

## **Fantastic Change and Where to Find it**

Possibilities for Lithuanian Environmental NGOs to Increase their Impact and Chances to Mobilize the Movement.

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## **Abstract**

Currently humanity faces environmental challenges that require political action in order to maintain the integrity of human and environmental systems. However, political authorities are not always ready to make rigorous decisions to support the necessary changes. Thus, social movements as a recognised agent of cultural, political and social change have the power to push for these decisions. Over the last decades environmental movements had an outstanding impact on political and social domains. Being a powerful actor of change, environmental movements are needed to pressure the authorities to respond to current environmental challenges.

This study is focused on environmental movement in Lithuania. Before Lithuania regained its independence, the movement used to be very powerful, however, within a couple of decades it diminished and became ineffective. Therefore, this thesis aims to study how the movement could recover and increase its impact on the authorities and society.

This is a qualitative study of Lithuanian environmental social movement organisations. The foundation of the data collection for this study was qualitative interviews with activists working at these organisations. The data is analysed utilising Tilly's WUNC (worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment) theoretical framework. The focus of the analysis is to understand how the organisations experience and display WUNC, also which factors make the constituents stronger or weaker and consequently how that contributes to the impact these organisations make.

The interviews revealed that the organisations mostly suffer from the low numbers of supporters and lack of involvement and commitment from the activists. In this thesis possibilities are discussed how organisations could improve their WUNC and address the problems they are facing.

**Key words: Environmental movement, social movements, Lithuania, WUNC, Lithuanian environmental SMOs**

**Word count: 13 770**

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>ESMO</b>	Environmental Social Movement Organisation
<b>WUNC</b>	Worthiness, Unity, Numbers and Commitment
<b>SMO</b>	Social Movement Organisation
<b>SMI</b>	Social Movement Industry
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organisation

## **1. Introduction**

The voice of the people proved to be powerful to advance desired changes in the society. People acting as a united force fostered shifts in political and social domains (Tarrow, 2011). The environmental movement was one of the most powerful movements, which transformed social order and prominent human values (McCormick, 1991). Throughout several decades, the environmental movement managed to bring environmental concerns forward, spread expertise among different actors and conventionalise integration of the environmental domain in the political agenda and societies all over the world (Van Der Heijden, 1997).

The achievements of the environmental movement bear witness to its role as a powerful agent of change. This notion makes environmental movement a critical force due to the need to challenge exacerbating anthropogenic impact on the environment. In order to counter pressing sustainability challenges like climate change, adequate policies or economic measures are required (IPCC, 2014). Solidarity, cooperation and joined individual contributions are necessary to minimise dire consequences of climate change and other environmental challenges (IPCC, 2014; Brechin, 2016). However, countries' authorities face collective action problem which increases the risk of insufficient contribution to necessary global emissions cuts (Brechin, 2016). As the government officials are responsive to the public opinion, a dialogue with the public would result in a more profound decision-making process (Smith, 2003). Therefore, due to the fact that the earth is facing a dangerous environmental crisis, the role of environmental movements in pressuring authorities for urgent and effective response to environmental challenges all over the world is essential.

### **1.1. Problem**

Lithuania is not an exception to the need to address current environmental crisis via strong political decision-making. However, Norkus (2008) claims that just like other post-communist democracies Lithuania suffers from poor quality of governance. According to Norkus, authorities lack conference with public opinion and have low accountability to their constituency. Laurėnas (2012) indicates that the governance in Lithuania is ineffective due to weak political parties, which fail to meet citizen expectation and fulfill promised objectives. Additionally, Lithuania fights governing challenges such as corruption and state capture (Palidauskaitė & Ibenskas, 2007; Karmazinaitė, Maniokas & Žeruolis, 2014). Recent political corruption scandals (Jakučionis, 2017) and reports on corruption indices show that despite the

efforts to fight it, this is still an ongoing problem (Aleksnevičienė, 2013; GAN Business Anti-Corruption Portal, 2015; Transparency International, 2017). Šiliauskas (2013) also emphasised that in Lithuania citizens do not trust democratic governance in the country and that impedes its legitimacy. Therefore, as addressing environmental crisis requires decisive and resolute actions and Lithuania experiences problematic governing situation, pursuing for political action via institutionalised means may be counterproductive. For this reason a strong social movement is an agent that could potentially put pressure on the authorities to make necessary decisions.

In the past, the Lithuanian environmental movement was strong and powerful. Rinkevičius (2001; 2006; 2007) and Kavaliausaitė's (2011) research shows that Lithuanian environmental organisations were able to mobilise crowds and create big pressure on the authorities. Yet, within the last decades this power was lost and the movement diminished. Rinkevičius claimed that the movement disappeared leaving occasional protests. Moreover, Kriauciūnaitė and Telešienė (2009) suggested that small protests organised by environmental organisations were ineffective. Therefore, in order for environmental movement to have the capacity to pressure the authorities, it has to recover and increase its impact on the authorities and society. The way how the movement could do this, could be inferred by studying Lithuanian ESMOs interactions with authorities and society. The interactions in this thesis refer to the repertoire activities of social movements which are publicly demonstrated activities, i.e. protests, demonstrations, public events, etc. (see section 2.1). These activities are referred to as interactions due to their dynamics, which occurs when the public and authorities observe these activities and are influenced by them.

Furthermore, there is no literature about ESMOs as actors of change towards sustainability in Lithuania. This research improves the understanding about what factors and how they contribute to the power of those organisations as agents of change. Thus, this study also valuably fills the gaps of the lacking literature.

## **1.2. Aims**

By performing a study of the ESMOs in Lithuania I aim to improve the understanding about the actors and processes of social change. The main goal of this research is to get a deeper understanding about how the interactions of Lithuanian environmental SMOs with the society and authorities could improve their impact on the decision makers and contribute to a stronger mobilisation of people for the

movement. The knowledge generated by this research will be valuable for the understanding about forces leading to more deliberative democratic practices and more responsive reaction of the authorities to pressing environmental issues. Additionally, this research will bridge a knowledge gap about environmental movement and forces of change towards sustainability in Lithuania, as the literature on the subject is lacking.

**Research questions:**

- How do activities of ESMOs contribute to the impact on the authorities and society?
- How can Lithuanian ESMOs improve their impact on the authorities and increase the chances of citizen mobilisation for the environmental movement?

**1.3. Contribution to sustainability science and sustainability**

Kates (2011) described sustainability science using the definition from Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. He defined it as a relatively modern and still expanding field seeking to build the understanding about:

“interactions between nature and society and <...> how those interactions affect the challenges of sustainability: meeting the needs of present and future generations while substantially reducing poverty and conserving the planet’s life support systems” (Kates, 2011, p. 19449).

Kates (2011) emphasises that sustainability science aims to use created knowledge for action aimed at humanity’s environmental and developmental challenges. Lang et al. (2012) supports the insight that sustainability science is problem-solution oriented and emphasises that it applies transdisciplinary<sup>1</sup> practices to tackle sustainability challenges.

One way to address sustainability challenges is through social change, i.e. the processes of change which would allow for pursuing sustainability (Miller, 2013). This research contributes to sustainability science by studying how to attain social change leading to better conservation of “the planet’s life support

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<sup>1</sup> Transdisciplinarity is a reflexive, integrative, method driven scientific principle aiming at the solution or transition of societal problems and concurrently of related scientific problems by differentiating and integrating knowledge from various scientific and societal bodies of knowledge (Lang et al., 2012).

systems” (Kates, 2011, p. 19449) through deliberation of citizens’ voice and improved impact of the environmental movement. This would improve the understanding about fostering environmentally sound decision-making and navigating towards a pathway to sustainability.

## 2. Theoretical Background

### 2.1. What are Social Movements?

One of the most recognised social movement scholars Charles Tilly (2004) analysed the historical development of the phenomenon. He claims that social movements are rather a modern phenomenon as they started emerging in the late 18th century and did not exist beforehand at all.

Numerous scholars researching the phenomenon contributed to the growing literature and various attempts to define social movements. A well-known scholar Mario Diani (1992) reviewed publications and definitions of the most influential social movement scholars. He found out that it was commonly emphasised that social movements are resisting or aiming for social change and engaging in a conflict for this purpose. As formulations of the definition were diverse, Diani (1992) synthesised the following definition from heterogeneous concepts in the literature:

“A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity” (p. 13).

This definition seemed to describe the phenomenon well. However, additional insights made it even more definite. Tilly worked closely with other well-known scholars Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow and published a book *Dynamics of Contention* where they defined contentious politics as:

“episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when:  
(a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims, and  
(b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants or objects of claims” (2001, p. 5).

In their following publications scholars emphasised that social movements are a form of contentious politics. This was more comprehensive as it brought authorities into the picture. Following this insight a more concise definition was articulated by Tilly (1999):

“a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment” (p. 257).

Later Tilly (2004) emphasised that social movements differ from other forms of contentious political engagement. According to Tilly (2004) they encompass three unique components:

1. A sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities (let us call it a campaign);
2. Employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering (call the variable ensemble of performances the social movement repertoire); and
3. Participants' concerted public representations of WUNC: worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies (call them WUNC displays). (p. 3)

Tilly (1999) emphasises that social movements may seem as “solidaristic, coherent groups” but they rather “consist of bounded, contingent, interactive performances by multiple and changing actors” (p. 256). He also emphasised that history and development of a social movement is made of interactions among different groups and “changing actors” and these interactions determine further development.

## **2.2. Social Movements and Change**

It is reflected in social movement definitions that they are pushing for or resisting social change. It is also widely accepted among scholars, that social movements are one of the forces facilitating change. Generally, their main mechanism is that they focus the attention of the public and power holders on the issue they are advocating for (Burstein, 1999; della Porta, 1999; Tilly, 1999). Scholars further explain how social movements produce political change (Giugni, 1999).

One example of political change is social movements' contribution to democracy. It is widely accepted that this phenomenon contributes to strengthening of democracy in different ways. For example, della

Porta (1999) claims that social movements expand possibilities for democratic participation through challenging decision-making. This makes the decision-making more responsive to public opinion. Tilly (2004) emphasised on the reciprocal relation between social movements and democracy. He explained that social movements enable public participation in public politics and can promote democratisation processes by stimulating its enabling circumstances. Tilly (2004) explains that social connections created among activists, movement constituents and governments, foster “relatively broad, equal, categorical, binding consultation and protection” (p. 128).

Another example showing how social movements create political change was explained by Paul Burstein (1999). He described a mechanism how social movements result in policy changes. He claims that it can be explained by theory of democratic representation which maintains that governors address needs of citizens in order to be re-elected. Due to this reason, communication of public opinion is crucial. Burstein (1999) shows that social movements play an important role as social movement organisations and other interest groups can contribute to change of policies by influencing the way public opinion is perceived by authorities, influencing public opinion itself or shifting public’s attention. In this way government officials make policy decisions based on communicated public opinion.

### **2.3. Social Movement Organisation**

Tilly (1999) explained that social movements are complex entities consisting of multiple groups, actors and their interactions. The scholars recognise the role of organisations for the mobilisation of the movement and identify different ways they contribute to it (della Porta, 2009; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1999; Tarrow, 2011). Therefore, in this section the role of organisations for the movement is discussed.

Tarrow (2011) explains that organisations serve as inner metabolism of the movement as they frame the issues and strategy and provide leadership. Just like Tilly (1999), Tarrow claims that SMOs are also a connecting point of the activist network, which is a key element for sustaining the movement. Della Porta (2009) adds that SMOs are not only crucial for mobilising a movement but also create identities of the challengers and the challenged. McCarthy and Zald (1977) also emphasise that organisations play an important role in resource management for the movement as such organisational structures are the most efficient in resource gathering and mobilisation.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) describe an SMO as:

“... a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals” (p. 1218)

They also recognise that there could be a number of such organizations and all of them create Social Movement Industry (SMI). In addition, Hanspeter Kriesi (1996) suggested that SMOs can be characterised by their tactics to “mobilise their constituency for collective action” (p. 152) with a political goal targeted towards authorities. Other forms of organisations include “supportive organisations” which provide services supporting movement’s goal (e.g. educational services, media, etc.), “movement associations” which are self-help organisations to support constituency and “parties and interest groups”.

### 3. Environmental Movements

The origin of the environmental movement is dated to the end of 19th century, when the effects of industrialisation and concerns about integrity of natural resources were brought to attention (Pak, 2011). The environmental concerns gained momentum and were expressed in the first *Earth Day* in 1970, when 20 million people engaged and expressed their support (Pak, 2011). Later this event became a symbolic milestone for the environmental movement and spread all over the world uniting over a billion people (Pak, 2011).

It is widely accepted among scholars that the environmental movement is very diverse in goals and strategies (McCormick, 1991; Rootes, 1999; Rucht, 1999; Smith, 2003). Environmental movement encompasses a range of different beliefs, aims and objectives (Kavaliauskaitė, 2011; McCormick, 1991). Kavaliauskaitė (2011) identifies that anthropocentrism and ecocentrism are two main ideologies dividing the movement. Therefore, the aims of movement groups can vary from ecocentric beliefs to economic reasoning; also, some groups might focus on protection of particular species or have broader goals (Kavaliauskaitė, 2011; McCormick, 1991). Despite the heterogeneity in objectives, ideologies and values of different groups, the scholars try to define a broader goal by which the movement could be identified. McCormick (1991) claims that the main goal is “maintenance of the quality of the human environment” (p. x). Dieter Rucht (1999) more concretely emphasises that the main goal is “to prevent the exploitation and/or destruction of natural resources” (p. 205). Kavaliauskaitė (2011) emphasises that different groups in the movement are connected by the goal to “stop exploitation of natural environment and pursue the harmony between human and nature” (p. 222).

The environmental movement has made remarkable progress and had noticeable achievements through several decades (Van Der Heijden, 1997; Rootes, 1999; Brand, 1999). The scholars claim that the evidence of the movement’s success lies in the achievement of high levels of institutionalisation. Rootes (1999) suggests that the movements’ institutionalisation occurs through “the professionalisation of their activities and of the regularisation of their access to policy-makers” (p. 1). According to Rootes (1999), it was common to say that the environmental movement declined but this view could be negated by noting the presence of environmental ministries and increased number of green parties in Europe. He

suggests that the environmental movement is firmly incorporated in the politics. However, Rootes (1999) emphasises that high levels of institutionalisation restricts the movement's ability to flexibly resist systemic flaws. Rootes (1999) suggests that due to this reason, radical grassroots activism is crucial to maintain the vitality of the movement.

### **3.1. Lithuanian Environmental Movement**

Research on the Lithuanian environmental movement is rather sparse. Lithuanian sociologist Leonardas Rinkevičius (2001; 2006; 2007) has researched the dynamics of the movement during the years of resistance to the soviet occupation and during its transition to independent and democratic regime (period 1988-2000). His research shows that Lithuanian environmental movement mobilised crowds of people by the end of 1980s. Jūratė Kavaliauskaitė (2011) claims that mobilisation of crowds was sparked by the catastrophe of Chernobyl and intentions of Soviet government to hastily build a third reactor of the nuclear power plant in Lithuania. According to her, another catastrophe could devastate the territory of Lithuania and threaten the existence of the whole nation. This worry fostered activism and dissatisfaction of clear egoistic exploitation of the whole nation. Kavaliauskaitė (2011) states that these circumstances connected environmental and national emancipation ideas. Rinkevičius (2001; 2006; 2007) also observed that the green movement in Lithuania became an opportunity for people to resist Soviet government's oppression and therefore the movement later evolved into the independence movement. During the years of transition, after the independence was gained, the movement declined and Rinkevičius explains this decline with several reasons. First of all, euphoric expectations about democratic participation possibilities declined. Second of all, leaders of the movement themselves refused to pressure stagnating economic performance during the difficult transition period, especially while there were economic and political pressures from Russia. Moreover, the public blamed the environmental movement for economic difficulties faced during the years of transition and this discouraged broader public participation in the movement. Although, Rinkevičius shows that the movement has declined and lost its ability to mobilise crowds, he emphasises that environmental activism did not disappear completely and some sporadic environmental problem-oriented protests still occurred. However, they did not belong to a larger and sustained environmental movement.

Kriaučiūnaitė and Telešienė (2009) analysed environmental non-governmental organisations (NGO) activity in Lithuania. The authors state that Lithuanian environmental activists rarely engaged in demonstrations, protests and other pro-active means of contentious behaviour. Kriaučiūnaitė and

Telešienė (2009) claim that peaceful protests and demonstrations attract few people and do not draw political and public attention. Lack of people engaging in the movement and ineffectiveness of protests made the contentious repertoire difficult to organise and maintain. There was no research made to monitor if public engagement in the environmental movement changed within the last few years. However, in research of the *Civil Society Institute* it is stated that strength of civil society in Lithuania is low and stagnating (Petronytė & Lingevičius, 2015; Petronytė, 2016). Additionally, levels of public engagement in civic activities remain relatively low and do not show substantial improvement (Petronytė & Lingevičius, 2015; Petronytė, 2016).

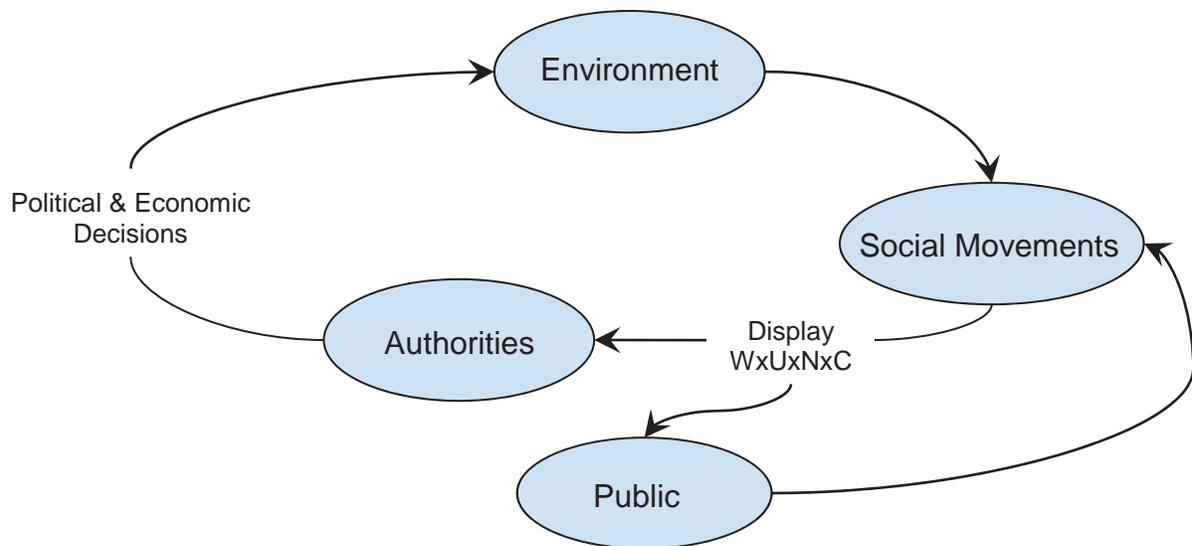
Tumulytė (2012) analysed prominent civic initiatives in environmental communication. She concluded that most prominent environmental topics communicated to the society were related to global environmental issues. These are anti-nuclear energy, anti-GMO, fighting pollution and climate change, nature and animal protection. According to the author, environmental issues of local relevance such as renewable energies, consumerism and waste management were not emphasised by the environmental movement.

## 4. Theoretical Framework

In section 2.1. three unique components of social movements are discussed. One component that makes social movements unique is a display of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (abbreviated as WUNC). Tilly's WUNC theoretical framework is widely used to understand and evaluate how social movements make an impact. For this research I utilise WUNC to explain how certain features of the mobilising crowd contribute to their impact on the society and the decision makers. I also use this framework to identify what could be done to increase the impact of Lithuanian environmental movement.

Tilly (1999) claims that with public displays of WUNC social movements address the authorities and the public (see Figure 1). The mechanism showing how WUNC displays affect the authorities could be understood by connecting Tilly's ideas and Burstein's insights about theory of democratic representation and the fact that politicians are sensitive to public opinion (see section 2.2). Tilly (1999; 2004; 2006) claims that WUNC is a way to deliver a political message and appeal to the public to support the cause. According to him, WUNC shows that there is a worthy, unified, numerous and committed actor whom authorities have to take into consideration. Tilly also explains that by displaying strong WUNC, a group of people represents a possible electorate; WUNC also, communicates public opinion and hints that there may be a powerful actor capable of interfering with politics or otherwise causing disturbances. In addition, Wouters and Walgrave (2017) show that WUNC does not only inform about public opinion but also shapes the opinion of the authorities, which later may easier translate into action.

Moreover, by displaying WUNC social movements claim constructed collective identities which carry features of WUNC (Tilly, 1999). When those identities are recognised by the public as a feature that the public and the challengers have in common, bystanders feel the benefit of getting involved (Tilly, 1999). Therefore, as Tilly (1999) claims, strong WUNC displays encourage people in the public who sympathise with the claims to get engaged.



*Figure 1.* Impact of Social Movements. This figure was developed to illustrate the mechanism how social movements make an impact through displaying strong WUNC. First, the movements emerge due to the grievances produced by conditions in the environment. By displaying strong WUNC movements influence the public and increase the number of adherents which also contribute to the power of WUNC. With strong WUNC value movements pressure authorities to make decisions influencing conditions of the environment.

WUNC according to Tilly (2006) is expressed or enacted via various ways such as statements, behaviour or attributes. When Tilly (1999; 2004; 2006;) explains WUNC constituents he does not give their definitions but instead he exemplifies each of them. He describes worthiness as an eloquent and commendable image, which can be created when a crowd is sober, appropriately dressed, includes celebrities or priests supporting the cause, mothers participating with children, etc.. This indicates that the crowd is respectable and worth political and public attention. Unity shows that a group of people are supporting the same cause. It can be enacted through using symbols, colours, similar clothing, posters, etc. It also could be expressed through behaviour, e.g. holding hands, marching together, singing, chanting, etc. Numbers indicate that there is an abundance of supporters. This could be displayed by physical participation in events, petitions, membership enrolment, etc. Finally, commitment shows that people are ready to sacrifice and persevere for the cause. This could be enacted by protesting during bad weather conditions, taking risks of being arrested, travelling long distances to participate in protests, etc.

Tilly (2006) suggests that the proof that these constituents are important for the movement could be the fact that they are usually questioned and argued about by conflicting parties. One example Tilly provides is when supporting parties and opposing ones provide different estimates of participants in the demonstrations. Another example is when opposing parties question the unity of the crowd, i.e. try to

challenge the perception that the people in the crowd all stand for the same goal. Also, the opposing sides challenge the commitment by questioning if the crowd is there because the people truly care about the cause or if some people are there just to inflate the numbers.

Tilly (1999) claims that the effect of WUNC can be explained by a mathematical formula, where each WUNC constituent is a factor and amounts to the impact of a movement ( $\text{Impact} = W \times U \times N \times C$ ). This does not mean that it can be measured quantitatively but it reflects the relation between constituents and the impact of the movement. Each value contributes to the impact separately, meaning that one constituent can compensate other weak constituents, however, if one constituent is lacking, the whole ability to challenge targeted authorities diminishes. Therefore, with strong WUNC, the movement is able to put a bigger pressure on the authorities and have increased chances to make the demands be heard and addressed.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1. Research Strategy

An in-depth approach is needed for this research. The emphasis of this study is on social relations, i.e. interaction between Lithuanian ESMOs and society as well as authorities, which is captured through activists' experience. In this case quantitative analysis would not yield the results needed to understand the phenomenon. Hence, qualitative research applied to the experience of organisations and activists allows a deeper insight and understanding of those social relations.

The environmental movement is a complex phenomenon containing multiple groups and issues; studying separate cases is a useful way to disentangle aspects having a role in the dynamics of the phenomenon (Rucht, 1999). Thus, studying the interactions between Lithuanian ESMOs and society as well as authorities will provide a better understanding about Lithuanian environmental movement and insights into a broader environmental movement. For instance, Lithuania experiences weak civil society and low levels of citizen engagement (Petronytė & Lingevičius, 2015; Petronytė, 2016). This, according to Howard (2002) is a common feature for post-communist countries. The knowledge produced by this research is therefore a valuable example and can improve the understanding of environmental movement mobilisation and power challenges in other post-soviet countries as well as countries with a similar cultural, political and historical context.

The data to answer my research questions was collected via qualitative interviews with activists<sup>2</sup> of Lithuanian ESMOs. This method allowed me to understand how the events, activities and other interactions between the organisations and society as well as authorities work. Also, qualitative interviews were helpful to uncover how these interactions looked visually and how they could be experienced. The data collected indicates the activities of NGOs which contribute to the power of each constituent of WUNC. This allowed me to understand what actions NGOs employ to achieve their goals and make judgements about how these actions contribute to WUNC, as well as how WUNC is displayed to the public and what obstacles the activists face, which potentially hinder their impact.

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<sup>2</sup> In this study the term activists is applied to people who work in ESMOs to fulfil its goals.

## **5.2. Sampling**

### **5.2.1. Organisations Selection**

In order to identify relevant organisations and activists for the interviews, Lithuanian environmental SMI was identified. For this purpose all environmental non-profit organisations were reviewed in order to identify if they could be considered as environmental SMOs. The information about organisations in Lithuania was obtained from an NGO database called *NGO Atlas*. This database obtains information on the daily basis about all registered organisations in the country from the state enterprise called *Centre of Registers*.

The organisations were selected based on my own established criteria. They were considered as relevant if they fulfilled both criteria below:

1) Organisation must be active:

It is assumed that an organisation is not active if at least one is true:

- a) there are no contact details provided anywhere on the internet;
- b) organisation's website or social media page is inactive (meaning that it does not exist or last publications were done more than 1 year ago);
- c) there is no information about organisation's activity on the internet.

2) Organisation must be defined as an environmental social movement organisation (ESMO):

- a) main aims must align to that of the environmental movement, i.e. their main goal is to prevent environmental exploitation, protect and maintain good quality of the environment;
- b) actions are aimed to mobilise people towards political targets, e.g. use of petitions, environmental campaigns, protests, etc.

### **5.2.2. Selected Organisations and Interviewees**

There were 158 organisations registered which have goals in environmental or animal wellbeing fields. Out of all organisations, only three fulfilled the criteria and were relevant for this research. These were

Baltijos Vilkas, Žali.lt and Jaunujų Žaliųjų Organizacija (JŽO)<sup>3</sup>. The remaining organisations were either inactive or did not aim at mobilisation of people towards political targets.

All three organisations base their activity on voluntary contributions of the activists and do not have employees or a strict organisational hierarchy. Despite the position or experience in the organisation, the information activists could share was valuable for my research. The questions did not require any particular level of expertise and anyone engaged in the work of organisations were eligible to answer them. Therefore, in total 25 activists were identified and contacted via phone or email published on the websites of the selected organisations. Some of them were referred by other activists. Ten activists responded and agreed to participate in the interview. The sample resulted in two activists belonging to one organisation (JŽO) and four to each remaining two organisations (Baltijos Vilkas and Žali.lt). The interviewees were promised anonymity and that the data will be used only for academic purposes, therefore, their names are not disclosed.

Selected organisations engage in a diversity of campaigns. In case of Baltijos Vilkas the campaigns are oriented at protection of wild mammals in Lithuania. These campaigns are often targeted at the political decision makers and also reach out to the society. For example, recently executed campaigns were aiming for reasonable hunting quotas which would ensure healthy mammal ecosystems. To communicate these claims and engage the society, a series of performances were used, i.e. petitions, small protests, peaceful demonstrations, commentary in the media, educational events, etc. Another distinct campaign is targeted at livestock owners to encourage them to protect their herds in order to avoid damages done by wolves. Moreover, with this campaign organisation encourages the government to take action and support farmers' adaptation. Also, it focuses on changing citizens' perception on the wild and encouraging peaceful cohabitation. In addition, the organisation aims to reduce illegal hunting often emotionally driven by the damages caused by wolves. This campaign encompasses repertoire such as educational and informational support for the ones suffering from wolf attacks and also broader society, public meetings, public discussions, etc. Additionally, the repertoire encompasses peaceful demonstrations and entertaining events to engage the society, stimulate its interest in the nature and improve its understanding about ecosystems, wild mammals and interconnectedness of species.

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<sup>3</sup> In English these names could be translated as the Baltic Wolf, Greens.lt and Young Greens Organisation

An organisation Žali.lt represent green ideas in general, thus, their campaigns address a broad variety of interests. Consequently, their most recent campaigns covered topics such as climate change, Fair Trade and resistance to Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). Their campaigns employed a contentious repertoire consisting of protests, demonstrations and publicly enacted performances. Also, the organisation pressured authorities to sign statements, organised educational and entertaining events, public meetings, discussions, marches, etc.

JŽO also advocates for green ideas and as a young organisation they have a few campaigns. Just like Žali.lt the aims of their campaigns are diverse. One of the most important campaigns is against nuclear power in Lithuania and neighbouring countries. The repertoire is mostly focused on demonstrations and protests. Other activities of the organisation are usually oriented to entertainment and education.

### **5.3. Interviews**

The data to answer the research questions was collected via semi-structured qualitative interviews with activists of Lithuanian ESMOs. The interviews were conducted face-to face. The rapport with the respondents was established by ensuring a pleasant and friendly environment, active listening techniques and a conversational manner of the interview in Lithuanian. Two pilot interviews were conducted, which allowed me to rephrase, change and rearrange questions for them to be clearer, more precise and to improve the flow of the conversation.

The interview was conducted following an interview guide with open-ended questions (see the translation of the guide in the Appendix 1 and Interview information in the Appendix 2). The interview guide contained general questions designed to start the conversation and cover topics relevant to the theoretical framework, i.e. experienced constituents of WUNC. These questions were phrased in a manner to avoid leading the answers and were open enough to leave space for the interviewees to talk about and emphasise what they find important. However, the questions were quite specific to keep the focus on the themes of theoretical framework. For instance, the interviewees were asked to describe the activities, situations, events and other interactions with society and authorities. When felt necessary, the follow-up questions and probes were used to get more details about the topic in question. Additionally, the interviewees were asked to ponder what they would like to change in the organisation and in the country in order to make it easier to achieve the goals or solve ecological issues.

The answers to these questions provoked reflections about the difficulties the activists faced while being in the field and allowed me to better understand the issues faced.

### **5.3.1. Document review**

In addition to the Interviews, a review of media publications and activity reports of the organisations were reviewed. These documents allowed me to confirm the information discussed during interviews. Also, after reviewing them I could better understand the context about the events and activities which were described by activists during the interviews.

## **5.4. Data analysis**

The data collected via semi-structured interviews was transcribed and analysed using thematic content analysis techniques following the description of the process by Carol Rivas (2012) and Alan Bryman (2012). First, open coding was used to identify topics emerging during the conversations by analysing each line or sentence, depending on the consistency of language used. After scrutinising the interview transcripts multiple times, over 500 codes were labelled. These codes later were consolidated under overarching codes, which were later assigned to a relevant theme. Thematic codes were derived from the theoretical framework, i.e. each WUNC constituent was a separate theme. Each code and following interview passage was reviewed with scrutiny again and the judgement was made whether the aspect in question had a strengthening or weakening impact on each WUNC constituent. This decision was made based on the context of the passage, i.e. depending on what an interviewee was saying, the information was interpreted as an aspect making a constituent stronger or weaker. After this process the transcripts and existing codes were reviewed again to check if there were any additional themes, which were relevant during the conversations.

## **5.5. Limitations**

This study is based on semi-structured interviews, which binds it to certain limits. Edwards and Holland (2013) suggest that this method is highly sensitive to circumstances such as power relations, atmosphere and other circumstances present in the moment the interview is conducted. This makes a study difficult to replicate, however, applying systematic methods and reflexivity is helpful to control them as much as possible. Additionally, the authors argue that the means of collecting data via

interviews binds it to the limitations of language. Due to the nature of language and conversation there is a need of interpretation to understand the underlying meaning (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The ambiguities of language apply at the stage of interviews and data analysis (Edwards & Holland, 2013). As the authors suggest, I applied reflexivity and took into account these limitations to reduce these limitations.

Furthermore, according to Bryman (2012), qualitative studies are contextual, one must be aware of circumstances and assumptions conditioning the study. Also, one must reflect to what extent the findings can be transferred to other cases and contexts. First of all, this study is bound to a certain historical, cultural and temporal context. Lithuania is a young post-soviet democracy and it is facing certain challenges that cannot be assumed for well-developed western democracies or other regimes. These challenges are associated with governance as well could be relating to mentality of society. Therefore, the findings of this study can be relevant for countries with similar historical and cultural context for instance other post-soviet and post-communist countries especially those with low levels of civic engagement. Moreover, this study is temporally bound. This means that the findings are relevant for this specific time and development level of the movement and society as the context might change with time. For instance, development of technology or shifting trends in the society might influence the results.

## **6. Findings**

In the following sections the results and their analysis is presented. The data is analysed and presented according to Tilly's WUNC theoretical framework. The findings are also consolidated and presented in Table 1 (see Appendix 3). The upcoming sections present the answers to the following research question:

- How do activities of ESMOs contribute to the impact on the authorities and society?

### **6.1. Worthiness**

In the following paragraphs it is presented how Lithuanian environmental SMOs build and display their worthiness, as well as how that contributes to the power of the constituent (see Appendix 3 for consolidated findings). Worthiness as mentioned earlier is an indicator of respectable crowd deserving political and public attention.

#### **6.1.1. Strengthening Aspects**

##### ***Independency***

The following paragraphs present which factors strengthen worthiness of the organisations. One important factor strengthening the worthiness for the organisations is adhering to their value of being independent. Activists from all organisations agree that it is important for them to be able to freely express their opinion and stay true for the cause (BV1, BV4, ZL1, ZL2, JZ1). For instance, activists from Baltijos Vilkas emphasised that they are not accountable to any interest groups (BV1, BV4). The organisation survives only from citizens' support and as activists from Baltijos Vilkas emphasised, they avoid to be financed by the government or other groups because it would hinder their freedom to act (BV1, BV4). Staying independent is improving their reputation because dependency on the interest groups is judged sceptically and seen as intransparent by the public (BV2).

### ***Constructive and diplomatic tactics***

Moreover, another way Baltijos Vilkas maintains their worthiness is through their internal decision-making process. The activists emphasised that the usual practice of the organisation is to focus attention on rational discussions before acting (BV1, BV2, BV4). As one of the activists expressed it:

“First of all, we gather and discuss the reasons behind the problem, why is this happening and what solutions we can suggest. We really try to protest constructively by suggesting alternative solutions and exemplary experience of other countries. One can also find a lot of useful solutions in EU directives” (BV1).

This is not only helpful to find the most viable strategy and solution to the problem faced but also translates into their clear and constructive communication of the issue to the public and authorities (BV1). For example, based on practice of Baltijos Vilkas, constructive presentation of the issue on petitions is appreciated by society and allows to collect more signatures (BV1). In addition, stronger society’s support strengthens their worthiness in the eyes of the authorities (BV1, BV2, BV4, ZL2 ZL3). One activist explained that then the authorities view the organisation with more respect and tend to cooperate, when they know that the organisation represents the question which is important to the society (BV1). Another activist exemplified that one successful attempt to gather people for protest opened an opportunity for the organisation to participate in authority meetings as representatives of the issue (BV4).

Additionally, the organisations strengthen and demonstrate their worthiness by employing diplomatic tactics and dialogue with the authorities and society. An activist from JŽO admits that developing a dialogue with authorities could be even more fruitful than protesting (JZ1). Also, from the activists’ experience in Baltijos Vilkas, diplomatic behaviour is an effective way to engage the public and communicate the message about the issue (BV1, BV2, BV4). An activist expressed it as follows:

“Actually, we managed to achieve quite a lot via dialogue. We see that it is productive and we go in that direction” (BV1).

Furthermore, activists from Žali. It also agreed that diplomacy is strategically important and added that it is important to maintain connections and good relations with politicians and commissioners (ZL1, ZL2).

Connections in politics and cooperation practices strengthen their worthiness by improving access to the decision-making processes and is also respected and valued by the public.

### ***Maintaining good reputation***

Moreover, the organisations strengthen their worthiness constituent by maintaining good reputation in their activities. For instance, they organise entertaining and educational events for families and children, as well as open events for public where they invite all people to engage and learn something about the topic. Also, as mentioned by activists from Žali.It and Baltijos Vilkas, organisations demonstrate their worthiness through publishing commentary in the media (BV2, BV4, ZL4). This strengthens their reputation through the display of expertise. Additionally, their worthiness constituent is strengthened by using support from local celebrities. For example, Baltijos Vilkas cooperated with highly respected celebrity to dub an advertisement (BV2) and Žali.It activist stated that celebrities supported their campaigns against nuclear power (ZL1).

Moreover, worthiness constituent of Baltijos Vilkas is strengthened by framing their campaigns in a positive way (BV2, BV4) The activists noted that it is important to select proper framing of their campaigns and be careful about presenting their aims in order to be accepted by certain segments of society (BV2, BV4).

Furthermore, the activists also demonstrate worthiness through respectful, peaceful, polite and friendly behaviour during protests, demonstrations and communication with the public. They obey the orders of police and municipality and cooperate with them. As an activist from JŽO indicated it is important to adhere to the values such as decency, cultured manners, honesty and tolerance especially when confronted with opposing views (JZ1).

### ***6.1.2. Weakening Aspects***

Even though building and displaying worthiness is important for the organisations, there are certain aspects that decrease the worthy image. In the following paragraphs these aspects are presented.

### ***Low priority for environment***

First, all activists emphasised that environmental issues are not considered a priority by the public and the authorities. Activists from Baltijos Vilkas claimed that the authorities do not share the concern about the environmental issues and that could be clearly seen in the allocation of the national budget (BV3, BV4). One of the activists also indicated that the highest priority is economic growth and that pushes the concerns of the organisations to the bottom of the agenda (BV4). Moreover, all activists agreed that the society prioritises their personal welfare and is mostly preoccupied with economic burdens. Due to this fact the public perception about the claims of organisations is that they are not worthy of support, engagement and action. An activist from Baltijos Vilkas claimed that they usually face such attitude from people, which she described as follows:

“I am very poor. Because of the fact that I am so poor I can do nothing for others, but others have to do something for me. Because I am poor I will not move a finger for the sake of nature. I am poor. That’s it. End of discussion” (BV4).

### ***Negative perception about organisations***

Second, most activists indicated that they struggle with society’s negative perception about the organisations and their claims (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4, JZ1). All activists from Baltijos Vilkas claim that society sees wild animals as danger and enemies needed to be killed. Some of the activists also added that such perception is amplified by the media as it negatively depicts wild animals and organisations’ endeavour to protect them (BV1, BV2, BV4). Activists struggle to resist such misleading information and try to provide a response, however, the media is not always willing to publish another point of view (BV2, BV4). Also, one of the activists claimed that most of the government officials support recreational hunting (BV4). Therefore, the claims and aims of the organisation are perceived as a threat to personal well-being (BV4). Moreover, based on experience of activists from JŽO, the society sometimes blames activists for promoting communism or sympathising with Russia as an aggressor (JZ1). This imposed image is very powerful and damaging due to country’s historical context and it burdens organisations.

## **6.2. Unity**

Unity as exemplified earlier is a quality of supporting the same cause. The following paragraphs present how activists of Lithuanian environmental SMOs experience, build and express their unity (see Appendix 3 for consolidated findings).

### **6.2.1. Strengthening Aspects**

#### ***Building unity***

Most activists agreed that usually opinions of activists within the organisations are diverse (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4, ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4, JZ1). However, there are certain features strengthening their unity constituent. For instance, an activist from Žali.lt claims that people in the organisation are very different and come from different backgrounds but they are united by one goal, which is to protect the environment (ZL1). Activists from Baltijos Vilkas and JŽO claim that a usual practice is always to discuss different arguments to reach a common understanding (BV1, BV2, BV4, JZ1). They also exemplify that in Baltijos Vilkas they have set a plan, goals, vision and objectives (BV1, BV2, BV4). That helps to focus on important tasks and align activists' expectations and aims. Although, as one activist revealed usually the final decision is adjusted to the people who are ready to do the work (BV4). However, it is important that other activists support the person working on the task (BV1, BV3). By doing this, organisations ensure that they can concentrate on a purposeful and united strategy.

#### ***Cooperation with other organisations***

Moreover, activists from all organisations emphasised that it is important to cooperate with other organisations during important events (ZL2, JZ1, JZ2, BV4). An activist from JŽO claims that cooperation with other organisations is a priority (JZ1). It is important for them to share information, unite with other organisations for campaigns, protests and demonstrations. The activist also explained that they try to show an example of cooperation, as Lithuanians are very individualistic, not willing to cooperate and are too proud to ask for help to overcome the obstacles (JZ1). An activist from Baltijos Vilkas claimed that good relationship with other organisations is a valuable asset (BV4). She exemplified that uniting forces even only on Facebook and sharing each other's information multiplies number of people one can access. This is especially useful when the aim is to collect signatures for petitions and usually it gives good results.

### ***Clear display***

Furthermore, the organisations also strengthen their unity constituent by displaying it for the public. They enact it in demonstrations, protests, marches and flash mobs by walking, standing or acting together. Additionally, they use particular attributes crafted for each event. Most common attributes used by all organisations are posters with messages and slogans. Further, activists of Žali.lt explained that they sometimes use costumes and loudspeakers (ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4). They also described former demonstrations against nuclear power as a successful example when the unity was expressed through behaviour (ZL2,4). People dressed in black and yellow colours and formed a radiation hazard symbol. Also, people wore gas masks, special clothing and carried banners. The activists from JŽO claimed that for them anti-nuclear power demonstrations are still the biggest and most outstanding annual event (JZ1, JZ2). Every year they march the streets all dressed and made-up as zombies. Also, they enact radiation measurement procedures and carry banners and other decorative objects such as barrels, thick liquids, etc.

### **6.2.2. *Weakening Aspects***

#### ***Lack of solidarity among NGOs***

Even though activists emphasised on the importance of cooperation with other organisations, activists from all organisations mentioned that they experience a lack of unity between environmental NGOs (ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4, JZ1). Activists from Žali.lt claimed that there are a lot of environmental organisations in Lithuania but there is no united movement and the organisations are very divided, small and almost idle (ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4). They see a potential for good results if those organisations would work together, however, for some reason they stand alone (ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4, BV3). They also explained that even though those organisations also care about the cause, they avoid joining other organisations for contentious activities (ZL1, ZL2). An activist from Baltijos Vilkas also pondered that organisations do not cooperate and exemplified how two organisations caring for animal welfare do not share information with each other and do not support each other in public events as if they would be competitors (BV3).

#### ***Internal divisions***

Some activists shared earlier how they build unity despite differing opinions in the organisation in order to have one clear strategy (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4, JZ1). While all activists from Žali.lt mentioned they have such a diversity of topics and freedom to act on them that it became problematic for the organisation.

Activists revealed that there is not prioritisation of the projects, therefore, the activists voluntarily choose or find issues they are interested in. One activist explained that given such situation, the organisation does not have enough of resources to maintain focused workforce towards every goal (ZL2). As a result small groups of people work on different topics and that does not provide powerful impact. Moreover, two activists admit that they experience a lack of cooperation within the organisation (ZL2, ZL4). One activist explained that he does not participate in events organised by other activists or does not contribute to the management of the campaigns, if the issues do not interest him personally (ZL4). The activist also observed that this is common among other activists. He suggested that based on his own experience the activists unite when they have a very relevant issue to deal with (ZL4). Then it attracts more activists who are interested in that particular issue and are ready to collaborate to reach the goals.

### **6.3. Numbers**

Numbers constituent represents a number of people supporting the cause. This constituent indicates about possible electorate for the politicians. Also it hints a crowd, which is capable of causing disruptions if disregarded (Tilly, 1999; 2004; 2006). In the following paragraphs it will be presented how the activists of Lithuanian environmental social movement organisations experience and display people's engagement and support (see Appendix 3 for consolidated findings).

#### ***6.3.1. Strengthening Aspects***

##### ***Clear display***

All activists emphasised the importance of number of supporters for the organisations. For some it meant a critical mass changing behaviour and attitude and influencing others around (BV3, BV4, ZL4, JZ1, JZ2). For others a bigger number of supporters meant getting more financial support (BV3, JZ1, JZ2) and stronger influence on authorities and decision-making (BV1, ZL2, ZL3). As displaying numbers is important for the organisations, they do that during their contentious activities such as protests, demonstrations and petitions by inviting people to participate physically. Activists from Baltijos Vilkas shared their experience with successful petitioning. Some petitions enabled the organisation to convince politicians to reject the laws in favour of mammal population destruction (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4). One activist even exemplified that successful petitions resulted in around 10 000 signatures, which according to her, is a very successful result in Lithuania (BV4).

### **6.3.2. Weakening Aspects**

Even though one organisation had successful experiences with petitioning, there is a range of difficulties environmental organisations face while trying to display numbers of supporters. The following paragraphs present the factors that weaken numbers constituent of their WUNC.

#### ***Low citizen involvement***

First, all activists from Baltijos Vilkas and Žali.It agree that Lithuanians are rather passive and not tend to participate in contentious activities (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4, ZL1, ZL2, ZL3, ZL4). Although some activists notice that citizens become more and more active (BV2, ZL1, ZL4, JZ1, JZ2), all activists agree that there is a lack of citizen support and participation. An activist from Baltijos Vilkas claims that it might be possible to collect enough signatures for petitions, as their experience shows, however, people certainly do not show up to the protests (BV4). Other activists add that there might be a number of people showing interest in participation, however, only very few attend (BV3, ZL4). One of them expressed it as follows:

“This is not only a problem of environmental organisations. When they hold some sort of campaign, protest or something, there are 200 people signing up that they’re interested on facebook but only 20 of them actually attend. So you know... these are couch activists.”(ZL4).

Some activists believe that contentious activities such as protests, marches and demonstrations have become ineffective due to low number of participants (ZL2, ZL4). Some feel that society does not believe in own power to create change and in the possibility that protests will succeed (JZ1, ZL2) and that amplifies the loop of low citizen participation and protest ineffectiveness (ZL2).

#### ***Indifference of citizens***

Also, some activists implied that Lithuanian society is indifferent to environmental issues (JZ1, BV4, ZL4) and lacks public-spiritedness (ZL1). Many activists notice that Lithuanian citizens prioritise own economic concerns and personal needs (BV1, BV2, BV3, ZL2, ZL4, JZ1). As an activist from Žali.It expressed it:

“<...> there was a transformation in the society when everyone started to be concerned with daily survival issues. This erased the foundations of civil society and then all forms of public organising ceased” (ZL2).

### ***Lack of relevant topic***

Some activists also emphasised that basing on the past experience the nation mobilised when there was a formidably painful issue (ZL1, ZL3, ZL4). However, now people put own interests as most important and worthy attention (BV1, BV2, ZL4, JZ1). Therefore, citizens lack time, interest and willingness to put the effort in understanding current environmental issues and participating in events related to them (ZL4; BV1, BV2, BV4, JZ2). The activists argue that now in order to attract people an effective way is to present the activities in a fun and entertaining way so that people would enjoy participating (BV1, BV2, BV3, ZL4, JZ1). An activist from Baltijos Vilkas revealed that because of the fact that people are more tend to join in entertaining activities, the organisation focuses more on them rather than protesting or demonstrating (BV1).

### ***Legal constraints***

Additionally, activists from at least 2 organisations mentioned that even if an organisation succeeds to involve more people in contentious activities, that cannot always transform into mobilised action (BV2, ZL1). This is because municipalities must issue permissions when protests exceed certain number of people. Then, according to an activist from Žali.lt, the protests are organised between the members of the organisation and results in three to five people protesting about the issue (ZL1). Due to this restriction organisations cannot effectively display a number of supporters and face difficulties while organising the event.

### ***Labour and time consuming work***

Furthermore, two activists emphasised that in order to organise a protest, activists must do a lot of hard work (ZL2, BV4). An activist has to be highly motivated and proactive while urging citizens and other organisations to participate, promising benefits, constantly promoting the event, reminding and encouraging people to come. As a result if one manages to get people to the streets it is usually a result of hard work rather than society's reaction (ZL2).

### ***Low activist involvement***

Moreover, some activists emphasise that there are no strong organisations capable of mobilising crowds (ZL4, BV1, BV3). Also, activists agree that within their organisations there are not enough members actively involved to achieve effective results (ZL2, ZL4, BV3). An activist from Žali.lt admits that low numbers of activists results in very few people working on certain topics (ZL2). Therefore, trying to gather a group of citizens for a protest absorbs all the resources at the expense of the tactics of the protest (ZL2).

Activists admitted that people are not willing to join the organisation because of lack of time, as everyone prioritises their daily jobs and families (BV1, BV2). Additionally, as one activist explains, people avoid joining because there is no relevant topic that would be intrinsically painful for people and framing issues in an alarming way discourages people to engage (ZL4). Moreover, the activist claims that environmental issues require a lot of effort to understand (ZL4):

“ <...> there is never a lot of climate change activists because the topic is so complex, people don't like it. It encompasses everything: quality of life, energy... Everything, every area. So you must read and be interested in how it will affect this or that. It is difficult and boring” (ZL4).

Activists from all organisations emphasised that members get involved when they find it interesting and exciting to step in because their contributions are on voluntary basis (BV1, BV4, ZL4, JZ1). As one activist expressed it:

“The NGO sector is not there to make people do what they do not enjoy doing. No, one must like it. If one doesn't enjoy it, it will be a suffering. We, people, already suffer enough from own problems which vary from jobs to deeper existential crises” (ZL4).

Therefore, Baltijos Vilkas and JŽO hold a range of entertaining events during which people would have an opportunity combine hobbies, learning and free time (BV1, JZ1). This is the way organisations try to maintain numbers by attracting new activists and inspiring already involved activists to take action (BV1, BV3, BV4, JZ1). However, an activist from Baltijos Vilkas admits that the organisation does not grow in activist numbers (BV4). The members joining the organisation must be highly motivated and enthusiastic

in order to remain in it. Otherwise, they get tired after a while and become inactive. That is why constant rotation of activists is crucial for the organisation to survive (BV4). Activists emphasised that it is difficult to retain active members in the organisation as people do not have enough time and energy to spend on volunteer management and other administrative tasks (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4).

#### **6.4. Commitment**

Commitment constituent describes people's dedication and preparedness to persevere for the cause by taking risks, make sacrifices for the cause, etc. The next paragraphs present how commitment occurs in the activities of Lithuanian ESMOs and how it could be observed by the public (see consolidated results in Appendix 3).

##### **6.4.1. Strengthening Aspects**

Many interviewees admitted that persistent work of committed activists brings good results, as it was evident in previously held successful campaigns (BV4, ZL2, ZL4). However, when asked to describe situations illustrating commitment, not for all activists it was easy to exemplify commitment in their organisations.

##### ***Persistent volunteering***

Some activists thought that a proof of commitment was the fact that volunteers were working for years without being paid (ZL1, BV4). Another activist thought that commitment is most obvious when one interacts with the activists (BV3). According to her, one can feel their passion and how much work they do to educate themselves about nature and relevant issues (BV3). Also, activists from Baltijos Vilkas exemplify commitment by indicating that active members in the organisation usually cover the costs or provide resources from their personal income (BV2, BV3).

##### ***Persistency with challenging tasks***

Additionally, activists emphasised that commitment of other activists could be noticed by observing public meetings with farmers and authorities (BV2, BV4). The activists claim that these meetings are emotionally draining and difficult to persist because of aggressiveness, shouting and offensive behaviour of the participants and that is why it requires a lot of commitment to participate in them (BV2, BV4).

“It is really difficult to be in those meetings with farmers. However, at least someone is always trying to participate. It is only negative: you take out a lot of negative emotions from there. I think this is a very clear sign that people care, if they manage to persist through that” (BV2).

Another example of activist commitment could be that they dedicated time after work to craft decorations for demonstrations and did that in freezing temperatures (BV2). For another activist commitment is evident in their persistence that is necessary to maintain the collaboration with the ministers of the country (BV3, BV4). Also, an activist from JŽO exemplified that the commitment could usually be noticed by observing the events organisation holds (JZ2). According to the activist, one can understand that these events take a lot of effort and hard work to organise and this is done solely by involved activists.

#### **6.4.2. Weakening Aspects**

##### ***Commitment is not communicated***

As described in previous paragraphs, the commitment exists in the organisations to a certain extent. However, some activists admit that most of it is not obvious to the public (BV3, BV4, JZ2). Many activists recognised the role of social media to communicate with the adherents, nonetheless the organisations usually do not often publicise their daily activities (BV3, BV4). The activist from Baltijos Vilkas explained it as follows:

“They go with a concrete goal, which is not to publicise but to solve a problem. They do not care much about self-publicity. That’s why people do not see that” (BV3).

Therefore, as the activist mentions the adherents do not have a way to know how much activists do to maintain the organisation, also, they are usually not informed about progress and efforts made to achieve certain objectives and interact with authorities (BV3, BV4).

### ***Activists lack commitment***

Other activists, when asked about commitment, could not think of any examples and admitted that it is lacking (ZL2, ZL3, ZL4, JZ1, BV2, BV3). As one of the activists expressed it:

“It is not the case that all activists are committed. There are people who care but they are just a few of them. <...> You can see that [they care]... but I don’t know how one can connect that to consistent activists’ work. It does not exist” (ZL2).

### ***Lack of relevant topic***

Activists from Žali. It emphasised that the lack of activists’ commitment is a result of the absence of one clear topic and direction of work (ZL2, ZL4). Also, they added that the absence of a relevant and painful topic also restrains people from committing (ZL2, ZL4). The activists exemplified how in the past clear and very relevant topics such as a threat of nuclear power development in the country, brought people together and motivated to work hard with persistency and determination until aims were achieved. Some activists pondered that now one has to appreciate if activists dedicate time to participate in the meetings (ZL3, ZL4) or collaborate when it is convenient for them (JZ1). As one activist noticed, people still mostly prioritise their personal needs, well-being and comfort over working for the cause (ZL4).

### ***Lack of time and exhaustion***

Moreover, many activists emphasised that one of the main aspects restraining people from committing to the cause is a lack of time (BV1, BV2, ZL3, ZL4). Activists contribute for the organisation after their daily jobs (BV1, BV2, BV3, BV4; ZL4), as one activist playfully put it:

“If you are not saving the world at your job, then you save the world after it” (BV2).

The fact that people take on additional workload after work, could indicate that activists are committed. However, activists from Baltijos Vilkas reveal that this situation results in fatigue of the activists and incapacity to do additional tasks (BV1, BV2, BV4, ZL4). One of the activists expressed it as follows:

“Even to organise something is a job. To do this for free, on your free time, when you get back after work... Everyone finally gets exhausted and we can feel that this exhaustion is uttermost...” (BV4).

### ***Lack of incentives and motivation***

Therefore, the activists are not willing to sacrifice and work as hard as is necessary for the cause. Some of the activists explained that they are not willing to work overnights without any rewards (BV4, ZL3, ZL4). As some activists signified one might even get bullied for standing out or scolded by opposing parties (JZ2, BV4). Furthermore, activists explained that to organise an event or a protest and to attract people is a big job containing a lot of tasks (BV4, JZ2, ZL2). Most of those tasks, such as searching for allies, interacting with authorities, media and public, must be done during the daytime (BV4). The activists however are not willing to sacrifice their time and occupy themselves with small organisational tasks during the time they are at work (BV4). Also, there are no people who would have time or would be inspired to take on those tasks (BV4).

Moreover, an activist from Žali. It also signified that the lack of commitment is evident in activist and citizen participation in the protests (ZL3). According to the activist, most protests are held during the daytime of working days, as this is usually the time when the authorities are in meetings deciding about certain issues. The activist explains that people are not willing to leave from their jobs, dedicate couple of hours to reach the protesting place and participate.

Additionally, some activists mentioned that there is a lack of motivation to commit (ZL4, BV3). An activist from Žali. It exemplified that after pursuing one topic for a while activists felt tired and a lack of society's support and interest eradicated all the motivation (ZL4). Then activists refused to work hard and investing own resources (ZL4). An activist from Baltijos Vilkas also refers to a similar pattern. In her opinion, low financial support reduces the activists willingness to commit to bigger projects (BV3). According to the activist, this is mostly because activists are incapable of funding them from personal income and therefore do not commit on progressing those projects (BV3).

## **7. Discussion**

The activists from Lithuanian environmental SMOs shared how they experience worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment within their organisations. The analysis was made to determine how the aspects they experience contribute to the power of WUNC constituents, therefore, to the power of the impact of the organisations. The following paragraphs discuss the implications of that on the impact of the movement. They also present the answer to the following research question:

- How can Lithuanian environmental social movement organisations improve their impact on the authorities and increase the chances of citizen mobilisation for the environmental movement in Lithuania?

### **7.1. Impact Through WUNC Constituents**

From the interviews with the activists it appears that the organisations have high worthiness. They build and maintain it through their interactions within the organisations as well as with authorities and society. Also they ascertain it through behaviour in public and their independence from the interest groups. What weakens their worthiness is rather external. For instance, the fact that society perceived environmental issues to be not as important as own welfare or an existing negative attitude towards the organisations and their claims. The strategy the organisations utilise for maintaining their worthiness is effective. Nevertheless it could be improved by displaying the support of celebrities, opinion leaders, pundits or members of clergy. They, according to Tilly (1999; 2004; 2006), increase worthiness. This could combat negative perceptions in the society and also, one could argue, that support from them would provide powerful leadership for people to follow and that may affect the power of WUNC through numbers as well. Other ways to increase worthiness could be by display of support from families with children. Even though the organisations hold events for families, a display of their support in the campaigns and contentious performances would boost their worthiness. The effect would be even stronger if this would be combined with a display of other WUNC constituents, for instance, unity - by demonstrating attributes, marching together, chanting, holding hands, etc.

Furthermore, organisations are divided on how they experience unity. Two organisations secure their unity by working on diversity of opinions through discussions or setting objectives and strategies in order to establish one clear vision towards the goal. However, other activists experience that even though the freedom to act and choose the topic is valuable, a broad variety of topics divides them and that is problematic when trying to achieve the goals. Moreover, even though the activists see the value of cooperation with other organisations, they admit that generally it is lacking. Although there are certain challenges associated with unity, according to Tilly (1999; 2004; 2006) some discrepancies are natural. The organisations use attributes and behaviour to enact it for the public which covers up existing divisions. However, just like activists mentioned themselves, building a stronger unity between environmental organisations would be beneficial for achieving objectives and could be translated into stronger display of unity. This would not only increase unity for the movement but could also amplify worthiness and numbers. Such improvement in several constituents would boost WUNC and would have a strong effect on the chances to influence the authorities and the public.

One of the most problematic aspects for the Lithuanian environmental movement is the number of people supporting the cause. Even though the organisations display their numbers in the contentious activities and open events, they generally experience low citizen participation and activist involvement. The main reasons that emerged during the conversations were society's indifference and ignorance, as well as a lack of an important and painful issue. Low number of supporters cannot be a strong indication of what Tilly (1999; 2004; 2006) expressed as possible electorate of politicians or a crowd that could cause disruptions of political order. Therefore, even though the activists complained that it is a hard and continuous work to mobilise people for contentious events, displaying high number of supporters would boost movement's ability to indicate its power to the authorities. This would extremely improve the impact of the movement on the authorities and would increase the chances to achieve movement's objectives.

Another problematic aspect for the movement is commitment. The activists experienced generally low commitment in their organisations. All mentioned commitment manifestations were not obvious to the public. This strongly affects the power of whole WUNC and therefore the whole movement. This is due to the way constituents are connected. Tilly (2006) describes that the constituents relate to each other as mathematical factors. This means that low constituents could be compensated by strong ones, even though they decrease the whole value of WUNC (Tilly, 2006). However, a lack of one constituent

eliminates the power of the rest of them. In this case no evidence and visibility of commitment might have a similar effect as a lack of it because there is no indication of it which could be noticed by the authorities or by the public. Meaning that even though other constituents such as worthiness are more powerful, a lack of commitment strongly impedes the impact of the movement. The activists have noted themselves that highly committed people proved to achieve outstanding results and mobilise people, even though it is highly problematic from their experience. Therefore, it is essential for the organisations to attract committed activists and incentivise currently involved activists to commit. Moreover, most importantly the organisations have to display their commitment to the public, for instance, as Tilly exemplified by persisting through bad weather, travelling long distances for protests and in general displaying the effort it takes to participate in the contentious activities and campaigns. This would not only improve the power of WUNC through commitment constituent alone, but also would possibly result in an increase of its power through numbers and worthiness because of attracted activists and mobilised people.

The issues regarding low citizen support, activist involvement and commitment may not be resolved overnight. Although, the notion about how to resolve it could underlie in the reasons mentioned by activists. Multiple times during the interviews a lack of formidably painful and relevant topic was indicated. Additionally, it was noted by the activists that environmental issues require too much effort for citizens to understand and do not relate to their personal lives. This implies the relevance of what Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford (1986) are suggesting. The authors claim that society's indifference and problem of participation may be an issue of framing<sup>4</sup> and more specifically its low resonance with the society. Therefore, following the framing theory, Lithuanian ESMOs would need to rethink and adjust the practices about how they present the issues to the society. Snow et al. (1986) emphasise that for the movement to attract more adherents, SMOs need to amplify their frames, which is one of the

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<sup>4</sup> Snow et al. (1986) used Goffman's concept and definition of a *frame* as a "'schemata of interpretation" that enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (p. 464). Lakoff (2010) describes framing as "unconscious structures" which consist of "semantic roles, relations between roles, and relations to other frames" (p.71). According to Lakoff (2010) we understand the world through frames: "All thinking and talking involves "*framing*". And since frames come in systems, a single word typically activates not only its defining frame, but also much of the system its defining frame is in" (p.71).

frame alignment processes<sup>5</sup>. They suggest that frame amplification is done to appeal to the values and beliefs. Appealing to the values revives sentiments for what is cherished and desired (Snow et al., 1986). According to Snow et al. (1986) frame amplification through beliefs would set grounds justifying action to reach desired state. According to the authors this is done by constructing beliefs about the urgency of the issue, indicating the cause and solution, as well as target to address, perception of success and necessity to participate and resist. The authors claim that it is important that the frames are realistic, empirically testable and close to the life experiences of the adherents. Following this theory, if Lithuanian environmental SMOs would reframe the issues in that way, chances are that they will resonate with the society and the movement will attract more adherents. This would boost movements WUNC through all constituents and have a powerful impact on the authorities and society.

Furthermore, Snow & Benford (1988) show that the frames have a powerful effect when the narratives used are culturally close to the adherents. I acknowledge that the research is needed for the praxis of framing. With no intention to set framing strategies for the organisations I am providing an example to illustrate the use of culturally close narrative. In Rinkevičius's research as well as during conversations with the activists it appeared that there is a negative perception of the society about the environmentalists. It is either associated to communism, which is repulsive and despised by people due to historical experience with Soviet occupation, or associated with barrier to economic development. One possible way of framing in such cases could be to reorient the vision of development towards western countries, which are usually used in the media and political narratives as role models to illustrate a desired state for Lithuania. The notion that environmental care is an inseparable cultural part of these prospering countries may resonate with the desires of the society and increase the relevance of the environmental domain. If this happens, it would increase the worthiness and possibly the power of other WUNC constituents of the movement.

However, Lakoff (2010) shows that framing environmental issues may be challenging. He argues that communicating environmental issues is usually grounded by a false assumption that people rationally make decisions based on given facts. He suggests that environmental issues are among the topics for which people do not have frames in their mind they could utilise to comprehend the issue. Therefore, in

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<sup>5</sup> According to Snow et al. (1986) frame alignment is a "linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary" (p. 464).

such situation, when there is a system of frames missing, people will not be able to make sense of communicated facts (Lakoff, 2010). In this case one must construct missing system of frames over time by focusing on accurate selection of words (Lakoff, 2010). When these systems of frames are created, properly chosen language will activate those systems and people will start to make sense of the communication (Lakoff, 2010). Therefore, following this, Lithuanian environmental SMOs would also need to strategically build frames relating to issues they represent. With properly built frames, the organisations will be able to communicate difficult issues to the public after a period of time. If the process is done successfully, the organisations will ensure that the communication to the society is understood and assimilated.

Moreover, while employing framing practices, Lithuanian ESMOs should consider the challenges with this practice. First, the framing paradigm was criticised by Ytterstad (2015) for conveniently picking a path to present the truth which deviates from the objective reality. This brings in relativity of truth and may make the seriousness of communicated issues misrepresented (Ytterstad, 2015). Therefore, the organisations should consider if employed framing reflects the real situation and does not make environmental issues to lose their urgency. This could happen if for the sake of society's support and participation, the organisations would trivialize urgent issues. For instance, one of the activists mentioned that alarmist climate change communication discourages people to get involved. Therefore, if the organisation would present the issue as an opportunity to participate in an entertaining activity, chances are that this could misdirect the resources and public attention from effective solutions. Another challenge emphasised by Ytterstad (2015) is that framing works by activating already existing meanings, which binds the whole paradigm within existing assumptions. This limits capacity of the movement to push for more radical solutions and challenge the system.

Finally, strengthening WUNC could be done through stimulating the constituents separately but also it would have an effective result in boosting them through framing practices. Displaying WUNC is essential for the movement to increase its impact on the authorities and on society. In the Lithuanian context this is especially relevant due to impeded governance quality as suggested by Norkus (2008), fragility of governance legitimacy as indicated by Šiliauskas (2013) and ineffective governance as claimed by Laurėnas (2012). Even though the Lithuanian government lacks responsiveness, accountability, trust of citizens and does not fulfill citizens' expectations, this does not undermine the point for mobilisation. On the contrary, display of strong WUNC is a way to push the authorities into the corner to respond and

advance desired decisions. For the environmental movement, powerful WUNC displays could not only foster environmentally friendly policies that help to maintain and recover the integrity of the environment, but also could be a way to draw public attention to environmental challenges, spread the awareness and attract more adherents. This could lead to transition towards environmentally profound decision-making and could be a pathway to sustainability.

For sustainability science this research did not only contribute by improving the understanding how to attain social change through increasing influence of environmental organisations on the authorities. This research also had its theoretical contribution. The findings of this study showed that the WUNC framework may encompass factors that are internal or external to the movement or studied units. By studying Lithuanian ESMOs it appeared that certain WUNC constituents could be constructed and displayed by the organisations themselves. For instance, setting strategies, objectives and using attributes in the demonstrations increases their unity, while having constructive discussions prior to decision making and participation of families in protests increases their worthiness. Other factors influencing WUNC may be external, for instance, the attitudes and perceptions of society towards the movement and organisations. In the presence of external factors, WUNC framework turned out to be rather limited to suggest how to increase the impact of the movement. Those external factors may be more difficult to counter with displays of WUNC. In such situation WUNC framework in combination with additional theories are handy to suggest the way the movement could counter those external factors, amplify WUNC constituents and boost its impact. For this study WUNC combined with framing theory provided a useful and more comprehensive understanding how the movement in Lithuania could be studied and how it could increase its influence on the authorities and society.

## **7.2. Future research**

Proper framing could be a way for Lithuanian environmental SMOs to address the problem of participation in the movement. Therefore, framing analysis would be needed to study how the organisations currently frame environmental issues and how they could build missing framing systems for the society to understand the communicated issues. Furthermore, some research could be useful to identify the way the organisations could conduct frame amplification, i.e. identify communication strategies for the frames to resonate with the society. Moreover, some activists complained about low visibility of their activities. They implied that it is difficult for the organisations to get access to the media and that sometimes media blocks their attempts. Thus, some communication channels are closed for

the organisations. Therefore, some research could be focused on how these organisations could increase their visibility in the public.

Moreover, this research is conducted by studying the interactions of Lithuanian ESMOs and society as well as authorities through the experiences of the activists. This may contain certain bias and ideological stance which could have influenced the findings. Therefore, in the future studies utilising additional methods would be useful to balance out the bias, for instance, visual data analysis or interviews with other groups of society than activists.

## 8. Conclusion

In order to tackle currently faced environmental challenges, there is a need for political response and rigorous decisions. While authorities do not always respond sufficiently, environmental movement as a powerful actor of change can potentially pressure the authorities for necessary action.

This thesis focuses on Lithuanian ESMOs to improve the understanding how they could have a better influence on the authorities and therefore a more responsive attitude to environmental challenges. This study was conducted utilising Tilly's WUNC theoretical framework (see section 4) and aimed to answer the following research questions:

- How do activities of ESMOs contribute to the impact on the authorities and society?
- How can Lithuanian ESMOs improve their impact on the authorities and increase the chances of citizen mobilisation for the environmental movement?

The findings of this research indicated that Lithuanian ESMOs have a rather high worthiness and effective tactics to maintain it (see Appendix 3 for consolidated results and section 6 for findings). The aspects weakening the worthiness of organisations are rather external and related to negative perceptions about them in the society, media and authorities. Additionally, generally low priority existing in the society for environmental issues the organisations are addressing.

Moreover, experienced unity varies in different organisations but they utilise effective means to display unity in their activities. This is a good way to enact it and reduce notion about existing discrepancies. Despite this, there is a lack of cooperation between organisation and activists. Also, the breadth of claims and campaigns impedes the capacity to work on concentrated strategies and join the resources.

Furthermore, most problematic aspects experienced by organisations is the number of supporters, activist involvement and their commitment. Even though the organisations try to display the number of supporters they generally experience low participation in their activities, as well as a lack of activists joining the organisations and their activities. Also, even if commitment exists in organisations to a

certain extent, its manifestations are not obvious for the public and authorities. These aspects strongly impede the organisations' impact. It was suggested that good framing practices could tackle this issue and attract more adherents, participants and committed activists. By applying framing practices and improving their WUNC displays, the organisations would increase their influence on the authorities and society. This could strengthen the environmental domain in the political decision-making and potentially result in more profound governance.

Finally, it was noted that WUNC theoretical framework may encompass internal and external factors contributing to its constituents and therefore to the impact of the movement. While internal factors can be addressed and WUNC can be strengthened via internal decisions and actions directly relating to the constituents, external factors are more difficult to counter. For that reason additional theories are needed in combination with WUNC framework for a better understanding of the movement studied and for comprehensive insights suggesting how to increase its impact.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. How did you decide to get involved into environmental protection area?
  - 1.1. How did this lead to involvement into this organisation?
2. Which environmental problems are most important in Lithuania?
  - 2.1. Do you think that organisation dedicates enough attention for these issues?
3. Do you think that other activists agree on the most important environmental issues?
  - 3.1. What shows that they do?
4. Who would you think should take action to solve your mentioned environmental issues?  
If they are different from the ones organisation focuses on:
  - 4.1. Who would you think should take action to solve the environmental issues the organisation focuses on?
5. How does the organisation involves society in solving environmental issues?
6. Could you describe each of the mentioned activities?
  - 6.1. How do they look visually?
7. How many people usually gets involved in the activities?
  - 7.1. Have you noticed any tendency from your experience?
8. Do you think there are enough of people getting involved to attain the solution for the environmental goals set?
9. Could you describe an event when one could see that activists involved in the organisation are dedicated and committed to the goals?
10. What would you like to change in the organisation, so that the environmental goals would be easier to achieve?
11. What would you like to change in Lithuania in general, so that the environmental goals would be easier to achieve?

## Appendix 2: Information on Conducted Interviews

Interview No.	Date	Organisation	Interviewee
1	2017-03-03	Baltijos Vilkas	BV1
2	2017-03-03	Žali.lt	ZL1
3	2017-03-04	Baltijos Vilkas	BV2
4	2017-03-06	Žali.lt	ZL2
5	2017-03-08	Žali.lt	ZL3
6	2017-03-08	Žali.lt	ZL4
7	2017-03-09	JŽO	JZ1
8	2017-03-10	Baltijos Vilkas	BV3
9	2017-03-13	Baltijos Vilkas	BV4
10	2017-03-15	JŽO	JZ2

## Appendix 3: Result Table

Worthiness	
Strengthening	Weakening
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Independence from interest groups</li> <li>● Structured and constructive discussions and decision-making</li> <li>● Diplomatic behaviour, dialogue with society and authorities</li> <li>● Connections with politicians</li> <li>● Good reputation maintained through activities for the public</li> <li>● Display of expertise in media commentaries</li> <li>● Support from celebrities</li> <li>● Respectful, peaceful, polite and friendly behaviour</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Environment is not a priority for the public and authorities</li> <li>● Negative perception about organisations and their claims in the society, media and politics</li> </ul>

<b>Unity</b>	
<b>Strengthening</b>	<b>Weakening</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uniting goal and aspiration to protect the environment</li> <li>• Discussing and structured strategy setting at the organisation</li> <li>• Cooperation with other organisations</li> <li>• Enacting unity in demonstrations and protests via attributes and behaviour</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of unity between environmental NGOs</li> <li>• Too many topics and too few activists working on each of them</li> <li>• Lack of unity between activists within an NGO</li> </ul>
<b>Numbers</b>	
<b>Strengthening</b>	<b>Weakening</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Display via physical participation in demonstrations and protests</li> <li>• Display of society's support through petitions</li> <li>• Entertaining and fun activities for society to get involved</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very low participation in demonstrations and protests</li> <li>• Citizens do not believe in their power to change something and in effectiveness of protests</li> <li>• Society's indifference to environmental issues</li> <li>• There is a lack of formidably painful issue for citizens to join the resistance</li> <li>• Municipality's permission for protests restrict participant numbers</li> <li>• In order to get people to participate one has to provide benefits for them and work a lot on organisation</li> <li>• No strong organisations capable of mobilising a crowd</li> <li>• Low number of activists and their involvement</li> <li>• Lack of interesting and painful topic results in low activist involvement</li> <li>• Some topics are too difficult for people to get interested in</li> <li>• Lack of time and interest in doing tasks to maintain activists in the organisation</li> </ul>
<b>Commitment</b>	
<b>Strengthening</b>	<b>Weakening</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Doing voluntary work for years</li> <li>• Provide resources and cover the costs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most of the commitment is not obvious to the public</li> </ul>

<p>from personal income</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Participation in meetings with farmers full of offensive and disrespectful behaviour</li> <li>● Dedicating time after work to craft attributes even in freezing temperatures</li> <li>● Self-education about the issues and nature</li> <li>● Persistence while trying to maintain collaboration with the authorities</li> <li>● Activists put a lot of hard work to organise events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● General impression that the commitment of activists is lacking</li> <li>● Absence of painful topic and direction of work refrains activists from committing</li> <li>● Activists don't have time to commit</li> <li>● Activists are exhausted after working additionally</li> <li>● No incentives to sacrifice and work over nights</li> <li>● No willingness to dedicate time during working day for doing tasks for the organisation</li> <li>● No willingness to take on organisational tasks</li> <li>● No willingness to take time off work for participation in a protest</li> <li>● Lack of motivation to do something that lacks support from society</li> <li>● Lack of motivation to work on projects as they are financed individually</li> </ul>
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