THE POWER OF FRAMING: THE MEAT CONSUMPTION DEBATE AND FALL OF THE CLIMATE FOOD PROGRAMME

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

Reducing meat consumption is recognised as a crucial aspect of transitioning towards sustainable food systems. The transition involves a wide range of actors with diverse perceptions about the trajectories and varying abilities to influence change. Food choices are deeply personal, contributing to heightened tensions in the public discourse surrounding dietary transition. The Climate Food Programme was a governmental initiative aimed at fostering sustainable food system transition in Finland. It was never published, primarily due to disagreements regarding the reduction of meat consumption. This study applies frame analysis to identify how the required reduction of meat consumption was framed in Helsingin Sanomat during the preparation of the programme and who had their voices heard through these frames. Seven frames were identified, indicating diverse perspectives on the matter. In most frames, the imperative for change was acknowledged. However, the findings reveal the ability of two minority frames to resist change, highlighting the power of incumbent actors. This reflects the unequal power dynamics in societal decision-making and challenges in achieving a just food transition.

Key words
meat consumption, frame analysis, just dietary transition, public discourse, sustainability

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Lihankulutuksen vähentäminen tunnistetaan keskeiseksi osaksi siirtymässä kohti kestävää ruokajärjestelmää. Siirtymässä on mukana monenlaisia toimijoita, joilla on erilaisia näkemyksiä siitä, miten muutos tulisi toteuttaa, ja erilaiset mahdollisuudet vaikuttaa siihen. Ruokavalinnat ovat hyvin henkilökohtaisia, lisäten jännitteitä ruokavaliomuutosta koskevassa julkisessa keskustelussa. Ilmastoruokaohjelma oli hallituksen aloite, jonka tarkoituksena oli tukea oikeudenmukaista ruokamurrosta Suomessa. Sitä ei kuitenkaan koskaan julkaistu, mikä johtui pääasiassa lihankulutuksen vähentämistä koskevista erimielisyyksistä. Tässä tutkielmassa selvitetään kehysanalyysin avulla, miten lihankulutuksen vähentämistä kehystettiin Helsingin Sanomissa ohjelman valmistelun aikana ja kenen ääni pääsi kuuluviin näiden kehysten kautta. Seitsemän kehystä tunnistettiin, kertoen keskustelun monipuolisuudesta. Useimmissa kehyksissä tunnustettiin muutoksen välttämättömyys. Tuloksista käy kuitenkin ilmi kahden vähemmistökehyksen kyky vastustaa muutosta, korostaen vakiintuneiden toimijoiden valtaa. Tämä heijastaa epäsuhtaisia valtasuhteita yhteiskunnallisessa päätöksenteossa ja yhtä oikeudenmukaisen ruokamurroksen haasteista.

Asiasanat
lihan kulutus, kehysanalyysi, oikeudenmukainen ruokamurros, julkinen keskustelu, kestävyys

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CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Transitioning to sustainable food systems is vital given food's essential role in human life and livelihoods. Urgent sustainability transformation is imperative across energy, food, and urban sectors, incorporating economic, technological, and political dimensions (Rockström et al., 2023). Addressing food production and consumption is essential for meeting sustainability goals (Haddad et al., 2016), especially considering the significant greenhouse gas emissions from food systems and their susceptibility to climate change impacts (Mbow et al., 2019; Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). The Finnish food system exceeds the carrying capacity of ecosystems (Steffen et al., 2015), highlighting the urgent need for sustainability transformation (Kuhmonen & Kuhmonen, 2023). The two key pathways in Finland's food system transition involve agricultural land use measures and the adoption of plant-based diets, necessitating significant shifts in current production and consumption norms (Lehtonen et al., 2022).

Justice in food system transformation entails enabling a shift when the existing system proves to be unsustainable. It includes ensuring food security through equal access to sufficient, nutritious, and culturally appropriate food (Kaljonen et al., 2021), alongside opportunities for dignified livelihoods and socio-cultural recognition (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2013). For a just transition to occur, it requires addressing power dynamics in decision-making (Loo, 2018), and ensuring equal opportunities for all actors to have their voices heard (Puupponen et al., 2023). Prioritising environmental sustainability alongside procedural and recognition-based justice is crucial, along with fostering inclusive participation in food policymaking (Puupponen et al., 2023). Amid the rapidly accelerating climate change and biodiversity loss, prompt guiding policies, decisive decision-making, and active societal engagement is required across all levels of society.

Power relations and struggles among actors are integral to understanding transitions (Köhler et al., 2019). Powerful actors within a food system wield discursive power to either drive change or impede fundamental systemic transformation. Further research is needed to explore power dynamics and agency within the transformation process (Kuhmonen, 2023), and to examine how the capabilities of various actors can be enhanced during the transition

(Kaljonen et al., 2021). Studying how different actors use power in public discourse can help reveal wider power dynamics in society and shed light on the progression or stagnation of the sustainability transition. However, power and its different manifestations are often overlooked in transition research (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

The media plays a pivotal role in shaping public perceptions of environmental issues and serves as a platform for various actors to engage in public discourse (Solin, 2001; Väliverronen, 2014). However, media narratives are not neutral and often reflect the discursive power of political and economic elites, influencing public understanding of political and social issues (Gamson et al., 1992; Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Indeed, it is difficult to imagine contemporary politics without the public arena constructed by the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012), and wide and open discussion in the mass media is considered one of the prerequisites of democracy (Väliverronen, 1996).

Discussions on transitioning food systems to sustainability in Finland often prioritise certain values and aspects of just transition while overlooking broader justice considerations. Allowing the loudest voices to dictate the discourse can narrow perceptions and hinder necessary transitions, such as compromising environmental ambition for socially concerned claims (Huttunen et al., 2024). This underscores the importance of critically examining the public discourse and recognising how stakeholders frame issues, as these factors can significantly influence public perceptions and political decision-making. Framing represents one aspect of the media's power to shape topics for public discussion, leading many social actors to attempt to promote their frames through the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012).

In literature, the urgent need for systemic change in food systems towards sustainability has been recognised, with a call for a fundamental, systemic change (Mbow et al., 2019; Springmann et al., 2018), referred to as the "Great Food Transformation" by the EAT-Lancet commission (Willett et al., 2019). This transition involves significant changes in food production and consumption, evoking emotional responses in public discourse due to the personal nature of food choices. Diverse perceptions regarding transition pathways among stakeholders often arise from underlying values and differing worldviews (Eakin et al., 2017; Foran et al., 2014), ultimately shaping policy responses (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019). Further research is needed to explore these narratives (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019) and understand the power dynamics of different actors involved, including how vested interests influence the progress of sustainability transitions (Avelino, 2017; Wang & Lo, 2021).

The Climate Food Programme (CFP) was a national initiative led by Sanna Marin's administration, aimed at fostering a sustainable food system in Finland and achieving the government's goal of carbon neutrality by 2035. The programme considered all aspects of sustainability and was prepared in a participatory manner together with key stakeholders. Despite the comprehensive preparation and mutual compromises, disagreement over a single issue, the necessary reduction in meat consumption, escalated into an insurmountable

problem. Disagreement over this issue led to the program's delay and eventual shelving.

Intrigued by this bizarre sequence of events and the sudden disappearance of such an important initiative, in this thesis, I analyse the public discussion during the preparation of the CFP. I aim to identify how the necessary reduction of meat consumption was framed in Helsingin Sanomat (HS) during the preparation of the programme. This analysis is part of the broader discussion on the sustainability transition of the Finnish food system. The purpose of my thesis stems from the need to better understand the premises of the transition in Finland, to be able to implement it in a sustainable, acceptable, and just manner. Understanding environmental issues requires analysing who discusses them, how they define them, and the social and linguistic frameworks surrounding problem definition, institutions, and platforms (Väliverronen, 1996). This research contributes to identifying the perceptions of key stakeholders while shedding light on the media's role in the decision-making processes. Examining how different actors frame issues, coupled with analysing their power dynamics, and recognising areas of disagreement and consensus, contributes to a deeper understanding and helps foster a more productive societal discourse surrounding Finnish food policy. Thus, my guiding research questions are:

RQ1: How was the required change in meat consumption framed in Helsingin Sanomat during the preparation of the Climate Food Programme?
RQ2: Which actors had their voices heard through the frames?

The data consists of 51 articles published in HS, the biggest news media in Finland, during 2020–2022. To identify the frames, I applied Entman's four-dimensional approach to frame analysis. Seven frames were identified, revealing that a less visible but influential minority frame played a significant role, ultimately leading to the disappearance of the CFP. This underscores the power of incumbent actors to obstruct systemic change, hindering the achievement of a just transition.

I begin this master's thesis report with an overview of food system sustainability transition research, emphasising the significance of dietary changes in the Finnish context. Then, I delve into the concept of just transition and introduce the political phenomenon of the CFP. The third section explores power and language in transitions and how the power dynamics of actors can influence the progress or stagnation of systemic change. The discussion in sections two and three aims to clarify the rationale behind formulating my research questions while establishing connections to the contextual framework for the later analysis. In the fourth section, I explain how I conducted the research, and in the fifth section, I introduce the frames identified in the studied articles. Subsequently, in the sixth section, I analyse and discuss these identified frames. The report concludes with reflections on the findings, limitations encountered during the study, and suggestions for further research. This thesis is conducted in collaboration with the Just-Food project, which explores just and acceptable pathways to a climate-smart and healthy food system.

2 FOOD SYSTEM SUSTAINABILITY TRANSITION

Food systems are major greenhouse gas emitters and are increasingly impacted by climate change, underscoring their critical role in addressing environmental challenges such as climate mitigation and adaptation, biodiversity loss, and ecosystem conservation (Mbow et al., 2019; Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Despite their potential to promote human health and environmental sustainability, current food systems pose critical threats to both (Willett et al., 2019). The four core dimensions of food system sustainability are food security and nutrition, the environment, social considerations, and economic aspects (Béné et al., 2020). These dimensions are interconnected, their interactions exerting significant influence on the sustainability of food systems. Understanding the intricate connections between these dimensions allows for the development of more comprehensive and integrated approaches to food system sustainability (Nguyen, 2018).

In this section, I justify the relevance of my topic and discuss the earlier research and general theory. I start from a broad overview, gradually going towards a more case-specific direction. The first subsection introduces the core concepts and presents the urgency of the matter by focusing on food security and environmental perspectives. The second subsection delves into the role of dietary changes in the transition of food systems, while the third subsection addresses the economic dimension, aiming to establish economic viability for all stakeholders (Béné et al., 2020). It introduces key actors involved in the shifting meat consumption frame in Finland and outlines the key events of the political phenomenon under study, the CFP. The section concludes by introducing the social dimension of food systems, emphasising the importance of promoting equity, social justice, and cultural diversity to ensure a just transition.

2.1 Food systems and sustainability

Food systems encompass all aspects and processes, as well as inputs and outputs involved in the production and consumption of food, along with their repercussions, spanning economic, health, and environmental consequences (Nguyen, 2018; OECD, 2021). Food systems can be defined, for example, as socioecological, socioeconomic, sociopolitical, or complex systems, depending on the perspective. Ensuring food security stands as the foremost objective of any food system, as individuals rely on it to ensure access to nutritious food (Kortetmäki et al., 2022; Paloviita et al., 2016). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 2001), food security is characterised by a state in which all individuals consistently have physical, social, and economic access to adequate, safe, and nutritious food, that aligns with their dietary requirements and preferences, promoting an active and healthy life. Malnutrition affects many people in different ways, according to FAO (2019), every third individual suffers from it in some form. The triple burden of malnutrition covers obesity (overnutrition), undernutrition, and micro-nutrient deficiencies (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019). To ensure food security for present and future generations, we must consider not only the quantity but also the quality and nutrition of food, the environmental impact and the social and economic aspects of food supply chains (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019).

Food systems are among the biggest contributors to environmental changes, as they emit 19%–37% of the global anthropogenic GHG emissions, are the primary contributors to land use change by at least 41% (WWF, 2020) and the depletion of freshwater resources, using 70% of the global freshwater (Mbow et al., 2019; Steffen et al., 2015). Therefore, food systems have a central role in responding to many environmental challenges, such as climate change mitigation and adaptation, biodiversity loss and ecosystem conservation (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Each country has a unique set of improvement needs concerning nutrition, food security, and dietary sustainability, highlighting the significance of addressing these challenges within the context of each locality (Chaudhary et al., 2018).

Food systems have undergone a major shift in the past years with exponential population growth, continuous urbanisation, economic growth and globalisation, yielding many positive results, especially in developing countries such as expanded employment opportunities, widened food choices and quality of food (Nguyen, 2018). However, current food systems exhibit inequitable power dynamics, disproportionately benefiting some while leaving others impoverished and failing to deliver equitable benefits for all, particularly impacting the most vulnerable (FAO, 2019). Agriculture is one of the key contributors risking us exceeding planetary boundaries (Campbell et al., 2017), thereby placing food systems at the threshold of the carrying capacity of ecosystems (Steffen et al., 2015). Food systems' resilience is further challenged by external threats such as wars, pandemics, and economic recession (FAO, 2022).

As the global population and income levels rise, without urgent and committed mitigation measures, the environmental effects of food systems are projected to rise 50–90% by 2050 (Springmann et al., 2018).

The geographic focus of my thesis is Finland. However, the underlying understanding is that food system sustainability is largely a global issue. Firstly, climate and ecosystems are interrelated, thus many of the consequences cannot be limited geographically. Secondly, at the same time as 30% of the world population faces severe or moderate food insecurity (FAO, 2023), obesity and other diet-related non-communicable diseases continue to rise (FAO, 2022). Thirdly, the emitters and sufferers from the consequences of environmental changes are often distributed unevenly (Chaudhary et al., 2018; Kaljonen et al., 2021; Newell et al., 2021). Fourthly, modern food production and consumption chains have many systemic global interdependencies and feedback loops (Köhler et al., 2019; Nguyen, 2018). Furthermore, the transition to more sustainable diets in Western countries would decrease GHG emissions in developed countries, but Godfray et al. (2018) project most of the increase in meat consumption to happen in low- and middle-income countries, thus it is important to keep a global perspective to food system transition (Huan-Niemi et al., 2020).

In the past, sustainability transitions research primarily focused on energy and mobility, but in the 21st century, there is a growing focus on the (un)sustainability of food systems (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019; El Bilali, 2019). Although a widely used concept by scholars and experts from a variety of disciplines, the definition of sustainability itself is fragmented across disciplines and often interpreted narrowly (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019). Conversations tend to be fragmented focusing on a certain part of the food system at a time (Eakin et al., 2017). The discussion has been disconnected and framed differently in different disciplines (Foran et al., 2014), often reflecting the underlying values of the experts' world view, and driving their policy recommendations (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019). Often the two major agrifood discourses; food security and sustainability transition, are discussed separately, whereas feasible transition strategies should simultaneously consider both (Bilali et al., 2019). Furthermore, the understanding of the sources of the problems (Béné, Prager, et al., 2019) as well as the understanding of pathways and tools for systemic change vary (Brouwer et al., 2020; Eakin et al., 2017; Weber et al., 2020). These knowledge gaps hinder operationalising a viable food system transformation.

Collaboration among stakeholders, from consumers to policymakers, is crucial for a global food system transformation (Willett et al., 2019). However, the extent to which policymakers possess the societal mandate to intervene and influence meat consumption remains unclear, and, if such authorisation exists, the effectiveness of potential interventions remains uncertain (Godfray et al., 2018). Enhancing consumer-producer communication, influencing decision-makers, and promoting biosphere stewardship through food culture are essential (Gordon et al, 2017). Various societal actors, including local and national governments, private sector entities, and civil society organisations, have distinct roles in organising and facilitating the just food system transition (Béné,

Oosterveer, et al., 2019). Inadequate government commitments hinder climate change targets (UNFCCC, 2023), necessitating actions across sectors and stakeholders, with businesses playing a key role in driving change (Godfray et al., 2018). Businesses, in particular, play an important role in driving the change and influencing consumer dietary choices towards sustainability and nutrition by, for instance, encouraging (or discouraging) the shift towards more plant-based diets. Constructive dialogue is essential for navigating trade-offs in sustainable food systems (Béné, Oosterveer, et al., 2019), with emphasis on local contexts and cultural acceptance, recognising the evolving nature of cultural norms (House et al., 2023).

The European Union is aiming to be carbon neutral by 2050, and Finland has set an even more ambitious goal of carbon neutrality by 2035 (Programme of Prime Minister Sanna Marin's Government, 2019). According to Costa et al. (2022), food systems can achieve net-zero emissions by 2050, but the contextual constraints within countries can restrict the potential scope of implementation. Mitigating climate change and biodiversity loss in the food system demands not only sustainable production methods and technologies but also dietary modifications and reductions in food loss and waste (Saarinen et al., 2019; Springmann et al., 2018; Willett et al., 2019). In Finland, the two most promising pathways for reducing greenhouse gas emissions involve agricultural land use measures and the adoption of more plant-based diets (Lehtonen et al., 2022). The former primarily entails reducing peatland use and altering livestock production methods, while the latter focuses on reducing meat consumption.

2.2 The role of dietary changes

Around one-third of Finland's total carbon footprint from production and consumption occurs in the food production and consumption chains. (Saarinen et al., 2019). Implementing dietary changes and preserving soil carbon storage in farmlands could reduce the climate impact of the current Finnish diet by 30–40%, while also improving its nutritional quality (Saarinen et al., 2019). According to the 2017 Future Nordic Diets report (Karlsson et al., 2017), to maintain the agricultural capacity for sustainable production of nutritious food, it is necessary to reduce meat intake by 81-90% from current consumption levels and substitute meat with cereals, legumes, and vegetable oil. Nutritional needs are shaped by various personal factors, (Mutanen et al., 2021) and there are numerous ways to assemble a balanced and healthy diet, that is simultaneously climate-friendlier (Saarinen et al., 2019).

One of the crucial initial measures in the sustainable food system transition is aligning national dietary guidelines with current evidence on both healthy eating and the environmental impacts of diets (Ritchie et al., 2018; Springmann et al., 2018). The primary objective of the nutrition recommendations is to improve public health through nutrition and they are utilised in monitoring, political guidance, planning, and communication (National Nutrition Council,

2018). There has been significant improvement in considering sustainability and nutrition in the nutrition recommendations in recent years. The "planetary health diet" by the EAT-Lancet Commission is a universal reference framework that can be applied to various cultural contexts and production systems (Willett et al., 2019). While the previous edition of the Finnish nutrition guidelines partially addressed environmental sustainability, the 2023 Nordic nutrition recommendations elevated it as a core component in formulating healthy diets. The Nordic nutrition recommendations recognise that there are many ways to compile a healthy diet, but prioritise a plant-based diet while emphasising ample consumption of fish and nuts, moderate intake of low-fat dairy products, and restricted consumption of alcohol and processed foods (Blomhoff et al., 2023).

Diet is one of the most significant opportunities for consumers to impact their carbon footprint, with about a quarter attributed to diet alone (Saarinen et al., 2019). Studies have consistently indicated that a preference for plant-based foods reduces climate impacts (Risku-Norja et al., 2009; Saarinen et al., 2015; Vieux et al., 2018). High meat consumption is often connected to obesity and non-communicable diseases, especially those with high intake of meat, dietary alterations could have significant positive impacts on health, life expectancy and the environment (Reisch et al., 2017; Willett et al., 2019). Among the foods linked to enhanced health such as whole grain cereals, fruits, vegetables, legumes, nuts, olive oil, and fish, all except fish exhibit minimal environmental footprints, with fish demonstrating significantly lower impacts than red meats and processed meats (Clark et al., 2019). Conversely, foods like unprocessed and processed red meat, which carry the highest negative environmental impacts, consistently correlate with the greatest escalation in disease risk (Clark et al., 2019). Thus, understanding the climate impacts of diets should always be integrated with nutritional considerations (Saarinen et al., 2015; Willett et al., 2019).

Food choice, a complex human behaviour, is influenced by a myriad of factors including individual-level considerations and broader societal influences like the environment, media, and food marketing (Rozin, 2006). In developed countries, individuals have access to a diverse array of food options and regularly make multiple food-related decisions each day (Connors et al., 2001), regarding what, where, how, and with whom to eat, which can evolve over their lifetime (Sobal et al., 2006). Food choices can serve as a means of self-expression; food can unite or divide, fortify personal identity, and create a sense of meaning (Wilson, 2006). Factors that impact dietary behaviour include affordability, availability, and convenience, as well as cultural beliefs and attitudes, life experiences, social frameworks, and the overall context of food. Meat consumption, like other dietary choices, is shaped by our values and can contribute to our identity formation (Godfray et al., 2018). Beyond societal norms, factors such as availability, habits, price, and convenience, including cooking skills, also play significant roles in shaping meat consumption patterns (Marteau, 2017). The decision-making process is guided by feelings, habits, and knowledge (Solomon et al., 2016). Given its significance for public health and the economy, professionals from diverse fields have endeavoured to define and understand

food choices, resulting in various theories and models spanning economics, sociology, social anthropology, and psychology (Marteau, 2017).

The current average diet in Finland falls short of meeting nutrition recommendations, leading to nutritional deficiencies and associated risks (Valsta et al., 2018). While there has been progress in increasing fruit and vegetable consumption, overtaking meat consumption in 2014, poultry consumption has risen as red meat consumption declined (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022; Saarinen et al., 2019). Nevertheless, only 14% of men and 22% of women consume enough vegetables, berries, and fruits, 79%, 35% of Finns consume too much fat, and a majority surpass the recommended salt intake in their diet (Valsta et al., 2018). Table 1 compares the recommendations from the EAT-Lancet commission (Willett et al., 2019) and Nordic guidelines (Blomhoff et al., 2023) regarding the maximum intake of meat and poultry with the current average intake in Finland (Valsta et al., 2018). Indeed, 79% of men and 26% of women exceed the maximum recommended meat and processed meat consumption (Valsta et al., 2018). Blomhoff et al. (2023) emphasise that reducing red meat consumption should not lead to an increase in white meat consumption. Adhering to nutrition recommendations could not only enhance personal health but also mitigate the environmental impact of food consumption (National Nutrition Council, 2018).

TABLE 1 Recommended maximum weekly intake of meat and poultry compared to current average consumption in Finland

	Red meat (pork, beef, lamb)	Poultry
EAT-Lancet commission	98	203
Nordic recommendations	350	350
Finnish average consumption Men	937	301
Finnish average consumption Women	497	252

While the planetary health diet mentioned above is a broad global recommendation, transition pathways estimating the role of dietary changes in the Finnish context have been suggested by research projects like FoodMin, ScenoProt, Leg4Life, JustFood, and FoodStep. These pathways, although illustrative, combine features from various alternatives to achieve transformation. Emphasis is placed on addressing local food systems, production conditions, nutritional challenges, and cultural traditions when developing solutions. For instance, the FoodMin project compared four alternative diets - half meat, *one-third meat, fish*, and *vegan* - against the current average diet. These diets were formulated based on national nutrition recommendations, focusing on meeting daily nutrient intake. The climate impact of all alternative diets is lower than that of the current diet, with reductions ranging from 13% to 37% as the meat content decreases (Saarinen et al., 2019). According to Kaljonen, Kortetmäki, et al. (2022), achieving a significant reduction in GHG emissions within the Finnish food system necessitates measures in peatlands and a decrease in the consumption of livestock products. The material food environment, knowledge, and cultural meanings synergise to foster sustainable eating for a just food transformation.

Meat consumption is gradually declining in developed nations (Godfray et al., 2018) and transitioning to a plant-based diet seems to present the most environmentally sustainable choice, yielding numerous positive environmental outcomes. However, dietary habits change slowly (Godfray et al., 2018) and instead of entirely eliminating meat from one's diet, the adoption of flexitarian or meat-reduction dietary shifts has garnered greater traction and social approval (Dagevos & Voordouw, 2013; de Boer et al., 2014). Despite the increasing trend of flexitarianism and interest in gradually reducing meat consumption, significant variation remains among different population groups (Nevalainen et al., 2023). Thus, guidelines advocating for a reduction rather than elimination of meat may prove more effective in accelerating dietary change (Ritchie et al., 2018). Developing skills, knowledge, cooking habits, and shared cultural meanings across the population is crucial for facilitating dietary change effectively (Kaljonen, Kortetmäki, et al., 2022). Reducing meat and dairy intake for climate goals is nutritionally feasible with diverse protein sources and careful monitoring of nutrient intake, especially among vulnerable groups (Yli-Viikari et al., 2021).

The overarching message from both global and national recommendations underscores the importance of reducing meat consumption, opting for predominantly plant-based diets, and eating more fish when it can be sourced sustainably. It is important to recognise that diet is a holistic concept, and achieving a healthy and environmentally sustainable diet often lies between animal-based and plant-based diets (Luke, 2021). The required dietary shifts affect the entire population (Kaljonen, Kortetmäki, et al., 2022). Navigating sustainability in dietary choices is complex, particularly when aiming for nutritious diets that address the triple challenge of malnutrition, which involves intertwining cultural considerations and individual personal agency challenges. Addressing this complexity requires interdisciplinary understanding and improved cross-disciplinary cooperation.

2.3 The Finnish context of reducing meat consumption and CFP

Despite its many strengths, such as traceability, food safety and access to food, the Finnish food system is in many ways unsustainable and there are differences between population groups in terms of food consumption, nutrient intake, and the sustainability of diets (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022; Silvasti et al., 2019). The Finnish food system currently relies on animal production and an animal-based diet, and the greenhouse gas emissions from agriculture and agricultural land have increased in recent years (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). Domestic food production depends on imported inputs, such as energy, chemicals and foreign seasonal labour (Jansik et al., 2021). Expanding the production and availability of plant-based foods in Finland is challenging (Huan-Niemi et al., 2020), with around half of the fruits and vegetables consumed being imported (Saarinen et al., 2019). In the National Greenhouse Gas Inventory and Emissions reporting, agriculture is part of the burden-sharing sector with a 39% emission reduction

target from 2005 levels by 2030 (Saarinen et al., 2019). 25-30% of Finland's national greenhouse gas emissions stem from food production, including domestic food production and processing but not imported food (Niemi, 2020).

The food system plays an important role in both the local and the global economy. In 2020, primary production accounted for 2.83% of Finland's GDP, and there were 43,540 agricultural and horticultural enterprises, employing 6% of the total workforce (although this may underestimate the actual count as farmers and their family members undertake 70% of agricultural work) (Official Statistics of Finland, 2022; Statistics Finland, 2023a). Furthermore, while market price return from livestock production accounted for 40% of the total agricultural revenue in 2022 (Luke, 2024), only 21% of farms in Finland were categorised as livestock farms (Official Statistics of Finland, 2023). Beef, closely linked to dairy production, is the second most important agricultural product in terms of market value after dairy (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022).

Food is a significant part of household expenditure, with variations among different population segments concerning food consumption, nutrient intake, and diet sustainability (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). As household incomes increase, the proportion of income spent on food decreases, leaving lower-income households more vulnerable to food price fluctuations (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). The household expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages in 2022 was about 12%, a proportion closely aligning with the EU average (Statistics Finland, 2023b). Meat and dairy products (including butter, cheese, poultry, and eggs) constitute about 35% of the average Finnish household's expenditure on food items; and meat itself accounts for about 18% (Statistics Finland, 2023b). A climate-friendly and nutritious diet is not necessarily constrained by finances: boosting the consumption of certain plant-based products can even reduce the overall cost of the food basket (Valsta et al., 2022). However, price regulation must be aligned with both nutritional and sustainability objectives, rather than raising the prices of all food items (Valsta et al., 2022).

Central to the agility of food system governance is the extent of democratic power distribution and transparent governance throughout the supply chains. Similarly to many other OECD countries, the Finnish food system is centralised, with power over the food market and supply chains concentrated among a few actors (Deconinck, 2021). Pursuing growth plays a central role in managing the Finnish food system, but it also brings unwanted consequences, including centralisation of power, reduction in the amount of fertile soil and pollution, concurrently making the system more vulnerable to sudden threats, such as extreme weather phenomena (Kuhmonen & Kuhmonen, 2023). The Finnish welfare system uniquely leverages social policy to enhance citizen health, requiring schools to provide free meals during school days (Valsta et al., 2018) and subsidising affordable and nutritious meals for higher education students. Food services are integral to Finnish food culture, serving about a third of the population daily, with lunch often being the sole hot meal for many, thus playing a crucial role in nutrient intake, health, and overall well-being (National Nutrition Council, 2018). Additionally, they can help shape the dietary behaviour

of Finns towards healthier and more sustainable choices, as customers can sample small portions of new foods without risking food waste or having to purchase the entire package for home consumption.

Actors within agricultural and environmental policy in Finland have typically been segregated into two factions: agricultural policy stakeholders encompass agricultural administration and the farmers' union, whereas environmental policy stakeholders consist of environmental administration and nature conservation organisations. The interpretation of agricultural environmental issues diverges between these factions; agricultural policy stakeholders prioritise ensuring the sustainability of national agriculture and preserving rural vitality, while environmental policy stakeholders view these matters through the lens of environmental protection and conservation (Haila & Jokinen, 2008). Consequently, varying problem definitions result in the formulation of distinct solutions and influence the assessment of their efficacy and societal acceptability (Haila & Jokinen, 2008).

The current agricultural support system in Finland maintains existing structures rather than actively renews them (OECD, 2022), there is an absence of comprehensive food policy, and the discussion is sectorally fragmented (Puupponen et al., 2016). Conflicting incentives within agricultural subsidies have hindered the progress of a just food transition (Kaljonen et al., 2022). The challenging financial landscape has compelled milk and beef production to enhance production efficiency, leading to centralisation on larger farms. Although subsidies sustain food production, they also perpetuate GHG emissions, with limited incentives for emission reduction (Kaljonen et al., 2022). Given that current agricultural subsidies in Finland heavily favour meat and milk production, which contributes significantly to GHG emissions, there is an urgent need to restructure the subsidy system to support plant protein farming and facilitate the entry of new products into the market. Nevertheless, there are no concrete action plans for a just food system transition in Finland (Kaljonen, Huttunen, et al., 2022). The food system urgently requires a fundamental, systemic shift towards sustainability with multiple considerations across the system. However, considering the outcomes of the CFP and the significant role of meat consumption, there is ample reason to prioritise assessing that dimension.

The retail sector wields significant negotiating power with suppliers and can be seen to hold a leading role within the Finnish food system and gatekeeper between production and consumption (Paloviita et al., 2017). Leveraging this power, it claims a larger portion of the final consumer price, thereby reducing the share upstream in the supply chain (Paloviita et al., 2017). This makes producers dependent on downstream customers placing them in a tight spot, particularly during systemic shifts like sustainability transition. For example, in 2012, from the average price of one kilogram of beef, the retailer received 27%, the meat industry 34%, and the producer 28% (Peltoniemi et al., 2014).

Finland's unique northern location and the consequent adverse climatic conditions present challenges to its agricultural production, which has been addressed through the payment of national subsidies to mitigate disparities with

Continental Europe (Kuhmonen, 2023). Finnish farmers face challenges related to weak financial viability (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022; Puupponen et al., 2015). During the past 20 years, at the same time as the amount of farms in Finland has halved, their sizes have almost doubled, and even though the farmers are forced to constantly increase efficiency, the profitability of farming is declining (Luke, 2024). Meat production has also become increasingly regionally centralised (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). The ability of farm systems to renew and transform is currently substantially constrained, increasing the vulnerability of the entire agrifood system (Kuhmonen & Kuhmonen, 2023). Persistent challenges in agricultural profitability and rising costs have triggered debates on the efficacy of agricultural policy, fairness in food markets and the allocation of prices paid by consumers within the food value chain (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). This prompts examinations of the power dynamics within the food chain and their implications for competition, income distribution, and price formation (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022).

The CFP was a national governmental initiative being prepared under the administration of Sanna Marin. Prime Minister Marin's Government served from December 2019 to June 2023 and was formed by the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the Centre Party of Finland, the Greens, the Left Alliance, and the Swedish People's Party of Finland (Finnish Government, n.d.). Their Government Programme recognised the need to address the rapid transformations caused by climate change, globalisation, urbanisation, ageing populations, and technological advancements and aimed to implement policy measures that establish a sense of security and hope among citizens amidst these transformations (Programme of Prime Minister Sanna Marin's Government, 2019). Furthermore, it recognised societal tensions and emphasised the importance of unity in addressing divisions within society and highlighted Finland's potential as a sustainability frontrunner despite its relatively small size. It proposed seven strategic themes, of which the first was focused on carbon neutrality and biodiversity. One of the objectives of this theme was *climate-friendly food policy*. To address this concern and minimise the climate footprint of consumed food while enhancing awareness of food production methods, the CFP was prepared.

The purpose of the CFP was to support the societal transition towards a sustainable food system in Finland and to support the Government's goal of a carbon-neutral Finland by 2035 and carbon-negative shortly after (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, n.d.). The CFP aimed to address all aspects of sustainability, including social, economic, cultural, and ecological, thereby advancing the implementation of the SDGs and aligning with the European Green Deal's objective of fostering a climate-neutral, equitable, and prosperous society. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MMM) prepared the CFP in a net-work-like and participatory manner together with key stakeholders of the Finnish food system. Food system operators, researchers, social influencers, decision-makers and citizens participated in the preparation to ensure that different perspectives and other political programs related to the topic would be

considered. Figure 1 illustrates the key events during the preparation of the CFP. The plan was to create an umbrella of measures to achieve the vision: bring together already existing activities and actors, promote cooperation, and increase interaction and the visibility of different activities (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, n.d.).

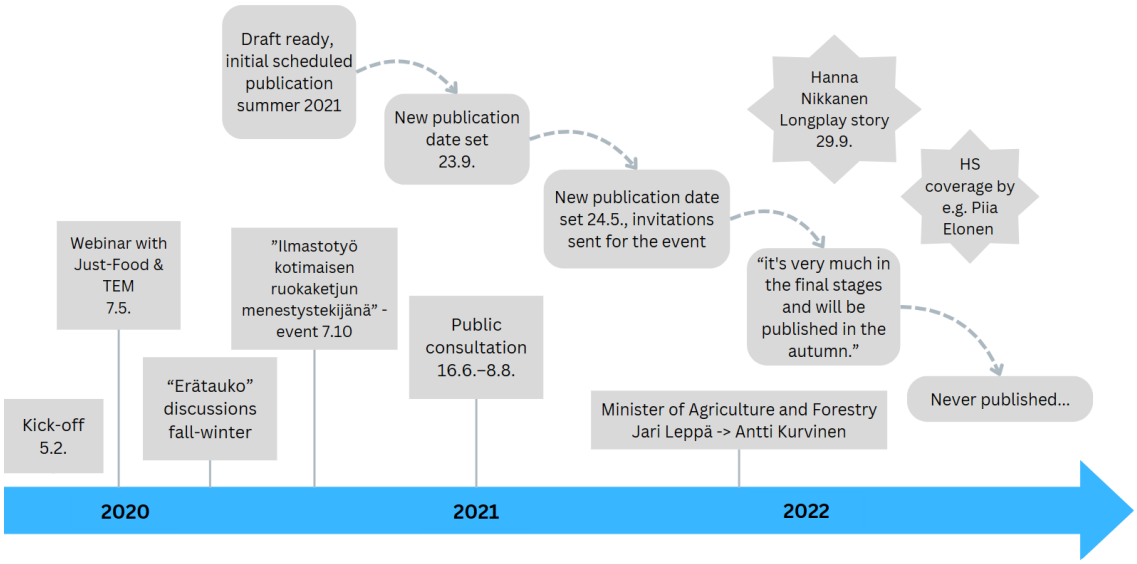

FIGURE 1 Timeline of the preparation of the CFP, including main events and news coverage highlights

Although the government committed to developing a joint climate and food program during its term, disagreements among governing parties, particularly regarding the objective of reducing meat consumption, impeded progress. CFP, originally scheduled to be completed by summer 2021, was postponed twice due to differing opinions on the extent of meat consumption reduction – some parties advocated for more ambitious targets, while others opposed including specific figures in the program (J. Reunanen, 2023). The scientists advocated for initiating all serious discussions on the future of agriculture and food systems by considering planetary boundaries and human nutritional needs, aiming to limit global warming to below 2 degrees by the end of this century, which necessitates an 80% reduction in meat consumption (Karlsson et al., 2017). Although this objective is scientifically well justified, and received support from certain stakeholders, political decision-making is made with compromises. The preparation of the CFP was guided by the Scenoprot study prepared by the Natural Resources Institute Finland (Luke), which ended up recommending a moderate one-third reduction in meat consumption, as such a reduction was perceived as feasible for consumers and did not pose nutritional challenges (Luke, 2021; Yli-Viikari et al., 2021).

Despite comprehensive preparation and mutual compromises, disagreement over a single topic proved insurmountable. The contentious sentence in the program that Antti Kurvinen, who served as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry from the Centre Party, objected to was "Reducing the

total consumption of meat by a third from the current level by 2030" (Nikkanen, 2023). CFP, initially set for publication in May 2022 with prior approval from Kurvinen's predecessor Jari Leppä and invitations already sent out for the launch event, was postponed by Kurvinen until June 2022 (Nikkanen, 2023). The latest news coverage regarding the CFP featured Minister Kurvinen's remarks expressing his dissatisfaction with the program's emphasis on reducing meat consumption and that the program is currently in progress and undergoing finalisation, with plans for publication in the autumn (Elonen, 2022b). However, the program was not released as anticipated and has remained unpublished since then (Luukka, 2022). Intrigued by this bizarre sequence of events and the sudden disappearance of such an important and seemingly well-prepared governmental initiative, I decided to examine the news media discourse surrounding the program's preparation more closely.

2.4 Just transition

Societies around the world have started to respond to the environmental sustainability challenges threatening food production (Puupponen et al., 2023). However, the pursuit of sustainability and justice within a food system may sometimes conflict, as efforts to improve ecological sustainability might cause inequalities and vice versa (Kortetmäki, 2018). If not planned well, transitions can aggravate existing sustainability issues and inequalities and cause new ones (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Challenges may stem from prevailing inequalities, power dynamics, and uneven distribution of resources (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Additionally, tensions may appear between culturally appropriate dietary practices and nutrition, with varying interpretations of sustainability (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Furthermore, vulnerable groups are disproportionately affected by sustainability challenges (McGregor, 2018). Bennett et al. (2019) argue, that sustainability transformations cannot be deemed successful unless social justice is a primary focus. However, prioritising one dimension of justice can have detrimental effects. For instance, in the Finnish food policy, sustainability concerns highlight the importance of farmer livelihoods and food security (Puupponen et al., 2023). Albeit important for distributive justice, the current emphasis risks the realisation of transitioning to sustainable food systems, which in turn might not be fair for certain groups, such as non-human stakeholders or future generations. Thus, rather than treating the required sustainability transition solely as a socio-technical process, more attention should be given to how to implement it in a just manner (Kaljonen et al., 2021).

The systemic nature of socio-ecological problems necessitates a more comprehensive consideration of justice issues. The concept of *just transformation* underscores the necessity of incorporating social justice into the transition processes towards sustainability because when transformations are implemented, both positive and negative social consequences inevitably occur (Bennett et al., 2019). *Just food system transition* promotes a sustainable shift in the food system,

aiming for equality and respect for fundamental rights among individuals, in line with international human rights declarations and sustainable development agendas (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). The justice perspective in food system studies integrates social and ecological sustainability aspects, encompassing the right to access nutritious, safe, and suitable food, alongside the political entitlement to influence the functioning of the food system (Glennie & Alkon, 2018). Fair decision-making leads to better quality and more broadly accepted climate actions, enhancing commitment and reducing the risk of societal side effects, including those related to growing inequality, which could undermine the resilience of the food system and society in the long term (Kortetmäki et al., 2022).

Food justice can be seen as the overarching term that spans three key approaches: researching citizen movements, fostering alternative practices and the development of a more sustainable food system, and analysing inequalities within both current and alternative food systems (Glennie & Alkon, 2018). A food system that adheres to the normative principles of food justice should aim to achieve three main objectives: ensuring food security and adequate nutrition for all, providing livelihoods and fair income for food producers and workers, and promoting environmental sustainability (Puupponen et al., 2023). Injustices exist throughout food systems; comprising spatial, temporal, and recognition-related issues (Glennie & Alkon, 2018; Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Achieving a just transition in the Finnish food system requires comprehensive attention to various dimensions of justice. This entails an increased emphasis on environmental sustainability, procedural and recognitive justice, and enabling diverse participation in food policymaking (Puupponen et al., 2023).

The public's attitudes, social acceptance of sustainability transitions, and the adaptability of affected communities are influenced by the perceived fairness of the transition measures, therefore, social justice is not only necessary but also practical (Kennel, 2021). The conventional definition of social and environmental justice encompasses three interlinked dimensions: *distributive*, *procedural*, and *recognitive justice* (Fraser, 2009; Kaljonen et al., 2021). *Distributive justice* in sustainability transitions concerns the allocation of both material and immaterial resources, along with the distribution of harms and benefits, whether they are associated with nutrition, livelihoods, or the environment (Kaljonen et al., 2021). For example, climate policies may affect food prices (Gilson & Kenehan, 2018), or the resilience of food supply chains challenged during crises, hindering vulnerable groups' access to adequate food (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Fairness in the food system transition does not justify demanding the preservation of any jobs or businesses, instead, justice requires ensuring that people maintain the ability to earn a livelihood in a sensible and environmentally sustainable manner (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). In the transition of meat consumption, key distributive justice concerns involve identifying the socio-economic groups most vulnerable to the shift and promoting nutritional equity and capabilities during dietary transitions.

Procedural justice means equal opportunities and power dynamics for individual stakeholders to participate in decision-making processes that might

concern them (Fraser, 2009; Nussbaum, 2007). It can mean either formal rights to participate or capacities and opportunities for different actors to have their voices heard (Puupponen et al., 2023). In addition to fair social and political decision-making processes, an essential criterion for procedural justice is access to transparent and reliable information, for example in the context of food system transition, concerning the effects of diets on both humans and the environment (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). Particularly interesting from the perspective of my thesis is how Loo (2018) defines recognition as a relationship grounded in equal dignity and the acknowledgement of differences. He underscores the need for several objectives to build participative food systems, emphasising the value of all participants and addressing political and economic hierarchies in discourse, involving enhancing institutions and procedures while acknowledging the validity of all perspectives. Political decision-making processes should enable equal consideration of perspectives from all stakeholders, especially those from marginalised communities, and public discourse must avoid dismissing perspectives without substantive reasons (Loo, 2018).

Recognitive justice encompasses considerations such as acknowledging who, where, and in what capacity should be included in decision-making processes (Puupponen et al., 2023). It involves socio-cultural respect and ensuring equal opportunities for individuals irrespective of their biological or socio-cultural characteristics, such as age, gender, or ethnicity (Puupponen et al., 2023). This dimension plays a significant role in food system transitions, given that eating is fundamentally sociocultural (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). It is particularly relevant to the empowerment of culturally diverse communities to determine their practices and validate various visions of food production (Kuhmonen & Siltaoja, 2022). Furthermore, recognitive justice discerns questions about whose voices are heard in public discourse and how – whose perception and narrative of what "good" food or a "normal" diet entails and is accepted, and which trajectories are seen as feasible (Kaljonen et al., 2021). This reflects the equal opportunities of stakeholders to be heard in decision-making processes (Loo, 2018). In the discussions surrounding the food system transition, perspectives from certain actors like farmers and ethical considerations for non-human stakeholders are often neglected (Kaljonen et al., 2021). This oversight can result in the dominance of specific narratives or discourses, highlighting the need for critical social scientific research to address epistemic asymmetries and misrecognition practices (Kaljonen et al., 2021).

The dimensions of justice often overlap, and in practical action, rigid categorisation can be deemed impractical. For instance, in the context of dietary transitions, justice considerations need to be broadened to encompass basic needs, food security, and nutrition, thereby prompting socio-cultural tensions that necessitate acknowledgement and procedural remedies (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Kaljonen et al. (2021) propose an extension of justice considerations in the context of dietary transition to include cosmopolitan and restorative dimensions. By focusing more on capacity building, ecological integrity, and cosmopolitan

justice, we can achieve a more comprehensive understanding of just transition and foster more inclusive governance for just transitions (Kaljonen et al., 2023).

Justice dimensions discussed within the environmental justice framework emphasise recognising pluralistic social and cultural values. However, dietary transition elevates the *recognition of non-human animals and nature* to the forefront of justice considerations (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Promoting low-carbon transitions in food systems is crucial for mitigating climate change, yet it may not fully mitigate other negative environmental impacts from production and consumption systems, consequently, the loss of biodiversity and degradation of ecosystem health can threaten opportunities for non-human flourishing and the existence of various species (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). The public discussion on climate policies has largely ignored animals, and the relationships between humans and non-human entities in agriculture (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Principles of just transition should encompass enhancing ecosystem health, conserving biodiversity, maintaining soil and water quality, and recognising the intrinsic value of animals while treating them with dignity (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022).

Another dimension suggested to be included in the just food system transition framework is *capacities*, including supporting and developing the food chain actors' adaptive capacities and skills for transition activities (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022). The government and public policy are responsible for promoting a set of opportunities in which the individual has the freedom to choose or not choose, and to ensure human dignity and political liberalism (Nussbaum, 2011). For example, the possibility of a consumer choosing nutritious and sustainable food in Finland is unequal among population groups (Kaljonen, Niemi, et al., 2022). Since sustainability measures can violate (or enhance) individuals' capabilities as well as basic rights (as addressed by distributional justice), there have been proposals to incorporate capacities and capacity building as an additional dimension within the environmental justice framework.

Transition research is an interdisciplinary approach focused on understanding the structural changes in societal systems (Wittmayer et al., 2017). The primary pathways for reducing GHG emissions in agriculture – namely, decreasing meat consumption and changes in agricultural land use (Lehtonen et al., 2022) – combined with the variability of agricultural conditions and farm resilience across Finland, encompass various justice concerns that must be addressed during the transition. The Finnish welfare state is fundamentally built on principles of justice, making the justice of the food system transition not only an intrinsic value but also crucial for societal stability and social cohesion (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). The profound injustices of the current food systems require particular attention in mitigation efforts (Kaljonen et al., 2021) and, inadequate emission reductions are the most unfair trade-off for future generations, the health of the environment, and the most vulnerable human communities (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). For comprehensive understanding and effective action on climate justice, attention must be directed towards the social and institutional dynamics and disparities that generate climate change,

influence responses to it, and are critical for ensuring the sustainability, efficacy, and societal acceptance of climate change responses, highlighting the imperative to confront and transform power dynamics (Newell et al., 2021).

Köhler et al. (2019) describe several key characteristics of sustainability transitions that differentiate them as a significant and intricate subject within sustainability debates and the broader social sciences, also emphasising the transdisciplinary nature of the research field. While all dimensions are indeed interconnected and inseparable to some extent, three aspects stand out as particularly relevant for my thesis: *multi-actor process*, the associated *values, contestation, and disagreement* and *stability and change*. Firstly, sustainability transitions as multi-actor processes mean, that multiple actors (e.g. businesses, researchers, politicians, civil society, individuals) with varying resources, capabilities, interests, and beliefs take part in the transition, thus making the transitions complex processes (Köhler et al., 2019).

Secondly, these actors hold diverse values and perspectives on the ideal pathways for sustainability transitions, resulting in disagreements over preferred trajectories (Köhler et al., 2019). For instance, industries with significant economic interests may oppose transitions that jeopardise their entrenched positions and business models, leading incumbents to challenge the urgency and pace of transitions, and fuelling ongoing debates and conflicts in the discourse on sustainability (Köhler et al., 2019). Furthermore, one of the key elements of transition research is the relationship between stability and change in a social system (Köhler et al., 2019). For instance, in the food system, entrenched practices like intensive agriculture and established consumption patterns exhibit stability and path dependency, while green innovations such as alternative proteins or urban farming introduce elements of change. The success of these niche innovations depends on various factors, including the transition phase and contextual nuances. Adopting a transdisciplinary approach, transition research aims to grasp the broader landscape of social change. Transition frameworks have been criticised for downplaying the significance of power and disempowerment, prompting efforts to conceptualise power, politics, and agency within transitions (e.g. Avelino, 2017; Avelino & Rotmans, 2011; Rosenbloom et al., 2016).

3 POWER AND LANGUAGE IN TRANSITIONS

Society's ability to solve and prevent environmental problems is tied to the perception, definition, and nature of the conflicts associated with their resolution (Väliverronen, 1996). Nature does not provide direct indications of problems or solutions, and environmental changes do not automatically translate into societal responses (Väliverronen, 1996). Agricultural environmental policy is political; definitions of environmental issues and solutions derived from them are tied to the interests of actors and depend on the power dynamics between them (Haila & Jokinen, 2008). The prioritisation of environmental issues in politics and public attention depends on various factors beyond environmental deterioration, and similarly, the absence of visibility does not signify improvement or resolution (Väliverronen, 1996). Power and its various dimensions, including power relations and struggles among actors, are integral to understanding transitions (Köhler et al., 2019). However, power and its different manifestations are often overlooked in transition research (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). Framing represents one aspect of the media's power to shape topics for public discussion, leading many social actors to attempt to promote their frames through the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012).

In this section, I delve into stakeholder power dynamics in transitions, particularly focusing on the manifestations of discursive power. In the second subsection, I explore the role of language in addressing socio-environmental issues specifically in socially constructing political phenomena, such as the sustainability transition in the Finnish food system. In the third subsection, I discuss the media's role in shaping societal transitions. This section concludes with an exploration of frames and framing, specifically in the context of news media research.

3.1 Power in transitions

Environmental issues result from human activities and societal decision-making and, like other societal concerns, are interconnected with the existing social dynamics and power structures within the society (Väliverronen, 1996). Power serves as both a catalyst for transition and a crucial lens for evaluating the (un)intended political consequences of transition processes. This requires an examination of how diverse actors and structures utilise power to either facilitate or impede sustainability transitions, while also considering the impact on structural power imbalances related to factors such as class, race, gender, and geographical location (Avelino, 2021; Köhler et al., 2019). Avelino and Rotmans (2011) outline two primary issues in the connection of power and sustainability: the politics and associated ethical considerations, and the epistemological concerns surrounding the conceptualisation of these two elements. In my thesis, in addition to analysing how a phenomenon was framed in the media, I explore the manifestations of power within the public discourse among actors involved in the sustainability transition of the Finnish food system.

Power in societal transitions can refer to the ability of an actor to influence individual actions or through social-ecological structures and events (Boonstra, 2016). The field of organisational studies and frameworks analysing power dynamics have been criticised for their limited ethical considerations and neglect of the rights and intrinsic value of non-human nature (Kortetmäki et al., 2023). Conversely, attributing blame solely to humans in general for the environmental crisis disregards the diverse contributions and varying levels of power individuals have to effect change, while also failing to acknowledge the responsibility to initiate such change (Boonstra, 2016). Boonstra (2016) suggests that the responsibility and power to enact change encompass both individual actions and the broader context of social-ecological structures and events. In my research, I explore written communication in news media, examining how individuals wield power within the system.

Sustainability transitions on the one hand affect the lives of numerous actors, and on the other, their successful implementation necessitates active participation, agreed-upon action plans, and coordinated efforts among many parties. Power in social and political contexts has been defined in various ways, spanning from its utilisation by individuals to pursue personal interests to its systemic capacity for pursuing collective objectives (Avelino, 2021). Human actors' role to act as ‘change agents’ is identified in many transition studies (Avelino, 2021; Köhler et al., 2019). An actor's capability to act as a change agent is largely dependent on the resources, existing structures and relations between actors at the time and thus the (in)capacity of actors to draw upon the resources (Avelino, 2021; Stewart, 2001). One way to study the manifestations of power in societal change is through discourses; how ideas move within the society, whose agendas are heard and acknowledged. Power, agency, and politics are receiving increasing attention in transition studies, highlighting the need for structural

analysis of the power dynamics among actors (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Köhler et al., 2019). Kern (2011) examined how innovative storylines introducing new problem framings can spark political change by blending an institutional perspective, which considers existing rules and norms, with a focus on ideas and the processes through which actors generate and discuss new policy concepts.

Generally, the concept of power is often used to explain stagnation rather than catalysing change, although there are exceptions where power is conceptualised as the capacity for change and an actor's ability to act differently (Avelino, 2021). In social change research, power encapsulates both the capacity for human-driven change and the accompanying constraints, where empowerment in one context may signify disempowerment elsewhere, thus underscoring power's dual role as both enabling and constraining (Avelino, 2021). The evolution of power relations is a fundamental aspect of social change and innovation, particularly emphasised in research areas such as 'sustainability transitions' and 'social innovation', where shifts in the social context naturally lead to changes in power dynamics (Loorbach et al., 2017).

One manifestation of power in sustainability transitions involves incumbent regime actors leveraging their influence and political manoeuvring to hinder fundamental shifts toward new low-carbon systems. Geels (2014) explains how policymakers and established business entities often form close alliances due to mutual dependencies. Firms rely on governments for establishing property rights and governance structures, while governments prioritise the interests of capital due to the systematic dependence on economic growth (Fligstein 1996; Burnham 1990, as cited in Geels, 2014). This dynamic underscores the challenges of effecting significant changes in sustainability transitions, as powerful regime actors wield significant influence in shaping discourse and policies, often working to maintain the status quo and safeguard vested interests.

The forms of power, utilised by powerful regime actors to impede fundamental system change, encompass instrumental, discursive, material, and institutional aspects (Geels, 2014). *Instrumental* power entails the resources, such as financial leverage, media access, and capabilities to pursue their interests and objectives, and *material strategies* involve the utilisation of technical capabilities and financial resources (Geels, 2014). Actors can strategically exercise *discursive power* through intentional strategies, shaping both the topics under discussion and how they are framed; these strategies prove particularly powerful when they establish dominant discourses (Geels, 2014). *Institutional power* encompasses broader relationships embedded within political cultures, ideologies, and governance structures, empowering incumbent actors to employ strategies that facilitate regime resistance (Geels, 2014). This may be evident in instances where the government grants preferential treatment to powerful regime actors, providing them with enhanced capabilities, financial resources, and established market positions. In my thesis context, these incumbents could include trade, farmer's unions and policymakers.

Indeed, agency plays an important role in different stages of transitions, influencing the direction, pace, and manner in which the transition unfolds (Grin

et al., 2011). Grin et al. (2011) argue, that the transition to a sustainable society as one potential outcome of changes in the institutional landscape is shaped by trends like individualisation, globalisation, and the politicisation of side effects. The institutional realms are typically divided into four categories: trade, government, researchers, and civil society (Grin et al., 2011). However, the delineations and categorisations of actors have been rather vague, particularly in the case of "civil society," which is often seen as including both formal and informal entities (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). Furthermore, another dimension of ambiguity lies in the varying degrees of power and empowerment within these categories, particularly in the interactions between policymakers and incumbent companies (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). While government authority plays a significant role in political guidance and decision-making, the actors, including companies and individuals, act within the frame according to individual agency. However, determining who or what influences public discourse and what actions or changes are perceived as accepted or desirable remains a complex and multifaceted aspect of the broader power dynamics in society.

3.2 The power of language

> Language is our central resource. Language is a choice. Criticality is possible. (Heikkinen, 2007, p. 9)

The citation is from the book “Power of language” by one of the key researchers of critical linguistics in Finland, Vesa Heikkinen. He asserts that language is our supreme opportunity, serving as a central component in our thinking, interpersonal relationships, and societal existence – both as individuals and in various societal combinations. Through language, we have the chance to exist as humans, demonstrate humanity, and empower ourselves and others (Heikkinen, 2007). The second assumption of the quote pertains to the choices we make in creating and transmitting meaning: many of these choices are unconscious, and often lead to the establishment of certain linguistic norms within communities. An individual can, and sometimes must, make specific linguistic choices to achieve their desired outcomes. Furthermore, while there is no need to scrutinise every word spoken by oneself or others, the pursuit of openness, criticality, and transparency in choices and intentions, along with the decision to behave differently, is possible (Heikkinen, 2007).

Social meaning is not inherent to entities but rather emerges through social construction, driven by interpretations and interpretive rules guiding people's everyday lives in society (Alasuutari, 2012). For example, political phenomena are not merely composed of material elements; rather, humans constantly shape them through the attribution of meaning, which not only reflects people's beliefs about political institutions and actions but also continually shapes them (Wagenaar, 2011). The quality of communication between individuals determines various aspects of their interaction, such as their relationship, power

dynamics, and ability to influence decision-making processes (Heikkinen, 2007). For instance, citizens are entitled to clear and relevant communication from government agencies. The more vague and obscure the communication choices are to the recipient, the less power they have to affect the decision-making processes that impact them, beyond being merely a receiver and complier. Heikkinen (2007) refers to "linguistic lethargy and indifference" as the primary barriers to true democracy. In contemporary democracy, he says, power often appears to be wrested away from the people and concealed within the convoluted language of texts, fostering a quagmire of vague terminology.

In public policy, disputes are common, but Schön & Rein (1994) explain that distinguishing between policy disagreement and policy controversies is crucial. While disagreements can often be resolved through reasoned discourse, by clarifying facts or by searching for additional information where needed, controversies are enduring and resistant to factual resolution. In controversies, there is disagreement not just on relevant facts but also on their interpretations – individuals tend to focus on different facts and interpret them differently, leading to a tendency to dismiss the evidence presented by opposing views (Schön & Rein, 1994). Despite efforts to maintain reasonable discourse, policy controversies often surpass the bounds of conventional debate standards, making it challenging to resolve disputes solely through evidence and argumentation (Schön & Rein, 1994).

Language as a concept is multifaceted and embraces diverse interpretations across different contexts. As a subject of research, it can refer to the broader linguistic system or the more concrete manifestations of language use such as written texts (Lauerma, 2012). The use of language can be studied through written or spoken language: traditionally text refers to written and discourses to spoken language (Heikkinen, 2012). *Discourse* refers to interactions within specific contexts like politics or education, encompassing various forms like speeches, cartoons, news articles, politicians' gestures, symbols referring to political parties and movements, statistics, slogans, and books, whereas *texts* emerge from these interactions, forming linguistic outcomes (Heikkinen, 2012). Social scientists view discourse as a more comprehensive unit of analysis than individual texts, emphasising interpretative work's depth and *discourse analysis* involves examining texts within broader contexts, considering background information and the relationship dynamics among participants (Heikkinen, 2012). In this study, I analyse how stakeholders frame a key issue in written news media articles.

According to (Vermeulen et al., 2020), three challenges to changing diets include the principle of food being viewed as a matter of personal choice, individual practical experiences, and the premise that there are limited levers for society-wide behavioural change. These dimensions are visible also in the Finnish food system dialogue and are used as counterarguments to impede the transition. For example, Kurvinen (2023), the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry during the development of the CFP, argued that establishing an explicit target to reduce meat consumption would overly intrude into individuals'

consumption decisions, suggesting that neither the state nor politicians should act as "food police." However, this statement can be perceived as populist, given that the state consistently regulates the Finns' food choices, a responsibility central to the role of the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry (Nikkanen, 2023).

Finland holds significant potential to be among the leaders of sustainable food system transformation, yet it urgently requires a comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and just food policy to foster ambitious initiatives to facilitate this transformation. Additionally, this must be communicated and thus "socially constructed" consistently and efficiently. There is no single correct approach to adopting a more environmentally friendly diet, and individual differences in the environmental impacts of people following the same diet can be significant (Luke, 2021). Diversifying the food discourse and diversifying the voices advocating for climate-friendly food are important ways to reduce the confrontations and perceptions associated with dietary changes (Kaljonen, Kortetmäki, et al., 2022).

3.3 The role of media

Media is the main source of information about environmental issues for the public (Solin, 2001), and has a central role in how environmental problems are socially and culturally constructed (Väliverronen, 2014). It serves as a public platform where various actors engage in defining societal issues and participate in public discourse, providing an important arena for different political parties and pressure groups to get their voices heard (Solin, 2001; Väliverronen, 1996). Thus, the way sustainability issues are framed in the media has a central role in how we perceive them, reflecting to the societal decision-making. Also, what is unsaid can send a powerful message. It is difficult to imagine contemporary politics without the public arena constructed by the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012), and wide and open discussion in the mass media is considered one of the prerequisites of democracy (Väliverronen, 1996). Climate change and biodiversity loss are some of the most pressing societal issues of our time. While there is a consensus among climate scientists about the urgent need for strong actions to achieve sustainability goals, the political landscape remains divided over the methods and their effectiveness. Therefore, the framing of sustainability issues in the media significantly influences societal decision-making and the resolution of socio-environmental problems, prompting questions about journalism's role in politically contentious matters. Should the media take on the responsibility of mobilising society to tackle a shared problem, or is its role primarily to facilitate public debate (E. Reunanen et al., 2022)?

The media does not operate randomly within society. On the one hand companies, political parties, government bodies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) all strategically engage with the media to promote their messages and influence public opinion (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). And on the other, through the conscious and unconscious selection of words, images, and viewpoints, the media itself has an active role in how news stories are crafted

(Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Media content is produced and managed in large media companies, which include newspapers, magazines, radio and TV channels, book publishing, and online services (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). When composing news articles, journalists *frame* the story by choosing which aspects to emphasise and which to exclude (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Concurrently, these choices also align the topics with broader societal *discourses* and patterns of expression, influencing the type of news landscape that the reader sees and, in a sense, contributing to the *construction of reality* (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). The media can reproduce dominant discourses as if they were objective truths (Devereux, 2014).

The media is strongly present in individual's lives and across society, underscoring its pivotal role in understanding the dynamics of the economy, politics, and society (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). It serves as a public platform where various actors engage in defining societal issues and participate in public discourse, providing an important arena for different political parties and pressure groups to get their voices heard (Solin, 2001; Väliverronen, 1996). Interest groups engaged in the discourse aim to make their belief system dominant. Entman (2004) argues that the political influence of the media stems from their response tactics, specifically their capability to frame news in ways that favour one side over another, and this influence has been steadily increasing. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine contemporary politics without the public arena constructed by the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012), and wide and open discussion in the mass media is considered one of the prerequisites of democracy (Väliverronen, 1996). The media plays an important role in addressing unresolved issues and reaching diverse audiences by articulating complex matters in a manner that is both understandable and relatable (Vehkasalo, 2023). For instance, in the public discussion surrounding the preparation of the CFP, investigative journalism Longplay stories by Nikkanen (2022, 2023) and news articles in HS by Elonen (2022a, 2022b) played a crucial role in shedding light on the political preparations for the program. Furthermore, Elonen (2022b) suspected that the CFP was only put into official preparation after HS had requested information about its development in writing.

Framing represents one aspect of the media's power to shape topics for public discussion, leading many social actors to attempt to promote their frames through the media (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). The frames that dominate the news, can also dominate audiences (D'Angelo, 2002). News stories are not just a means to convey knowledge and data; emotions and facts intertwine in the media experience all the time, and even the seemingly most data-focused and straightforward news contain elements of drama (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Emotion is commonly linked to a feminine perspective while reason is associated with a masculine outlook on the world (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Consequently, this division becomes intertwined with societal power dynamics and the struggles within them, where emotion is deemed less significant than reason, for example, in politics or economics, it is typical to label opponents' arguments as emotion-driven and thus irrational (Seppänen &

Väliverronen, 2012). The viewer may perceive something as unbelievable, but through emotions, experience it as very real (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012).

3.4 Frames and framing

The concept of *frames*, located at the intersection of symbolic interactionism, discourse analysis, and structuralism (Alasuutari, 2012), is often attributed to sociologist Erving Goffman in the 1970s. Goffman viewed frames as an interpretive social framework shaping how we perceive and label events, guiding our behaviour and defining the significance of objects and situations (Väliverronen, 1996). Frames serve as metaphors that convey meanings, highlighting that interactions are often governed by unspoken rules implicitly established by the nature of a larger, though perhaps unseen, context in which the interaction unfolds (Goffman, 1986). According to Goffman (1986), they help us figure out "What is happening here?" In other words, they aid in understanding the dynamics of various situations, particularly in the context of our routine daily lives where social contexts are easily recognised and considered routine (Karvonen, 2000). Moreover, applying alternative frames to a given situation or phenomenon allows for examining it from different perspectives or revealing new aspects (Alasuutari, 2012).

On a societal scale, frames play a role in processes such as political socialisation, decision-making, and collective action (de Vreese, 2005). Frames can function within the routines and discourses of actor groups (Gitlin, 1980), thus the frames of individuals or groups play a mediating role in the power of textual frames (D'Angelo, 2002). Framing not only informs us about how actors perceive an issue but also helps elucidate their diverse positions and relationships (Huttunen, 2014). Reese (2007) recognises framing as a valuable addition to offering a balanced critique of both media effects and media hegemony perspectives. He explains how this critical perspective elevates framing from its previously marginalised status as an unscientific theory, granting it newfound respectability. Furthermore, he suggests that frames act as collective organising principles that shape society, yet for interpretive critical research, they provide opportunities to examine ideological concepts like the "definition of the situation" and "naturalising" without assuming the unchallenged authority of the powerful in setting these definitions.

In media research framing could, most literally, refer to visual delineation, such as how a picture in a news article is cropped. A news image is always part of a larger whole and by framing, the photographer highlights certain aspects of reality while excluding others, thereby influencing the conveyed meanings and interpretations of the image (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Additionally, the presentation of the article and its image, including its placement among other articles, can be considered framing, and the page itself acts as a frame that determines the journalistic significance of the article (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Journalists rely on numerous established routines, so-called *mental models*,

to make swift decisions and choices necessary for their news coverage, for example, political news are often framed as disputes, games or theatre (Väliverronen, 2014). The tools, some deliberately chosen and some more routine-based, in framing include metaphors, examples, phrases, slogans, descriptions of events and actors, as well as visual images (Karvonen, 2000; Väliverronen, 1996). Framing enables societal actors, including the media, to structure individual events and phenomena into coherent wholes with unique causes and outcomes, while also allowing for the interpretation and definition of events through different frames, leading to diverse presentations (Väliverronen, 2014). Moreover, frames offer alternative perspectives for defining issues, inherent to the political and social context (de Vreese, 2005).

From a *structuralist perspective*, different frames can be seen to exist within a culture through which the individual chooses a combination to interpret the world. In other words, individuals are not entirely free to choose their interpretations of a certain situation; rather, they are influenced by existing frames that regulate their understanding (Alasuutari, 2012). Goffman was interested in the overlapping and nested frames in everyday activities, where they intertwine and change rapidly, thereby influencing individuals' roles, identities, behaviour, and perceptions (Alasuutari, 2012; Goffman, 1986). For example, frames related to reducing meat consumption could be health, environmental, ethical, and cultural. When examining meat consumption within the contextual frames of people's eating habits, such as everyday life, celebrations, visits to grandparents, or date nights, different norms, habits, and beliefs come into play. Meat may serve different functions in these situations; for instance, during a Christmas dinner, a pork roast as a centrepiece perceived through a cultural frame can contribute to what is considered appropriate and enhances the Christmas atmosphere. However, shifting the frame to ethical, environmental, or health considerations could lead to different perceptions and identities. Goffman was also criticised for his complexity, as his contemplation of endless nested frames often left the reader bewildered (Goffman, 1986).

We interpret political and social issues through media-generated images of the world, but these images are not impartial; they reflect the influence of political and economic elites who control the lens through which we view them (Gamson et al., 1992). Power dynamics, particularly the extent to which various actors can wield power in response to hegemonic and other media discourses, are central to comprehending the media landscape (Devereux, 2014). Proponents of various frames monitor media discourse to assess how effectively it communicates the narrative they wish to convey, and they gauge their success or failure accordingly (Gamson et al., 1992). Moreover, the media plays a significant role in contributing to and perpetuating inequalities and uneven power dynamics within society; thus, it can play a pivotal role in transitions (Devereux, 2014). There is a continuous societal struggle to establish whose interpretation of a situation dominates public discourse, with the prevailing group gaining the advantage of shaping others' perspectives (Karvonen, 2000).

4 RESEARCH IMPLEMENTATION

In this master's thesis, I study the public discussion during the preparation of the CFP. The debate around the CFP is a part of the ongoing discourse around the food system and its required sustainability transition. Reese (2007) characterises frames as collective symbolic principles shaping the social world, emphasising their dynamic nature and interconnectedness with the surrounding socio-cultural discourse. Thus, by examining a specific phenomenon within a broader context, this master's thesis aims to enhance understanding of the sustainability transition of the Finnish food system, thereby participating in facilitating its implementation in a sustainable, acceptable, and just manner. By recognising areas of disagreement, as well as identifying areas of potential consensus, we can foster a more constructive discourse culture and facilitate the transition towards a more productive discussion on Finnish food policy.

In this section, I first outline my research task, approach, and implementation. As a scholarly project, it was important for me to consider research ethics and reliability since the beginning, to ensure the integrity of the entire thesis process. Therefore secondly, I address these foundational considerations. Subsequently, I explain how I collected the data and describe the set of data used in this study, including justifying the scope and delimitations. Lastly, I outline the principles and application of frame analysis, including some relevant previous applications. I justify the selection of frame analysis as the chosen research method and explain how I applied it in this study. Then I explain how I coded and analysed the data.

4.1 Research task and approach

Given that the food system represents a socioecological system, characterised by a complex interplay of material and cultural influences, my thesis aims to integrate and synergise perspectives from both environmental sciences and social sciences, recognising their complementary roles in comprehensively addressing

the intricate dynamics of the subject. According to El Bilali (2019), in food system sustainability transition research, more attention should be paid to the geographic nuances and spatial context of transitions as well as the politics and power dynamics of various actors and stakeholder groups in the transition. Thus, in addition to the geographical delimitation, focusing on the media frames during the preparation of a certain political programme helped to temporally delimit the research and set the context for analysis.

Media plays a central role in aiming to understand economics, politics, and civil society for two main reasons: media exposure highlights the political objectives of actions and civil society utilises the media to organise its activities (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Thus, studying what is discussed, how it is discussed and who discusses it can provide valuable insights into a political phenomenon. Therefore, my main objective is to identify how the necessary reduction of meat consumption was framed in the Finnish news media during the preparation of the CFP. A comprehensive understanding of transitions necessitates insights into the power dynamics of the involved actors (Avelino, 2021); however, power and its various manifestations are frequently neglected in transition research (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). Hence, my second objective is to identify and conceptualise the various actors involved in exerting discursive power in creating the frames during this specified time frame in the media, and to analyse the shifting power dynamics among them. The narrative of the CFP, as presented in the introduction section of this report, draws heavily from news media coverage and investigative journalism, which highlighted the issue for the public and sparked my interest. Media played a vital role in, not only mediating, but possibly also nudging the political preparation process. Given the significance of unresolved issues and one topic standing out above all others, my guiding research questions are:

RQ1: How was the required change in meat consumption framed in Helsingin Sanomat during the preparation of the Climate Food Programme?
RQ2: Which actors had their voices heard through the frames?

The first one means that my objective is to investigate a socio-environmental problem and its associated political phenomena through public discourse. Specifically, I focus on how one of the most contested issues in the preparation of the CFP, ultimately leading to the entire programme being not published, the shift in meat consumption, was framed in the news media. Given that my first research question centres around disagreements regarding courses of action, a closer examination of the core disparities concerning the nature of the problem, including the differences in the perspectives on its causes and suitable solutions, could help in understanding the phenomenon. Public discourse and political phenomena can be studied both quantitatively and qualitatively, depending on the aims of the research. To understand how the prevailing sustainability issues exist and persist, interdisciplinary research – combining aspects of communication studies, political science, economics and social sciences – is needed (Massa, 2014). Understanding political communication requires

interdisciplinary understanding, drawing scholars from diverse backgrounds, and serves as a convergence point for scholars' interests, while also highlighting the inherent differences among their original academic fields (Matthes, 2012).

The second research question means, that in addition to identifying the actors involved in creating the frames, I also aim to understand the nature of power they wield within the transition process. This requires mirroring the theoretical conceptualisation of discursive power in public discussion to comprehend societal power dynamics in this context. To explore the influence of frames and framing on decision-making by examining how actors use framing to advance their goals and shape public opinion on the issue, Gitlin's (1980) perspective on frames extending beyond cognitive and interpersonal realms is interesting. He suggests that frames operate within group routines and discourses, encompassing principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation influenced by implicit theories of reality and significance.

While quantitative methods are valuable for examining interrelationships between phenomena and for example supporter demographics, gaining a deeper understanding of political phenomena, particularly their significance to individuals, requires interpretative methods (Wagenaar, 2011). Qualitative research orientation emphasises understanding the subject's context, background, purpose, significance, and linguistic expressions (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). These methods allow for the analysis of the language used by individuals to express their ideals, beliefs, feelings, fears, hopes, and the impacts of policies (Wagenaar, 2011)

In my thesis, I bring together elements from social sciences and economics, aiming to employ an interdisciplinary approach to address its topic. The epistemological background of my research is interpretivist, referring to a philosophical orientation that emphasises interpretability and the role of interpretations in the production of knowledge. I apply qualitative content analysis of existing materials, specifically media texts, for my research. By choosing a qualitative approach, I sought to address my research question more comprehensively, enabling a more thorough exploration of the subject's qualities, characteristics, and meanings, thus fostering a holistic understanding of the research topic.

4.2 Ethics and reliability

The credibility of research and the ethical decisions of the researcher are interconnected, as research results can influence ethical decisions and ethical positions can impact the decisions made by researchers in their scientific work (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Research ethics standards guide the research process based on generally accepted and recommended principles but the researcher's subjectivity also shapes the research process (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). In conducting this study, I aimed to adhere to the responsible conduct of research as defined by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (TENK). This

meant firstly, following the practices recognised by the scientific community: honesty, diligence, and precision in research, data recording, and presentation. Ensuring the reliability and verifiability of data involves appropriately collecting and processing research data (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Thus secondly, I applied ethically sound research methods and ensured transparency in publishing research findings, adhering to the criteria of scientific research.

The thorough presentation of the research process in this section of the report, including the delineation of data relevant to the research question and explaining choices and practices during data collection, enables data evaluation, thereby confirming the reliability of the research (Alasuutari, 2012). The thesis report undergoes examination with plagiarism detection software (Turnitin) and will be archived in the JYX database, ensuring open accessibility. Thirdly, it is important for researchers to appropriately acknowledge and respect the work and achievements of others, giving due credit to their contributions when conducting their own research and publishing their results (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This is evident in the presentation of previous research on the topic in the report as well as the adherence to APA citation practices. In crafting this thesis report, artificial intelligence such as ChatGPT 3.5 and Grammarly have been utilised as text editing tools in some instances to enhance grammatical correctness or structural fluency. However, it is essential to emphasise that I have generated the content myself based on my own research and ideas.

The materials used in my research are publicly accessible online, although some news items may only be available to subscribers. The data does not contain sensitive personal information, therefore, obtaining a research permit or adhering to data protection regulations or specific ethical considerations was not required. However, since my study involves analysing discourse, including statements by individuals, I found it important to maintain respectfulness, strive for objectivity, and base my conclusions on a sufficiently comprehensive scientific background.

4.3 Data collection and description

The textual materials suitable for research can be classified into two categories: private documents and publicly available material, such as mass media products (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The data for this research consists of 51 articles discussing the necessary reduction of meat consumption, published in HS between 2020 and 2022. Matthes (2012) advocates for an integrated approach to studying political discourse, promoting the idea of developing the research field towards a more comprehensive perspective that encompasses the intentional strategies of politicians and media actors, as well as the reactions of citizens, using a diverse range of research materials. Additionally, according to Väliverronen (2014) relying solely on newspaper material for media analysis is somewhat outdated, suggesting the inclusion of audio news and political panel discussions organised by news outlets could be advantageous. However, due to

the limited resources of a master's thesis, I focused on the media perspective, examining how they framed the discourse in written news articles.

HS, part of the Finnish multichannel media group Sanoma Media Finland, is the largest daily newspaper in the Nordic region and is accessible in both print and online formats (Sanoma Media Finland, 2024). In 2022, HS had an average of 701,000 readers across its printed and digital editions combined (Valtavaara, 2022). Although HS is most popular in the capital area of Finland, it has a nationwide distribution. During the planning phase of the research, I considered including multiple journals in the research, namely Aamulehti (AL), Kauppalehti (KL), Ilta-Sanomat, Iltalehti and Maaseudun Tulevaisuus (MT). Although they belong to the yellow media, Ilta-Sanomat and Iltalehti are among the most read in Finland and thus can be seen as important sources for understanding public perceptions of current issues. KL focuses on financial topics, offering news, analysis, and investment tips. Since the trade has a lot of power over the Finnish food system, adding KL to the analysis could have provided useful insights into the big trade players' perspectives. AL belonging to the same media group as HS is more popular in other parts of Finland, particularly around the Tampere region. MT is most popular in rural areas and among farmers and forest owners. Including the latter in the research would have been especially interesting, as farmers are often identified as one of the most vulnerable groups in the food system transition in Finland. It is important to adequately consider their perspectives to ensure a just transition, as currently they are often left feeling blamed for the unsustainability of the food system or for hindering the transition. Examining the reality portrayed by a newspaper widely read by farmers could have offered valuable insights.

I conducted several test searches to assess the quality and quantity of research data available on the subject. It became apparent that, given the resources of a master's thesis, I would need to narrow down the scope of the data to fewer journals. I established a priority order for the journals and began browsing through the articles of HS and MT. The former is published mostly in Finnish, while the latter is only available in English, thus I had to limit my research to articles written in Finnish. I searched the digital scholarly archives of the National Library of Finland, available at https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/. I limited the search from the beginning of 2020 to the end of 2022, thus covering articles published during the preparation of the CFP. After testing various combinations of keywords, the following combination proved to be the most effective (English translation below):

> vähen* AND (lihan* OR lihaa OR eläinper*) AND (kulut* OR syön*) AND (ilmasto* OR ympäristö*)
>
> *reduc* AND (meat* OR meat* OR animal-bas*) AND (consumpt* OR eat*) AND (climate* OR environment*)*

This search yields 148 results for HS and 350 results for MT. The set of data should be broad and comprehensive enough to facilitate the resolution of the research inquiry, while simultaneously maintaining a level of scope to ensure

manageable resource allocation. I faced decisions regarding which scope of data would best help me answer my research question. I could focus solely on newspaper articles written by journalists (i.e. representatives of the news houses), and conduct a comparative analysis of articles from HS and MT. Or, I could focus on one newspaper and be able to include articles written by a broader range of social actors. HS is the leading newspaper in Finland, especially popular in the capital area. Therefore, many actors or groups utilise HS as a platform for discussion, while conversely, many decision-makers rely on HS as their primary written news source. The wide distribution and popularity come with a responsibility in shaping public discourse, by choosing which topics to cover, which voices are made visible, and how they are portrayed. This includes determining who gets interviewed or quoted and which perspectives are highlighted or marginalised. Occasionally, if a topic initially covered by a regional or specialised newspaper proves to be timely or relevant for broader discussion, HS might produce a story or reprint it, thereby increasing the issue's visibility. On one hand, focusing on a single newspaper like HS allows for a deeper analysis by being able to include a wider range of articles. However, on the other hand, solely concentrating on one publisher has its limitations, which are further discussed in the respective section at the end of the report.

The articles were selected based on their relevance to and involvement in the food system transition discussion in Finland. Additionally, they were required to primarily focus on the environmental framing of shifting meat consumption. For instance, articles that mainly discussed the health impacts of reducing meat consumption and only briefly mentioned the environmental dimension in 1-2 sentences (if at all) were excluded. Furthermore, articles prioritising a global perspective were excluded. While acknowledging and understanding the international impacts of the Finnish food system are important, my focus in this study was on the discussion surrounding the food system transition in Finland. Justifying the selection of articles from the column, opinion piece, Lifestyle and Sunday sections was particularly important compared to those from the news section.

Opinion pieces and columns constitute a substantial portion of the relevant discussions analysed in the study. HS serves as a platform for public discourse via its opinion section, available both online and in print. This section fosters debate, promotes understanding of diverse perspectives, and contributes to social decision-making through constructive criticism and well-reasoned arguments (Helsingin Sanomat, n.d.). Furthermore, with a wealth of submissions, only about one in four is published. Opinion pieces are part of HS's content, for which they bear legal responsibility and aim to deliver carefully. Editorial work involves selection; they choose those that advance the discussion constructively and the editorial team may edit and shorten texts as needed (Helsingin Sanomat, n.d.). I concluded that by delving into both the news articles and opinion pieces of one newspaper, I was able to examine the public discourse on the topic and the power dynamics between stakeholders with greater depth and nuance compared to selecting fewer articles from multiple newspapers.

Table 2 presents the number of search results and their classification by section, along with the number and types of articles chosen for analysis. The article's genre did not have a direct impact on the selection process, except in cases of paid advertisements and duplicates (which occasionally occurred when an article spanned multiple pages within the newspaper). Supplementary items, like monthly and weekly supplements, were not explicitly excluded from the analysis. However, upon manual examination, I observed that all the weekly articles were reprints of the originals, with minor differences in content. I conducted the initial search and first reading on March 14th and 15th, 2024, in the digital archive, which contains the printed versions of the articles. However, due to the limited availability of recent articles, I had to conduct a more in-depth analysis and coding using the online version of articles published after March 15th, 2022. While minor variations compared to the printed version were occasionally observed, these differences did not significantly impact the analysis.

TABLE 2 Search results in the digital archives of newspapers by section and the number of articles selected for analysis.

	Initial search results	Chosen for analysis
News	41	24
Kids News	1	1
Editorial	3	1
Columns & Opinions	54	20
Lifestyle	8	3
Sunday	3	2
Weekly supplement	25	
Monthly supplement	5	
Sidebar/ads	4	
Duplicates	4	
Totals	148	51

As indicated in Table 2, the dataset predominantly consists of news articles, opinion pieces, and columns, with a relatively even distribution among them. The dominant categories within news articles encompassed politics, environment, climate, and food, with a focus on the domestic perspective. A list of the selected articles, along with their original printed names, and article categories can be found in Appendix 1. Figure 2 illustrates the monthly distribution of data, revealing quite an even spread throughout the study period. The consistent distribution suggests that narrowing the timeline for resource efficiency reasons might have overlooked relevant information trends that could have been captured with a broader timeframe.

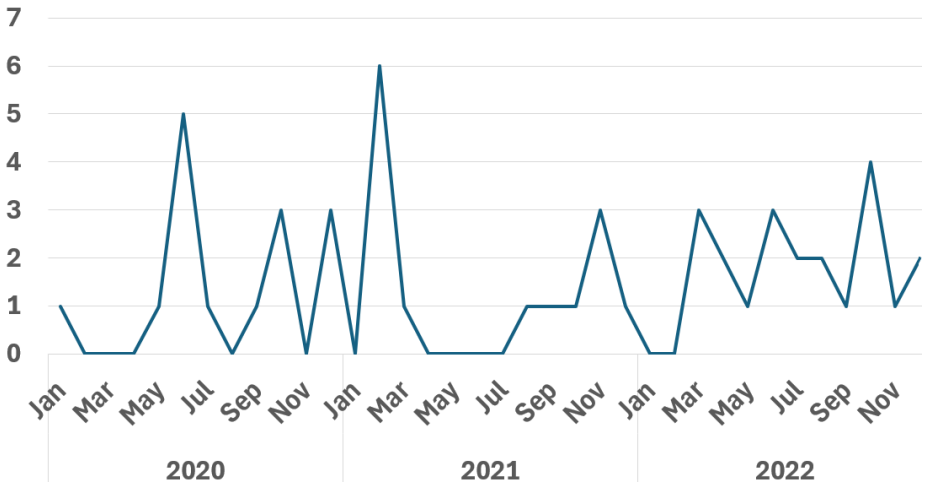

FIGURE 2 Distribution of articles by month

4.4 Methods

The content of media articles can be analysed using four main approaches: narrative analysis, semiotic analysis, discourse analysis, and frame analysis (Devereux, 2014). My thesis does incorporate some narrative elements, as describing and understanding the timeline of key events proved beneficial in comprehending the political phenomenon under investigation, however, narrative analysis was not my primary research method. Semiotic analysis primarily examines the symbolic meaning of texts, but I aimed to broaden the scope of examination to include a wider societal context to analyse the phenomena. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was a noteworthy alternative, as it could have aided in understanding the perpetuated unequal power relations inherent in particular discourses (Devereux, 2014). However, CDA is not a particularly "user-friendly" method for novice researchers (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008), and demands a meticulous and comprehensive examination of the analysed phenomenon.

Considering the limited resources of a master's thesis, I chose to pursue frame analysis instead. This method provides a convenient approach for media research and enables exploration of how framing impacts the interaction between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005) aligning with my aspiration to maintain a connection to the broader societal context. I applied Entman's approach to frame analysis, which is by no means the only approach, but it is the most used in media framing studies (Matthes, 2009), offers a clear framework for an abductive analysis of texts, and I found it suitable for addressing my research problem. Even though all qualitative research is dependent on the researcher's subjective interpretation, when compared to discourse analysis itself, where different researchers are more likely to end up with different results, frame analysis is a relatively concrete method, including four aspects of how the research guides the reading of the analysed texts. Thus, frame analysis provides

a useful basic tool for media research that can be applied by students (Karvonen, 2000) and novice researchers more reliably.

4.4.1 Frame analysis

In the 1990s, frame analysis was primarily utilised in the study of social interaction and societal movements (Väliverronen, 2014), and in the 2000s, frame analysis has emerged as one of the most prevalent methods in media research (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011). While Goffman initially developed frame analysis for the study of everyday interactions, it has since been further refined and applied to analyse mass media, notably by Robert Entman through interpretative frames (Karvonen, 2000). This expansion has enabled its utilisation in various fields such as journalism, social issues, and movements, as well as the social and political sciences, providing a deeper insight into the relationship between meanings and behaviour within social contexts (Väliverronen, 1996).

Frame analysis aids in understanding the journalistic realm and analysing the strategic production and reception of texts (Hallahan, 1999; Karvonen, 2000). It has been utilised to examine media content, identify various frames present in the media, and study the effects of framing on the relationship between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005). In media research, frame analysis is guided by a combination of *cognitive*, *constructivist*, and *critical* perspectives (D'Angelo, 2002). The *cognitive perspective* refers to how individuals process perceived frames, reflecting on past experiences, and how cognition interacts with their social behaviour (D'Angelo, 2002). For example, Gamson et al. (1992) have used the term "interpretative package" to describe the guiding framework for content producers, where experienced journalists have a predetermined structure in mind at the beginning of story creation, filling in the variables with relevant individuals and events (Karvonen, 2000). In frame analysis, a distinction is often made between media frames and audience frames (Herkman, 2015). Both the journalist and their audience are familiar with the pattern of interpretation, so the sender only needs to activate the desired interpretive framework in the audience's mind (Karvonen, 2000). Texts can be understood in various ways, leading to the formation of multiple frames and the effects of text always depend on individual interpretation. Identifying frames within a text does not necessarily guarantee that the text will impact its recipients; frames may also produce effects that diverge from the intended outcomes of their producers (Entman, 1993).

In his widely cited paper, Entman (1993) described news framing as a "fragmented paradigm" and advocated for a unified theoretical framework to study news frames due to the fragmented approaches within the research field. However, both his approach and news framing as a research paradigm, in general, have faced criticism for potentially overlooking the necessity of incorporating multiple, possibly competing theories to comprehensively understand the phenomena being framed. For instance, D'Angelo & Shaw (2018) argue that frames, being embedded in the social construct of society, represent abstract entities with psychological and sociological implications. This complexity makes it impossible to develop a single theoretical approach to

framing. Furthermore, according to D'Angelo (2002), Entman's singular paradigm view of framing leads to an incoherent understanding of the subject, as it fails to acknowledge the necessity of evolving theories based on research findings, thereby hindering the exploration of new directions in framing studies.

Qualitative research is inherently subjective, and frames are subjective interpretations by researchers rather than objective facts. Frames do not just spontaneously emerge from the text; rather, they form through interpretation. The author of the text possesses frames that are transmitted within the text and conversely, the recipient possesses their own frames that influence their reception and interpretation of the text (Entman, 1993). Indeed, as long as the interdisciplinary nature, pursuit of objectivity, and avoidance of overly narrow perspectives are considered, frame analysis proves to be a valuable tool for media research. Fragmenting the research into separate analyses of the cognitive, constructivist, and critical perspectives may lead to a narrow view. However, Entman's method of identifying media frames offers a structured approach to analysis, enabling focus on specific perspectives as required.

In Finland, notable applications of frame analysis, in the context of either news media research or framing sustainability issues, have been conducted by Väliverronen (1996), Huttunen (2014), Herkman (2015) and Huttunen et al. (2024). For example, frame analysis has been employed to investigate the evolution of environmental problems into social issues. Väliverronen (1996) utilised it in his dissertation to analyse how Finnish newspapers addressed the national forest damage problem. His work has since been influential, serving as a foundational reference for numerous subsequent studies on environmental issues in the media.

Suvi Huttunen (2014) utilised frame analysis to examine the evolution and tensions surrounding Finnish forest bioenergy production. The study revealed tensions related to climate change, sustainability, and innovation, with pressures both promoting and restricting bioenergy production. Huttunen found that only certain tensions were acknowledged in the policymaking process, primarily those between forest industry and bioenergy production, while environmental and sustainability concerns were largely neglected. Established actors framed themselves as crucial within the policy arena, hindering the entry of new actors and potentially impeding innovations in bioenergy production. Huttunen discusses dominant frames, which are interpretations of societal issues and ways to address them that hold hegemonic positions. Political actors compete to control dominant frames, seeking to shape frames that best reflect their interests (Huttunen, 2014).

Juha Herkman (2015) utilised frame analysis to explore the meanings attributed to populism in newspaper coverage of the 2011 Finnish parliamentary elections. The research aimed to elucidate how the term populism was used in political discourse and its implications for Finnish political culture. The study analysed newspaper articles from HS and Ilta-Sanomat during the election period. Populism was predominantly framed negatively in the newspapers, often portrayed as inward-turning provincial nationalism, xenophobia, or empty rhetoric. However, framing varied between newspapers and genres. Notably,

Ilta-Sanomat framed populism positively, presenting it as the voice of the common people represented by the Finns Party. These differing frames underscored the boundary between elite and popular journalism and reflected the division of Finnish political culture into liberal and conservative factions, challenging traditional class party divisions.

Huttunen et al. (2024) employed frame analysis to investigate how stakeholders conceptualise justice in the context of sustainability transitions, particularly in agricultural land use and dietary changes aimed at building healthier and climate-friendly food systems in Finland. Their analysis revealed that justice frames primarily concentrated on the potential impacts of the transition, paid little attention to global considerations, and often prioritised social justice concerns over environmental ambitions. On one side, advocating for a just transition can bolster the credibility of climate policies and foster the development of socially conscious initiatives promptly. Conversely, some interpretations of a just transition may perpetuate existing societal structures and uphold privileges, potentially hindering meaningful progress towards sustainability goals. In this study, as well as in the earlier one by Huttunen (2014), the 'Entmanian' frame analysis was employed, similar to my approach.

News framing is a dynamic, communicative process that begins with frame-building in the newsroom and progresses into frame setting, where frames are received by the audience and correlated with their predispositions (de Vreese, 2005). Frames can be identified in various locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture (Entman, 1993). Figure 3 illustrates the process of news framing adopted from de Vreese (2005) and complemented by D'Angelo and Shaw's (2018) analytical perspectives on journalism as framing. Frame building involves continuous interaction among journalists, elites, and social movements, with the frames manifested in the text as outcomes (de Vreese, 2005). They reflect the circumstances in which audiences are presented with frames, such as in news coverage (de Vreese, 2005). Issue-specific frames are relevant only to particular topics or events and frames that extend beyond specific themes and can be identified across different topics, and even across time and cultural contexts, are referred to as generic frames (de Vreese, 2005).

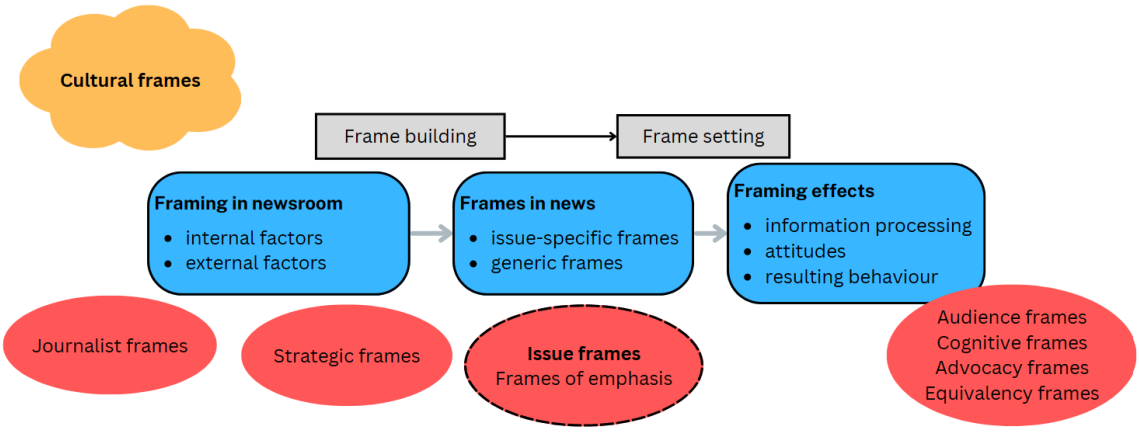

FIGURE 3 Frames in the news and the process of framing

Consequences of framing extend to both individual and societal levels. At the individual level, exposure to specific frames can reshape attitudes toward an issue and affect how audiences perceive and assess information (de Vreese, 2005). The framing process can be examined either narrowly, concentrating on a specific stage of the framing process, or broadly, considering frames as integral components of political arguments, journalistic norms, and social movements' discourse (de Vreese, 2005). Cultural frames shape the political and social context, and while they could be viewed as a distinct category, they are also embedded within the broader cultural environment, highlighting the interconnectedness of the framing research (Reese, 2010). Focusing on one aspect of the framing process can help narrow the scope and provide clearer direction for analysis. The red ovals in Figure 3 highlight areas where a narrower approach to frame analysis could be directed. For instance, both journalist frames and audience frames are influenced by internal factors such as thoughts and beliefs, as well as external factors like cultural norms, other events, and perceptions of others, affecting the transmission and reception of frames (D'Angelo & Shaw, 2018). My focus was particularly on issue-specific, textual frames in the news, which pertain specifically to certain topics or events. Through these methods and the findings described in the subsequent section, I seek answers to the research question: *How was the required change in meat consumption framed in Helsingin Sanomat during the preparation of the Climate Food Programme?* within the material.

4.4.2 Data analysis

In managing and analysing my data, I employed some tools of content analysis, which serve as the foundational basis for all qualitative analysis methods examining written, visual, or auditory content (Silvasti, 2014). I reviewed all the articles four times. During the primary reading, it is recommended to focus on grasping an overall idea of the material before a more detailed analysis. I adhered to Silvasti's (2014) recommendation to abstain from making annotations during the initial reading, opting instead to record initial impressions and reflections of the material in a reading diary. While applying reliability and validity to qualitative research has been questioned, as they were designed for quantitative research, primary reading adds reliability and validity to frame analysis, critical for textual analysis (Alasuutari, 2012). Thus, the first reading was relatively brief and superficial, primarily for the purpose of data selection, as explained in the previous subchapter, and to gain an understanding of the general flow of issues. During this phase, I saved the articles both as text versions and screenshots and uploaded the text versions into the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti for coding.

I conducted the second and third readings simultaneously. During the second reading, I focused on understanding the flow of the discussion. This was followed by the third reading, during which I coded the data. Coding is the first step of analysing the studied material, involving the breakdown and organisation of research data into categories or groups (Silvasti, 2014). It involves assigning meaning to specific parts of the text using selected keywords or "codes" that succinctly describe a portion of the material or a phenomenon (Tuomi &

Sarajärvi, 2018). Coding makes it easy to locate the coded segments of the text and examine their frequency and connections during further analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018).

Researchers have explored frames in the news through both inductive and deductive approaches, each with its strengths and weaknesses (de Vreese, 2005). Purely inductive (data-driven) approaches have faced criticism for their reliance on small sample sizes and challenges in replication (Hertog & McLeod, 2001, as cited in de Vreese, 2005), while purely deductive (theory-driven) approaches might be too prefixed, leaving little room for interpretation In abductive analysis, the coding can be guided by prior assumptions or knowledge, such as theoretical frameworks, but the list of codes can evolve during the process. I used an abductive approach, meaning that my research inquest was guided by Entmans four-dimensional approach to identifying frames. This approach involves asking four questions of the text to identify the frames: definition of the central problem, diagnosing its cause, moral interpretations, and proposed solutions. The problem definition clarifies the nature of the issue at hand and has the potential to shed light on differences between stakeholders' perceptions of the core issues. The causal interpretation delves into why the issue is defined in a specific manner, i.e. identify the forces that create the problem (Karvonen, 2000). The moral dimension encompasses arguments supporting why a particular course of action is morally justifiable, whether it is useful and what ends it produces (Entman, 1993, 2004). The proposed solution outlines the actions deemed necessary to address the issue and predict their likely impacts (Karvonen, 2000).

According to Väliverronen (2015), it is not enough to simply study how the media talks about changes in the state of the environment, but also the way these discourses emerge. The public discourses tell a lot about our society and culture, and why some ways of defining environmental problems are more popular than others. In this study, I employ the hermeneutic approach to identify frames proposed by Gillan (2008). This method provides a consistent means of exploring the political beliefs and values underlying social movements, aiming to reveal their intricate belief structures beyond simplistic interpretations of their actions. The framework initially structured the coding process, yet throughout the analysis, I adapted the code list hermeneutically. This gave me the freedom to listen to the plurality present in the data or to combine categorisations seen in previous studies (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018), allowing for a deeper interpretation and contextual understanding of the data. For instance, it offered flexibility in determining which aspect of the framing process to focus on, as well as in decisions regarding article delineation and the adoption of analysis methods beyond the traditional 'Entmanian' frame analysis.

On top of the four core code categories of frame analysis, I also coded *authors* of columns and opinion pieces, *citations* (who was cited), *proponents* (to track the main proponents of each frame), *fault* (who was being blamed for the situation), *agent* (who should be enacting change) and *metaphors* (figurative expressions, phrases). I maintained a separate document to track my codes along with their descriptions. As I advanced with the coding process, the refinement of

these codes became more precise. During the analysis phase, I primarily focused on qualitative methods, and counting the exact quantities of proponents per frame proved challenging. This was because some references were stronger, while others were merely mentions. For instance, in some articles, there were multiple community members interviewed, each expressing slightly different views in quotes of 1-2 sentences, while other frames dominated entire articles. Therefore, the quantitative data illustrations regarding frame proponents in the results section of this report are for illustrative purposes only and do not provide a basis for conducting reliable and measurable quantitative analysis.

While coding and conducting an in-depth analysis of the material, I opened both the text version and the screenshot side-by-side, enabling me to capture the original appearance of the articles, including any images or illustrations. Then, I consolidated similar reasoning into respective frames using the network function of Atlas.ti. This was followed by another round of reading through all the articles, concurrently testing and refining the frames against the analysed texts until they aligned with the arguments presented in the statements, resulting in seven distinct frames. This method of refining the frames by iterative reading was also utilised by Huttunen (2014) to identify stakeholder frames in the Finnish forest policy discussion. After each round of reading, I exported an Atlas.ti project bundle to OneDrive, ensuring both backup of the coded data and transparency of the process. This facilitated easy access to a specific point in the process for future reference if needed.

One of the central elements in aiming to understand framing as a component of discursive power in socio-environmental-political issues is identifying the frame proponents and their power dynamics. To help me answer my second research question: *Which actors had their voices heard through the frames?* I included four additional code groups: *citation*, *author*, *proponent*, and *agent*. I used *citation* to track individuals directly quoted in the articles, and *author* for writers of opinion pieces and columns. With *agent*, I intended to identify which stakeholder group or individual is suggested to act or effect the change proposed in the frames, and *proponent* in case the proponent of the frame was not already evident with the author or citation code. In the analysis phase, I utilised co-occurrence analysis of Atlas.ti to examine the relationships between frames and the respective proponents and agents.

5 RESULTS

In this section I present the research results, including the seven frames identified in the dataset and the key actors involved in shaping and promoting them. The frames are named as follows: 1) Unsustainability of agriculture, 2) Restructuring the food system, 3) Finnish meat production superior, 4) Physical and mental obstacles, 5) Polarisation, 6) Relationship with non-human, and 7) Individual's choices. I begin by summarising the frames in Table 3, applying Entman's four-dimensional approach to frame analysis, which includes the frames' issues, reasons behind the problems, moral judgments, and proposed solutions. Then I delve into each frame more closely in individual subsections, including the respective proponents. The order in which I present the frames reflects their prevalence in the data. Within and between frames, contrasting viewpoints and critical discourse are evident. Examples of these arguments and typical linguistic expressions within the frames are introduced in the respective subsections.

Through the analysis described in the first subsection below, I seek answers to the research question *How was the required change in meat consumption framed in Helsingin Sanomat during the preparation of the Climate Food Programme?* within the material. In the subsequent subsection, I move on to examining the occurrence of frames by key actors and studied articles. Utilising the co-occurrences of identified actors across frames, I aim to address my second research question: *Which actors had their voices heard through the frames?*

It should be noted that the articles studied were written in Finnish. For the sake of consistency and enhanced readability, the quotes have been translated into English by me. While every effort has been made to accurately translate the quotes from the original articles, it is important to recognise that nuances of language and cultural context may not always be fully conveyed. Therefore, the translated quotes provided in this thesis are intended to capture the essence of the original content to the best of my ability. Any discrepancies or loss of meaning in translation are unintentional, and readers are encouraged to refer to the source material for a complete understanding. In quotes from opinion pieces with multiple authors, all authors are listed alongside the quote. The quotes with no author specified are from the text body of articles written by HS journalists.

TABLE 3 Identified frames in the studied articles regarding the required change in meat consumption and their main proponents (MP). Emphasis is placed with dark highlighting on frames acknowledging the need to reduce meat consumption.

Frame	Problem	Causes	Evaluations	Proposed actions
Unsustainability of agriculture MP: researchers & university professors, NGOs, community	The multiple environmental problems and threats to agriculture	-Finnish agriculture based on meat & dairy mass production -overconsumption of meat	-farmers deserve full societal support -geographical inequalities of farming -multiple ethical dilemmas -Baltic Sea at risk	-just transition & restructuring agrifood system -land use changes -exit schemes for farmers & supporting rural livelihoods -context and geographic-specific solutions
Restructuring the food system MP: researchers, university professors, Greens, Left Alliance	Current policies/subsidies hinder change	-outdated, destructive policies -small group of people responsible	-responsibility for enacting fundamental societal change cannot be left up to individuals	-prompt political actions, clear, informed guiding policies -restructuring the entire food system -co-designing and cooperation
Finnish meat production superior MP: Farmers union, Centre Party	The reducing meat consumption discourse is mere vegan propaganda	-Finnish vs foreign production -agricultural conditions in Finland -calculations based on averages	-domestic production = food security -animals treated well in Finland -farmer livelihoods & social sustainability	-support farmers and rural livelihoods -reduce food waste and enhance efficiency
Physical and mental obstacles MP: NGOs, university professors & researchers, community, Greens	Physical and mental obstacles hinder change	-meat as a learned habit -role of meat in Finnish food culture -previous bad experiences & myths -different perceptions of a good diet -digestive challenges	-eating habits vs planet -ease/difficulty of actions -human responsibility for their actions -multiple benefits -animal protein not necessary	-capacity building, knowledge development -gradual changes, positive experiences -flexibility in diets & protein transition -reducing food waste -reasonableness and consideration for the big picture
Polarisation MP: researchers & university professors, meat industry, community	Confrontation & polarisation	-sufficiency/comparability of research data, using facts out of context -> narrow perceptions -black & white conversation	-collective problem -> narrow use of facts /presented out of context not fair -mutual respect needed	-need for constructive & respectful discussion and solutions -reasonableness and consideration for the big picture -the whole matters in diet composition -redirecting energy wasted on arguing towards compromises
Relationship with non-human MP: NGO's, Greens, community	Perceiving human and non-human nature's well-being as separate significant obstacles to achieving sustainability goals	-overconsumption of meat -> animal mass production -anthropocentrism	-exploiting animals no longer necessary -human-edible livestock feed = waste -amount of livestock vs wildlife -substandard conditions of animals -land requirements -> species extinction	-change in values and attitudes -rethinking relationship with non-human nature beyond utilitarianism -> living in harmony with nature -> quality over quantity -> meat as luxury -supporting farmers in producing quality over quantity
Individual's choices MP: Centre party, MMM, farmers union, community	The state does not have the right to regulate an individual's choices	-the role of meat in food culture -other's dietary choices perceived as threats -> negative feelings when rules are imposed	-food choices part of identity -everyone should have the freedom to decide what they eat	-no strict rules and forcing

5.1 Frames

5.1.1 Unsustainability of agriculture

In the Unsustainability of agriculture -frame, the issue revolves around the unsustainability of the current agricultural production. The proponents of the frame are saying that we need to recognise the multiple environmental problems and threats caused by modern agriculture and restructure the entire agrifood system to portray the real costs and harm to the environment, people, and animals. Reducing animal production and consumption is deemed necessary because of the significant role of food in solving climate change and biodiversity loss. This transformation should be done in a just manner, farmers are recognised to be in a vulnerable position in the transition and they deserve full support from the society.

> We don't need large-scale animal production, and while phasing it out entirely soon may not be realistic, significantly reducing it is the most sustainable approach for food security, addressing the climate crisis, and preserving biodiversity. (PhD researcher & university professor, HS 19.2.2021)

> If Finland is to become carbon neutral, agriculture must play its part. There is already a consensus, even MTK agrees, that agricultural greenhouse gas emissions must be drastically reduced - and even suggests that the most effective approach is to start with peatlands. (editorial, HS 27.10.2021)

In this frame, the problem is that food plays a significant role in the environmental burden of the average Finn. Besides housing, food consumption constitutes a significant portion of household climate impacts. The overconsumption of meat and protein puts strain on agriculture, which has had to intensify to survive. Various environmental problems associated with agriculture are identified, with particular emphasis on the substantial contribution of animal agriculture to climate change. Also, the role of the Finnish food system as part of the global system is recognised along with the dependency of domestic agricultural production on imports.

Some of the main causes identified include that Finnish agriculture is focused on milk and meat production, and "it is not easy to shift the focus to crops like peas, beans, and other plants" (HS 12.10.2022). The production of dairy, meat, and other animal-derived agricultural products accounts for the majority of greenhouse gas emissions and nutrient loading from fields, and the feed and fertiliser industries depend on fossil inputs. Changes in food production and consumption are called "by far the most impactful changes in halting biodiversity loss" (Sitra report, HS 17.5.2022). The importance of sustaining Finnish production is recognised, we "cannot afford to lose it" (university professor, 28.3.2022). However, meat production should be moderated, and support should be directed towards the development of suitable plant-based protein crops in Finland.

Disagreements exist regarding the justification of meat production utilising arable land. Some argue that it is justified due to the agricultural conditions favouring grass-fed ruminant production. Others highlight that, although there is space for cattle on pastures in Finland, not all cattle currently graze on natural pastures. "Grazing is important for biodiversity and preserving traditional biotopes such as meadows, wooded pastures, and forest pastures, but a significantly smaller cattle population would be needed" (Syke researcher, HS 3.9.2020). This frame includes some global concerns, for example about the decreasing productivity of arable land simultaneously as the global population is growing. A sustainable approach to animal agriculture, which considers the species-specific needs and lifespan of animals, would require much less land. Hectares of land could be released for other uses, such as growing biomass to sequester carbon dioxide and provide raw materials for the modern bioeconomy.

Recent crises, notably COVID-19 and the war in Ukraine sparked discussions and concerns regarding food security, particularly regarding the resilience of Finnish food production during crises. Additionally, there was discourse surrounding the impact of intensive animal farming on pandemic risks, emphasising how the overuse of antibiotics exacerbates this risk. This frame is in many ways linked to the Restructuring the food system -frame, for example some proponents criticise the small group of people hindering the necessary transition, calling out their arguments about domestic livestock production.

> The truths of the famine and war years do not work in today's world. Animal production affects the living conditions of wild animals and human domination of land use. It's not as domestic or secure as it's made out to be. (PhD researcher, university professor, HS 19.2.2021)

> At the systemic level, science is quite clear on what needs to be done to mitigate greenhouse gases and protect species, as well as the benefits of such actions. Thus, the problem lies not in a lack of knowledge but rather in a lack of motivation. It's not all human activities that destroy the environment and consequently human health, but rather a small subset of actions that are extremely detrimental to the overall well-being. These actions persist if they provide significant and immediate benefits to a group capable of delaying their transition to more sustainable practices. (researcher, HS 6.10.2020)

The proposed actions include restructuring the entire agrifood system; reducing dependence on fossil fuels, decreasing the use of synthetic fertilisers and over-fertilisation, improving soil fertility, meeting the growing expectations of consumers, and changes in production methods, including land and energy use, particularly reducing farming on peatlands and supporting mixed methods. Peatlands are considered particularly problematic due to their significant contribution to greenhouse gas emissions, despite comprising only slightly over a tenth of the total agricultural land area. The challenging agricultural conditions in Finland and attention to local environmental factors is seen as crucial for ensuring a just transition. The financial unsustainability of the current system to farmers is recognised. The weak profitability of agriculture is seen to stem from various factors, including poor crop yields and rising costs. Actions aimed at supporting rural livelihoods include transitioning animal production to more profitable alternatives, such as finding suitable crops for cultivation. The current

situation is perceived as unfair for those dependent on the existing production and processing system.

Reducing animal production and consumption is seen as essential, and there is a recognised need for a prompt just transition, especially supporting food producers in the shift, to correct the burden and income distribution and prompt actions are deemed necessary. Farmers are called to be in an "unreasonably tight spot. A support package may provide temporary relief. We must be willing to pay more for locally and safely produced food. There needs to be a price level that enables sustainable production (priest, HS 7.6.2022)." And "For Finnish agriculture to survive, it would be desirable to strengthen the position of farmers, improve profitability and reduce dependence on subsidies" (editorial, 27.10.2021). Proposed actions in supporting farmers in the shift include restructuring the agricultural support system to include exit schemes for farmers quitting especially the most environmentally harmful practices and shifting the support system from favouring animal production to plant production.

However, transitioning farming to more plant-based agriculture raises moral concerns about geographical inequalities for farmers. Proponents of this frame emphasise the necessity of acknowledging case-specific contexts to ensure a just transition. In the studied articles, nobody blames the farmers for the unsustainability of modern agriculture; rather, the blame is placed on the system, overconsumption, and unhealthy eating habits. Livestock production is not suggested to be completely phased out, but rather to abandon intensive production methods and reduce the number of animals. Diversification of crop production is needed alongside sustainable animal-based production. The discussion on facilitating a just transition to assist farmers in the transition involves several points:

> "...a livestock farmer is in a completely different line of work than the rest of us. It's a job that can't be easily changed, and its guidelines can't be altered just like that." (priest, 7.2.2021)

> Crop yields are not as consistent as those of animal farming, and farmers always face the risk of crop failure. That's why many cultivate multiple different varieties to increase the chances of success. (HS 26.3.2022)

> "Undoubtedly, a significant portion of Finland's agriculture would disappear if grass production and, consequently, beef farms and dairy production were to cease. In their place, there would be a need for many new food crops that thrive well in northern conditions." (Luke researcher, HS 31.10.2020)

There is an extensive discussion about suitable crops in Finland, especially about the potential of oats compared to other grains and testing legumes to Finnish agricultural conditions. Oats are called a "Finnish strength", since they are resilient even in the face of environmental and climate change (Luke researcher 22.3.2021). Legumes "promote food security and the sustainability of the food system", and they could help in reducing fossil energy-based nitrogen fertilisers (university professors, HS 28.3.2022).

The agents for change in this frame are seen to be mainly politicians and companies, but also consumers can somewhat enact change. "Consumer actions create pressure for low-emission production, and additionally, the right infrastructure and technology are needed to facilitate consumer choices and enable industries to develop new products" (HS 5.4.2022). Although Finns have significant emissions per capita, the responsibility for the fundamental, systemic change is seen to be in policy actions and societal decision-makers.

5.1.2 Restructuring the food system

The Restructuring the food system -frame is intertwined with the Unsustainability of agriculture -frame but extends to governing the entire food system, including managing national dietary health through dietary guidelines and overseeing corporate environmental impact management. Urgent action is deemed necessary, yet current policies and subsidy systems are seen as problems obstructing the change. It is deemed unfair to leave such a fundamental, systemic change solely on the shoulders of citizens.

The lack of clear guiding policies is seen as an obstacle to change, both in dietary recommendations and environmental guidelines for municipalities and companies. The causes for these problems include existing destructive policies and subsidy systems, as well as a small group of people responsible for hindering transformation. This group is compared to what tobacco industry leaders did to successfully hinder "sensible tobacco policies for decades, or billions of people who are unwilling to reduce their meat consumption, indirectly contributing to deforestation for livestock farming (researcher, HS 6.10.2020)." The policies are also characterised as "inconsistent", "fragmented" (HS 12.10.2022) and "outdated" (HS 19.2.2021-3), posing a barrier to change. For example, efficiency is a central goal in current agricultural policy. However, the reduction in farm numbers and the shift toward larger farm sizes contradict the aim of maintaining rural vitality. Additionally, environmental and climate objectives may clash with profitability and yield targets.

> "The share of agricultural subsidies in the total agricultural output in Finland is approximately one-third. However, the proportion of support varies depending on what the farm produces. Therefore, subsidies also influence the choices that farmers make in production and land use." (HS columnist 27.11.2022)

The proponents call for clear, informed guiding policies to navigate this transition effectively. Solutions are seen as available and doable, but just need to be implemented – "moving from words to actions" (book author, HS 25.5.2020). "Technological solutions to move away from fossil fuels exist, and economics does not prevent their implementation. The key factors are policy actions and decisions. However, we are still too attached to the old ways (NGO representative, HS 3.4.2022). A "comprehensive" (HS 3.9.2020)" and "strong" (Syke researcher, HS 12.10.2022) strategy in food policy is needed to reduce the environmental impact of food production and consumption at all stages. Food is referred to as "a basic necessity, but there is room for improvement in the policies

and practices that govern it" (Greens politicians, HS 27.6.2022). Suggested political measures include, for example, the CFP, increasing organic production, promoting agroforestry, addressing food waste, increasing the use of environmentally friendly feed, and supporting wetland cultivation (HS 19.3.3022). In an interview, a representative from the Finnish Climate Change Panel (HS 9.3.2022) stated that achieving emission reductions would require not impeding consumers' natural transition towards a more plant-based diet with agricultural policy decisions that support meat production, in which he "does not have full confidence in".

The ongoing updates of the Nordic dietary recommendations are also being highlighted as an important instrument for guiding national dietary behaviour, as they will influence the national recommendations in Finland. The Syke advocates for the integration of environmental criteria into dietary guidelines, emphasising the importance of considering both nutritional and ecological sustainability. Ideally, diets that are environmentally and nutritionally sustainable align. "Environmental and sustainability issues are strongly emphasised in the update, and there is a strong demand in the field for environmental criteria" (Syke researcher, HS 3.9.2020).

> A change in eating does not happen overnight. To ensure an orderly and fair transition, a long-term plan must be made to reduce animal production and consumption of animal-based food and increase the production of plant-based food in Finland. (Greens politicians, HS 27.6.2022)

Much as in the Unsustainability of agriculture -frame, the agents for change in this frame are seen to be primarily politicians, but also consumers and companies can participate. Although Finns have significant emissions per capita, the responsibility for the fundamental, systemic change is seen to be in policy actions and societal decision-makers. This also applies to lifestyle choices.

> Finland could set an example. "The Nordic countries are leaders in many measures of well-being and technical expertise. If we can demonstrate that the welfare state can be implemented in a climate-friendly manner without increasing biodiversity loss, the impact will be significant," . . . "For example, when it comes to plant-based food, it makes no sense to leave it solely to individuals when it's a change needed throughout society. Purely from a scientific standpoint," . . . "Finland shouldn't wait to see what others do." (NGO representative, HS 3.4.2022)

> "Good climate policy also has an impact on the consumer's carbon footprint. At the same time, consumer action accelerates the pace of change. It is a "win win" situation" (Syke researcher, HS 8.12.2022-2).

5.1.3 Finnish meat production superior

In the Finnish meat production superior -frame, Finnish agricultural production is considered superior, with a focus on social sustainability, especially in supporting farmers and rural livelihoods within the context of food system sustainability. The issue is framed by dismissing the discourse around reducing meat consumption as mere propaganda from a small group of green-left urban

dwellers. Thus, the proponents see no need for fundamental change. The main proponents of this frame are the national farmers union and the Centre party.

The frame emphasises the importance of considering the unique characteristics of Finnish meat production when shaping political decisions related to production and consumption. The proponents of the frame argue that using global averages as a basis for such decisions may be problematic, as Finnish production has significantly lower environmental impacts and higher animal welfare standards compared to foreign counterparts. For instance, domestic beef has lower carbon emissions than imported beef, and antibiotic-resistant bacteria are less prevalent in Finnish beef production. It highlights the responsible use of antibiotics in Finnish agriculture, where they are only administered when necessary to treat individual animals' illnesses. Overall, this frame underscores the importance of evaluating how meat is produced and acknowledges Finland's efforts in achieving higher standards compared to other countries.

In this frame, the global need to reduce meat consumption and production is acknowledged, but the Finnish context is perceived as distinct and Finnish production as "extremely important" (Centre party politician, HS 8.12.2022). It emphasises how Finland's agricultural conditions favour meat and dairy production, making it difficult and less profitable to cultivate other types of crops. Furthermore, the significance of domestic production for food security is underscored. Especially in times of crises, the role of self-sufficiency becomes paramount. For instance, if the Russian war were to spread to the Baltic Sea, " . . . Finland becomes a lonely island, and on that island, hunger and cold prevail" (Liike Nyt politician, HS 8.12.2022). Livestock animals are metaphorically described as "life insurance," ensuring food security, while cows are referred to as "bovine bioreactors" (farmers union representative, HS 7.2.2021) for their ability to convert non-edible grass and fodder into human consumable food.

> No one can deny that the consumption of animal-derived products is unsustainable for this planet. This is an issue that needs to be responsibly addressed, and we must be able to curb the global growth in meat consumption. However, from a national perspective, Finland's climate provides a relative advantage in the production of animal-based food. Here in the north, fields mainly grow fodder crops and grass, which humans cannot consume but which the bovine bioreactor can convert into human food. If the consumption and markets of animal products were to disappear from Finland, agriculture would be left with a rather marginal role.
>
> In Finland, milk consumption has decreased significantly, and meat consumption has also turned downwards. Of course, we are aware of the risks associated with the reduction in the consumption of animal products, and we actively seek to increase the production of beans, peas, and other protein crops. But at the moment, it's a thing for southern Finland, and the associated risks are quite significant. Last summer, the yields of fava beans went down the drain. (farmers union representative, HS 7.2.2021)

On top of the main proponents of this frame, the farmers union and the Centre party politicians, the importance of domestic origin is also important for many community members. Domesticity is believed to "ensure the high quality of food", "guarantee of food purity", "the best solution, especially regarding climate issues", and "trusted terms of animal welfare". Furthermore, domestic

food is described as an “ethical choice and an eco-friendly act because it is local food” (HS 14.3.2021). According to researchers (HS 14.3.2021), the marketing of the domestic food industry has shaped Finnish perceptions of food, with a widespread belief in the superiority of domestic food shared across many countries, although Finland stands out for its particularly strong promotion of domesticity. The decisions made by certain companies and administrations to reduce the amount of meat served at events for climate-related reasons are seen as "greenwashing" (farmers union representative, HS 4.11.2021) and “sad if it also applies to domestic meat” (Centre party representative, HS 4.11.2021). “But it is also about farmers' livelihoods and the extent to which policies of this type affect the demand for domestic raw materials (researcher, HS 4.11.2021).”

> "We're not trying to force anyone to drink milk or eat meat. I don't see it as a problem if someone chooses oat-based products instead of milk. The aim is that whatever you choose from the food circle, it should be domestic," . . . "That is more important to us than whether the product is dairy, meat or vegan. It is better to choose Finnish responsibly produced food and help Finnish farms to develop their own production." (farmer, HS 18.12.2021)

In this frame, there is considerable confidence in Finland's current agricultural policy and know-how. The focus of sustainable development should be on reducing food waste, strengthening self-sufficiency, and addressing the social dimensions. Proposed actions include supporting farmers and rural livelihoods to maintain momentum in developing agricultural production. Consumers are advised to buy Finnish food and thus support domestic food production.

5.1.4 Physical and mental obstacles

The background assumption in this frame is the recognition of the significant environmental and social impacts of dietary habits, along with the acknowledged necessity to change them. The reduction of meat and dairy products is seen as “essential to fight climate change and save biodiversity” (NGO representative & Syke researcher, HS 10.6.2020-3). The foundation of sustainable and nutritious diets should prioritise locally sourced, balanced Finnish food, emphasising increased consumption of vegetables and fish while decreasing reliance on animal-based products such as beef, pork, and dairy. The problem is defined as various physical and mental obstacles hindering the change in dietary habits, influenced by cultural factors shaping perceptions of what constitutes a "normal" or "good" diet. The actions can be perceived as easy or difficult and a change in values and attitudes is also needed. This frame is characterised by aspirations for moderation, flexibility, the development of a more diverse diet, and the potential for changing norms. In essence, because the planet is warming due to human actions, we must choose either to change our dietary habits or preserve habitable conditions on Earth. The key actions include capacity building, fostering positive experiences, and knowledge development.

The moral evaluations include that because food is such an important part of the sustainability transition, humans should bear the responsibility for their

actions and habits can change. Moral concerns are being raised regarding the current production system, which is putting pressure on the condition of the environment, especially the Baltic Sea. Multiple solutions are needed to combat climate change, and in the context of dietary choices, reducing meat and dairy consumption and transitioning towards more plant-based diets is essential.

Concurrently, shifting diets are perceived to yield multiple benefits beyond environmental ones, including improvements in health and financial aspects. Habits change slowly and the physical and mental obstacles can be either conscious or unconscious. Some learned habits, such as the central role of meat in Finnish food culture, are questioned. While there are varying perceptions about the necessity of meat and dairy, they used to be more integral to diets. However, with the availability of various options, they are no longer considered essential, as long as the diet is composed diversely and attention is paid to ensuring a sufficient intake of nutrients. Nonetheless, certain political directives, such as subsidies emphasising livestock production and the EU school milk support, aim to maintain the consumption of these products, potentially hindering those who wish to choose to shift their diets to more plant-based.

Mental obstacles can stem from habits and culture, such as traditional meals that often feature meat and/or dairy products, or past negative experiences that deter experimentation with new foods. Furthermore, some biased views regarding protein intake prevail, assuming that plant-based foods do not provide enough protein. However, in Finland, protein is often consumed in excess, leading to environmental issues and a varied plant-based diet can offer a balanced and sufficient amino acid composition. The frame also delves into ponderings about the generational nature of changes in dietary behaviour. On the one hand, young generations have grown up along with the growing popularity of vegetarian food, but on the other, older generations have lived through a time when meat was not consumed in the quantities it is today. Some traditional dishes, such as "grandma's meatballs", have remained the same year after year.

> Now even grandmas are changing their diets, looking for new recipes and thinking carefully about what they eat. It's becoming clear that even changing your diet is wonderful, inspiring and rewarding when it's done through people you love. Grandmothers may even want to make their grandchildren veggie buns instead of meatballs, a progressive and youthful diet is even a source of pride. . . Today's grandmothers remember the great upheavals of the 1960s and are used to the world changing, and there are always new winds blowing. However, in mainstream diets, the new winds were still just different fads in the 1990s. Even veganism was strange and marginal. Macrobiotic diets, for example, or raw food were small cult phenomena. Now it's different. Diets are in circulation even for those who do not actively modify them. Drops and streams of extreme currents spill onto the plate as new products spread into shops, institutional kitchens and food services. No longer is 100% commitment to the diet required. Even a meat-eater can easily choose a vegan meal. (HS 14.3.2021)

A varied plant-based diet is recommended to include legumes, but they may not be suitable for everyone, representing a significant physical obstacle to dietary shifts discussed in this frame. Gradually increasing legume consumption allows gut bacteria to adapt to process them; however, some individuals experience

severe symptoms even with small amounts of legumes and are unable to consume them. The ideal scenario involves focusing on a balanced diet, moderating animal product consumption, and seeking domestic alternative protein sources.

> "We should also spend more time thinking about what to choose. For many people, choosing food in a staff restaurant, for example, is an intuitive thing, a default value. Sometimes it can also help to start making choices more consciously." (university professor, HS 29.10.2020)

> "The answer to the question of whether meat is needed in the Finnish diet is that it is not. But if the question is whether it can be, then yes, it can," . . . "Red meat is not an element of a healthy diet, so it does not identify a healthy diet. But you can have a healthy diet that contains some meat." (university professor, HS 29.10.2020)

The transition is perceived as gradual, with actions focusing on taking small, incremental steps to shift diets towards greater environmental friendliness and improved health over time. Examples of actions suggested by the frame proponents include abstaining from animal products during certain meals or weekdays and replacing some meat with plant-based alternatives in recipes. There is no need to give up meat altogether, and a variety of different dietary compositions can contribute to a more sustainable diet.

In this frame, linguistic expressions generally lean towards the positive, portraying change as a beneficial improvement of life rather than a burden. However, there is also a noticeable emotional attachment to food choices, as evidenced by expressions like "vegan preaching" or references to vegans as "hipsters from Kallio" (HS 14.8.2021). Additionally, a single father jokingly referred to his children who refused to eat red meat as "the devils," prompting him to learn to cook vegetarian meals, which he himself eventually grew to enjoy (HS 14.3.2021). While gradual shifts are expected to attract more people to join the transition, critics argue that marketing the shift as gradual and emphasising the role of meat-like plant-based alternatives might actually hinder the transition to plant-based diets by reinforcing the centrality of meat in diets and perpetuating associations between plant-based foods and meat.

The actors responsible for enacting change in this frame are evenly distributed and encompass all stakeholders: government, policymakers, businesses, and consumers. The whole population is suggested to make small changes in their diets. Some of the proponents say that issues related to halting climate change by shifting dietary habits are fundamentally political issues, but collective action can have a huge impact. It is highlighted that one of the main ways for consumers to reduce their ecological footprint is by reducing meat consumption. While reducing food waste is also mentioned, it is considered less significant. “The emphasis is on action. It is no longer about people lacking knowledge about climate change and its drivers” (book author, HS 25.5.2020). The roles of public catering and companies in fostering habitual change are discussed. Public catering services play a significant role in promoting sustainable eating habits, as Finns consume over 380 million meals annually in daycare centres, schools, and educational institutions. “But simply adding a

plant-based option to the menu won't suffice if the food is not consumed" (Syke researcher, HS 3.9.2020). Therefore, there's a need for greater involvement of students and children in the development of new environmentally friendly recipes, considering that mealtime is a crucial part of food education in schools and daycare centres. Reducing the proportion of meat offered in public catering, including in cities and schools, sparks a lot of discussion, with opinions both for and against it.

> ". . . more research is needed on the vegan food served to children and young people in schools and day-care centres," . . . School meals are a whole. Its nutritional composition is planned with the idea that the student eats supplements in addition to the main course, such as potatoes or pasta, items from the salad bar, bread, and milk. However, students do not always do so. "The older children get, the less likely they are to take all the items they should from the school cafeteria. In secondary schools, the problem can be that students eat poorly in the cafeteria and go to buy candy or other unhealthy items after school." (university professors, 5.2.2021)

The incentives by service providers to actively develop vegan recipes to meet targets of reducing serving of meat is recognised. Enhancing the capacity of public catering services and recipe planning is seen as crucial to ensure that plant-based meals are appealing, nutritious, and satisfying. Additionally, companies are urged to offer plant-based protein products tailored for sensitive stomachs, making plant-based and sustainable consumption accessible and positive experience. The necessary transition is seen as an opportunity for companies, and the strengths of plant-based food, the domestic origin of sustainably produced ingredients, and delicious taste can be used as marketing and product development highlights. Some corporate initiatives to facilitate sustainable consumption highlighted in this frame include supermarket chains' recipe services, which enable consumers to add ingredients directly to their shopping lists, as well as enhancing product visibility in stores and restaurants.

5.1.5 Polarisation

This frame is characterised by seeing the increasing polarisation and confrontation in public discourse and dietary choices as problematic. The public discussion surrounding food choices sparks emotions, and the polarisation of extremes is amplified in today's fast-paced communication, where facts are used out of context without proper justification. This leads to narrow framing of the issue, which may be easily dismissed by the opposing "camp" and the discussion culture may become so inflamed around certain issues, that some participants do not even want to engage in the conversation, as there is perceived to be no space for constructive dialogue.

The problem definition is polarisation, evident both in public discourse and dietary choices. The causal factors contributing to the polarised discussion involve the misinterpretation of research data, where findings are taken out of context and presented as factual evidence to support a particular viewpoint. Additionally, the poor comparability of certain research results and the limited peer-reviewed and large-scale research on the environmental impacts of

livestock production in Finland further worsens the situation. The misuse and potential misinterpretation of facts leads to confusion about environmental impacts, resulting in narrow or misleading perceptions regarding the (un)necessary pathways for change. For instance, debates emerge surrounding the carbon footprint of beef and the differing standards for the treatment of factory-farmed animals in Finland compared to those abroad.

> It is good that Finland's comparative advantage in the use of antibiotics is highlighted. However, it is problematic to present and emphasise in public debate carbon footprint figures and comparisons for individual foods without a comparative scientific basis. These figures can be very misleading. . . Although land-use changes related to soy are included in the calculation of the carbon footprint, our research shows that it is not possible to distinguish between the carbon footprint of Finnish and imported beef, but the orders of magnitude are the same, as the results are influenced by several other factors. . . If changes in carbon stocks in peatlands are considered, the climate impact of Finnish beef may already be higher than that of the corresponding imported beef. (Luke researchers, HS 10.6.2020)

On top of the polarised discussion culture, another dimension of polarisation is evident in dietary habits, particularly in meat consumption. The causal interpretations are somewhat the same as in the polarised discussion, as the narrow use of facts can lead to false interpretations and further polarisation. Additionally, some individuals, weary of what they perceive as excessive enthusiasm ("vouhotus"), view guidelines for reducing meat consumption as an infringement on their individual freedom of food choices. This defensive stance further amplifies the polarisation and reinforces ideological divisions. The excessive consumption of meat is also referred to "very much a manly thing"– most importantly, it would be crucial for the individuals that consume high amounts of red meat to start reducing their intake (university professor 29.10.2020).

> "This is a very intriguing battle of arguments" (university professor, HS 31.10.2020)

> "This is a bit of an absurd question. . . We have a global atmosphere, and all emissions pollute it. We know that food is a big contributor to, say, the carbon footprint of Finns - about a quarter. But it is quite impossible to say that any single food is purely climate-friendly or climate-unfriendly. Even the lowest-emission products add to the emissions burden." (Luke researcher, HS 31.10.2020)

The black-and-white conversation also extends to areas such as school meals, where some argue that the narrative of advocating for plant-based diets is too narrow, and rather the focus should be on supporting domestic production or getting schoolchildren to eat according to the "plate model" for balanced and healthy eating. Furthermore, the importance of animal production for food security is emphasised. Conversely, others argue that the only diet capable of sustainably feeding the world is plant-based. They view the emphasis on preserving animal production (in its current form) in Finland as a narrow perspective that reflects the views of only one sector, namely the milk- and meat industry representatives (HS 10.6.2020-2) on how the transition should occur.

> Strange arguments are beginning to emerge in defence of animal production. [reference to a previous opinion piece by Professor Emeritus of Animal Husbandry] defends animal production because a Finn was awarded the Nobel Prize for feed production in 1945. [ibid.] wrote that animals "enrich our lives in many ways" and deserve "good care". . . What care is given to a broiler that lives a few weeks in factory conditions and dies after a cramped journey in a busy slaughterhouse? (university professor and researcher, HS 19.2.2021)

Two further causal interpretations presented in this frame regarding the narrow use of facts to support personal choices include the politicisation of food choices and rural-urban division in views. Food choices have become intertwined with a person's identity, and politics are integrated into personal, everyday life. Political ideologies are reinforced through dietary choices and specific (occasionally very absolute) arguments aligned with those ideologies. The rural-urban divide in views is apparent, with ideas that gain acceptance and become commonplace in the capital region not necessarily being so elsewhere. Additionally, some politicians and social media users have suggested that "abandoning meat consumption will exacerbate the challenges faced by Finnish farmers" (HS 4.11.2021). This is why the topic of reducing meat consumption is seen as a "politically hot potato" (HS 5.2.2021). HS conducted a study on food choices, revealing that the polarisation of extremes, black-and-white thinking, and absolutism are evident in various aspects of dietary decisions. Additionally, the study showed that many consumers feel pressure to change their diet in one direction or another.

> . . . dietary choices also clearly reflect politics and even party divisions. . . Only a certain diet is the only right one, the others are completely wrong. Only information from a particular source is correct, the rest is wrong. We must stop eating meat altogether. Or the opposite: meat-eating is eternal and must be allowed to continue. Meat should not be eaten, because man is an animal. Meat should be eaten because man has always exploited animals. We are all responsible for the impact of food on climate change. Or: our choices don't matter. (HS 14.3.2021)

> "It's a subject that arouses a lot of emotion in many people, and for good reason. I approached it with caution." The call to give up or at least reduce meat intake may provoke a defensive reaction even from those who see the need for it. And yet it must be discussed, because, without a debate on the impact of meat, dairy and eggs on the climate, we have no 'glimmer of hope'." (book author 25.5.2020)

> The fuel for vegetarian food controversies, especially on social media, revolves around the question of "do you belong with us or not." Some consumers are willing to radically change their diets, while others, demands to give up meat feel pressuring and belittling of their dietary preferences within their reference group. "Both groups feel that they are doing the morally right thing, and it is this sense of conflict between the groups that makes it difficult to cooperate and develop common solutions" . . . (university professor, HS 4.11.2021)

Moral evaluations in this frame include that since the sustainability issues are collective problems requiring collaborative efforts, therefore, presenting narrow interpretations of research results or facts out of context is unfair. In the worst-case scenarios, this inflammatory discussion culture can lead to instances such as adults bullying teenage influencers online, pressuring them into quitting or drowning out voices with polarising rhetoric, which is morally questionable.

Urgent action is deemed necessary to address sustainability issues. However, it is noted that existing beneficiaries may perceive the calls for the necessary just transition as a threat to their interests, necessitating persuasion for their participation. Meanwhile, the outspoken minority advocating for their own interests is perceived as unfair.

> Only through discourse can good new solutions to existing problems be found, so that existing beneficiaries do not simply suffer. It is they who need to be persuaded to change by offering something important at a time when destructive policies are being abandoned. These discussions will not happen by themselves, but require active policies to find the organisers, resources, and tools. (researcher, HS 6.10.2020).

Nonetheless, the proponents of this frame contend that the conversation surrounding the required reduction in meat consumption is overly "black and white" with a silent majority believing in the possibility of finding a middle ground between the extremes. They suggest that individuals resisting change and advocating for continued meat consumption often rely on exaggerated comments intended to appeal to emotions. This middle road is characterised by reasonableness and consideration of the broader context. Proposed solutions emphasise, that rather than wasting energy on arguing and "boiling over", it should be directed towards constructive discussions and implementing solutions that examine the food system as a whole, with a comprehensive, evidence-based approach (HS 4.11.2021). This applies also to diet composition, where the whole matters. It is imperative to reduce the environmental impacts of food throughout all stages of production and consumption, with assessments conducted across the entire food chain. "Environmental health improves through collaborative planning" (researcher, HS 6.10.2020). Politicians and decision-makers are urged to establish clear, guiding policies and environmental criteria.

> The food chain and its development in a more responsible direction is not an either-or, but always a both-or issue. (MMM representative, HS 12.7.2022)

> Appealing to emotions is not ethical, as the current system is not functioning, and one should not get emotionally stuck in it. In reality, meat consumption is not necessary to meet human nutritional recommendations or to sustain food production. . . If farm animals did not act as intermediaries in food production, more food would be produced more efficiently. (student, HS 13.10.2022)

5.1.6 Relationship with non-human

> "When the animals feel well, so do we." (HS columnist, HS 7.12.2020)

The Relationship with non-human -frame focuses on the environmental and animal ethical dimensions of reducing meat consumption. The proponents of this frame argue that we should reassess our relationship with animals, nature, and food, emphasising quality over quantity. They advocate for a shift towards appreciating the origins of our food, acknowledging the consequences of its production on both livestock and wild animals, and recognising humanity as an integral part of nature rather than separate from it. While appreciating the

farmers' efforts as food producers, they contend that the "exploitation" of animals is not justifiable. They propose supporting farmers to improve animal welfare and foster a deeper appreciation for food. This approach could reduce the necessity for extensive animal production, leading to a decrease in the number of animals raised and the land required for feed production, thus allowing more space for wildlife.

The problem definition in this frame is that perceiving human and non-human nature's well-being as separate a significant is an obstacle to achieving sustainability goals. The notion that animals exist solely to provide us with commodities is seen as problematic, prompting questioning of our entitlement to do so under current circumstances. The causal interpretations indicate that the overconsumption of meat has driven animal production to intensify, resulting in substandard conditions in animal factories. Animal mass production in its current form is unsustainable and threatens the prerequisites of life on Earth.

> The debate on the environmental impact of food production regularly forgets the loss of biodiversity it causes. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Biological Diversity, the constant expansion of land required for animal production is the main cause of species extinction. (NGO representative & Syke researcher, HS 10.6.2020-3)

The mass production of animals is seen as morally questionable as "exploiting" animals is no longer necessary for human survival, and changing our dietary habits is central to solving sustainability issues. This frame includes both local and global apprehensions regarding the critical role of food as part of the sustainability transition. Especially the disproportionately large number of people and livestock compared to wildlife the justification for the increasingly vast amount of land "sacrificed" for livestock feed production is questioned, as it occupies a significant portion of the world's land area and leads to the displacement of other species. "In Finland, 80% of the total cultivation area is used for cultivating crops for animal feed" (Syke report, HS 3.9.2020). Also, using human-edible food to feed livestock animals, such as soy to cattle, and substandard conditions in animal factories raises moral questions. Furthermore, the inconsistency in societal attitudes towards consuming different animals, suggesting that if eating one type of animal, such as pets, is deemed unacceptable, then why is it considered acceptable to eat other animals, is questioned.

> The reason why animal production plays such an important role in food production today is not food security, but mostly people's consumption habits and the influence of groups that benefit from animal production. Even if animal production were beneficial to humans, it would still not be right. The human right to raise animals in captivity to suffering and death is based only on the right of the strongest and, in my opinion, is not ethically justified. (student, HS 19.2.2921-3)

Proposed actions emphasise the necessity of reducing meat consumption and highlight that food choices involve values beyond just taste or price. Additionally, high-quality food should be priced better. Proposed actions to support farmers in the transition to produce quality over quantity include forgiving loans and providing cessation support for producers moving away from animal production,

lowering the value-added tax rate for plant-based products, and implementing a harmful tax on animal-derived products. This harmful tax would be based on both emissions and the amount of suffering experienced by animals. Some suggest that food production should be non-profit, eliminating the commercialisation of animals (woman, 24, HS 14.3.2021) and allowing the state to better address food production issues and potentially influence climate change. Given the threats posed to biodiversity by current food production practices, essential for species survival, coupled with the rising global population, the urgent need to restructure the global food system is recognised.

The power to effect change is seen to lie with those who are the largest contributors and have the capacity to alter their behaviour, especially considering the abundance of available alternatives. The focus should be on shifting to plant-based diets, rethinking relationships with non-human nature beyond utilitarianism, and prioritising quality over quantity. The proponents highlight several benefits of reducing meat consumption, including reducing the need for large-scale animal production units, thereby decreasing the likelihood of pandemics, as well as helping mitigate climate change, eutrophication of the Baltic Sea and inland waters, and the depletion of biodiversity. Also, there is potential to increase the consumption of sustainably sourced Finnish wild fish, as currently, a significant portion of it is used as animal feed.

> A clear phenomenon emerging in dietary choices is nostalgia. The common perception is that food is nowadays too processed and industrialised. There's a sentiment to return to old, simple, and less harmful practices and production methods instead of the current intensive production. (HS 14.3.2021)

> When I talk to my mother, who grew up on a farm, about her eating habits, self-sufficiency and moderation come up again and again. As a child, meat was part of celebrations and special occasions. Over-consumption, gluttony or throwing food in the garbage is, after all, a fairly brief and local part of human history. In abundance, the distinction between the everyday and the festive is easily blurred. We wear ourselves and the world out. To live well, we need to alternate between work and rest, activity and peace. We need balance, including with nature. Simplifying our daily lives and cultivating moderation in our lifestyles will increase our well-being. (priest, HS 7.6.2022)

The actors responsible for driving change mentioned in this frame, including decision-makers and companies, are prompted to enable better care of non-human nature. However, a broader societal shift in values and attitudes is also called for, particularly in consumption, where meat should be viewed as a luxury rather than a staple. Generational differences in perceptions of meat and the evolving notion that food can be valuable without meat are discussed. The significantly increased meat consumption is highlighted as a relatively recent phenomenon. The vegetarian trend has begun to "alter our perception of what is valuable and normal food" (university professor, HS 4.11.2021). This could involve saving meat for special occasions like Christmas and holidays and dining out to enjoy expensive cuts like fillet steak. Instead of focusing on disputes and absolutes, such as giving up meat all together, the aim is to see what positive changes a more sustainable life, slowing down, and enjoying food could bring about. The idea that sustainable living can take many different forms encourages

discussions about how life can be enriched, such as through sustainable transportation, increasing the proportion of vegetables on the plate, or alternative energy sources.

> Throughout history, plants and meat have been associated with different emotional tones. The importance of plants in our diets has been downplayed because eating them has been commonplace and every day. In contrast, meat has been less readily available, thus it has been associated with images of celebration and wealth. (student, HS 13.10.2022)

> "Sustainable living does not look the same for everyone" . . . the climate targets do not even require us to give up meat altogether. "Our research shows that, in terms of diet, it would be enough if everyone went 75% vegan. That would mean that on weekends, for example, it would be fine to eat quality meat and cheese." (researcher, HS 14.8.2021)

5.1.7 Individual's choices

In the Individual's choices -frame, there is a perception of unfairness regarding the external control over food choices, often attributed to the state, leading to expressed annoyance and resistance against such control. The underlying assumption in the frame is that food is intricately linked to identity, and individuals should have the autonomy to make their own food choices. Issues arise when someone, such as the state with strict regulations, is perceived to infringe upon individual food choices. Many feel that dictating dietary choices invades their "personal space" too much. Moreover, there is annoyance directed towards others' food choices, especially if they advocate for more plant-based diets, seen as an imposition of "better" dietary choices onto others.

> "Mainly annoyed by the demonisation of meat consumption. Has anyone researched the environmental impact of soy cultivation and the carbon dioxide emissions from transportation? How natural are industrially developed products like pulled oats and bean-based products? While vegetarianism isn't entirely ruled out in my life, I wouldn't choose that option if forced or heavily influenced." (woman, 41, HS 14.3.2021)

> "I'm sick and tired of getting guilt tips from vegan besserwissers. I could even say that our household has increased the proportion of meat and dairy products in the diet." (woman, 44, HS 14.3.2021)

> "What annoys me most is the blaming of meat eaters and the insistence that we should give up meat altogether." (man, 52, HS 14.8.2021).

The heightened feelings of threat to individual food choices stem from various factors, including perceived government interference in personal dietary decisions, concerns about loss of freedom and autonomy, and resistance to perceived attempts to impose dietary ideologies or restrictions. Additionally, the central and esteemed position of meat and dairy in Finnish food culture contributes to these perceptions. Meat is often considered the centrepiece of a meal and holds significant monetary value within traditional Finnish dishes, such as ham during Christmas and expensive cuts of meat in restaurants. Therefore, discussions about increasing the presence of plant-based foods are often interpreted as advocating strict veganism, triggering defensive reactions

and a desire to protect cultural traditions, which hold broader cultural and personal significance. This behaviour is also exploited as a trigger by politicians on social media as a means to garner support from their followers. For example, many service providers in schools or municipalities have made decisions to reduce the amount of meat served, and especially when specific measures, such as halving the amount of meat served, are implemented, it often spikes strong emotions. For example, the discussion regarding the City of Helsinki's decision to discontinue serving meat at city events raised objections. "But for some people it is a very personal issue. They want meat to be available everywhere." (university professor HS 4.11.2021)

The moral interpretations surrounding discussions about food are seen as part of identity. Food-related discussion and perceived interference in personal choices evoke strong emotions. Consuming meat is seen as part of identity. The reason behind this is partly due to meat industry lobbying, but there is also a debate about who should have control over food choices and how they are currently regulated. The critics of this frame highlight the inconsistency of expecting the state to manage healthcare and prevention through social services while simultaneously advocating for individual freedom in decision-making without penalties for unhealthy living, such as meat or sugar taxes. Furthermore, historical state intervention in food choices is brought up by an HS columnist (HS 27.11.2022).

> A study by Luke has concluded that subsidies for dairy farms and cattle farms provide an economic incentive to continue and expand milk and beef production, which in turn increases greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, the livestock premium in the compensatory allowance provides an incentive for livestock production, although the incentive is very weak. (HS columnist, HS 27.11.2022)

The vegetarian trend has sparked feelings of threat among some individuals, and wonderings whether they are not even allowed to choose their own food. "When the familiar and safe is challenged, there is naturally turmoil and anxiety. Some people might think, "Is the meat being taken out of people's mouths now?" (university professor, HS 4.11.2021)" Similar arguments have been used in recent debates on vegetarian food days in schools and the army. But, according to a university professor (HS 4.11.2021) this is a misconception:

> "After all, we have been shackled before. We're not on the verge of some absolute free choice or a dinner table where all the options are always on the table," . . . Old-fashioned images of vegetarianism can also influence how strongly people react to giving up meat. "There's probably some kind of bland, weepy smoothie that comes to mind, as if the alternative to meat is something bland, tasteless and low-energy." However [university professor] points out that vegetarian food has evolved a lot since before the so-called veggie boom and has become familiar to many people, for example through ethnic restaurants. (university professor, HS 4.11.2021)

In this frame, the proposal from the previous frame advocating for non-profit food production to enhance state control over food choices and environmental impacts of diets is challenged, with concerns raised about its potential to limit individual freedom. Researchers deem this option unrealistic, yet it highlights

the complexity of issues surrounding food production and consumption. This frame is characterised by a preference for inaction rather than advocating for specific actions.

Similar to the "Finnish meat production superior" frame, efforts are made to divert attention away from the significance of reducing meat consumption in addressing climate change. This involves highlighting other sustainability measures such as reducing food waste, using LED lights, and promoting electric cars, while also pointing out inconsistencies in others' behaviour, such as someone following a plant-based diet for climate or ethical reasons while owning a purebred dog. Many people are also weary of the abundance of discussions on citizens' climate actions and dietary changes in public discourse.

> The reaction of many to the delay in the CFP - including Members of Parliament - was to declare that everyone should decide for themselves what they eat. It's a good principle. But the people who make laws and decide on taxpayers' money for a living should know that this is not the situation we are in. . . . For consumers, milk and meat are cheaper because of subsidies. Would people eat the same amount of milk and meat products if they better reflected the cost of production or if at least some of the environmental damage was priced into the products? Can it be said of subsidised products that people themselves are free to choose them? The food plate shows what kind of food production politicians have chosen and decided to support. . . it is a political decision and a matter for social debate to consider what kind of eating is subsidised with public money. Also from a health perspective. (HS columnist, HS 27.11.2022)

The main proponents of this frame include Centre party politicians, MMM, farmers union and community. The proposed actions are no strict rules and forcing, for example, that the CFP would not include specific entries on reducing meat consumption. At the same time, however, some mainstream people try to find a middle ground and compromise.

> People in the mainstream are actively trying to find a new channel, a third way. Trying to balance and negotiate between different positions. We are trying to reconcile ideal solutions with the conditions dictated by everyday practice, . . . The majority of people do not want an unconditional diet, but flexibility. Let's make compromises. We don't want to fuss. Let's emphasise common sense. (university professor, 14.3.2021)

5.2 Key actors and frame occurence

The groups most vocal in the studied articles include the community, HS journalists, researchers, and university professors (Table 4). The actor groups listed in the left column of the table are combined as follows. Community includes students, book authors and citizens. The NGO representatives include WWF, Greenpeace, and the Animal Rights Association. HS journalists in the table are categorised based on the columns they wrote, as the frames they represent were less evident in the news articles authored by them. The city includes representatives from the City of Helsinki as well as representatives from food service organisations owned by the city. Farmers union is the Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (MTK). In addition to the companies,

the Meat industry category includes representatives from the Meat Information Association (*Lihatiedotus ry*), which is owned by Finland's largest meat-producing companies. Political party representatives were grouped, with Greens and the Left Alliance categorised together, and Christian Democrats, Liike Nyt, and the National Coalition combined. Researchers include representatives from Sitra, Luke, Syke, and the Finnish Meteorological Institute. There are slight overlaps between the university professor and researcher categories, but individuals were labelled according to the category primarily mentioned in the article.

TABLE 4 The occurrence of frames by key actors

	Unsust. agric.	**Restruct. food system**	**Finnish meat prod.**	**Phys. & mental obst.**	**Polarisat.**	**Rel. with non-human**	**Indiv. choices**
community	11	6	2	17	9	12	8
NGO	11	3	0	6	2	5	0
HS journalist	8	3	2	6	0	7	0
city	1	0	0	4	4	0	0
food industry	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
farmers union	1	0	6	1	1	0	2
MMM	2	1	1	1	1	1	4
meat industry	1	1	2	2	1	0	0
politician (Centre Party)	2	2	3	1	0	0	2
politician (Greens, LA)	2	2	0	8	1	2	0
politician (LN, CD, NC)	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
priest	2	0	0	2	0	4	0
researcher	33	25	4	36	16	12	0
university professor	9	3	1	23	7	8	0

Community members were discussing their mental and physical abilities for change of their own or those around them. For instance, if a consumer wishes to transition towards a more plant-based dietary behaviour but faces challenges in digesting legumes, alternative options are considered, as well as the ease or difficulty of change from their perspective. Many people reflected on the impacts of their consumption and felt pressure to change. Some pondered the relationship between humans and nature, as well as the justification for exploiting sentient animals. Constructive dialogue was sought, and there was a desire to avoid blaming individuals but rather to facilitate change through systemic measures and decision-makers. Researchers and university professors were consulted in the articles to provide a scientific viewpoint. Their support is distributed fairly evenly across five frames: Unsustainability of agriculture, Restructuring the food system, Physical and mental obstacles, and Relationship with non-human. However, the Finnish meat production superior and Individual's choices frames receive minimal support from these actor groups. The limited co-occurrences with these actor groups and the Finnish meat

production superior -frame included statements advocating for a balanced, healthy diet based on sustainably produced Finnish ingredients.

Figure 4 illustrates the prevalence of the identified frames in the studied articles. The Physical and mental obstacles and Unsustainability of agriculture -frames occurred most frequently, followed by Relationship with non-human, Restructuring the food system and Polarisation. Finnish meat production superior and Individual's choices can be seen as the two minority frames. Table 4 and Figure 4 illustrate a distinction between the voices of the third sector (researchers and university professors) and NGOs, compared to those of farmers union representatives and Centre party politicians. In the Finnish meat production superior and Individual's choices -frames, there is a similar emphasis of proponents, including the farmers union, MMM and Centre party politicians.

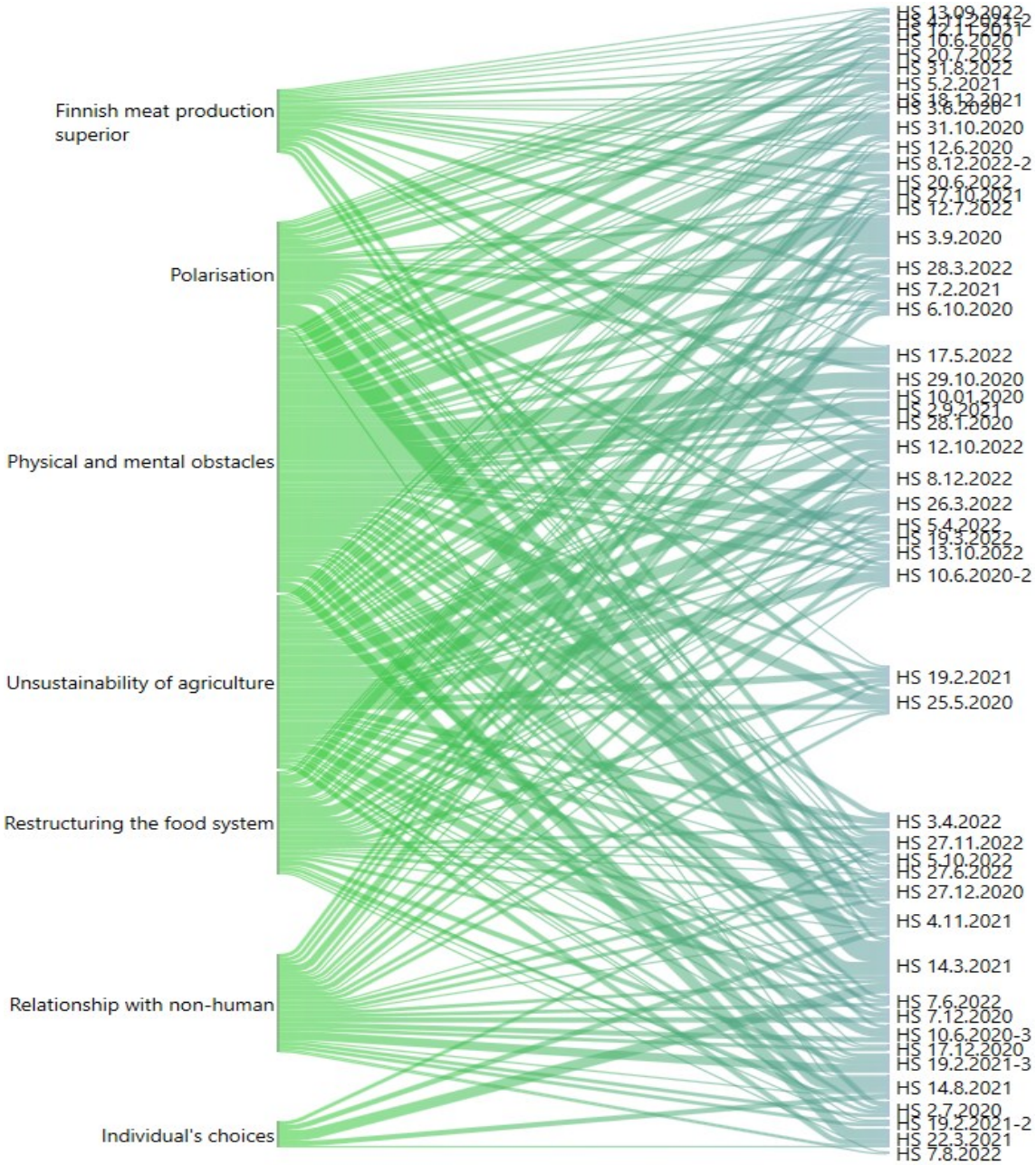

FIGURE 4 The occurrence of frames by studied articles

6 DISCUSSION

The imperative for a food system sustainability transition has been acknowledged by academia (Springmann et al., 2018; Steffen et al., 2015), with one of the two key pathways in Finland involving a substantial reduction in meat consumption (Lehtonen et al., 2022). However, discussions on transitioning food systems to sustainability in Finland often prioritise certain values and aspects of just transition while overlooking broader justice considerations (Huttunen et al., 2024). Incumbent regime actors can utilise discursive power to frame issues in a manner that supports their preferences and protects their vested interests, leveraging influence and political manoeuvring to, for example, impede sustainability transformations (Geels, 2014; Köhler et al., 2019). This study contributes to ongoing research aimed at understanding the power dynamics of different actors involved in sustainability transitions, including how vested interests influence the progress of sustainability transitions (Avelino, 2017; Wang & Lo, 2021). Reese (2007) characterises frames as collective symbolic principles shaping the social world, emphasising their dynamic nature and interconnectedness with the surrounding socio-cultural discourse. Thus, by examining a specific phenomenon within a broader context, this master's thesis aims to enhance understanding of the sustainability transition of the Finnish food system, thereby participating in facilitating its implementation in a sustainable, acceptable, and just manner.

In the first part of this section, I discuss how the framing of the required change in meat consumption during the preparation of the CFP resonates with the imperative of dietary transition. In the second subsection, I explore which actors had their voices heard through the frames and analyse their dynamics using concepts of discursive power in transitions. To improve readability, I have assigned the frames nicknames, which I will use to refer to the frames in this section. They are as follows: Unsustainability of agriculture (*Agriculture*), Restructuring the food system (*System*), Finnish meat production superior (*Finnish*), Physical and mental obstacles (*Obstacles*), Polarisation (*Polarisation),* Relationship with non-human (*Non-human*) and Individual's choices (*Individual*).

6.1 Frames

In addition to the seven main frames, three cross-cutting themes are observable in the dataset. Firstly, there is the recognition of the complexity of the situation and the multifaceted root causes of the problem, necessitating diverse solutions. This recognition is notably pronounced in the Agriculture, System and Obstacles -frames, while it also surfaces in the Polarisation and Non-human -frames. Secondly, because of the complexity and urgency of the situation, polarisation, misuse of data and too narrow perspectives should be avoided and prompt, codesigned solutions planned and implemented. These elements are especially evident in the Polarisation -frame, but also recognised in the Agriculture, System, Obstacles, and Non-human -frames. These two cross-cutting themes align with the previous research on sustainability transitions. Köhler et al. (2019) describe sustainability transitions as *multi-actor processes*, intertwined with *associated values, contestation, and disagreement*, alongside factors of systemic *stability and change*. They explain that values, contestation, and disagreement are inherent in sustainability transitions, as different actors and groups often disagree about the most desirable transition pathways. This dynamic is evident in the frames identified in this thesis study, where actors and groups bring their resources, capabilities, beliefs, strategies and interests into the discussion.

The third cross-cutting theme observed in the dataset is capacity building proposed as both a solution and a critical facilitator of change across several frames. This finding aligns with the conceptualisation of just food transition, particularly recognising the importance of recognitive justice, which calls for attention to individuals' varying capacities to adapt and participate in change (Puupponen et al., 2023). Capacity building includes supporting and developing the adaptive capacities and skills of food chain actors for transition activities (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022), and the equal opportunities of stakeholders to be heard (Loo, 2018). For example, in the Agriculture -frame, providing individuals opportunities to be heard was evident through context-specific solutions and involving farmers in forming solutions. Additionally, in the Obstacles -frame, proposed solutions include enhancing food education, such as using participatory methods with school children and involving them in school menu development. Another proposed solution in the Obstacles -frame was gradual changes in meat consumption, such as abstaining from eating animal products during certain meals or weekends is similar to one of the 'green' innovations listed by Köhler et al. (2019) regarding the *stability and change* of meat-free Mondays. However, without a more comprehensive outlook and failing to recognise and address the systemic aspects of change, such as system lock-ins and power of incumbent actors to resist change, these innovations can remain limited to particular social groups and impede the realisation of sustainability transition.

The concept of overlapping and nested frames as proposed by Goffman (1986) is also evident in the frames identified in this study. The frames are

interconnected and intertwined in various ways. For instance, the System -frame could be seen as an umbrella frame, encompassing elements of Agriculture, Finnish, Obstacles and even Non-human -frames. Agents for change in the System and Agriculture -frames are seen to be primarily politicians, but also consumers and companies can participate. All these frames recognise the necessity for a fundamental, systemic transformation (except for the Finnish -frame). Moreover, the frames that do recognise the need for transformation indicate that attributing the transition solely to individuals is considered unfair.

Several elements within the Finnish -frame suggest that it often functions as a counter-frame to the other interrelated frames listed above (especially Agriculture and System -frames). The proposed actions include similarities, such as supporting farmers and rural livelihoods to maintain momentum in developing agricultural production, but the goals are slightly different, as the Agriculture and System -frames aim for a more holistic sustainability transformation, and the Finnish focuses on the social dimension of sustainability. Furthermore, in the Obstacles -frame, similar problems as in the System and Agriculture -frames are recognised, but the emphasis is on transitioning the dietary habits. Nevertheless, the emphasis in these three frames underscores the importance of prioritising sustainable and nutritious diets, focusing on locally sourced, balanced Finnish food.

Additionally, the Non-human and Obstacles -frames are interconnected as both advocate for a broader societal shift in values and attitudes, particularly towards quality over quantity in food consumption and a better appreciation of food. In both frames, perceptions of what constitutes "normal" food are challenged, highlighting the generational evolution in the concept of what is "valuable" food or "the norm" in eating. This is an example of recognitive justice elements in the data, shedding light on whose voices and narratives about what constitutes a "normal" diet are heard (Kaljonen et al., 2021).

In the majority of the frames, there is recognition of the imperative to reduce meat consumption, linking it to its significant role in the sustainability transition. Although exhibiting slightly varying elements and perspectives, the frames that recognise the imperative to reduce meat consumption include Agriculture, System, Obstacles, and Non-human. Additionally, the Polarisation -frame acknowledges this imperative but focuses predominantly on societal controversy and the resulting polarised discourse and attitudes. As an example of differing perspectives on the issue, meat consumption needs to be reduced, *because* of the significant environmental impacts of the current agricultural production (Agriculture). Or it needs to be reduced, *but* different physical and mental obstacles (Obstacles) or polarised discussion culture (Polarisation -frame) hinder change. Regardless of the varying nuances regarding the causes and solutions to the problem, the recognition of the necessity of reducing meat consumption by most frames and frame proponents builds on existing evidence of the imperative for food system transformation and underscores the need to reduce meat consumption as a key pathway in Finland. The proposed actions in the frames correlate well with the conceptualisation of a just food system transition, such as

recognising farmers as a vulnerable group in the transition, that needs to be fully supported by the society (notable in frames Agriculture, System and Finnish).

However, two exceptions argue against reducing meat consumption, one advocating for Finnish-produced meat and the other opposing state regulation of individual food choices. In contrast, the frames acknowledging the imperative of change presented more comprehensive reasoning, with arguments based on scientific data or concern for the environment. In the opposing frames, however, moral attacks were directed towards those seen as representing opposing views, perceived as threatening one's freedom of choice. In the Finnish -frame, the necessity of transitioning the food system and reducing meat consumption was dismissed as irrelevant, with the suggested transition trajectory narrowly focused from a justice perspective. This aligns with the conclusions drawn by Huttunen et al. (2024), suggesting that certain interpretations of a just transition may uphold existing societal structures and privileges, thus impeding substantial progress towards sustainability objectives. It should be noted that compared to the other frames, the Finnish -frame was most prominently featured through opinion pieces, allowing the editorial staff to wield power only over what is published and in what context, but not over the content of the text.

The two "counter" frames can be seen as linked to each other for at least two reasons. Firstly, their proponents are from the same actor groups, and often the same actor supports both frames. Secondly, if the necessity of change is discredited altogether and the statements supporting the change are seen as mere propaganda by vegan activists, it can reflect the view that the state's right to regulate individual choices is unnecessary and unjustified. However, discrediting the need for change as mere propaganda by a minority can be debated, since support for the necessary shift in meat consumption is steadily gaining traction from various groups, except those who dismiss the importance of change and advocate for these two opposing frames. This scenario illustrates the distinction between policy disagreement and policy controversies as outlined by (Schön & Rein, 1994). Disagreements are typically resolved through reasoned discourse and clarification of facts, while controversies persist and resist factual resolution. In controversies, disagreement extends beyond relevant facts to their interpretations, often leading individuals to dismiss the evidence presented by opposing views. The clearest cause-and-effect relationship that can be drawn from the data is that the Individual -frame, despite its relatively low occurrence (Figure 4), ultimately wielded the most influence over the outcome of the CFP. However, the two frames discussed above can also be viewed as collectively contributing to the program's downfall.

The limited co-occurrences with researchers and university professors with the Finnish -frame included statements advocating for a balanced diet based on sustainable Finnish ingredients. This is another example of the interconnectedness of the frames; these mentions position the Finnish -frame as part of Agriculture and System, suggesting that while domestic production has its merits, there are also areas that require prompt development to ensure a just transition. Noting the role of research projects in the discourse is interesting. For

instance, the visibility of discussions on legumes, facilitated in part by the Leg4Life research project, and the discussion on food system sustainability, partly driven by Just-Food, emphasises the significance of research initiatives. They contribute to public discourse by providing insights from scientific research, as part of facilitating societal transitions and guiding policy and practice toward more sustainable pathways.

During the third reading, two additional frames were identified: "Restructuring the food system" and "Finland as part of the global system". However, during the fourth reading, it became apparent that while the former could be considered a distinct frame, many of its elements (such as destructive policies and subsidies as the problem evaluation, causal reasons of a small group of people responsible and hindering change, moral interpretations of responsibility for enacting fundamental societal change cannot be left up to individuals, and systemic change as a proposed solution) were also parts of other frames, primarily the Agriculture -frame. The role of Finland within the global food system is significant, with actors highlighting the spill-over effects of the Finnish diet and the potential for Finland to lead by example and act as a frontrunner in transforming food systems towards sustainability. Finland possesses considerable expertise and export potential, including both tangible and intangible innovations. However, since articles with a global perspective as the main theme were excluded, the frame did not receive enough representation in the dataset. Moreover, as the geographical focus of this study was Finland, the exploration of the frame within the theoretical framework could have been limited. Nevertheless, the presence of global impacts and discussions in the dataset underscores the interconnectedness of the Finnish food system with global effects and emphasises the responsibility for its spill-over effects.

In the same article, multiple frames could appear simultaneously, making it sometimes challenging to identify all the frames and their parts or to distinguish between them. In some instances, the frames could be quickly identified, while in other articles, the frames were more difficult to interpret. One statement could encompass multiple frames. Frames can thus be seen as layering on top of each other. Moreover, not all components of a frame necessarily appear within the same article. In some cases, the entity had to be deduced based on similarities and inferred as part of a continuum.

It is interesting how the Baltic Sea was used as a moral evaluation in many frames, namely Finnish, Obstacles and Non-human. This illustrates the importance of the Baltic Sea to Finns in various ways. The characteristics guiding food decisions, as listed by Solomon et al. (2016), include feelings, habits, and knowledge. By making food choices that protect the Baltic Sea the decision-making process is not only guided by knowledge or habits, but also by feelings. Godfray et al. (2018) explain how meat consumption is shaped by our values and can contribute to our identity formation. Thus, linking the benefits of reducing meat consumption to something culturally and environmentally significant to Finns can be more effective in changing dietary behaviour than merely listing impacts. This connection can help consumers view reducing meat consumption

as a means of self-expression and personal identity reinforcement, creating a sense of meaning (Wilson, 2006). This example highlights why transdisciplinary approaches are important for finding ways to reduce meat consumption. No wonder, as Marteau (2017) explains, given its significance for public health and the economy, professionals from diverse fields have sought to define and understand food choices, resulting in various theories and models.

Our current era can be defined by a multitude of overlapping crises, leading to growing concerns about people's emotional resilience in the face of such challenges. If the news cycle consists solely of a relentless succession of crises, it may become excessively overwhelming. The urgency of addressing the environmental crisis, crucial for our survival, is juxtaposed with the reality of people facing pandemics and wars. This begs the question: what is a justified amount of media space before people's capacity to absorb crises reaches its limit?

6.2 Actors

Within and between frames, contrasting and critical viewpoints are evident, underscoring the absence of unanimous agreement among the involved actors. For the most part, the discussion in the examined articles was constructive and respectful, although the Polarisation -frame highlighted the need for a more constructive culture in the broader societal discussion surrounding the topic. The most colourful language and metaphors were observed in frames Finnish, Obstacles, Individual and Polarisation. In the first case, the problem was framed from a sense of threat, dismissing the opposing viewpoint, and labelling the need for transition as "vegan propaganda" attributed to an allegedly small geographically located group, specifically in the capital area. In the second case, emotional attachment to food choices was evident, with expressions like "vegan preaching". In the last instance, individuals felt their own choices were threatened by perceived “vegan arrogance”.

In the Polarisation -frame, both the polarisation of discussion and behaviour were regarded as problematic. The misrecognition of the views and knowledge of actors has been highlighted as problematic in previous research on just transition, particularly from the perspective of recognitive justice. Kaljonen et al. (2021) elaborate on how the neglect of ethical considerations for and perspectives of vulnerable actor groups during the transition can perpetuate the dominance of specific narratives or discourses. Moreover, in the Polarisation -frame, the excessive consumption of meat is also referred to as “very much a manly thing”. Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012) explain the emotion/reason dichotomy, where emotion is commonly linked to a feminine perspective while reason is associated with a masculine outlook on the world. This division becomes intertwined with societal power dynamics where emotion is deemed less significant than reason and is typical to label opponents' arguments as emotion-driven and thus irrational (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). This is an example of how labelling opposing arguments with metaphors like “excessive enthusiasm”

or “preaching" by “vegan besserwissers” and stereotyping meat-eating as a powerful and essential element of masculinity can perpetuate the dominance of specific narratives. This, in turn, hinders the realisation of a comprehensive just food system transition.

The two frames standing out as counter-frames arguing against the necessity of reducing meat consumption (Finnish and Individual) represent a minority perspective, with the lowest occurrence in the data, as illustrated in Figure 4. The proponents of these frames are primarily concentrated among specific actors, as shown in Table 4. In Table 4, the occurrence of frames by key actors demonstrates the complexity of the issue and the diverse perceptions among stakeholders. In the analysed articles, the Centre Party and farmers union were the main proponents of Finnish and Individual -frames. In the former, the social sustainability aspect of supporting farmers and rural livelihoods is highlighted. The findings reflect the dichotomy in agricultural and environmental policy, as explained by Haila and Jokinen (2008). Furthermore, one of the arguments of the proponents of the Finnish -frame is the importance of domestic production to food security. However, it is worth noting that the emphasis on Finnish agricultural production's role in ensuring food security may be questionable, given its dependence on imports (Jansik et al., 2021). This is an example of the decoupling of the two major agrifood discourses: food security and sustainability transition (Béné, Prager, et al., 2019). A feasible sustainability transition that addresses food security requires a systemic approach that integrates social, ecological, and technical aspects (Paloviita et al., 2016). Therefore, neglecting the fundamental dimension of ecological sustainability may compromise overall sustainability and simultaneously hinder the realisation of food security.

Achieving recognitive justice in sustainability transition requires consideration of whose perspectives are deemed significant in shaping policies regarding meat consumption shifts, who should be recognised when evaluating the impacts, and whether non-human entities are included in this process (Kaljonen et al., 2021). Loo (2018) explains recognition as a relationship of equal dignity and acknowledgement of differences and emphasises the need for participative food systems, addressing hierarchies, and valuing all perspectives. He points out that public discourse must avoid dismissing perspectives without substantive reasons. Furthermore, as explained by Köhler et al. (2019), as part of democratic decision-making, diverse perspectives on matters are welcome and disagreements over ideal pathways for sustainability transitions prevail. Therefore, as proponents of these frames advocated for the realisation of social justice, and their perspectives were respected, some may argue that justice was achieved. However, procedural justice requires fair decision-making processes and access to transparent information (Tribaldos & Kortetmäki, 2022), and inadequate emission reductions are the most unfair trade-off for future generations, the health of the environment, and for the most vulnerable human communities (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). Hence, given that the majority of actors supported the necessity of reducing meat consumption, albeit from various

perspectives and nuances, and recognising the imperative of dietary changes towards more plant-based diets for effective GHG emissions mitigation (Springmann et al., 2018), it can be argued that the sample of public discourse in this study collates with the challenges discussed in the previous research on just food transition. Therefore, the findings suggest that the voices that were heard through the frames and the most influential framings of reducing meat consumption in this context do not support the realisation of a just food transition.

In the broader societal discussion around agricultural transition, farmers often feel blamed for the situation. It is interesting how none of the studied articles attribute blame to farmers for the unsustainability of the food system or meat production and consumption; instead, the blame is directed towards systemic issues, overconsumption, and unhealthy eating habits. While many actors were implicated across various frames without pinpointing blame, some criticism was directed towards excessive meat consumption, particularly evident in frames Obstacles and Non-human. Particularly, dietary changes are perceived as effective, especially for individuals with high meat consumption. This aligns with the earlier research findings suggesting that reducing meat consumption could positively impact health, life expectancy and the environment, and changes would be effective especially for those consuming high amounts of meat (Reisch et al., 2017; Willett et al., 2019). In the Individual -frame, one proponent even stated to have increased meat consumption in response to feelings of guilt prompted by general suggestions to reduce meat intake.

Initially, given my background understanding of the CFP, I perceived the notion of the state lacking the right to regulate food choices as potentially mere populism by the Centre party. But surprisingly, as I conducted this research, the results show that the Individual -frame, although minor in visibility (Figure 4), revealed strong opposition from some community members to state regulation of individual choices. While certain articles provided information boxes debunking myths about meat consumption, the findings from this study suggest, that it would be advisable for the media to dispel the myth of absolute individual freedom of choice. Firstly, reducing meat consumption is imperative to reach sustainability goals, and food system authorities play a central role in ensuring just governance of the transition. Secondly, powerful actors such as the state and trade significantly influence food supply dynamics, currently favouring meat production, in contrast to pathways advocating for a just food system transition. This finding aligns with the earlier research on the vital role of public perception and acceptance in sustainability transitions (Wang & Lo, 2021), underscoring the significance of addressing societal attitudes and beliefs in facilitating meaningful change.

In the modern phenomenon of individuals confining themselves to echo chambers, exposure to diverse perspectives and information is limited, hindering critical evaluation of issues. Yet, critical thinking is crucial as it helps people question assumptions, consider issues from multiple angles, and make informed decisions. On the one hand, presumptions can lead to parties feeling reluctant to even engage in the discussion and on the other, not all have equal opportunities

to influence the decisions (or non-decisions) affecting their livelihoods. Given the urgency of climate change and biodiversity loss, we urgently need decisive policies, inclusive decision-making, and societal engagement across all levels. While urgent action is imperative for sustainable solutions and a just transition, binary discussions risk system stagnation, benefiting only a select few and leading to losses for all. Thus, assessing existing power structures is essential for facilitating a just transition.

What is left unsaid can send a powerful message. For instance, the role of companies in the change is recognised in the identified frames, but their voice is almost invisible. This could be attributed partly to the data limitation, as the companies' voices might be more prevalent in articles discussing Finland's role in the global food system. Nonetheless, this suggests that perhaps the power of companies is emphasised in elements other than the discursive, such as instrumental, material, and institutional, as outlined by Geels (2014). This highlights the need, as also prompted by Newell et al. (2021), for comprehensive understanding and effective action on climate justice, attention must be directed towards the social and institutional dynamics and disparities that generate climate change to confront and transform power dynamics The Finnish welfare state is fundamentally built on principles of justice, making the justice of the food system transition crucial for societal stability and social cohesion (Kortetmäki et al., 2022). Addressing the complexity of nutrition and sustainability in dietary choices requires interdisciplinary understanding and improved cooperation.

Systemic rigidity has historically hindered the adaptability of actors and the resolution of sustainability issues within the Finnish food system, and the current situation remains strongly constrained (Kuhmonen & Kuhmonen, 2023). This study acknowledges similar elements identified by Kuhmonen and Kuhmonen (2023) in the systemic obstacles hindering the sustainability transformation of the Finnish food system. These include for example policies (e.g. destructive subsidies impeding change in the System -frame), growth objectives (e.g. overconsumption of meat perpetuating pressures for intensive agriculture in the Agriculture -frame), and practices (e.g. norms regarding meat consumption in the Obstacles -frame and continued unnecessary exploitation of animals in the Non-human -frame). The findings of this study reveal how existing incumbent actors contribute to a lock-in within the system by safeguarding their vested economic interests and exerting power through discursive means.

7 CONCLUSIONS

In this master's thesis the aims were to identify how the necessary reduction of meat consumption was framed in HS during the preparation of CFP and which actors had their voices heard through these frames. Seven frames were identified in the studied articles, namely Unsustainability of agriculture, Restructuring the food system, Finnish meat production superior, Physical and mental obstacles, Polarisation, Relationship with non-human and Individual's choices. While majority of these frames underscore the importance of reducing meat consumption for sustainability reasons, two frames took a contrary stance, advocating either for the excellence of Finnish-produced meat or against state intervention in individual food choices. The proponents of these two minority frames had a significant impact on the outcome of the program. The oversight of ecological sustainability raises concerns regarding the achievement of a just sustainability transition of the Finnish food system and food security. The findings suggest that the resilience of two minority frames against change highlights the influence of incumbent actors, indicative of unequal power dynamics in societal decision-making processes and posing challenges to achieving a just food transition.

7.1 Reflections, limitations and further research

I acknowledge, that media research, and particularly the analysis of newspaper data, possesses its own distinct characteristics that must be considered. Media platforms such as television, radio, newspapers, and internet outlets, including social media, have become increasingly interconnected over the last two decades. (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012). Therefore, on the one hand, concentrating solely on one aspect of the media, let alone societal discourse and the use of power, has its limitations, and may result in a narrow understanding of the issue at hand. However, on the other hand, the intention was to delineate one aspect of the phenomenon in order to focus on it properly. Furthermore, while HS aims to provide a diverse range of perspectives and coverage, the power of the media

as a conveyor and framer of information, especially within certain types of newspapers, cannot be overlooked. No entity is without bias, and acknowledging this is crucial in understanding media's role in shaping public discourse. Furthermore, many newspapers have political affiliations and it is important to note that MT, which was excluded from the data, is a significant publication for the supporters of the Centre Party. This is noteworthy because the Centre Party has a larger base of support in the society than what the "counter-frames" in the analysis reflect, prompting consideration that any single newspaper selection does not provide a balanced democratic sample of the entire population's opinions. Therefore, analysing a set of articles with the same data delineation criteria published in another newspaper and comparing them to the results in this study could offer new perspectives and potentially allow different voices to be heard, along with different power dynamics. All in all, it is important to acknowledge and keep in mind the potential limitations of the method.

In some opinion pieces, the authors referenced other opinion pieces not included in the dataset, also highlighting the authors' responsibility to frame their arguments for readers. Had this study been a discourse analysis, examining the referenced articles would have been necessary. However, to address the research questions and work within resource constraints, the chosen scope of the data for analysis can be considered adequate. The qualitative research process is always somewhat unique, creatively applying ground rules and previous applications (Alasuutari, 2012). While I aimed for objectivity in the research, the exploration of meanings inevitably implicates the researcher's subjective background understanding and interpretive lens. Furthermore, the perspective of this thesis includes some western bias, for example reflected in the diverse array of food options available. However, considering the focus of my thesis on the transformation capacities and influence of dietary changes in the Finnish food system, this bias is inherent to the context. But since the research design was spatially and temporally targeted, evidently this research cannot be applied to all contexts.

The timing of the study coincides with a particularly left-liberal political period, which may influence the topics discussed and the dynamics of voices in the media, thereby limiting the generalisability of the results. While this study analysed a selection of newspaper articles to identify frames concerning the reduction of meat consumption, alternative methods such as stakeholder interviews could provide a more holistic understanding of the CFP's challenges and potential improvements. While this study contributes to ongoing discussions on the media's role in sustainability issues and power dynamics of transitions by focusing on discursive power, future research could expand its scope to investigate instrumental, material, and institutional forms of power. Additionally, exploring power dynamics within broader cultural contexts or through a political economy lens, and examining them in greater detail, possibly through the lens of system theory, could provide valuable insights.

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APPENDIX 1: ANALYSED ARTICLES

Data reference	Article title (original printed, in Finnish)	Publication date	Genre / Section
HS 10.01.2020	Pieniä suuria ilmastotekoja	10/01/2020	Kids news
HS 28.1.2020	Proteiinin kulutus näkyy jätevesissä	10/01/2020	News: Domestic
HS 25.5.2020	Kirjallisuus: Jonathan Safran Foer upottaa tärkeän aiheensa tarinoihin, kuin lääkkeen herkkupalaan	25/05/2020	Culture
HS 3.6.2020	Kasvisruoka ei ole ratkaisu ilmastonmuutokseen	03/06/2020	Opinion
HS 10.6.2020	Naudanlihan hiilijalanjäljen vertailu on haastavaa tiedettä	10/06/2020	Opinion
HS 10.6.2020-2	Eläintuotannon vähentäminen on välttämätöntä	10/06/2020	Opinion
HS 10.6.2020-3	Kasvispainotteinen ruokavalio on hyväksi ilmastolle	10/06/2020	Opinion
HS 12.6.2020	Kriiseissä kotimainen lihantuotanto turvaa yhteiskunnan kestokykyä	12/06/2020	Opinion
HS 2.7.2020	Koronakriisi toi luonnon esiin - huolehditaan siitä	02/07/2020	Column
HS 3.9.2020	Syke: Koko Suomen ruokapolitiikka pitäisi muuttaa ekologisemmaksi	03/09/2020	News: Domestic
HS 6.10.2020	Ympäristöterveys paranee yhdessä suunnitellen	06/10/2020	Opinion
HS 29.10.2020	Vähempikin riittäisi	29/10/2020	Nutrition
HS 31.10.2020	Pitävätkö Oatlyn väitteet paikkansa?	31/10/2020	News: Domestic
HS 7.12.2020	Kun eläimet voivat hyvin, niin voimme mekin	07/12/2020	Column
HS 17.12.2020	Ihmisen pitäisi oppia elämään tasapainossa luonnon kanssa	17/12/2020	Column
HS 27.12.2020	Ihminen voittaa	27/12/2020	HS Sunday
HS 5.2.2021	Koululaiset saavat kasvisruoasta vähemmän proteiinia	05/02/2021	City
HS 7.2.2021	Tuotantoeläinten puolesta puhuva pappi ja MTK:n johtaja kohtasivat	07/02/2021	News: Politics
HS 19.2.2021	Maapallon väestö ruokitaan kestävästi vain kasvituotannolla	19/02/2021	Opinion
HS 19.2.2021-2	Maapallon väestöä ei ruokita ilman eläimiä	19/02/2021	Opinion
HS 19.2.2021-3	Eläintuotanto ei ole välttämätöntä	19/02/2021	Opinion
HS 14.3.2021	Syön tätä, koska…	14/02/2021	HS Sunday
HS 22.3.2021	Kaura valtaa tilaa maidolta	22/03/2021	News: Domestic
HS 14.8.2021	Kaikki ilmastoteot eivät vaadi valtavia muutoksia	14/08/2021	News
HS 2.9.2021	Härkäpavusta hellempää vatsalle	02/09/2021	Food

HS 27.10.2021	Päästövähennykset eivät uhkaa maataloutta	27/10/2021	Editorial
HS 4.11.2021	Miksi liharuuasta luopuminen herättää niin vahvoja reaktioita?	04/11/2021	News: Food
HS 4.11.2021-2	Pormestariston vieraille yhä lihaa	04/11/2021	News: Food
HS 12.11.2021	Helsinki luopumassa lihasta, mutta mikä muuttuu?	12/11/2021	News: City
HS 18.12.2021	Nuoret viljelijät toteuttavat unelmaansa omalla tilalla kaukana muista	18/12/2021	News: Agriculture
HS 19.3.2022	Kari esitteli lisätoimet päästöjen vähentämiseksi	19/03/2022	News: Climate
HS 26.3.2022	Mitä lautasellemme jäisi, jos olisimme maataloutemme varassa?	26/03/2022	Russian attack
HS 28.3.2022	Palkokasvit edistävät ruokaturvaa ja ruokajärjestelmän kestävyyttä	28/03/2022	Opinion
HS 3.4.2022	"Kyse ei ole siitä, onko toivoa, vaan siitä, onko toimintaa"	03/04/2022	News
HS 5.4.2022	Ilmastopaneeli otti punaisen lihan hampaisiinsa	05/04/2022	News
HS 17.5.2022	Sitra: Kiertotalous voisi pysäyttää luontokadon	17/05/2022	News: International
HS 7.6.2022	Nälältä ei saa sulkea silmiä	07/06/2022	Column
HS 20.6.2022	Perinteisestä lihatalosta irtosi vegeyhtiö	20/06/2022	News: Economics
HS 27.6.2022	Ruoantuotannossa on paljon kehitettävää	27/06/2022	Opinion
HS 12.7.2022	Ruuantuotannon vastuullisuus tulee taata yhdessä	12/07/2022	Opinion
HS 20.7.2022	Kasvisruokaa pitää edistää muutenkin kuin lihan korvikkeena	20/07/2022	Opinion
HS 7.8.2022	Rakastettu perheenjäsen vai pala paistia?	07/08/2022	News: Economics
HS 31.8.2022	Terveellinen ruoka säästää ympäristöä	31/08/2022	News: Environment
HS 13.09.2022	Lihan vaihtaminen kasviproteiineihin ei ole hankalaa	13/09/2022	Opinion
HS 5.10.2022	Osa maininnoista lihan käytön vähentämisestä hävisi ohjelmasta	05/10/2022	News: Climate
HS 12.10.2022	Raportti: Lihansyönnin vähennys muuttaisi merkittävästi maataloutta	12/10/2022	News: Food
HS 13.10.2022	Lihansyöntiä perustellaan usein tunteella eikä järjellä	13/10/2022	Opinion
HS 26.10.2022	Ilmastoruokaohjelman julkaisussa epäselvyyksiä	26/10/2022	News: Politics/Food
HS 27.11.2022	Ruoka on politiikkaa	27/11/2022	Column
HS 8.12.2022	Eduskunta yksimielinen maatalouden kriisistä	08/12/2022	News: Politics
HS 8.12.2022-2	Raportti: Ilmastopäästöihin voi vaikuttaa kahdella tavalla	08/12/2022	News: Climate change