

# **Polarised Media Framing of Climate Protests: A Comparative Mixed-Methods Analysis of Australia and Germany**

## **Abstract**

This empirical study investigates the media framing of climate protests in Australia and Germany. Media frames serve as powerful tools for shaping public perceptions of complex social issues. While previous research has focused on the framing strategies employed by climate activists, we are examining how news media outlets themselves frame the climate protests within different political contexts. This is particularly relevant as climate protests have become a focal point in contentious public debates in recent years. Employing a mixed-methods approach, we integrate qualitative and computational methods to identify frames used in news stories about climate protests. This study pioneers a dual-language approach, encompassing both English and German, thereby enriching frame analysis in political communication research. Employing a comparative approach, we consider the political leanings of media outlets, different types of protests, and the influence of political and media systems in two countries, assessing the impact of these factors on the framing of climate protests. The results reveal that right-leaning media outlets frame the protests and activists more negatively, defining them as a problem to societal cohesion rather than a solution to climate change. Regarding the relationship between media, political context, and climate protest framing, the results show that the Australian media landscape exhibits less diverse framing compared to Germany. We discuss the results in the context of news media polarisation and public opinion formation.

**Keywords:** climate protest, news media polarisation, framing, mixed-methods

Submission prepared for Political Communication Division  
74th Annual ICA Conference | Gold Coast | 20-24 June 2024

## Introduction

The problem of climate change and the urgency of climate protests, while evident to some, have ignited a heated debate in the wider public. Public discourse has been intensified by the emergence of more disruptive protests in response to stricter legislation and court rulings against activists. The discourse is ingrained within national and international media landscapes, where diverse media organisations assume distinct roles within democratic societies. As a result, some media outlets view themselves as open platforms accommodating a multitude of diverse voices, while others align more closely with a more limited and ideologically cohesive set of viewpoints resonating with their partisan audiences. Against this background, recent research at the intersection of politics, media, and communication has focused on media polarisation regarding topics such as climate change (Chinn et al., 2020) and COVID-19 (Hart et al., 2020). However, few studies directly measure media polarisation through media content itself (Author, 2022; Kubin & Sikorski, 2021). And even fewer studies focus on countries other than the US. While one possible approach to media polarisation gauges the political leanings of media outlets through audience surveys (Park et al., 2023: 33), this study addresses the gap by examining polarisation through the overlaps or discrepancies in the framing of climate protests adopted in the news content of media outlets.

The effectiveness of fostering constructive public debate about climate change through the reporting and framing of climate protests depends on a complex interplay of factors within the context of media and political systems. The first set of factors lies within the media outlets themselves: their perception of their public or democratic role, and the political-ideological alignment of their editorial board, individual journalists, and audience. Furthermore, media framing is a result of an interplay between political elites, public opinion, and the media themselves. And finally, the level of organisation and communication strategies employed by protest movements should have an influence on the media's coverage of them. Climate protests may adopt more or less disruptive actions and communication strategies (e.g., Gardner et al., 2022), thereby influencing how the public, media, and political actors perceive their agenda. In light of these dynamics, this comparative study addresses the overarching research question: *How do media outlets frame climate protests within different political contexts?*

Against this backdrop, the study comparatively analyses how media outlets with varying political ideological leanings frame climate protests, considering the spectrum of more and less

disruptive protests within two distinct democratic political and media systems, Australia, and Germany. While prior research focused on dissecting the framing strategies employed by climate activists themselves, our focus is on the examination of how media outlets frame climate protests as central subjects within the realm of contentious public discourse. Social protests and movements have the potential to drive societal and political change. In modern democracies, mainstream media determine whether protests garner attention, and the manner of this attention, as influenced by media framing, impacts on whether they gain acceptance and support from the general public. Using a mixed-methods approach, we integrate qualitative and computational techniques to identify frames in news stories. This is the first study to develop a mixed-methods approach for both English and German language, advancing frame analysis techniques within the field of political communication research. The carefully developed dictionaries we utilise serve as a new resource for future comparative research.

## **Literature Review**

### *Previous Research on Media Framing of Climate Protests*

Journalists, much like researchers, often start with working hypotheses or story frames that guide their interviews, document analysis, and data collection. These frames play a role in shaping news coverage and influencing the public's perception of topics, events, and other people. Framing, as the way media present and emphasise information, impacts on people's thinking and judgments regarding political issues (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1991). Against this backdrop, frames can be understood as interpretive patterns setting "boundaries of discourse" (Entman 1993: 55). The framing of news stories in alignment with deep-rooted personal or shared values shapes public opinion on attitudinal objects, such as ethnic minorities, social movements, or specific policies. The effectiveness of news in fostering constructive public debate about climate change and climate protest through reporting and framing hinges on a complex interplay of factors within the context of media and political systems.

Numerous studies have examined how news media frame climate change and climate science (e.g., Feldman et al., 2017; Schäfer & O'Neill, 2018). Comparatively, there have been relatively few studies focusing on how the media frame environmental protests. The studies that do exist focused on the framing strategies employed by those climate activists that are successfully picked up by the media (Emilsson et al., 2020; Chen et al., 2022). For instance,

Chen et al. (2022) demonstrated that, following the pandemic lockdowns, discussions regarding policy and attribution of responsibility increased in frames related to climate protests. Their study, however, did not centre on how the media frame protests, but rather on the frames used by those climate activists that make their way into the media. Other work has documented the Fridays for Future movement in Germany, where researchers found that the COVID-19 pandemic led to a decrease in calls for protests while increasing discussions on thematic coverage (Haßler et al., 2021).

### *Political Ideology and Media Framing of Climate Protests*

Researchers frequently compare media outlets and position them along a basic political-ideological spectrum from far left to far right, often based on audience surveys (Mitchell et al., 2018; Park et al., 2023). Amongst such audiences, more right-leaning and conservative individuals usually prioritise stability over social change and tend to be more sceptical of social movements and protests than left-leaning or progressive individuals. Against this background, survey data reveal politically polarised opinions, showing for instance the deep divisions in the United States along ideological lines: those with right-leaning or conservative views are less supportive of climate action and more inclined to deny the reality of climate change as a problem, whereas those on the political left accept climate science and express concerns about climate change (Nisbet, 2009). Interestingly, this clear divide was not always present in the US: in the late 1990s, conservatives were as likely as progressives to consider climate change an important issue (Krosnick et al., 2000). A similar picture can be observed in Australia, where much as in the US climate change denial campaigns have contributed to shifting and polarising public opinion (Taylor, 2014). Although 87% of Australians indicate that climate change should be a government priority (Bradley et al., 2022), environmental protests and climate action continue to be embroiled in polarised public discourse.

Regarding the political leaning of climate protesters, internationally a majority aligns with left-leaning ideologies and supports ‘Green parties’ and ‘Democratic socialist parties’ (Emilsson et al., 2020). When applying the four frame elements developed by Jecker (2014) based on Entman’s (1993) framing approach, the frames applied to the coverage of climate protests in the media should differ in their problem definition, cause, blame attribution, solution, and addressee of solution (see also Author, 2019). Media outlets with right-leaning orientations

might portray not climate change but climate protests as the problem, emphasising potential disruptions and conflicts. Conversely, left-leaning media outlets may express solidarity with the objectives of climate protesters, advocating for climate action that promises benefits for all individuals equally.

H1: While right-leaning media outlets are more likely to portray climate protests as problematic, centre and left-leaning media will take a neutral stance or advocate for climate action.

### *Media Framing within Distinct Political and Media Systems*

In analysing the interplay between the political system, media system, and the media framing concerning climate protest, we also consider the distinct democratic models underpinning the political systems of Australia and Germany. These two nations exemplify different prototypes of democratic systems. Germany aligns more with a consensus democracy which emphasises power-sharing, multi-party cooperation, and proportional representation (Lijphart, 2017, 30 ff.). In this context, the political landscape displays characteristics like executive power-sharing in broad multi-party coalitions, a balanced executive-legislative relationship, multi-party systems, proportionally representative electoral systems, and a coordinated, ‘corporatist’ interest group system aimed at compromise and concertation. On the other hand, Australia leans towards a majoritarian, Westminster-style democracy (Lijphart, 2017, 9 ff.), where political power tends to be concentrated in the hands of the current majority. In this system, key characteristics include one-party majority cabinets, executive dominance over the legislature, two-party systems, majoritarian and disproportional electoral systems, and pluralist interest group systems characterised by free-for-all competition among various groups. However, Australia has adjusted some of these elements, making it slightly more consensual than a pure Westminster approach.

In the media system in Australia, Rupert Murdoch’s media conglomerate News Corporation has played a significant role in contributing to climate change denialism and is consequently not expected to be supportive of climate protests in its news coverage. For example, Bacon (2013) found a strong contrast between the media outlets then owned by Fairfax Media, where 10% of articles either rejected or cast doubt on climate change, and media outlets owned by NewsCorp, where 41% of articles did the same. This result is consistent with Manne (2011) and his study of the flagship NewsCorp newspaper *The Australian*. It is not clear, however, how this bias manifests at the level of the media system, and how strongly NewsCorp

dominates the overall narrative. In contrast, the German media system stands out as comparatively pluralistic, incorporating preventive mechanisms to curb the potential for media companies to act as cartels, which should lead to more diverse perspectives of climate protests. The German media system has been classified as ‘democratic corporatist’ by Hallin and Mancini (2004), combining a relatively partisan press that reflects different political leanings, with a robust system of public broadcasting that is independent from the state and aims to maintain neutrality and balance rather than exhibit political bias. While there are a few influential publishing houses, none of them can dominate the media landscape. Against this background, we ask:

RQ1: How do media and political systems influence attention to and framing of climate protests in German and Australian media outlets?

#### *Framing of More or Less Disruptive Climate Protest Movements*

In addition, the protest movements themselves influence how the media frame their actions. The level of organisation and communication strategies employed by these movements impact on the media coverage they receive. For both countries, our study focuses on the prominent, globally organised climate movement ‘Fridays for Future’ (FFF). In the case of Germany, we also consider ‘Letzte Generation’ (LG), which began as a smaller group in 2021 and has operated in a more organised manner since 2022 in Austria, Germany, and Italy (Rucht, 2023). While FFF mobilised mass protests on the streets, inspiring other groups to organise (Parents for Future, Scientists for Future, etc.), LG focused on actions designed to raise public attention, such as blocking highways, ports, and airports. In Australia, FFF is associated with ‘School Strike 4 Climate’ (SS4C), while there is also a more disruptive movement, ‘Extinction Rebellion’ (XR) (Gardner et al., 2022), whose actions are broadly equivalent to Letzte Generation in Germany. We expect that protest movements engaging in more disruptive forms of activism (LG, XR) receive more attention from the media overall than those that engage in more generic protests (FFF, SS4C). However, they are also likely to be perceived more negatively by political elites and mass public opinion, thus potentially leading to a stronger division within media landscapes. Therefore, we pose the following question:

RQ2: How do media frame disruptive climate protests compared to non-disruptive protests?

## Data and Methods

To address our assumptions and research questions, we collected a news data set containing articles on climate protests. We employed a mixed-methods approach that combined qualitative in-depth frame analysis with a computational pipeline using the Word2Vec text analysis method as well as transformer-based classifiers to identify toxicity and anger in the news stories.

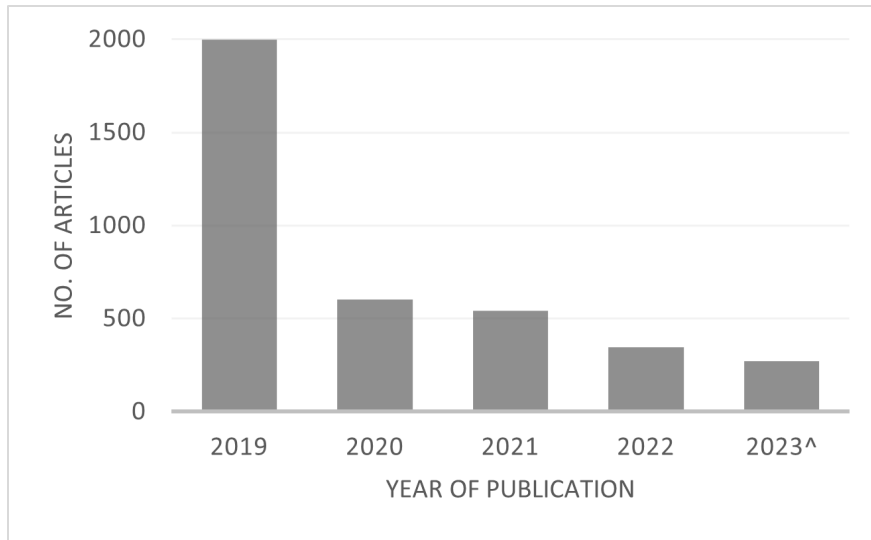
### *Media Selection, Data Collection, and Data Cleaning*

For the media outlet selection, we drew on audience reach information (e.g., Behre, 2023; Park et al. 2022), data from the Public Interest Journalism Initiative (PIJI) in Australia and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analyse (AGMA) in Germany, as well as our own knowledge to establish a list of the key media outlets for each country. In addition to overall reach, we paid particular attention to the inclusion of a diverse range of news outlets that covered a broad ideological spectrum in each country. We made our selection of news outlets with a deliberate emphasis on diversity, encompassing a range of source types, including daily newspapers and magazines, outlets with national and regional reach, available in both print and online formats. The selection process intentionally incorporated two far-right and two far-left media outlets per country. The objective behind this inclusion was to encompass a wider ideological spectrum in the analysis. The selection of these outlets considered their online, social media, and blog site relevance. Unlike mainstream news sources, audience reach information is less readily available for these outlets. Articles from outlets that maintained both online and print versions were merged, and duplicates were removed. Accordingly, in this analysis, no distinction was made regarding the publication format (online or offline). We included 19 Australian media outlets and 21 German media outlets. A full list of target outlets for each country is included in (Appendix, Table 5).

Data for most of the mainstream outlets were collected using the commercial global news database Factiva. For those outlets not accessible through Factiva, namely *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Tichys Einblick*, *Junge Freiheit*, *Junge Welt*, *Neues Deutschland*, *Red Flag*, *Green Left*, *Rebel News*, *Quadrant* and *Independent Australia*, articles were separately scraped from their own online databases. All HTML content from the articles retrieved was processed to extract the article's title, date of publication, and main text. Our data gathering approach used the following search phrases to identify relevant news articles, for Germany "Fridays for Future" OR

“Letzte Generation” and for Australia “Fridays for Future” OR “School Strike 4 Climate” OR “School Strike for Climate” OR “Extinction Rebellion”. We gathered all articles containing these phrases from our list of news outlets in Germany and Australia.

*Figure 1. Number of Australian News Articles with FFF, SS4C or XR, 2019-2023*

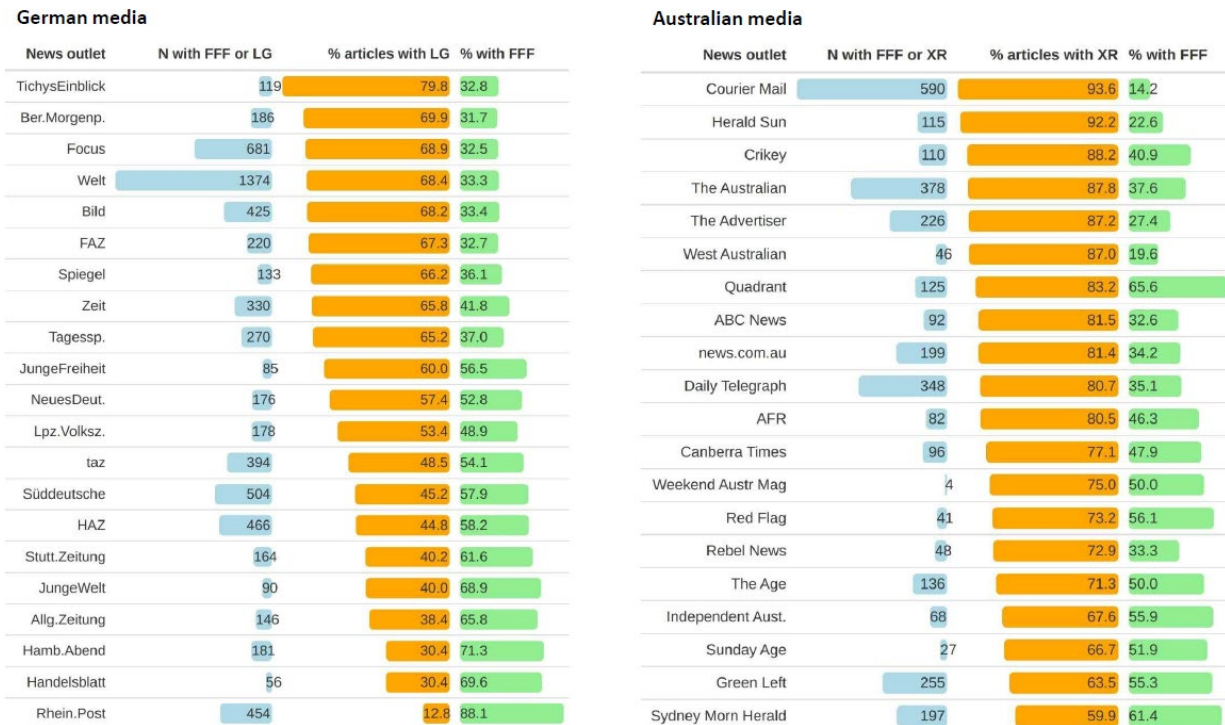


*Note:* ^Data for 2023 ends at 31.10.2023 as that is the date of collection, Factiva data

After an initial review of these datasets, we settled on distinct timeframes for the further analysis of data from each country: For Germany, we selected articles published between 1st January 2022 and 30th September 2023. The rationale for this time frame was to commence data collection as soon as ‘Letzte Generation’ began operating as a more organised movement under this name, therefore enabling a comparative perspective regarding different types of protests in German media. For Australia, we selected articles published between 1 January 2019 and 30 September 2023. The extended timeframe for the Australian dataset starting from January 1, 2019, was chosen due to a notable increase in media coverage of climate protests in 2019, which was identified during a preliminary exploration of coverage patterns before data collection (Figure 1). Such news coverage of climate protests declines precipitously in Australia after 2019, which can be attributed to the introduction of stricter laws against disruptive protests that mirror similar legislative initiatives in the UK. In response to these legal changes, activists adopted a more cautious and less public approach. The combined corpus, after deduplication (see Figure 2 and text below), totalled 9,815, including 3,183 news articles for Australia and 6,632 articles for Germany.



Figure 2. Nr Articles per Media Outlet, Germany (left, N=6,632), Australia (right, N=3,182)



Note: Last two columns for each country display the percentage of the total (N) that includes either of the activist groups.

If any of the search phrases appeared at least once in the headline or body of an article, the news article was included in our analysis. We also conducted a manual verification process, during which we found instances where climate protest was not the primary focus but a secondary topic within the article. However, we made a deliberate choice to include such articles to capture the framing used in cases where climate protest was not the central theme.

To extract only the relevant textual information, we removed author names, email addresses, and HTML data from the articles. Additionally, to ensure data integrity and eliminate redundancy in our analyses, we calculated the cosine similarity between all paragraphs, defined as text in the title and body of an article, to identify and remove (near) duplicates as published, for instance, across multiple news publications owned by the same publishing house (cut-off = 0.95).

### *A Mixed-Methods Approach to Media Frame Analysis*

The strength of this mixed-methods approach lies in its combination of an in-depth researcher-led manual approach with linguistic and computational methods for large-scale frame analysis. The qualitative, inductive frame analysis involves the manual identification of frames through a thorough reading of the news texts. This approach allows researchers to explore the full spectrum of frames in a nuanced manner (van Gorp, 2007), thereby understanding the underlying meaning behind words and phrases. However, qualitative frame analyses are time-consuming and are typically applied within more limited media and political contexts. Therefore, we leveraged the expert knowledge gained through the qualitative analysis to develop a computational approach for identifying media frames related to climate protests. Our analytical focus is directed towards paragraphs within these articles that contain mentions of FFF/SS4C or LG/XR. To differentiate the news framing of the distinct climate protest movements, we deployed (a) an initial qualitative frame analysis, and (b) a *Word2Vec*-based computational frame analysis. This analysis helped us map the semantic space within our entire corpus, and to identify the specific words associated with distinct discursive frames. This established connections between these frames and the individual climate movements. We then employed (c) *BERT/Transformer*-based classifiers assessing toxicity and anger in those paragraphs explicitly mentioning one of the protest groups.

We integrated the identified frames, toxicity, and anger into two regression models (Appendix, Table 10), one for each country. This allowed us to analyse the associations of each metric within the discourse, both in terms of the specific movements and across the various media outlets. This analysis culminated in the creation of a thematic space that visually represented how the identified structures related to the discursive frames, anger, and toxicity. We explain the steps taken towards this analysis in the following subsection.

#### **Anger and Toxicity: Transformer-based Classifiers**

First, we utilised pre-trained BERT-based classifiers. BERT (Bidirectional Encoder Representations of Transformers) is a robust, open-source Masked Language Model developed by Google AI, trained on extensive textual data to effectively represent language while preserving its contextual nuances (Devlin et al., 2019). This study employed BERT-based models fine-tuned for specific classification tasks and validated for German- and English-language texts. Since our primary focus was on the language directly related to the activist groups, this part of our analysis was restricted to the subset of paragraphs explicitly mentioning

FFF/SS4C or LG/XR (N = 12,011/6,836). No further data cleaning was required for this analysis, as BERT-based models tend to derive significant benefits from the contextual information present in the original text.

Pursuant to the goal of identifying the degree of toxicity in each paragraph, we applied the models “german-cased-toxic-comments” (ML6 Team, 2022) and “bert-toxic-comment-classification” (Li, 2023), and qualitatively tested passages with high values for validity (Appendix, Table 9). The models identify an entire text as toxic or non-toxic, in conjunction with a corresponding probability distribution. As the labelling of the training data included toxicity, hate speech and profanity, the labels produced by the model can be understood as highlighting extreme and offensive language.

For the detection of anger, the XLM-EMO model was utilised (Bianchi et al., 2022). It is trained on 15 different datasets across multiple languages, including German and English, boasting an F1 score of 0.85. This classifier distinguishes between four emotions: joy, anger, fear, and sadness. In line with established practices within the affective polarisation literature (Valentino et al., 2011), our analysis focused on anger. It is worth noting that the classifier assigns probabilities across the four emotional categories, which always sum up to one. Consequently, we included only anger in our subsequent analysis.

### **Qualitative Frame Analysis**

For the qualitative analysis, we randomly selected 1 news article from each media outlet leading to a sample of 39 news articles, which were accessed online on the websites of the media outlets. The selected news articles were read completely, and frame elements (problem definition, cause, blame, solution, addressee) that emerged from them were coded. For example, if a frame element (e.g., a specific problem definition) was present, it was attributed to a speaker (e.g., the journalist, a quoted source) and documented in the coding sheet (see Appendix, Table 6). This approach allowed us to also consider visual materials, such as photos and infographics. Building upon these insights, we proceeded with a computational text analysis of the accumulated text corpus.

### **Computational Frame Analysis: Word2Vec**

We trained a Word2Vec model that, separately for each national dataset, embedded all words in the corpus of articles referencing FFF/SS4C or LG/XR into a common multi-dimensional vector space. In this space, the proximity between words reflects their semantic similarity. To enhance

the final model’s quality, we followed recommended preprocessing steps (Montani et al., 2023), including lowercasing, lemmatisation, and stopword removal.

All articles were segmented into paragraphs and classified based on whether they contained references to FFF, SS4C, LG, XR, or none of these groups. To further improve the performance and interpretability of the Word2Vec model, we applied a named entity recognition algorithm, identifying variations and misspellings when referring to a single entity, consolidating them into a common root (e.g., combining XR’s, XR, and Extinction Rebellion to one root).

Word2Vec has been found to be superior in the detection of media frames compared to topic modelling (Yu & Fliethmann, 2021). However, a common issue arises in that computational models are often trained in one language and may not perform as effectively in another. Some researchers attempt to tackle this challenge by taking the output of a model trained in one language, primarily English, and translating it into another language. This approach assumes that media frames can be directly translated, which holds true in some cases but not in others.

*Table 1. Top 20 Words for German Media Outlets, English Translation*

Top 20 words most closely associated with...			
... FFF	... LG	... FFF, not LG	... LG, not FFF
local group	extremist	local group	chaots
climate justice	militant	demonstration	attack
<i>lehrt</i>	prison	climate strike	rebellion
<i>wülfrath</i>	highway blockade	climate justice	traffic
spin-off	radical	peace	attack
haan	activist	demonstration	criminal
students for future	climate protector	global	consequence
climate strike	gluing	friday	highway blockade
friday	meanwhile	joint	block
participation	agitation	manifestation	extremist
local	extinction rebellion	strike	protest group
parents for future	gluing	call	means
joint	file charges	event	gluing
region	agitate	organizer	blockade action
solidarity	form of action	appeal	try
peace	chaos/troublemaker	organizer	member
forum	current	theme	accuse
mobilize	expose	participant	verify
call	rebellion	load	means
current	illegal	worldwide	legal

*Note:* N = 6,632 articles, ordered in terms of cosine similarity. Words had to appear at least 30 times to be included in the list. Words in italics indicate place names.

Table 2. Top 20 Words for Australian Media Outlets

Top 20 words most closely associated with...			
... FFF/SS4C	... XR	... FFF/SS4C, not XR	... XR, not FFF/SS4C
strike	anti-adani	strike	traffic
organise	year-old	student	glue
student-led	fire proof	education	chain
student	ratbag	united	locomotive
walkout	antifa	parent	attach
teaching	disturbance	class	delay
<i>doha</i>	visibility	<i>egypt</i>	glass
in-person	activist	principal	extremist
inspire	flyer	<i>newington</i>	block
school age	die-hard	attend	peak hours
movement	attention-seeking	sustainable	stunt
<i>castlemaine</i>	ragtag	skip	road
unionist	beemergency	milestone	tactic
action	disrupter	literacy	attempt
vigil	arrestable	<i>norway</i>	courtroom
<i>brisbane</i>	headache	classroom	flare
<i>glenunga</i>	uprising	kid	acetone
year-old	viciously	solidarity	defendant
thunberg	graffities	ceremony	selfish
solidarity	guerilla	international	stupid

Note: N = 3,183 articles, ordered in terms of cosine similarity. Words needed to appear at least 15 times in order to be included in the list. Words in italics indicate place names.

We therefore derived the frames based on the data for each country, enabling us to consider language and cultural patterns while trying to grasp similar concepts in the semantic space of both countries: we first identified the words within each country’s vector space that were most closely associated with each activist group. The first two columns in Table 2 and 3 display these words, for Germany translated into English. The other two columns reveal the words that were most uniquely associated with one group but not the other, serving as distinguishing words. Collectively, these words offer insights into the semantic neighbourhood of each activist group and highlight notable distinctions between movements.

In an inductive process, an extension of the list of most associated words was used to select distinct terms and construct dictionaries for three frames that could be identified for both the Australian and German journalistic sphere: “Crime and Legal Questions”, “Extremism”, and “Global Climate Justice”. Words in each dictionary were selected, initially from the top-100 lists

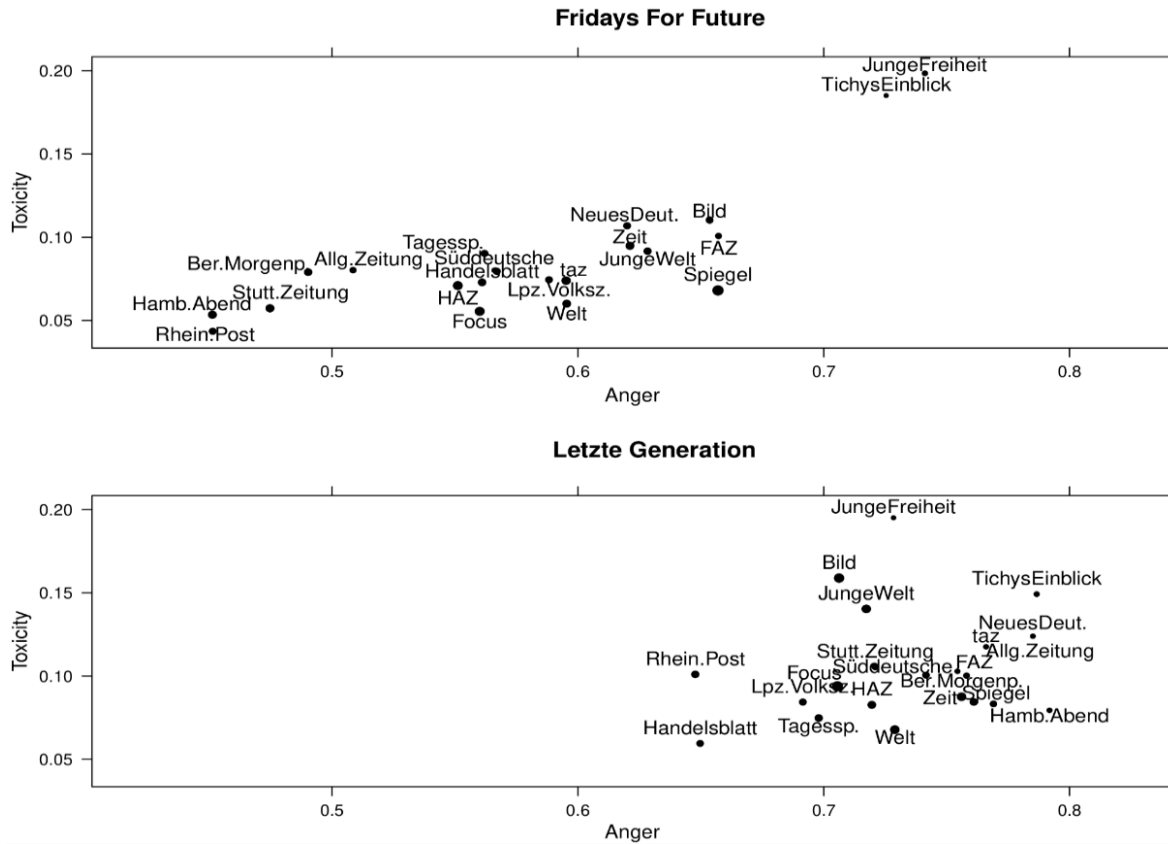
and, in a second stage, from words associated with words from the top-100 lists (i.e., second degree associations with LG and FFF, and XR and SS4C). This resulted in three dictionaries with 12–20 words each per country. Tables 3 and 4 (see Results) present an overview of the 10 most frequently used terms in each dictionary and, therefore, frame. We then counted, per paragraph, how often words from each dictionary appeared, and divided this count by the overall number of words within the paragraph. This produced a metric of frame prevalence per paragraph, which was then accumulated and used to visualise frame usage per media outlet.

## **Results**

The qualitative content analysis revealed that, in both countries, news articles either defined the climate protests as a problem or as a solution. The articles defining protests as a problem differed in the intensity with which they perceived them as problematic, ranging from mere annoyance to describing the protests in general or individual actions as extremist or even terroristic behaviour. Alternatively, some news articles identified climate change and its consequences as the primary problematic issue, framing climate protests and actions as solutions. Yet another set of articles, overlapping with the latter, identified stricter legislation that hinders climate protests as a problem and suggested that climate protesters have only limited lawful and non-violent options for action. Another observation from the qualitative coding process was that, in both countries, irrespective of the political leaning of the media outlet and the type of protest, news about climate protests tended not to address specific individuals or groups as responsible for implementing solutions. This can be explained by the fact that most news articles focused on problems, taking a more negative stance, rather than on solutions, which would involve a more optimistic perspective.

In H1, we assumed that right-leaning media outlets would be more likely to portray climate protests as problematic, while centrist and left-leaning media would take a more neutral stance or advocate for climate action. To test H1, we used toxicity and anger scores for paragraphs where the protests are mentioned. The comparative view of media outlets with varying political orientations reveals distinct trends in their treatment of climate protests regarding toxic or angry language (Figure 2 and 3).

Figure 3. Toxicity and Anger Around Climate Protests in German Media Outlets

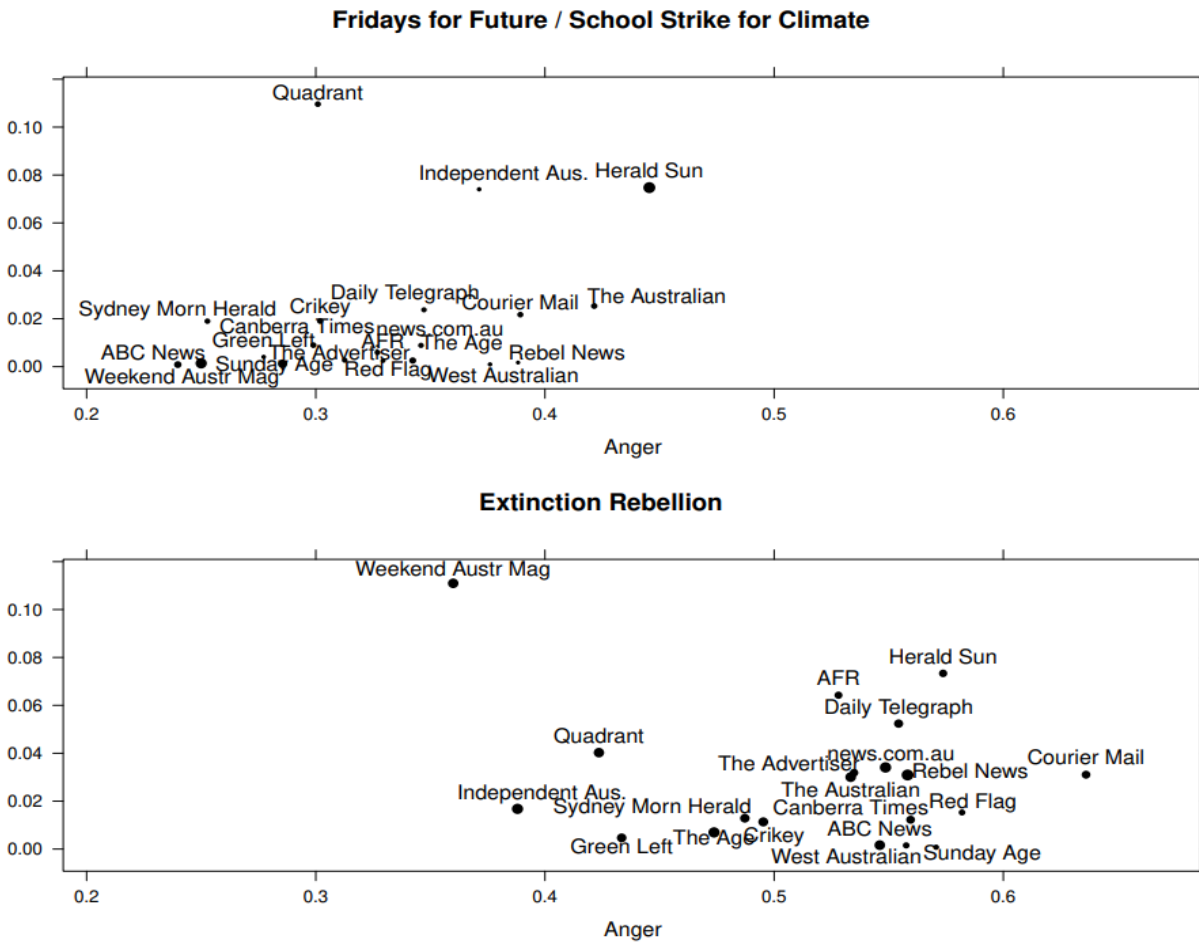


Right-leaning and conservative news outlets such as *Junge Freiheit*, *Tichys Einblick*, *Quadrant*, *Herald Sun*, *The Australian*, and *Australian Financial Review* exhibit a higher prevalence of toxicity and anger when discussing climate protests, compared to left-leaning outlets.

Particularly striking are the elevated toxicity scores observed in the far-right outlets *Junge Freiheit*, *Tichys Einblick* (both Figure 3), and *Quadrant* (Figure 4). The *Weekend Magazine of The Australian*, despite being a part of a broadsheet newspaper generally considered centre-right, displays notably high levels of toxicity in its coverage of Extinction Rebellion, deviating very strongly from the broadsheet it belongs to. This may be due to the greater prevalence of opinion pieces and human-interest stories in the magazine as compared to the weekday newspaper editions: greater levels of emotionality might be expected in this type of content. Contrary to our assumption, some left-leaning media also exhibit elevated levels of anger when addressing climate protests. In comparison to mainstream outlets, *Neues Deutschland*, *Junge Welt*, and *Independent Australia* demonstrate increased levels of toxicity and anger. However, the qualitative analysis suggests that angry and toxic language in these media outlets is not directed

at the climate protesters but rather at the stricter laws they are facing or at the perceived inadequacy of efforts to address the climate crisis. Therefore, overall, H1 is supported.

Figure 4. Toxicity and Anger Around Climate Protests in Australian Media Outlets



RQ1 explored the impact of media and political systems on the attention and framing of climate protests in German and Australian media outlets. Our analysis, covering 3,183 articles over five years for Australia and 6,632 articles over 1.5 years for Germany, reveals significant disparities in media coverage. Climate protests in Australia receive notably less media attention compared to their German counterparts. A combination of qualitative content analysis and Word2Vec text analysis led to the identification of three common frames for both countries: “Crime and Legal”, “Extremism”, and “Global Climate Justice”. Tables 3 and 4 present the top 10 frequently used terms within each frame. The “Global Climate Justice” frame emphasises solidarity and international aspects in both countries. In Germany, the climate justice discourse frequently intersects issues of social inequality with climate and nature protection, while the Australian



climate justice narrative predominantly centres on ethnic disparity and indigenous discrimination, including terms like ‘apartheid’, ‘indigenous’, ‘elder’, and ‘treaty’. Moreover, in the Australian context, climate justice rarely leads to debates solely on climate protection but primarily incite discussions on social inequality.

*Table 1. Frames Represented by Most Common Words in German Media Outlets*

<b>Crime &amp; Legal</b>	<b>Extremism</b>	<b>Global Climate Justice</b>
prison	radical	solidarity
illegal	militant	climate justice
prison sentence	chaos/troublemaker	global
security agency	uprising	worldwide
sabotage	extremist	climate protection
court	storming	international
raids	radicalisation	humanity
lawyer	violence	justice
search and seizure	terrorist	future
law	terror	nature protection

*Note:* For each frame, the 10 most common words were identified in German and then translated into English. For the complete German dictionary, see Appendix, Table 8.

*Table 2. Frames Represented by Most Common Words in Australian Media Outlets*

<b>Crime &amp; Legal</b>	<b>Extremism</b>	<b>Global Climate Justice</b>
law	marxist	solidarity
trespass	extremist	international
unlawful	antifa	unity
guilty	terrorist	wealth
defendant	hard left	nations
court	eco fascist	unions
arrest	militant	apartheid
disturb	raucous	indigenous
block	vandal	elder
hinder	anarchist	treaty

*Note:* Identified frames in Australian media and, for each frame, the 10 most common words. The complete dictionary list is available in the Appendix, Table 7.

Regarding the “Extremism” frame, the results indicate that while the terms used are broadly similar in both countries, in Australia, this frame appears to be more charged with political ideology, including terms such as ‘marxist’, ‘antifa’, ‘eco fascist’, ‘anarchist’. The “Crime & Legal” frame operates in a very similar manner in both countries and is associated with similar terms, with only a few exceptions, such as ‘search and seizure’ and ‘security agency’ in the

German media discourse, which focused more on the intrusion of law into the headquarters and private spaces of protesters.

Figure 5. Three Main Frames by Media Outlets and Countries



Note: Frame usage in Germany (top), and Australia (bottom). Usage of the three frames per outlet in paragraphs with references to non-disruptive (left) and disruptive (right) protests. The proximity to corners indicates outlets' focus on the respective frame.

Figure 5 illustrates the prevalence of the three frames within each media outlet and across the entire media landscape. In Germany, both types of climate protests appear less effective in getting the media to focus on Global Climate Justice, instead the media focus on legal issues and extremism, this applies especially to the more disruptive climate movement 'Letzte Generation'. When comparing LG to FFF in Germany, the shift to the "Extremism" frame is remarkably strong and unanimous across all media outlets. Conversely, climate protests in Australia seem to

be more successful in getting the news media coverage to focus on the frame Global Climate Justice, which here emphasises solidarity, social equality, and indigenous rights.

In response to RQ2, which investigates how media frame disruptive climate protests compared to non-disruptive protests, the findings reveal several notable trends. In Australia, School Strikes for Climate and Fridays for Future protests predominantly prompt discussions about “Global Climate Justice” in the media (Figure 5). In contrast, when addressing more disruptive protests, in both countries, the media framing shifts towards the use of extremism language. This shift is particularly pronounced in German news media coverage and in right-leaning media outlets. When contrasting the news coverage of more disruptive climate protests, such as LG and XR, with the less disruptive actions of FFF and SS4C, in both countries, right-leaning media deviate from the standard degree of toxicity and anger when addressing SS4C and FFF. However, again in both countries, the entire media landscape tends to exhibit this deviation when covering disruptive groups like XR or the LG, with right-leaning media outlets generally displaying the highest levels of angry or toxic language.

We calculated two logistic regression models (see Appendix, Table 6), predicting per country whether an article dealt with one of the disruptive activist groups (LG/XR) based on the usage of frames, level of anger and toxicity within its text. The models account for outlet specificities through random effects. We find that even after controlling for all our predictors in a joint model, a consistent trend emerges across both countries, indicating that more disruptive forms of climate protests tend to be framed primarily in terms their legality and extremism and with more angry language. This negative framing of the disruptive groups has the potential to further polarise public discourse, creating divisions between climate protest supporters and opponents. Additionally, it may undermine the engagement of undecided news audiences with the underlying climate crisis that more disruptive forms of protest are highlighting. Overall, the framing of disruptive and non-disruptive climate protests in the media plays distinct roles in shaping public perception and engagement with climate related issues.

## **Conclusion**

Globally, climate activists appear split over the appropriate approaches to increasing the societal take-up of their messages, and thereby increasing pressure on governments, industry, and other relevant bodies to address the climate crisis. While well-established, mainstream climate action

movements like Fridays for Future or School Strikes for Climate have successfully raised awareness for their causes, they have not yet resulted in coordinated and decisive moves towards more ambitious climate targets (and their practical implementation) around the world, and this continued inaction has led smaller and more ‘radical’ climate protest groups like ‘Letzte Generation’ and ‘Extinction Rebellion’ to engage in a series of considerably more disruptive and controversial protest actions that are designed to highlight the need to act swiftly and robustly to avert what the Secretary-General of the United Nations has now taken to call a “climate catastrophe” (UN News, 2023). But such more desperate and disruptive forms of protest also have the potential to backfire if they alienate their intended target audiences rather than winning their hearts and minds.

In mediated societies, however, protest actions are not solely – and not even primarily – perceived directly by their intended audiences. Only a comparatively small percentage of citizens in a given country will be directly affected by the acts of vandalism in galleries, disruptions at airports, or blockages of roads that recent protests by groups such as ‘Letzte Generation’ or ‘Extinction Rebellion’ have engaged in, for instance; the vast majority will encounter such actions only in their mediated form, through news reporting. This confers considerable interpretive power on journalists and news outlets and their approaches to framing these events for their audiences, and it is therefore crucial to examine how such framing, and the broader language used to describe the protests, contributes to highlighting the justifications for climate protests, emphasising the legal consequences for protesters, or demonising these activists as eco-terrorists or even, as our analysis showed, ‘eco-fascists’. Although we must be careful not to assume that all audiences will blindly accept such framing in their own interpretation of these events and their coverage, it is nonetheless likely that the repeated and consistent framing of specific activist groups in particular ways will gradually limit the potential for alternative, oppositional interpretations by members of the audience. Similarly, any persistent and stable framing approaches by the most influential news outlets may also gradually be adopted by other news organisations.

In this light, then, it is notable that our study reveals clear distinctions between the framing of mainstream and comparatively uncontroversial protest groups like ‘Fridays for Future’ and ‘School Strikes for Climate’ on the one hand, and more disruptive groups like ‘Letzte Generation’ and ‘Extinction Rebellion’: while differences in ideology between specific

news outlets mean that there is still considerable variation in their coverage of these groups, there is nonetheless an overarching distinction between the former as broadly accepted (if not always welcomed) forms of climate protest, and the latter as controversial and often condemned forms of unacceptable disruption. This pattern holds even across the significantly divergent media and political systems in Australia and Germany.

Our analysis also shows that disruptive protest groups attract considerably more anger in their news coverage, and (especially in Germany) also significantly more toxic language. This cannot help but further inflame debates about these disruptive protests, and in doing so is also likely to contribute to the deepening of (in the first place) affective polarisation between the societal groups that are seen as supporting or opposing such protests, as well as to further polarisation on the themes and issues related to climate science and policies. Even if we accept that these disruptive protests are well-intended and justified by the depth of the global climate crisis, then, they may be ultimately counterproductive in urging more comprehensive climate action, since they are readily being exploited by conservative and populist elements in the media landscape to polarise against climate activists and the actions they call for.

However, beyond the clear distinctions in the framing of mainstream and disruptive climate protest groups, our analysis also reveals a less pronounced yet nonetheless notable range of framing approaches of the same groups by news media from different ideological backgrounds. Although mainstream protest groups are generally more widely accepted than their disruptive counterparts, in other words, the coverage of their actions by right-leaning and conservative (and especially fringe) news outlets is still substantially more critical, angry, and even toxic than by more left-leaning and progressive outlets. Although this does not reach the levels of (especially affective) polarisation generated by the more disruptive groups, there is still considerable antagonism between the different ideological sides even in the coverage of these more civil and societally acceptable forms of climate protest; this too provides fertile ground for political polarisation, or indeed (as evidenced especially by the Australian case) most likely reflects pre-existing patterns of ideological polarisation in the broader political systems of each nation (Author, 2023). Interestingly, while the framing analysis suggests a more politicised portrayal of climate protesters in Australia, focusing not on specific climate policies but broader issues of inequality, this politicisation does not inherently lead to increased polarisation in discussions surrounding more disruptive climate protests.

The analysis presented here can only provide a temporary snapshot of such patterns, of course; more work is necessary to extend it across a broader range of national contexts with their own political and media systems, and to track the longitudinal evolution of framing patterns for such climate protests over time. It is important to note again that our analysis for this paper relied on different timeframes for the German and Australian case studies. This decision was made to focus on the most prominent periods of simultaneous protest activities involving more and less disruptive climate movements in recent years. However, these timeframes did not align perfectly due to the distinct impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic and its mitigation measures on the potential for climate change protests in the two countries.

We suggest that the methodological framework we have introduced here will be valuable for future studies: it usefully combines computational and qualitative methods to study framing approaches in news articles at scale and across countries and languages, and in doing so produces novel insights into how outlets choose to frame different protests and the groups that conduct them. This can be translated to other areas of controversy (e.g., government policies, or other issues like the pandemic itself), and extended to new national contexts; in doing so, it enhances our understanding of how the mediation of events and the framing of news stories can contribute to deepening or reducing issue-based, ideological, and affective polarisation in democratic societies.

## References

- Bacon, W. (2013). Climate Science in Australian Newspapers, in: *Sceptical Climate – A report on the media coverage of climate change in Australia*, Australian Centre for Independent Journalism, <http://sceptical-climate.investigate.org.au>, 22 July 2013
- Bianchi, F., Nozza, D., Hovy, D. (2022). XLM-EMO: Multilingual Emotion Prediction in Social Media Text. In *Proceedings of the 12th Workshop on Computational Approaches to Subjectivity, Sentiment & Social Media Analysis*, 195–203.
- Chen, K., Molder, A. L., Duan, Z., Boulianne, S., Eckart, C., Mallari, P. & Yang, D. (2022). How Climate Movement Actors and News Media Frame Climate Change and Strike: Evidence from Analyzing Twitter and News Media Discourse from 2018 to 2021. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 28(2), 384–413.

- Chinn, S, Hart, P. S. & Soroka, S. (2020). Politicization and Polarization in Climate Change News Content, 1985-2017. *Science Communication*, 42(1), 112–129.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99–118.
- Devlin, M. Chang, K. L., Toutanova, K. (2019). BERT: Pre-training of deep bidirectional transformers for language understanding. In *Proceedings of NAACL*.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Emilsson, K., Johansson, H. & Wennerhag, M. (2020). Frame Disputes or Frame Consensus? ‘Environment’ or ‘Welfare’ First Amongst Climate Strike Protesters. *Sustainability*, 12(3), 1–10.
- Feldman, L., Hart, P. S. & Milosevic, T. (2017). Polarizing News? Representations of Threat and Efficacy in Leading US Newspapers’ Coverage of Climate Change. *Public Understanding of Science*, 26(4), 481–97.
- Gardner, P., Carvalho, T. & Valenstain, M. (2022). Spreading Rebellion?: The Rise of Extinction Rebellion Chapters across the World. *Environmental Sociology*, 8(4), 424–435.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hart, P. S., Chinn, S. & Soroka, S. (2020). Politicization and Polarization in COVID-19 News Coverage. *Science Communication*, 42(5), 679–697.
- Haßler, J., Wurst, A.-K., Jungblut, M., Schlosser, S. (2023). Influence of the Pandemic Lockdown on Fridays for Future’s Hashtag Activism. *New Media & Society*, 25(8), 1991–2013.
- Iyengar, S. (1994). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. American Politics and Political Economy Series. University of Chicago Press.
- Jecker C. (2014). *Entmans Framing-Ansatz. Theoretische Grundlegung und empirische Umsetzung*. Konstanz: UVK.
- Kubin, E., & Sikorski, C.. (2021). The Role of (Social) Media in Political Polarization: A Systematic Review. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 45(3), 188–206.
- Li, J. (2023): *JungleLee/bert-toxic-comment-classification*. Hugging Face.
- Lijphart, A. (2017). *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press.

- Manne, R. (2011). Bad News: Murdoch's Australian and the Shaping of the Nation, Quarterly Essay, Issue 43, 1-119, online: <https://www.quarterlyessay.com.au/essay/2011/09/bad-news/extract>
- Mitchell, A., Simmons, K., Matsa, K. E., Silver, L., Shearer, E., Johnson, C., Walker, M. & Taylor, K. (2018). In Western Europe, Public Attitudes Toward News Media More Divided by Populist Views Than Left-Right Ideology, Pew Research Center, online: <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/2018/05/14/in-western-europe-public-attitudes-toward-news-media-more-divided-by-populist-views-than-left-right-ideology/>
- ML6 Team (2022). ML6team/distilbert-base-german-cased-toxic-comments. Hugging Face
- Park, S., McGuinness, K., Fisher, C. & Al, E.. (2023). Digital News Report: Australia 2023. News and Media Research Centre.
- Rucht, D. (2023). Die Letzte Generation: Beschreibung und Kritik [The Last Generation: Description and Criticism], ipb working series, 1/2023, Berlin.
- Schäfer, M. S., & O'Neill, S. (2018). Frame Analysis in Climate Change Communication: Approaches for Assessing Journalists' Minds, Online Communication and Media Portrayals. In The Oxford Encyclopedia of Climate Change Communication, edited by Matthew C. Nisbet, Shirley S. Ho, Ezra Markowitz, Saffron O'Neill, Mike S. Schäfer, and Jadadish Thaker. Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, M. (2014). Global Warming and Climate Change: What Australia Knew and Buried...Then Framed a New Reality for the Public. ANU Press.
- UN News. (2023, June 15). Guterres calls for phasing out fossil fuels to avoid climate 'catastrophe'. United Nations. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/06/1137747>
- Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E. W., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V. L. (2011). Election Night's Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation. The Journal of Politics, 73(1), 156–170.
- Van Gorp, Baldwin (2009). Strategies to Take Subjectivity Out of Framing Analysis. In Doing News Framing Analysis. Routledge.
- Yu, Q., & Fliethmann, A. (2021). Frame Detection in German Political Discourses: How Far Can We Go without Large-Scale Manual Corpus Annotation?, Proceedings of 1st Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Political Text Analysis (CPSS-2021), 13–24. Duisburg-Essen, 2021.



## Appendix

Table 3. Media Outlet Selection for Australia and Germany

<i>Regional focus</i>	<b>Australian Media</b>			<b>German Media</b>		
	<i>Media outlet</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Political Leaning</i>	<i>Media outlet</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Political Leaning</i>
national	Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)	Australian Government	left-centre*	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Fazit Foundation	right-centre*
	Daily Mail	Daily Mail and General Trust	centre*	Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	Südwestdeutsche Medien Holding	left-centre*
	news.com.au	News Corp Australia	centre*	taz	Not-for-profit org.	left**
	The New Daily	Industry Super Holdings	left-centre*	Zeit	DvH Media & Holtzbrinck	centre*
	The Australian (+ Weekend Magazine)	News Corp Australia	right-centre*	Tagesspiegel	DvH Media	centre*
	Crikey	Private Media Pty. Ltd	left*	Bild	Axel-Springer	centre-right*
	Independent Australia	Donovan Family Trust	left**	Welt	Axel-Springer	centre-right*
	Green Left Australia	Not-for-profit org.	fringe-left**	Focus	Hubert Burda Media	centre-right*
	Redflag	Socialist Alternative Australia	fringe-left**	Spiegel	Augstein Family	left-centre*
	Quadrant	Quadrant Magazine Ltd	fringe-right**	Handelsblatt	DvH Media	centre*
	Rebel News Australia	Ezra Levant	fringe-right**	Junge Welt	Not-for-profit org.	fringe-left**
	Australian Financial Review	Nine Entertainment	centre*	Neues Deutschland	German Left Party & Not-for-profit org.	fringe-left**
				Junge Freiheit	Dieter Stein	fringe-right**
				TichysEinblick	Roland Tichy	fringe-right**
regional	The Advertiser	News Corp Australia	centre*	Berliner Morgenpost	FUNKE Media	centre-right*
	The Age	Nine Entertainment	left-centre*	HAZ	Oppermann Holding	centre*
	The West Australian	Seven West Media	-	Leipziger Volkszeitung	Madsack Media	centre*

	Canberra Times	Australian Community Media	-	Rheinische Post	Droste Family, RP Holding	centre*
	Courier-Mail	News Corp Australia	centre*	Hamb. Abend	FUNKE Media	centre*
	Daily Telegraph	News Corp Australia	centre*	Allgemeine Zeitung	VRM Holding	centre*
	Sydney Morning Herald	Nine Entertainment	centre*	Stuttgarter Zeitung	Stuttgarter Zeitung Verlagsgesellschaft mbH	centre*
	Herald Sun	News Corp Australia	right-centre*			

Note: political leaning \*placed by audiences, \*\*self-placement by media outlet, for Australian media outlets audience placement is according to the results of Park et al., 2023, 2023, for Germany according to Behre, 2023.

Table 4. Coding Sheet for Qualitative Frame Analysis

Article ID: 001  
Article headline/title: Climate activists must box clever in the face of dumb anti-protest laws/  
Publication Date: 08-12-2022  
News outlet: Independent Australia  
URL: <https://independentaustralia.net/politics/politics-display/climate-activists-must-box-clever-in-the-face-of-dumb-anti-protest-laws,17048>  
Author: Tom Tanuki  
Coder: 1

Speaker name and Affiliation: Identify the speaker, which can be either the journalist or a quoted source and provide their affiliation for context.	Problem Definition: Does the article define climate protest as a problem? If yes, provide examples of how exactly the problem is defined. If no, is something else related to protest defined as a problem?	Cause: What are factors or reasons the article attributes to the problem?	Blame Attribution: If blame is ascribed within the article, whom does the article attribute blame for the problem?	Solution: Is climate protest presented as a solution/part of the solution to climate change and its consequences? If climate protest is framed as a problem, what are the proposed solutions?	Addressee of the Solution/Instruction to Act: Who or what is the target audience or recipient of the solutions or instructions provided? Who is expected to take action?
Tom Tanuki (the author /journalist)	In the face of dumb <b>anti-protest laws</b>				
	WHEN ACTIVIST Deanna "Violet" Coco was sentenced last week to 15 months in prison for <b>non-violent protest action</b> ,				
judge	the judge described <b>her actions</b> as letting an "entire city suffer".		ACTIVIST Deanna "Violet" Coco		
Tom Tanuki (the author /journalist)			Here, another <b>overpaid moron</b> perpetuates the uniquely <b>pig-ignorant</b>		

Table 5. Complete List of Words Identified for Frames in Australian Media

Crime & Legal	Extremism	Global Climate Justice
law	marxist	solidarity
trespass	extremist	international
unlawful	antifa	unity
guilty	uprising	wealth
defendant	hard left	nations
court	ratbag	unions
arrest	raucous	unionist
disturb	ragtag	indigenous
block	hijack	elder
hinder	anarchist	treaty
obstruct	fringe	apartheid
law-breaking	neo-nazi	courageous
thug	terrorist	disparate
judiciary	anarchy	participate
enforcement	vandal	participants
enact	militant	g20
regulation	eco fascist	ethnicity
punitive	far right	elitist
sentencing	bolshewoke	affluent
	propaganda	country

Table 6. Translated Terms Used to Identify Frames in German Media Reporting.

Crime & Legal	Extremism	Global Climate Justice
prison	radical*	solidar*
illegal	militant*	climate justice
prison sentence*	chaos/troublemaker	global*
security agency	uprising	worldwide
sabotage	extremist*	climate protect*
court	storming	international*
raid*	radicalis*	humanity
search and seizure	violence	justice
law*	terror*	future
monetary fine*	Left-wing radical	nature protect*
incarnation	Right-wing radical	equality
custody		climate movement
crim*		
prosecut*		

Note: '\*' indicates the inclusion of any continuation of the string (e.g., law\* = {law, laws, lawyer, ...})

Table 7. Top 10 Paragraphs Scoring Highest for Anger and Toxicity, German Media Outlets

Anger/Toxicity Validation Examples:	Ref.
Lkw-Fahrer über aktivist; "Die haben noch nie richtig gearbeitet" Die Klima-aktivist der "DLG" kleben sich auf Straßen fest und bringen den Verkehr zum Stillstand. Was sie mit dieser Taktik vor allem erreichen: Sie drangsalieren Menschen wie Lkw-Fahrer Frank Thieß. Er wirft den Radikalen vor, seinen Arbeitsplatz zu gefährden.	A.1
Die Kinder der DLG sind keine Verschwörungslowns. Sie mögen naiv sein, weil sie glauben, mit dem Instrument der massiven Störung ihren Zielen zu dienen. Man kann ihnen Radikalismus unterstellen, aber dazu bekennen sie sich ja selbst. Sie sind sogar klug genug, die Schwachstellen ihrer Protestidee zu benennen. Raul Semmler, einer der Wortführer, erzählt von den moralischen Bedenken, die er bei den Blockaden hat; dass ihm der Gedanke an den Rentner, der nicht zur Augen-OP konnte, und die junge Frau, die Zahnschmerzen hatte, zusetzt. Und bitte: So alt, kalt und abgefickt kann keiner von uns Älteren oder eben: Ex-Jungen sein, dass er dem jungen Mann nicht glaubt. Hat man von den Spaziergängern je ein Wort des Bedauerns darüber gehört, dass deren Impfskepsis dazu führt, dass Eltern ihre fünfjährigen Kinder impfen müssen, deren Skepsis dabei so wenig abgefragt wird wie die ihrer besorgten Eltern?	A.2
Man muß schließlich nicht intelligent sein, um sich einer extremistischen Bewegung anzuschließen, die mit infantilen Parolen, simplen Thesen und provokanten Straftaten dem Rest der Gesellschaft ihren ideologischen Willen aufzwingen will. Radikalismus, kriminelle Energie und Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber den Folgen des eigenen Treibens sind dafür vollkommen ausreichend und bei Sektierern wie der "DLG" im Überfluß vorhanden.	A.3
Die klimaextremistische Organisation "DLG" bezahlt Tätern, die mit ihren illegalen Aktionen Verkehr und Infrastruktur lahmlegen, den Lebensunterhalt. So entsteht eine Art von Berufsextremistenum, das nicht nur für den, sondern auch vom Extremismus lebt. Höchste Zeit einzugreifen.	A.4
Die wollte auf einem Konzert für den Frieden und gegen die Diskriminierung aufspielen, ist von FFF, Ortsgruppe Hannover, aber wieder ausgeladen worden, weil sie Dreadlocks hat. Also jene verfilzten Haarsträhnen, die wir alten weißen Männer nicht ganz ohne Neid als Zeichen für nicht nachlassendes Haarwachstum, erfrischenden Nonkonformismus und grenzenlosen Haschischkonsum gehalten hatten. Da sieht man wieder, dass wir zu Recht gehatet werden: Keine Ahnung von nichts!	A.5
Stimmt, mit der RAF kann man das alles wirklich nicht vergleichen, wenn man sich die Mimosen von der hoffentlich wirklich "DLG" einmal genauer ansieht. Revolutionäre, die für mehr statt weniger staatliches Handeln protestieren, das kann man eigentlich wirklich nicht erfinden. Eine vergleichbare Radikalität legen diese Klimabewegten höchstens bei ihrer Respektlosigkeit vor anderer Menschen Eigentum an den Tag, und das ist alles andere als höflich - oder gar harmlos.	A.6
ICH LIEBE DAS GEWALTMONOPOL DES STAATES. Darum lehne ich alle politischen Bewegungen ab, die sich wie die "Reichsbürger", die "Antifa", "Greenpeace" oder die "DLG" anmaßen, für ihre vermeintlich gute Sache Gewalt anwenden zu dürfen. Ich kann nicht verstehen, wie gewaltverherrlichende NGOs mit Steuergeldern unterstützt werden. Demokratie lebt vom lebendigen Meinungs-austausch; aktivistische Gewalt ist antidemokratisch.	A.7
Böse Dreadlocks! Hoffentlich hat sich niemand zur gestrigen FFF-Demo Dreadlocks zwirbeln lassen. FFF findet es nämlich ganz schlimm, wenn sich deutsche Häupter mit der Haarpracht kolonial unterdrückter Völker solidarisieren. Wo sie doch noch nicht einmal einen ordentlichen Herrendutt hinbekommen. Bob Marley mit Dreadlocks - voll okay. Aber bei Greta? Will niemand sehen, ehrlich. Bestimmt sind Dreadlocks auch ganz arg klimaschädlich bei dem ganzen Filz. Auf eine politisch korrekte deutsche Rübe gehört mindestens ein sauberer, nachhaltiger Scheitel, besser noch eine Pickelhaube. Alles andere wäre reines Rastafari.	A.8
Diese US-MILLIARDÄRE finanzieren die KLIMA-RADIKALOS – BILD erklärt das Netzwerk von "DLG" – Sie werden immer aggressiver!	A.9

KOMMENTAR; Klima-Kleber sind Kriminelle! Sie nennen sich "DLG" - und sind es auch: die Letzten. Die Straßen-Blockierer und Bilder-Besudler sind eine Minderheit. Brüllend laut. Neurotisch und narzisstisch.	A.10
--	------

*Table 8. Logistic Regression Model Predicting Articles' Focus on Disruptive Protests Based on Usage of Toxicity/Anger/Frames.*

Predictor	contains LG (Germany)	contains XR (Australia)
toxicity	0.171*** (0.035)	-0.07 (0.058)
anger	0.783*** (0.041)	0.687*** (0.064)
Extreme	0.240*** (0.038)	0.620*** (0.188)
Legal	0.161*** (0.033)	2.066*** (0.246)
Global Climate Justice	-0.613*** (0.042)	-0.137* (0.054)
date	0.883*** (0.084)	0.208*** (0.076)
Constant	0.128 (0.143)	2.386*** (0.176)
R <sup>2</sup> (Fixed effects)	0.401	0.633
R <sup>2</sup> (Model)	0.483	0.667
sd (outlet)	0.654	0.548
sd (month:outlet)	0.302	0.183

*Note:* p-values: \* < 0.05; \*\* < 0.01; \*\*\* < 0.001