect, secondary comments, additional work has to be done. When the amount of collected messages is vast, this kind of data collection becomes tricky and required extra time, which is not always available. However, due to the interest of framing theory in frame contests, it is of relevance to understand how such contests take place in discussions generated in online spaces of social movements. Ellison and boyd (2013) argue that while automated programs can be of use

²⁴ XR-NL replied to comments more often than did XR-UK. However, the reason for that can be the overall amount of messages posted to their messages. XR-UK was more active in terms of its own posting and dealt with a higher number of overall comments.

when dealing with large data sets, researchers have to look beyond the outlined mechanisms and tools of social media. The authors indicate that not all the provided functions are used in an intended way, which leads to interesting observations but can be lost when opted for a programmed data collection and analysis. Further, besides counter-framing to counter-framing being present in secondary comments, it is possible to assume that more messages employing such framing can be found by following recurring hashtags. Hashtags present discussion as a whole (Ellison & boyd, 2013) and allow one to see positions of many various users on the same topic as well as see if one hashtag is linked to the same frame or a variety of those within the same discussion. Therefore, scholars interested in frame contests and how they evolve in online discourse might want to opt for a more manual qualitative labour rather than a computer-automatized analysis.

That being said, another observation does point to the frame contests between social movements and media since messages presented refutations of descriptions given by media articles. In this case, we believe that the analysis can be of an automated nature since frame contests become apparent from the original branch's messages. An analysis based on triangulation of sources of data as well as methods would be useful when considering frames contests since it can present relationship between the internal (e.g.: discourse in social media of social movements) and external (e.g.: discourse in news media articles) communication.

While we addressed only the tip of the iceberg of contemporary social movements' narrative construction in social media in the context of this research, we nonetheless discovered fascinating patterns of how framing is employed by a transnational social movement organization. The observed patterns led us to problematize the use of such communication sources in the context of social movement's consensus and action mobilization and provided foundation for further consideration of how framing theory can be expanded to better suit present-day realities. Furthermore, we have presented empirical evidence for the prerequisite to account for cultural and socio-political developments when analyzing contemporary social movements. Understanding of environments in which a movement operate could present a broader and deeper comprehension of the potential that social media platforms hold for the mobilization of adherents in local and global contexts.

Limitations of the Present Study and Implications for Future Research

This study does come with a few clear limitations, which need to be addressed. First, we have analysed preselected time periods due their significance in the social movement organization's development. This fact might have caused certain observed patterns to appear,

which would not have been as prominent in case a different selection of time intervals was done. However, the choice fell on them intentionally since they corresponded with moments when many people in different countries witnessed Extinction Rebellion's protests, and hence we aimed at increasing our chances of hearing what individuals had to say about it.

Furthermore, the last period did unintentionally present a stage when no protests were held, thus we had an opportunity to compare social media discourse of action periods and non-action periods, which presented interesting observations in relation to employed framing and audience engagement that we suggested to explore further.

Secondly, another limitation of the research design is the difference in duration of time periods, with the second one being only three days in comparison to seven days that the other two periods comprised. Thus, there is a high chance that alternative patterns could have appeared in case the second period would account for a week as well.

Third, the bias that comes with only one coder performing qualitative analysis cannot be ignored. To provide a critical assessment of collected data, objectivity and neutrality are expected and required on the side of the researcher. While the author aimed to provide such an assessment, it is impossible to exclude subjective perception and judgement. Furthermore, we worked with messages written in two languages, both of which are not author's native languages. Hence, minor deviations in interpretation are possible in case a native speaker would analyse the data. However, the author has been a resident of one of the countries under examination for more than five years and does possess a certain level of mastery of the Dutch language as well as fluency in English. Furthermore, preliminary research aided to the contextualisation of messages and ability of the author to assess why certain topics were addressed and why they were presented in a way they were. However, future research should consider involving coders that come from investigated contexts since they have better chances at reading between the lines and identifying frames with a higher degree of certainty.

Fourthly, examination of the two Western branches of Extinction Rebellion, with one of them being the place where the group originated from, had most likely affected contrasts that were observed. While XR claims to be leaderless and decentralised and to give full autonomy to its national and city branches, at this moment it is impossible to exclude a possibility of the foundational role attached to the British branch. Moreover, its position may give the branch a more international character since people can be aware that the first actions occurred in the UK and therefore they might be more interested in reading its messages on Twitter since its communication is always in English.

Leading from the above-stated point, in case of this study, we have not compared framing of national branches to the account representing the group as a whole. However, such a comparison could be relevant to consider in the future due to a possibility to test the original branch of a decentralised, transnational social movement organization in relation to other branches to see if a structural pattern of action appears. Otherwise, it would be possible to indicate the autonomous nature of some or all of the branches.

Finally, a practical limitation may be the manual collection of data, especially in regards to the direct and secondary replies. Since we opted for a manual data collection, the duration of collection was longer than if a computer algorithm wrote it down. While we created a systematic way of collecting such messages, there is a certain possibility of missing a few messages due to the need to refresh the server, which caused the order of posts to change. However, in those cases data were checked for the second time to minimise the impact of inaccuracies caused by manual scraping. While it is advisable to collect data with an algorithm to exclude chances of missing a comment, in case one wants to collect and record visual data or examine frame contests in conversations induced by social movements, as the present study did, human engagement will still be needed to process information.

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Appendix A
Tweet Coding Manual

Variable	Explanation
Date & Time	Date and time of the twitter post.
Nickname	Nickname of the user who posted the original message without the at-sign (@).
Message	Full text (i.e.: with inclusion of emojis, or description thereof, and hashtags) of the twitter post from the specified user.
Attached material	Description of the attached material, such as photographs, pictures, videos, gifs, URLs (links are included).
N of views of an attached video	Specification of the number of views of the attached video, in case the attached material is a video file.
N of retweets	Specification of the number of retweets of the original twitter post.
N of likes	Specification of the number of likes of the original twitter post.
N of replies	Specification of the number of replies to the original twitter post.
Direct reply (DR): Nickname	Nickname of the user who made a comment on the original post directly.
Direct reply (DR): Message	Full text (i.e.: with inclusion of emojis, or description thereof, and hashtags) of the twitter post from the specified user. It further includes the description of any attached material such as photographs, pictures, videos, gifs, URLs, in-between squared brackets ('[';']').
N of retweets (DR)	Specification of the number of retweets of the comment.
N of likes (DR)	Specification of the number of likes of the comment.
Secondary reply (SR): Nickname	Nickname of the user who made a comment on one of the direct replies.
Secondary reply (SR): Message	Full text (i.e.: with inclusion of emojis, or description thereof, and hashtags) of the twitter post from the specified user. It further includes the description of any attached material such as photographs, pictures, videos, gifs, URLs, in-between squared brackets ('[';']').
N of retweets (SR)	Specification of the number of retweets of the second-level comment.

Appendix B
Coding manual

Frame	Sub-frame	Sub-topic	Hashtags	Explanation	Example	Time period	User
1. Emergency diagnostic framing				The emergency diagnostic framing reflects the problem of climate and ecological emergencies and its consequences.			
	Climate emergency	Climate emergency	#ClimateEmergency	Posts include the phrase 'climate emergency' and definitions with a similar connotation as well as the consequences of this emergency for the environment.	"This is a #ClimateEmergency."	I, II, III	XR-UK; XR-NL, Audience (UK)
		Climate crisis	#ClimateCrisis #klimaatcrisis		#ExtinctionRebellion are rebelling because of the UK government's criminal negligence in allowing the #ClimateCrisis to unfold.	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK)
		Climate breakdown	#ClimateBreakdown		"[...]the first of the #ExtinctionRebellion demands is about how the government must tell the truth about how deadly #ClimateBreakdown & #EcologicalCrisis is."	I, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK & NL)
		Climate change			"Klimaatverandering = massamoord."	I, II, III	XR-NL, XR-UK
		Climate chaos			"What about climate chaos? [emoji: Thinking face]"	I	XR-UK
		Global emergency	#GlobalEmergency		"When will you start to take this #GlobalEmergency seriously?"	II	XR-UK
		Extreme climate events			"An increasing number of people on Britain's streets are displaced by extreme climate events in the Global South"	II	XR-UK
		Climate depression			"[...] Action is the only known cure for Klimaatdepressie! #rebelswithoutborders #ActNow"	II	XR-NL

					#opstandvoorhetleven"		
		World disaster			"Climate is a WORLD disaster"; "[...] the world is saved from a catastrophe"	I	Audience (UK)
	Ecological emergency	Ecological emergency	#Ecological Emergency	Posts indicate ecological emergency, its variations, and factors causing it as a problem.	"We demand action from the Government on the climate & ecological emergency."	I, II	XR-UK
		Ecological crisis	#Ecological Crisis		"The #ExtinctionRebellion are rebelling against the criminal inaction of gov'ts on climate breakdown & ecological crisis"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		Ecological collapse			An audacious toolkit of actions against climate breakdown (and ecological collapse)	I	XR-UK
		Environmental breakdown			"These disruptive protests... cause gridlock... highlighting the impending... environmental breakdown we face if the government fails to act now", #ExtinctionRebellion"	I	XR-UK
		Overpopulation			"Stop having future generations. That is the problem right there."	I	Audience (UK)
	Climate and ecological crises			Posts specify that the problem is both climate and ecological crises.	"De klimaat- en ecologische crisis heeft geen lockdown gekregen, die denderd gewoon door. "	II, III	XR-NL
	Existential crisis			Posts address the consequence of the climate and ecological emergencies.	"People are risking their liberty in defense of the living world in very large numbers. It is only when we are prepared to take such action that people begin to... [acknowledge] our existential crisis"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		Human lives			"Blood of our Children"	I	XR-NL, XR-UK
		Mass murder			"Klimaatverandering = massamoord."	I	XR-NL, XR-UK

		Uninhabitable Earth	#uninhabitableEarth		"#uninhabitableEarth is next."	I	Audience (UK)
		Imminent armageddon			"Then all attention on solving imminent armaggon [<i>sic</i>] for our grand/children"	I	Audience (UK)
	Extinction		#Extinction OrRebellion	Posts name extinction as the outcome of the emergencies.	"our #InternationalRebellion against Extinction"	I, II, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK & NL)
2. Ecocide diagnostic framing				The ecocide diagnostic frame reflects the problem of ecocide, meaning destruction of natural ecosystems as a result of human activities, and activities which are considered to be ecocide.			
	Ecocide		#Ecocide	The topic of ecocide addresses ecocide as a crime since it has severe damaging impacts on planet Earth and provides examples of activities that are considered as naturally occurring or human caused ecocide.	[video of protesters "Extinction Rebellion activists occupy the international criminal court calling on ecocide to be recognised as the crime it is"]	I, II	XR-NL, XR-UK, Audience (NL & UK)
		Biosphere murder			[a picture with XR symbol and rewritten note saying 'Our biosphere murder now requires [...]'].	I	Audience (UK)
		Sea level rise			"Rise up faster than the Sea"	I, II	XR-NL, Audience (NL)
		Deforestation	#ontbossing		"NL banken @ABNAMRO @ING_news @RaboFoodAgri financieren handelaren die bijdragen aan vernietiging amazone #ontbossing & #mensenrechtenschendingen 1 miljard US\$(2013-2018) rapport @AmazonWatch @GreenpeaceNL https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/natuur/17768/nederlandse-banken-financieren-handelaren-die-bijdragen-	II	XR-NL

					aan-ontbossing/ #RebelWithoutBorders #everybodynow"		
		Wildlife trafficking			"It's not stalled or declining, it's on the rise. It's a globalised business and it needs a globalised response" #Wildlife trafficking on the rise all across Latin America #extinctionrebellion #rebelwithoutborders [link to : (Wildlife trafficking on the rise all across Latin America) https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/oct/07/wildlife-trafficking-rise-across-latin-america?CMP=share_btn_tw]"	I, II	XR-NL, Audience (UK)
		Animal farming			"Celebrated environmental journalist @GeorgeMonbiot speaking to @SkyNews about the environmental impacts of animal farming #EverybodyNow"	II	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Coal opencast			"Tony Bosworth @friends_earth "Coronavirus is the world's priority right now, but that doesn't mean we can afford to make another crisis worse. To deal with the #ClimateEmergency we need to leave the vast majority of the world's coal in the ground.""	I, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Destuction of ancient woodland		Human activity.	"HS2 devastation at Steeple Clayson. Ancient trees reduced to woodchip. Ancient Woodland under threat in climate and ecological emergency. "	III	XR-UK

3. Government diagnostic framing				The government diagnostic framing presents the government and its actions as the cause for the existing problems.			
	Government's inaction			The government is held accountable for the emergency. Posts identify government's (criminal) inaction as the cause of the problem.	"In Nijmegen organiseerden Rebellen met oa @Stu4ClimateNL een die-in. We are lying down because of the government's and university's failure to act."	I, III	XR-NL, XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Criminal inaction / negligence			""We speak together against the criminal behaviour of governments across the world"; "@GOVUK is not protecting future generations due to its criminal inaction in the face of #climatebreakdown.""	I, II	XR-UK
		Boris Johnson		Posts single out Boris Johnson as the one responsible.	"The government need to act on the climate emergency now. @BorisJohnson how can you continue to ignore this?"	II	XR-UK. Audience (UK)
		University's failure to act			"We are lying down because of the government's and university's failure to act."	I	XR-NL
	Government's destructive actions			Posts address government's actions and choices, however, present them in a negative light and identify them as destructive.	""Does the gov't think that the #ExtinctionRebellion are just going to stand by while they wreck the climate?""	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK)
		Ecocidal government			"A conscientious protector of people & planet is being arrested while in other news the ecocidal government is killing people & planet."	I	XR-UK
		HS2			The science is clear. Social distancing saves lives and slashes infection rate. With news breaking of more doctors and nurses dying in the hospitals they bravely continue to work in, how can	III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)

					@BorisJohnson justify turning a blind eye to the unsafe practices at HS2? #NHSnotHS2		
	UN climate talks				For decades the UN climate talks have failed to deliver the action the science shows we need to stop #climatebreakdown. It's time for a new approach.	III	XR-UK
4. Polluters diagnostic framing				Polluters diagnostic framing names various actors and actions which are contributing to the pollution and hence are presented as a cause of the problem of emergency.			
	Fossil fuel businesses	Shell	#Shell	Posts indicate different companies within the fossil fuel industry as polluters due to their activities.	"“Shell is een van de grootste vervuilers in de wereld en bedreigt daardoor het bestaan van miljoenen soorten. We roepen iedereen op om met ons in actie te komen en te laten zien dat we dit niet meer accepteren.”"	I	XR-NL, XR-UK, Audience (NL)
		Chemtrails				I, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Vattenfall			"We communicated our demands to @VattenvalNL & look forward to their formal response. Our demands are: 1. Formally declare #climateemergency - #tellthetruth about the #existentialcrisis we face, and act accordingly"	II	XR-NL
		TCEnergy	#KeystoneXL		[retweet of @350: "We have a global pandemic. And @TCEnergy is bringing in hundreds of out-of-state workers to start construction on #KeystoneXL, which could further expose rural and Indigenous communities to COVID-19" [video about the KeystoneXL pipeline construction and a lady from South Dakota]"	III	Audience (UK)

	Investors	ABN		Posts problematize investments into the fossil fuel industry and name the companies which are known for that.	"ABN: "Onderschat niet de bijeffecten van desinvesteringen" hetzelfde geldt voor het effect van jullie investeringen! ABN nu, 84% fossiel, 16% renewable. Roep de noodtoestand uit!"	II	XR-NL
		Google			"Google have funded think tanks, policy-makers, & lobbyists that supported strong technology policies, but also spread misinformation about #ClimateChange. Many of these organizations have worked to derail environmental protections."	III	XR-UK
		Conscious lies			"Er zit natuurlijk wel een enorm verschil tussen de academische houding van een anti-these ontwikkelen of kritiek meewegen tegenover bewuste leugens verspreiden (namens de vervuilers zelf) als missie om twijfel te zaaien: [link to : ('Klimaatsepticus Böttcher kreeg betaald door bedrijven om twijfel te zaaien') https://www.trouw.nl/duurzaamheid-natuur/klimaatsepticus-bottcher-kreeg-betaald-door-bedrijven-om-twijfel-te-zaaien~bb869230/ "	III	XR-NL (XR-Rotterdam)
		Financial bias			"Hij [Carl Böttcher] had een mooi cv, zeker, maar dat hebben al die wetenschappers vaker die daarna bewust het geldspoor zijn gaan volgen van 'betaalde probleemontkenning'. Dat maakt het eigenlijk erger omdat ze daar heel bewust misleiden. Overigens zijn vooral de financiers het probleem."	III	XR-NL (XR-Rotterdam)
	Humans			Posts present humans as polluters.	"We've been teenagers a long time, and we really trashed the place."	I	XR-UK, Audience (UK)

	Air travel			Posts refer to pollution caused by the air travel industry.	"A unique performance by Landing Crew, 50 people based on the work and actions of airport landing operations staff. Apart of @XRLondon actions this week and aims to draw attention to the huge impact of air travel on #ClimateChange "	II	XR-UK
5. Capitalism diagnostic framing				The capitalism diagnostic framing presents aspects of the capitalist regime which are blamed for the climate and ecological emergencies.			
	Fast fashion		#BuyNothingDay #BlackFriday #BlackFriday2018 #fastfashion	Posts identify fast fashion together with its repercussions as problematic.	"#ExtinctionRebellion take a stand against @blackfriday and the needless destruction of capitalist spending on Oxford Street"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK)
	Industrial capitalism			Posts refers to the negative sides of capitalist development.	"Follow Global Justice Rebellion for all the news from this very important site - examining the toxic systems of capitalism and colonialism."	I, II, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK & NL)
	Class war			The term class war has been used in one of the comments and found expression in comments of others. These posts reflect the priority of profit over people and sustaining the inhabitable environment.	"The problem is that the billionaire class and supporters of extractive #capitalism, the sociopaths, psychopaths ruling us as well as their eager assistants all believe they and their ilk can survive in a world engineered for them."	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)
			#oligarhy		"Dat heet: #oligarchie en het is een doodlopende route. Dat weten ze wel, maar de winst gaat vóór alles, ten koste van de planeet. We hebben al heel lang de verkeerde mensen aan de macht! Bedrijven en banken zijn de machthebbers en sturen de politiek, da's fout!"	I, II	Audience (NL)

6. Injustice diagnostic framing				The injustice diagnostic framing presents a number of problems which occur in the process of demanding climate justice.			
	Arrests			Posts address the injustice of the legal system as those fighting for what is considered good (by XR and their supporters) are punished and those who are standing at the root of the problem (i.e.: the government and polluters) are free.	"A conscientious protector of people & planet is being arrested while in other news the ecocidal government is killing people & planet."	I, III	XR-UK, Audience (NL)
	Vicious circle			Posts identify those who are able to make change not having the courage to go against the accepted system.	"Rechter ontbreekt het mogelijk ook aan de moed om te breken met die macht."	III	Audience (NL)
7. Public health crisis diagnostic framing				The public health crisis diagnostic framing denotes the COVID-19 pandemic and things associated with it as a problem.			
	Coronacrisis			Posts refer to the problematic nature of the COVID-19 disease.	"„Ik snap het wel, #Corona ligt nu heel zichtbaar voor ons op de intensive care."	III	XR-NL
		Universal threat			"The Covid-19 pandemic has unleashed humanity's instinct to transform itself in the face of a universal threat [...]"	III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
	Depressed economy			This post refers to the economic side of the named public health crisis.	"How in the current Covid depressed economy, this project hasn't been cancelled is beyond me."	III	Audience (UK)
8. Tell the truth prognostic framing				Tell the truth prognostic framing presents the need to tell the truth as an essential step in resolving the problem.			

	Tell the truth		#MomentOf Truth #TellTheTruth	XR branches specify the need for the government to 'tell the truth' about the issue as the first step to finding a solution.	""the first of the #ExtinctionRebellion demands is about how the government must tell the truth about how deadly #ClimateBreakdown & #EcologicalCrisis is. ""	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
	Petition 'Open dialogue with the government'			Posts presents a petition requiring the British government to be in an open dialogue with the public regarding COVID-19.	"If you think we need more public scrutiny of our government's actions during COVID times - in the form of a daily People's Update where the public ask the questions - please sign this petition and share the link [link to : (Give the people of the UK a platform for dialogue with the government regarding COVID-19.) https://www.change.org/p/people-of-the-uk-who-want-to-use-their-voice-to-get-answers-responses-from-the-government-give-the-people-of-the-uk-a-platform-for-dialogue-with-the-government-regarding-covid-19?recruiter=10313929&utm_source=share_petition&utm_medium=copylink&utm_campaign=share_petition]"	III	Audience (UK)
9. Climate justice prognostic framing				The climate justice prognostic framing presents a variety of feasible solutions at a political level.			
	Climate justice			Posts address climate justice in general terms.	"En ondanks dat onze tactieken anders zijn is ons doel hetzelfde: klimaatrechtvaardigheid. "	I, II, III	XR-NL, XR-UK

	Climate policy			Posts name climate policy as a method of resolving climate-related issues. Messages identify a number of specific policies that have to be employed, such as Zero Carbon by 2025 policy, Declaration of Climate Emergency, and recognise ecocide as a crime. Further, a few petitions have been promoted during the COVID-19. In case posts addressed that the petition was regarding a climate policy, it was placed within this sub-frame too.	"#ExtinctionRebellion aims to demonstrate the drastic need for significant climate policy"	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK)
		Declaration of Climate Emergency			""demanding [...] declaration of a #CLIMATEEMERGENCY from @GOVUK"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		Zero Carbon Policy 2025	#ZeroCarbon2025		"#ZeroCarbon2025 for people & planet □□□□□□□□□□"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		#makeEcocide aCrime			"Ecocide moet worden opgenomen in het Internationaal Recht."	I	XR-NL
	Citizens' Assembly			Posts present a Citizens' assembly as a necessary element of finding a just solution.	"What are #ExtinctionRebellion 's key demands? [...] 3) Citizens' assembly"	I, II, III	XR-NL, XR-UK
		Global collective democratic decisionmaking			a picture with XR symbol and rewritten note saying 'Our biosphere murder now requires global collective direct deliberative democratic decisionmaking.'	I	Audience (UK)
10. Sustainability prognostic framing				The sustainability prognostic framing presents a plan for solving the problem in terms of sustainability.			

	Renewable energy		#FossilFree	Posts refer to the need to stop using fossil fuels and switch to renewable energy sources, as well as address what those are.	"We need renewables not more fossil fuels."	I	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Decarbonise	#decarbonise		"First daytime 'rebate' for green energy users as wind and solar supply almost 60% of power. #decarbonise"	III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Technology			"We should be taking advantage of technology to find ways to tackle the climate crisis in the current situation."	III	Audience (UK)
	Change of transportation methods			Abolishment of cars, promotion of public transport, cycling and walking is proposed as a solution.	"We're #swarming your streets until the government listens to reason and sits down for a serious chat about the future of our planet. Best take the tube or a bike this morning, London - it's better for your #carbonfootprint too." + "The benefits of mass public transport run of renewable energy should more than compensate for the disruption caused by #ExtinctionRebellion. #CleanAir #PublicMobility #Life" + "Please switch off your engines while stationary."	I	XR-UK, XR-NL
		cycling paths				I, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
	No fast fashion			Posts indicate the need to stop endless consumption of products promoted by fast fashion.	"Say no to #fastfashion #rebelswithoutborders"	II	XR-NL
	Plant based food			Posts address the need to switch to plant based diet.	[photograph of George Monbiot with 'Plant based food system' poster being held in the background by two people]	II	XR-UK
					video from Marhsam Street showing policeen and protesters, "Go vegan or we all die" poster is seen clearly		

	Rewilding			Posts address rewilding as a viable option for the ecological crisis reversal.	"Rewilding the UK would reverse biodiversity loss and restore natural carbon sinks. "	III	XR-UK
	Palm oil free			The post proposes to stop using products which contain palm oil.	"Let's start with #PalmOil - if a million people stopped buying these products, it WILL have an effect. [...]"	I	Audience (UK)
11. System change prognostic framing	System change			These messages talk about the general need to change the system, of the capitalistic regime, of the power of authorities and businesses.	"Je levensstijl aanpassen is geweldig maar wat we nodig hebben is dat we het systeem aanpassen. "	I, II	XR-NL, XR-UK, Audience (NL)
				In this case, the proposal is switching to a digital environment and hence possible redundancy of HS2.		III	Audience (UK)
12. NVDA prognostic framing				The NVDA prognostic framing presents a method chosen by XR in order to achieve solutions they claim to be necessary.			
	NVDA		#NVDA	Posts name NVDA as a method of action and address examples of NVDA.	"Online briefing for Rebellion Swarming- please register [emoji: Right pointing backhand index]: https://facebook.com/events/511397286027777/ https://rebellion.earth/events/ NVDA & civil disobedience for #ZeroCarbon2025"	I	XR-UK
		Civil disobedience			"The campaign of civil disobedience by #ExtinctionRebellion continues this week with 'swarming roadblocks' planned between 21st -23rd November in central London."	I, II	XR-UK
		Swarming	#swarming		"#ExtinctionRebellion continues this week in peaceful, civilly disobedient, non-violent #SWARMING	I	XR-UK

					ROADBLOCKS"		
		Die-in			"Rebellen vd @tudelft hebben een die-in georganiseerd: De Die-ins vormen een sobere, maar aangrijpende vorm van protest waarbij we op een symbolische manier stilstaan bij alle slachtoffers van klimaatverandering, mens en dier. We willen zo aandacht vragen voor de fatale gevolgen"	I	XR-NL
		Nurse-in				II	XR-UK
		Sit-in			"Over 100 rebels have pledged to peacefully occupy City Airport this Thursday at 9am. Sign up now to be part of this historic nonviolent action! "	II	XR-UK
		People's Assembly			"The People's Assembly is now starting on Westminster Bridge. Come down and create change. This is what democracy looks like."	I, III	XR-UK
		Performance			"It's all very moving in Trafalgar Square... Photographed by Emma Myrtle #ExtinctionRebellion #EverybodyNow #TheTimeIsNow #BeyondPolitics [photograph of one of the red brigade performers placing a hand on a car window and a person sitting inside of the car placing his hand in return]"	I, II	XR-NL, XR-UK
		Tree planting	#BeyondPolitics		"Reforest Parliament #Oct8th 12pm Be at the start of this beautiful forest - 1000 trees and yew There's still time to get down there, but time's running out...."	II	XR-UK

		Petitions	#GeenPoenZ onderPlan		*** ACTION: SIGN & SHARE! Tell the @EU_Commission : No more #PalmOil in my tank! http://sumof.us/458612158t?referring_akid=49320.1566363.a02Unz #NotInMyTank #orangutans #deforestation #ExtinctionRebellion	I, III	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK & NL)
		Direct action			"Direct action is needed"	I	Audience (UK)
		Rebellion	#Extinction OrRebellion #RebelForLi fe #Internation alRebellion #Extinction OrRebellion #RebelWith outBorders		"[...] round up of the first day of Rebellion." "Honderden vreedzame Rebellen blokkeren de Stadhouderskade voor het #Rijksmuseum tijdens #RebelWithoutBorders om onze eis Vertel de Waarheid kracht bij te zetten. #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		Disruption			" Only through economic disruption and stopping business as usual, will @govUK be made to listen."	I, III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)
		Digital actions				III	XR-NL, XR- UK
		Breaking the law			"[A]ctivists are not the sort of people who enjoy breaking the law... We are... [disrupting] the economy... [so the ecocidal government] will... listen", Sam Knights [emoji: Raised fist]"	I	XR-UK, Audience (NL)

	Global collective action			Responses reflect the need for collective actions on a global level to either reverse the climate change or improve the outcomes. Not all the comments were referring to the need of the global action, however, it has been grouped into once category as a global collective climate action.	"We cannot solve the planets problems on a national level only. The problems are global. Must be tackled globally." + "Social movements gain momentum when the privileged support the oppressed - men supporting women's suffrage, white people supporting civil rights. Ecological collapse is a global issue requiring we in the rich countries to stand up. My blog on @ExtinctionR" (linndav, 23-11-18)	I	Audience (UK)
13. Social distancing prognostic framing	Social distancing			Posts describe social distancing as a solution (during the COVID-19 pandemic).	" Social distancing saves lives and slashes infection rate. "	III	XR-UK
	Digital actions		#SamenAlle en #AloneToget her	Posts address digital actions as a method of action in reponse to the requirement for social distancing. In case messages presented these actions in the light of the public health crisis, social distancing framing was indicated.	Vandaag is het #digitalstrike dag. We roepen jullie allemaal op een foto van jezelf te maken, met iets opgeschreven waar je van houdt en NIET wilt kwijtraken door welke crisis dan ook. □ Post die foto op social media met de hastag #digitalstrike. Let's get this trending!	III	XR-NL, XR-UK
14. Action prognostic framing	Action		#ActNow	Sometimes the messages which contain "ActNow" are directed at the government and sometimes at the people to join them in the rebellion.	"help us to force the Government to #TellTheTruth and #ActNow"	I, II	XR-UK
	Boris Johnson			The Boris Johnson prognostic framing describes him as the one who has to take actions in order to solve HS2 issues.	"Call on @BorisJohnson to show some respect for @NHSUK, and stop HS2."	III	XR-UK, Audience (UK)

15. Future life motivational framing				The future life motivational framing advocates for life of children and further generations, as well as life in general.			
	Future			Posts state that without action there is no future, hence, the reason for action is life of future generations.	"Bringing awareness that if we and the Government don't face the climate emergency, we do not have a future"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (NL)
		Sustainable future			"We are trying to show what the future looks like, a future without fossil fuels. This future is possible. We can build a better world"	I, II	XR-UK
		Future generations			"The Covid-19 pandemic has unleashed humanity's instinct to transform itself in the face of a universal threat & it can help us do the same to create a liveable planet for future generations."	I, III	XR-UK
		Children			"We're trying to prevent a far greater harm to all our children's futures [...]"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK & NL)
	Life		#RebelForLife #opstandvoorhetleven	Posts indicate life as a motive for action. This sub-frame was also presented through visuals and well as text.	[photograph of protesters with a banner 'Rebel for life']	I, II	XR-NL, XR-UK
16. Planet motivational framing	Planet, Mother Earth		#ThereIsNoPlanetB	Posts name the planet as a motive for action. In some posts, XR refers to it as "mother Earth". It is not always stated in the message itself, it can also present itself as a visual displayed in an attached image.	"We only have one planet. [emoji: Earth globe americas]"	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (NL & UK)
17. Urgency motivational framing	Urgency		#actnow #EverybodyNow #NowOrNever	Posts indicate the urgency of the problem of emergency and advocate for it as a motive for action.	"we have a planet to save, and less than 12 years to do it."	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL, Audience (UK)

20. Peace frame	Peace			Posts present XR actions and protesters as peaceful and nonviolent.	"peaceful protest", "Peaceful action"	II, III	XR-NL, XR-NL
		Nonviolence			"we are non-violent peaceful protesters"	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL
	Love			Posts address that XR actions come from love.	" We act from love not fear."	III	Audience (UK)
21. Diversity frame	Diverse backgrounds			Posts address backgrounds and characteristics of XR protesters.	"together we can do something... 1000s of people of diverse backgrounds & ages occupied five central London bridges"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
22. Solidarity frame				The solidarity frame addresses the unity of various XR branches as well as other environmental and human rights groups.			
	Solidarity			Posts talk about solidarity and unity of protesters and people in general.	"Solidarity. #ExtinctionRebellion #WestminsterBridge [picture of protesters by the parliament]"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
	Solidarity with other XR groups	Global Justice Rebellion		Posts reference other XR branches or groups that work together/in coalition with XR.	"Follow Global Justice Rebellion for all the news from this very important site"	II	XR-UK
		Animal Rebellion			"The Animal Rebellion on Marsham Street are very present today... Photo by Sara Bunney #ExtinctionRebellion #London #ActNow @RebelsAnimal @rebelsanimalLDN"	II	XR-UK

		XR-France			<p>"Right now the centre of Paris is being blocked by rebels. International Rebellion taking place in 60 cities: https://rebellion.global/branches/ For international updates follow @ExtinctionR The rich world needs to take #ActionNow #EverybodyNow [retweet of @XrFrank: "Le centre de Paris est bloqué par #ExtinctionRebellion dans la bonne humeur Hugging face #suitedumonde #occupationparis @XtinctionRebel @ExtinctionR " [video from the protest in Paris where people sit on the ground and the boat is shown]"</p>	II	XR-UK
		XR-Lawyers			<p>"There is a launch of @XRlawyers at the Royal Courts Of Justice right about now! #LawyersForXR #EverybodyNow #TheTimeIsNow #NowOrNever #ExtinctionRebellion"</p>	II	XR-UK
		XR- Internationalis t Solidarity			<p>"I am here for that woman I met in Ethiopia, that woman in Malwai & those people in the Amazon" @AMukwashi CEO of @christian_aid explains why supports XR @GJRSite @XRIntSol The rich world must #ActNow on climate changeJ Join the Rebellion and make it happen #EverybodyNow"</p>	II	XR-UK

		XR-NYC			"First day of the #InternationalRebellion from our fellow Rebels@XR_NYC #EverybodyNow #ExtinctionRebellion [link to : (October 7th - Extinction Rebellion NYC) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0bh_LDrxC0&feature=youtu.be]"	II, III	XR-UK
		XR-Frome			". @ExtinctionF - What does nature mean to you? Extinction Rebellion are rebelling against the ecocidal gov't for people & planet. Assemble at 10 AM in Parliament Sq this Saturday for #RebellionDay2: https://facebook.com/events/117775565794236/ https://rebellion.earth/rebellion-day/ Film created by Howard Vause [47 sec video of children taking about what nature means for them (produced by XR)]"	I	XR-UK
		XR-Spain			"Hola @EsXrebellion desde Londres! Bienvenidas companer@s y gracias. Welcome to Extinction Rebellion Spain, here the team in Madrid in front of the Parliament #ExtinctionRebellion retweet of @luislezreyes: "Esta mañana con @EsXrebellion frente al Congreso con el deseo de que la rebelión desobediente contra quienes nos abocan a un cambio climático desastroso se extienda" [a picture of people standing in front of the congress] Link to : https://news.sky.com/story/extinction-rebellion-protesters-block-london-	I	XR-UK, XR-NL

					bridges-over-climate-change-call-11556496] "		
		XR-Manchester			"Shout out to MANCHESTER!!!!!! Rocking it in the North!!!!!! https://www.facebook.com/george.brown.10485/videos/2102710293105147/ #ExtinctionRebellion #RebellionDay"	I	XR-UK
		XR-Scotland			"Go SCOTLAND!!!!!! #RebellionDay2 Actions happening all over the country today, from the far north to Buckingham Palace. #ExtinctionRebellion #ClimateAction [retweet of @ScotlandXr: "We made our way from parliament to St Andrews House, home of the Scottish Government, to make it clear that they need to wake up to the climate challenge. #ExtinctionRebellion" and a picture of protesters walking down the road in scotland and a pic of people standing in front of a building with XR posters]"	I	XR-UK
		XR-Schagerbrug			Go XR Schagerbrug!!	I	XR-NL

		XR-Sweden			<p>"Thank you Greta and others taking action from @XR_Sweden! [emoji: Flag of Sweden; Flag of Sweden] Join one of our global briefing calls to find more about setting up an Extinction Rebellion group in your country [emoji: Telephone receiver; Telephone receiver] Nov 19th 1pm GMT: https://tinyurl.com/y8rww3ly Nov 20th 4pm GMT: https://tinyurl.com/y8tcy6gj [Retweet of GretaThunberg : "Now we are blocking a road in Stockholm #extinctionrebellion @ExtinctionR #climatecrisis [a photograph of herself and extinction rebellion protesters in the back]"</p>	I	XR-UK
		XR-South West			<p>"From Lambeth Bridge at the Global Food Justice Site with #XRSouthWest and #XRFaith. [retweet of @CClimateAction : "We are not here because we are disruptive We are here because we are desperate This #ClimateEmergency is the biggest issue of our generation We pray and take action for all those people already affected and all the children who want a safe future" [photographs from ta protest with people sitting on the ground and another photo with three people holding a banner 'Christian climate action']"</p>	II	XR-UK

		XR-Lambeth			"Sir Mark Rylance holds the Mall roadblock with @XRLambeth rebels. #ExtinctionRebellion #EverybodyNow"	II	XR-UK
		XR-Sverige -> Berlin			"Extinction Rebearllion!!!! [retweet of @ExtinctionR_SV: "Well that was fucking awesome! #BerlinBlockade #BerlinBlockieren #DancingInTheStreets" [video of people and a person dressed in a white bear costume with an xr-symbol attached to his shirt dancing on the street and people playing drums]]"	II	XR-UK
		XR-Amsterdam			"Vandaag organiseerde @XR_Amsterdam een die-in in @UvA_Amsterdam om aandacht te vragen voor het lijden als gevolg van klimaatverandering. Today @XR_Amsterdam organized a die-in at @UvA_Amsterdam to draw attention to suffering as a consequence of climate change. #RebelForLife"	I	XR-NL
		XR-Youth, Elders			"Excellent pictures here of the @redrebelbrigade @XrYouth and XR elders. #NowIsTheTime #RebelForLife [retweet of @XrRebel: ""Protest beyond the law is not a departure from democracy; it is absolutely essential to it" Howard Zinn #ExtinctionRebellion #EverybodyNow @XRLondon @XRebellionUK" [a picture of many people dressed as the red brigade in front of the National Gallery]]"	II	XR-UK

		Christian Climate Action			"#opstandvoorhetleven #rebelswithoutborders [retweet of @berthevansoest : "Susan en nog iemand van @CCANederland weggevoerd in de bus. We thank them! @NLRebellion #ExtinctionRebellion: [photograph from inside the bus]"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
	Solidarity with other environmental groups	Standsted15	#Standsted15	Posts present environmental groups, groups which stand by environmental issues or which are fighting for human rights.	"The #Standsted15 are nearing the end of their trial at Chelmsford Crown Court. They face unprecedented charges for a non-violent action which exposed the Home Office's racist and unjust deportation programme. Extinction Rebellion unreservedly support the #Standsted15. #Solidarity"	I, II	XR-UK, XR-NL
		ISMAR			"#ExtinctionRebellion in solidarity with @SMWeCGEC #StoptheMaangamizi #ReparatoryJustice □□□□□□□□□□ [emojis: Earth globe europe-africaEarth globe americasEarth globe asia-australia]"	I	XR-UK
		pan-European coalition			"*** ACTION: SIGN & SHARE! Tell the @EU_Commission : No more #PalmOil in my tank! http://sumof.us/458612158t?referring_akid=49320.1566363.a02Unz #NotInMyTank #orangutans #deforestation #ExtinctionRebellion"	I	XR-UK

		Fridays For Future / Greta Thunberg	#StandWithGreta #SchoolStrike	XR references Greta's work,	"#FridaysForFuture #ClimateStrike in solidarity w/ Greta Nov, 23, 11 AM - 12 PM Millicent Garrett Fawcett statue, Parliament Square, London, SW1P 3JX #ExtinctionRebellion [emoji: Raised fist] #SchoolStrike [emoji: Raised fist] https://facebook.com/events/290077288309455/ https://rebellion.earth/events/ "	I, II, III	XR-UK
		350.org			"Half uur over vandaag? Luister dan naar deze Heated podcast van @emorwee met @350's @billmckibben over bailouts voor de fossiele industrie. #geenpoenzonderplan #RebelForLife #ExtinctionRebellion #coronavirus"	I, III	XR-UK, XR-NL
		Greenpeace			"NL banken @ABNAMRO @ING_news @RaboFoodAgri financieren handelaren die bijdragen aan vernietiging amazone #ontbossing & #mensenrechtenschendingen 1 miljard US\$(2013-2018) rapport @AmazonWatch @GreenpeaceNL https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/natuur/17768/nederlandse-banken-financieren-handelaren-die-bijdragen-aan-ontbossing/ #RebelWithoutBorders #everybodynow [link to (Nederlandse banken financieren handelaren die bijdragen aan ontbossing) https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/natuur/17768/nederlandse-banken-financieren-handelaren-die-bijdragen-aan-ontbossing/]"	II	XR-NL

		Global South environmental activism		environmental activists from the Global South.	"#Solidarity Action with Earth Defenders Killed in 2018 "We will honour the lives of the 164 activists, defenders of the earth, who were killed in the Global South in 2018." at #BurningEarth #TrafalgarSquare #ExtinctionRebellion #EverybodyNow Info: http://ow.ly/yf1P50wG4Ly "	II	XR-UK
		Milieudefensie			Wij zijn normale mensen en leven in tijden ecologische - en #klimaatcrisis - het beleid van de overheid faciliteert disproportioneel de belangen van grote bedrijven (niet burgers) : subsidies olie kolen gas: '2,5 miljard per jaar' #rebelswithoutborders https://milieudefensie.nl/actueel/nederland-breekt-belofte-subsidie-voor-olie-kolen-en-gas-niet-afgeschaft [link to (Nederland breekt belofte: subsidie voor olie, kolen en gas niet afgeschaft) https://milieudefensie.nl/actueel/nederland-breekt-belofte-subsidie-voor-olie-kolen-en-gas-niet-afgeschaft]"	II	XR-NL
		Klimaatactie			"Hear hear, wij zijn ook blij dat jullie er vandaag bij waren. En ondanks dat onze tactieken anders zijn is ons doel hetzelfde: klimaatrechtvaardigheid. #RebelWithoutBorders #ExtinctionRebellion"	II	XR-NL
		The Mother Earth Delegation of United Nations of the North			"Mother Earths is pulling us in #WebOfLife' Jyoti, Elder USA 'Delegation of United Nations of the North' Hear the wisdom shared by a delegation of elders from all over the world with directions from #MotherEarth #IndigineousWisdom #COVID19 https://youtu.be/_1C9IR9eaSs "	III	XR-UK

23. Rights frame	Right to protest (Right to freedom of assembly, right to freedom of speech)			Posts make a reference to a human right to protest.	"Belangrijk om te weten dat demonstreren in het #vondelpark gewoon is toegestaan (ook al heeft de burgemeester het niet toegestaan) valt het onder recht op vrije meningsuiting en demonstratie"	II, III	XR-NL. Audience (NL & UK)
		Freedom			"We have come this far, we won't turn round. We'll flood the streets with justice, we are freedom bound. @CNN @ExtinctionR @NOS #ExtinctionRebellion #RebelForLife Blockade at #Shell HQ. [video of a protester being held by two policemen and she kept on singing 'freedom now' together with the rest of protesters]"	I	XR-NL
	Legal rights	Stop and search		Posts make a reference to legal rights of protesters.	"REBELS: "Stop and search tactics...are regularly misused as an intimidation tool. It can be helpful to know your rights around the process. You do not have to give your personal details at any point during your stop and search." #EverybodyNow Info:"	II	XR-UK
	Human rights violations		#mensenrechtenschendingen	Posts indicate violations of human rights.	"NL banken @ABNAMRO @ING_news @RaboFoodAgri financieren handelaren die bijdragen aan vernietiging amazone #ontbossing & #mensenrechtenschendingen 1 miljard US\$(2013-2018) rapport @AmazonWatch @GreenpeaceNL https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/natuur/17768/nederlandse-banken-financieren-handelaren-die-bijdragen-aan-ontbossing/ #RebelWithoutBorders #everybodynow"	II	XR-NL

				Police made preemptive arrests. (such arrests are viewed as violating the principles of democracy and human rights).		II	XR-UK
24. Expert truth frame				Posts present information presented by experts (i.e.: scientists) as the truth and the basis for decisions and actions.	"En op welke bron baseert u zich dan dat er 'weinig' aan de hand is? Wij baseren ons op een enorme groep wetenschappers die stellen dat wij ons bevinden in de 6de massa extinctie en zelf concluderen dat overheden te weinig doen wat nodig is. U ziet geen groot ecologisch verval?"	III	XR-UK, XR-NL (XR-Rotterdam)
25. Media-induced framing				Media-framing refers to the media articles and other electronic material that is mentioned in posts and is used as a support of an opinion or statement or in order to provide a critique.			
	Supporting media-framing			Posts use media-framing to support a point of view. Alternatively, the media article can constitute the post itself.	"#ExtinctionRebellion #swarming teams don't relish being out in the cold any more than people enjoy sitting in traffic jams, but #ClimateAction is essential if we are to survive as a species: https://theguardian.com/environment/georgemonbiot/2013/sep/27/ipcc-climate-change-report-global-warming "	I, III	XR-UK
		All publicity is good publicity		A position which points out that a simple coverage of a protest or XR action is already better than no coverage.	"Coverage could have been worse from the DM. Nice photos too!"	I	Audience (UK)

	Critique of media-framing			Posts which criticise media for partial information, misinformation, or biased perception.	"Heartbreaking that not a SINGLE word on the BBC news. Realisation of how bias and scripted the media is [emoji: Face with symbols over mouth]"	I, II	XR-UK, Audience (NL & UK)
	Counterframing to negative media-framing			Posts refute framing used by media and provide reasoning for why XR actions are needed or what would happen if people do not act (the consequences of both of these actions are worse than of what XR does, from XR's perspective).	". @EveningStandard - "What good does it do, working class people trying to get on with their lives." - @JimDOfficial . Millions of working class people are being killed each year because of the fossil fuel companies ☐ #ExtinctionRebellion #RenewableEnergy"	I	XR-UK
Police frame				Messages touches upon police actions in the context of XR protests.	"URGENT CALL OUT: With police confiscating kitchen equipment & food, join us as we head towards a chilly evening."	I, II, III	XR-UK, XR-NL
Counterframing to counterframing				Disagreements in the comments involve counterframing of counterframing as those who are supportive of XR's actions tend to justify undertaken actions and bring a different light to the oppositional comments.			

	People's everyday actions			Counterframing of counterframing brings attention to the outcomes of people's present life choices, which goes against the posts counterframing XR's actions.	"So you can't support any groups who endanger lives. By you simply living your life endangers lives. The leather shoes on your feet to the sweatshops you keeping running by buying their products endangers lives"; "Also you must be against everybody that uses a car as they block the roads and potentially threaten life everyday even without extinction rebellion. Against them are you? If you are good for you because the rebellion is against them to"	I	Audience (UK)
	Practicality (response to 'Choice' counterframing)			Posts address the practical side of choosing vegan meals for mass distribution.	"It's pretty standard practice for meals provided by certain groups (e.g. Hare Krishna) to be vegan. Not only does it help with allergies and dietary requirements, but it's a lot cheaper to provide as well."	III	Audience (UK)
	Anti-Fascism/Racism - Far-right			The message which addresses XR's opponents as fascists and racists and points to the noncompliance with such beliefs.	"I regret to announce the fascists are at it again. These nasty, FAKE Extinction Rebellion stickers appeared in Beds. IF YOU SEE ONE, REPORT TO POLICE ON 101. And yes, reply guys, I know there's a pandemic on. Fighting fascism is still crucial, & the cops want them reported [picture of an XR poster saying "White brits a minority by 2066. Preserve an endangered species" and the following text under the picture "the stickers have been posted by a far-right group, impersonating Extinctino Rebellion"]"	III	Audience (UK)

	Corrupt idiots			The message reponds to framing of XR as criminals who do not listen to authorities and identified authorities as 'corrupt idiots'.	"luisteren niet naar corrupte idioten"	II	Audience (NL)
	Prejudice			Posts mark the public image counterframing as a displpay of prejudice.	"Nou, ik zie dat soort mensen heel vaak werken aan van alles. Misschien moet jij je bubbel van vooroordelen eens uit. Of ben je daaraan gehecht, trolletje?"	II	XR-NL, Audience (NL)
Response framing							
Support	Display of support			Posts which display support for XR and provide a positive account of their actions.	"I love you people at Extinction Rebellion!"	I, II, III	Audiences (UK & NL)
	Gratitude			Posts which show gratitude to XR protesters for their actions.	"Oh guys.. Saying thank you it's so poor in front of such a direct act for justice. "	I, II, III	Audiences (UK & NL)
	Call for support			Attention to other issues	"@SODEMAction is at Parliament every day 10-6. EU environmental & animal protections are also at risk. We are on the same side. Far right vile forces try to take over. #BrexitMeansTrump climate denier. Let's work together! #StopBrexit #FBPE"		
Counter-framing							
Diagnostic counterframing				The diagnostic counterframing problematizes perspectives on the problems and their causes as identified by XR and its supporters and presents opposing or other problems.			

	Myth of climate change	Hoax / Plot		Posts express the disbelief in anthropogenic climate change and its causes.	"Anthropogenic climate change is a hoax the data is manipulated"	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)
		Myth			"Climate change is a myth created by the rich elite to further tax the poor and create a wealthier elite."	I	Audience (UK)
		Lie			"echt niet waar, aantoonbaar niet waar, maar ja, deze mensen lezen niet, maar huilen"	III	Audience (NL)
		Nonsense			"Enige wat je constant hoort is 'climate change'. En die focus op broeikasgassen en dan ook nog specifiek CO2 daar kan ik ook nog steeds helemaal niets van begrijpen. Totale onzinnige focus in mijn ogen."	III	Audience (NL)
	Climate religion			Posts describe climate change as a religion for XR and its supporters.	"Freedom <i>[sic]</i> ? Like the freedom to: CHOOSE how to travel? Choose what energy to use. Choose wheter you beleive in the AGW theory or not. Have affordable energy. To eat what you want. To have enough money to spend. AI <i>[sic]</i> freedoms the climate religion wants to take away."	I, II, III	Audience (NL & UK)
		Elitist ideology			"The #ClimateChange #ClimateStrike is only for white young people, children from the elite. Never heard no in their lives. Never had to work, travelled around the world with daddy' s money."	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)

	Overpopulati on			Posts address the cause of the problem as overpopulation. [as a response to the Mothers' March]	"And once again XR is encouraging this activity [reproduction], instead of highlighting the harm overpopulation is doing to our planet. You should have a 'Bring your own private jet'-in next time. It would probably be less damaging to the environment than these lot."	II	Audience (UK)
	Mass immigration			Posts name the cause of the problem as mass immigration.	"Droom maar lekker verder sukkels wanneer gaan jullie eigenlijk eens protesteren voor het verminderen van de overbevolking van Nederland. Door bepaalde bevolkingsgroepen die ook allemaal een huis moeten hebben een auto en met vliegtuig naar het land van herkomst willen."	II, III	Audience (NL & UK)
	Polluters	China		Posts present other perspectives on pollution and who to blame for it or counterframe actors blamed by XR.	"LOL. Ga dan bij de Chinese ambassade protesteren, stelletje wappies. China is de grootste verneuker van de natuur en biodiversiteit op aarde."	I	Audience (NL)
		ABN			"En dan ga je net protesteren bij een bank die juist enorm inzet op diversiteit, inclusiviteit & sustainability. En het gebouw waarnaast ze zitten is CO2 neutraal en gebouwd met hergebruikt materiaal. #leesjeeerstevenin..."	II	Audience (NL)

		Development			<p>"Als je nog iets meer tijd hebt, kijk dan ook even naar deze discussie over fossiele brandstoffen.</p> <p>Misschien niet wat je wilt horen, maar wel eerlijk. [link to : (Is There Still a Debate Over Climate Change? Alex Epstein ENVIRONMENT Rubin Report)] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJmL9hRrIQ&feature=youtu.be" [Alex Epstein explains that due to the ability of humans to extract fossil fuels, they managed to get more developed and progress].</p>	III	Audience (NL)
		HS2			<p>"Great to see work on this essential green project progressing. HS2 brings;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ Huge cut to 170 daily London-Edinburgh/Glasgow flights as train journey marches flight time. □ Splitting fast & slow trains brings huge green rail capacity, up from 750m to 2Bn in 25 yrs already. [picture showing the amount of rail passengers in Britatain between 1830 and 2015]" 	III	Audience (UK)
	Point of no return			Posts present current time as a point of no return, meaning that it is too late now to change anything.	"We're beyond salvation on this one guys.... Whist the transition can't come quick enough, the tipping point has come and gone. Nations now have to adapt to a changong climate...."	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)
	Environment VS Climate			Posts present a difference between the notions of environment and climate.	"Dat klopt dat zie ik niet. Ik baseer mij op zowel algemeen geaccepteerde theorie en dat wat gedoodverfd wordt en weeg dat. En voor nu kom ik tot de conclusie dat er voor het milieu wel zaken verbeterd kunnen worden. Maar voor klimaat stellen wij niks voor."	III	Audience (NL)

	Priority			Posts identify the problem of public health crisis as of higher importance than that of climate crisis.	"Think we have a little more to worry about at the moment your day will come guys ! [picture of planet earth with "closed for repairs" text over it]"	III	Audience (UK)
Public image counterframing				The public image counterframing present XR and its protesters in a light different from the one XR is promoting.			
	Aggressive			Messages address that through their actions they are showing that they are not peaceful, but aggressive.	"Omdat hippies niet te vertrouwen zijn en de ervaringen met links volk heeft geleerd dat ze nogal agressief zijn."	III	Audience (NL)
		Anarchists			"You may want anarchy but the majority do not and the majority do not want your disruption which is bullying."	I, II	Audience (UK)
		Vandals			"Nothing peaceful about stopping traffic and disrupting the daily lives of Londoners You are the vandals!"	II	Audience (UK)
		Terrorists			"Is ook hun DNA afgenomen? Zijn ze net als Antifa op de terroristen lijst gekomen."	II	Audience (NL)
		Revolutioners			"Zo duidelijk, anti kapitalistisch, pro communistisch het klimaat gejang spel is dus gewoon een dekmantel om ons systeem omver te werpen."	III	Audience (NL)
	Cult			Posts which address XR as in terms of a cult and radical group.	"Weer nieuwe pioniers die tegen elkaar worden opgezet ! Het heeft de naam #ExtinctionRebellion gekregen. Verdeel en Heers . Het wordt steeds gekker en gekker ,indoctrinatie Media . De Nederlanders kunnen niet meer logisch nadenken."	II	Audience (UK & NL)

		Hippies			"Omdat hippies niet te vertrouwen zijn en de ervaringen met links volk heeft geleerd dat ze nogal agressief zijn."	III	Audience (NL)
	Uneducated			Posts describe the group as uneducated.	"What are your thoughts on the constant downgrading of the ECS value? Oh yeah, I forgot, you're just a bunch of kids who haven't got a clue what you're talking about. "	I, III	Audience (UK & NL)
	Unemployed			Posts identify XR protesters as unemployed and recommend them to find a job instead of protesting.	"Ongelimeerde creativiteit als het gaat om het verzinnen van excuses om niet te hoeven werken. En dan ook nog de mensen die hun rekening betalen dwarszitten met verkeersblokkades."	I, II, III	Audience (NL & UK)
	Anti-diversity			Posts present XR as homogenous rather than diverse.	"Why is ER mostly made up of white middle class people??"	II, III	Audience (NL & UK)
Methods (prognostic) counterframing				The methods (prognostic) counterframing critiques the methods chosen by XR due to their uselessness in getting the outcomes XR wants to achieve and proposes alternative solutions.			
	Crime			Posts identify XR actions as a crime.	"All those non-violent protesters sitting in the street certainly seemed to be causing a lot of 'carnage' & 'damage'. That guy who superglued himself to the BIS department door sure was 'inflicting chaos' on London... how they let people get away with these 'crimes' is beyond me."	I	Audience (UK)
		Keeping police from actual crime-prevention			"[...] or to hold up cells and take police away from fighting crime.... but it fits your narrative...."	II, III	Audience (UK & NL)

	Empty words			Posts state that XR is not proposing any concrete solutions.	"Hallam really didn't come across well at all. He was given several chances to share some ideas but said he didn't want to. Causes are all well and good but they need to be backed up with solutions, immediate or long term, which didn't happen here."	I	Audience (UK)
	Theater			Posts describe XR actions as theatrical and useless.	"Wat de fuck is een die-in nou weer? Onder het motto van "waarom het debat aangaan wanner je ook quasi emotioneel amateurtheater kan opdringen aan een handjevol willekeurige voorbijgangers?"	I, II	Audience (NL)
	Anti population growth			Posts describe children-free life as a solution.	Get a vasectomy. Hand out condoms. Talk about planned parenthood. Swarming leads to famine during habitat collapse.	I, II	Audience (UK)
	Costs			Posts address the costs that come with XR protests.	"Read the above article about the 220M fund that the British taxpayer has created to make Fusion a reality.... then calculate the cost of the disruption that XR are causing, then look at the weather in London for the next 12 days..."	II	Audience (UK & NL)
	Choice			The message address the need to provide a choice for people.	"I think people in isolation and homeless might like a choice if they want vegan or not some may be meat eaters"	III	Audience (UK)
	Pandemic / Nature healing?			Posts describe the COVID-19 pandemic as a solution to the problem of climate crisis.	"The pandemic is doing our work for us right now."	III	Audience (UK)
	Hypocrisy counterframing			The hypocrisy counterframing presents XR as hypocrites who are going against what they claim to stand for.			

	Hypocrisy			Posts address that XR actions contradict what they claim to be standing for and acting towards .	"Did you drive on a road to get there, use a rail line? HS2 is the least bad option for a sustainable environment"	II, III	Audience (NL & UK)
		Pollution			"Causing traffic jams that result in idling car engines to pump out loads of (real) pollution."	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)
	Immorality			Posts address disruption of work of emergency services and a possibility of killing people indirectly because of that.	"You stopped the emergency services from doing their jobs"	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)
		Risk			"What a bunch of #hypocrites you are! Here's one of your #covidiot protesters 'respecting' health and safety by putting people at risk. #hs2"	III	Audience (UK)
Police counterframing				The police counterframing comes a response to the chanting "police, we love you, we do this for your children" and present the police force as an opponent since non-white groups are more vulnerable to police violence and arrests.			
	ACAB			Posts employ the ACAB acronym and describe police's actions as offensive.	How about "Police, you're traitors, but we do this for your children, too!" Not quite the same ring to it, but seriously we need to not be encouraging people to say nice things to cops who are just there to abuse us and protect the ruling class capitalists from us	II	Audience (NL)
	Police violence			Posts address the issue of police violence.	"This is why people of colour are not joining the movement. Police violence and racial profiling is real. Please stop	I, II	Audience (UK & NL)

					this."		
Human rights counterframing	Righ to freedom of movement			Posts oppose the human rights framing given by XR and its supporters and describe the right to freedom of movement as being jeopardized.	"Ze brachten zo ook het verkeer in gevaar en ontnamen het recht van passeren van werkende mensen en toeristen . Niet lullen . Het was verboden dus tegen de wet ."	II	Audience (NL)