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## Climate change social movements in a tourism context

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Author: Sofia Lindholm

Supervisor: Johan Hultman

Lund University

Department of Service Management and Service Studies

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## Abstract

After the latest IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) report in 2018 there has been an increased concern in society on the identified climate impact of flying. This has resulted in a rise of grassroots social movements that attempt to find alternative, more environmentally friendly means of travel. This research has more closely examined two of these social movements within the tourism context. The study examines the goals, motives and ideas behind social movements within the travel sphere in an attempt to find out how these social movements aim to influence individuals, decision- and policy-makers and how they try to mobilize people within this domain. Further, their practices are also examined to find out what they see as best practices for public participation. Public participation has become an integral part of governance and involving the overall public in decision-making is seen vital. At times participation by the public surface as social movements, which traditionally arise with social change in mind. The thesis aims to provide insight to the social movements' activities through qualitative interviews with founding members of a movement, netnography analysis of the Facebook groups and participant observation from events inspired by the group. The findings show that the positive connotation of the groups and the extensive information sharing has shed a light on alternative, climate friendly travel options.

Keywords: social movements, climate change, political participation, social movement theory, framing theory, environmental tourism, travel

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# 1 Introduction

After the release of the latest IPCC report in October 2018 deliberating the impacts of global warming of 1,5°C above pre-industrial levels led to debate and discussion on the need for change in almost all sectors of society, including the travel and tourism field. It is already clear that climate change is unavoidable, nevertheless, how it should be managed from now on to avoid devastating results was claimed to depend on each member of society (IPCC, 2018). The tourism industry is increasingly contributing to climate change due to its dependence on fossil fuel transportation (Becken, 2007; Lenzen et al., 2018; Nicholls, 2006). In 1950 international tourism arrivals amounted for 25 million people (Gössling & Peeters, 2015) and in just 70 years by 2018 the amount has increased to 1,4 billion annually and it is expected to further increase in the years to come (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2019). These numbers demonstrate the extensive increase of the industry, which does not come without a cost.

Especially due to the significant role of air travel in tourism activities, this industry has become a noticeable contributor to the changing climate (Becken, 2007). The trend in the industrialized countries of travelling more frequently even to close by destinations and more people undertaking trips to more distant places have contributed to the increase in air travel within tourism. But also, low-fare airline offerings and promotions on shorter city breaks as well as a growing middle-class in many countries have additionally added to the increased number of air travelers worldwide. (Gössling & Peeters, 2007). Since a substantial part of the travelers use airplanes as means of transportation (Gössling & Peeters, 2007), an estimated 55% of all arrivals are by air (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2017), with its high fossil fuel consumption that result in high greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Becken, 2007), it has led to widespread concerns of the consequences of flying among many who frequently uses airplanes for their travels (Östman, 2019). Since tourism and especially sustainable tourism are fundamental parts of society (Bramwell & Lane, 2014), it is vital to look into factors that can help influence people to travel more sustainably and further motivate others to do the same.

The threat of a changing climate is no recent news for the society as a whole, however, despite the fact that warnings have been made before, no significant changes have occurred that would have helped steer the society towards a sufficiently sustainable future (Gunderson, 2018). Since the

problems are broader than previously perceived (Quick & Bryson, 2016), the need for a wider range of stakeholder steering the society towards accomplishing shared goals has been seen necessary (Evans, 2012). That is the reason for governance to have moved beyond just government to include other stakeholder in the decision-making process (Kooiman, 1993; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Unlike government, governance usually entails including both public and private actors in governing, anyone with an interest or “stake”, most of the time also including the citizens and the overall public (Evans, 2012; Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Due to the mistrust in policy-makers and corporations ability to solve the climate crisis, this has resulted in grassroots social movements (de Moor, 2018) that attempt to awake social change (Della Porta & Diani, 2006) and get involved in governance to help steer the society towards a desirable future (Evans, 2012).

In society at large social movements are no new phenomena. The research into social movements have existed for decades (McGehee, Knollenberg, & Kline, 2014) and social movements in society have occurred for even longer, for example the Civic Right movement in America and antiwar movement in France (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). However, social movements in tourism (Monterrubio, 2017) and especially how social movements arise to influence people’s touristic travel behavior and mobilize them within this sphere is a fairly unexplored territory in research. The potential impact of recent social movements within the climate change scope has been shown through the 15-year-old Greta Thunberg and her successful school strikes for the climate (Watts, 2019). This movement has received much attention from many different parties and has gathered much support from the overall public. Within the travel field similar movements concentrated on travel activities has likewise appeared. During 2018 a public debate on “Flight shame” (Banis, 2019) and other similar topics related to the high environmental impact of flying has received substantial media attention and groups discussing alternative modes and ways of travel have gained widespread popularity especially in Finland and Sweden. Clearly, there is an inevitable rise in social movements directed towards raising awareness for the deteriorating environment (de Moor, 2018). Nevertheless, social movements within the travel arena are a new phenomenon that has only recently gained attention, therefore minimal research within the area exist.

Consequently, this research aims to look into these social movements that are aiming to build awareness and share knowledge among the overall public as well as among decision-makers and other actors in society on the increasing impact of travel activities on the climate. The research will mainly focus on two groups established in Finland, the first group endorsing travel by land instead of flying and the other group striving to get people to stop or significantly reduce flying. These two

groups were chosen due to the substantial amount of media attention they received after the release of the latest IPCC climate report and because they have managed to attract a significantly large amount of people, who actively discuss and work towards making alternative, more climate friendly modes of travel more visible and used. The movements are mainly present online with active Facebook groups and webpages. Nevertheless, the founders of these two groups are likewise actively involved in other activities related to the area of travel and climate change. Therefore, other related activities and events connected to these groups will be part of the analysis. The movements mainly focus on raising awareness and share information on the impact of our current travel behavior and attempts to find alternative solutions, especially when it comes to means of transportation in travel. Moreover, they attempt to mobilize people to join the movements and involve them in discussions surrounding the issue. The study wants to find out the motivations, goals and ideas behind the social movements and how they want and are able to influence the discussion surrounding climate change and travel. The research questions are:

- (1) How do these two groups seek to influence people towards traveling more climate friendly?
- (2) How do the groups strive to mobilize people and influence decision- and policy-makers?
- (3) What are seen as the best practices for public participation in the context of travel and climate change?

The thesis is structured as following: after this introduction to the thesis, the research will continue with the background behind the rise of the movements where previous research in the area of climate change and tourism will be reflected upon and its relation to social movements. The research will then move on to introduce the theory of governance and social movement theory that will serve as the base for the discussion of the data. This will be followed by an introduction to the methodologies used to undertake the empirical study. The thesis then moves on analyzing the empirical data collected and introduces the findings of the study and finally some concluding remarks will be made.

## 2 Tourism and climate change

The recent rise in concerns about a warming climate and the latest call to action for the climate arose when the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) published their report on the impact of global warming of 1,5°C above pre-industrial level that was released on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 2018 (IPCC, 2018). Practically every aspect of society was affected by the content of the report (IPCC, 2018) and the climate change issues have since created concerns in many grounds, also in the tourism and travel field, which is a significant contributor to the changing climate (Lenzen et al., 2018). However, the public awareness of the anthropogenic climate change and the need for action from humans have been known for decades now. The modern day concerns can be said to have been materialized through the establishment of the IPCC in 1988 (IPCC, 2019) and ever since the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was signed during the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 climate change movements have existed and continued to grow ever since (Bäckstrand, Kuyper, Linnér, & Lövbrand, 2017; de Moor, 2018). Nevertheless, it is not until recently that the concerns have truly entered the tourism field where movements have likewise been established to discuss the impact of travel activities on the climate.

In contrast to the growing concern of the environment, international tourism has substantially grown ever since the 1950s and likewise the emissions (Gössling & Scott, 2018; United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2017). In 1950 international tourism arrivals accounted for about 25 million (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2017) and by 2018 the number has grown to 1,4 billion (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2019). In just 70 years tourism has grown explosively and is expected to grow with a 3,3% average per year up to 2030, which also means a significant rise in emissions and a rising contribution to climate change (Gössling & Scott, 2018). It has been argued that there is a shift in the trend during the past few decades where people tend to travel more frequently, but shorter distances and the trips to distant places as well as the low-cost airline offerings and city break deals have paved the way for a emission rich development in tourism (Gössling & Peeters, 2007; Higham, Cohen, Cavaliere, Reis, & Finkler, 2016). For people to be able to do these short city breaks and travel to faraway places in relatively short time, the use of air planes as mode of travel has been seen as vital and therefore flying has become a form of mobility available for many. The higher level of education and income, as well as the increased leisure time with opportunities to leave work for longer periods of time in the industrialized societies has been argued as the main reasons for increased popularity in air travel. In other words,



leisure mobility has become increasingly a routine, because people have the possibility and the resources to undertake these trips. (Gössling & Peeters, 2007).

## 2.1 The climate impact of tourism activities

Originally tourism has been estimated to account for about 5% of global carbon emission, this including same day visitors (Gössling & Scott, 2018; Michailidou, Vlachokostas, & Moussiopoulos, 2016; Peeters & Dubois, 2010; UNWTO, UNEP, & WMO, 2007). However, a recent study by Lenzen et al. (2018) show that between 2009 and 2013 the global carbon footprint for tourism actually grew four times more than formerly estimated to about 8% of global greenhouse gas emissions (Lenzen et al., 2018). It is estimated that in the future, if we want to avoid dangerous climate change, tourism need to reduce 3-6% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per year (Peeters & Dubois, 2010). However, tourism is anticipated to further grow and generate up to 40% of the total global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 2050, since demand for air travel (Higham et al., 2016; Lenzen et al., 2018) continues to exceed the efficiency in the field (Higham et al., 2016). Tourism is clearly a resource intensive sector that will continue to further grow in the years to come (Gössling & Peeters, 2015). Despite the mitigation needs defined in the Paris Climate Agreement and the ambition in the sector to make a change, emissions in global tourism continue to grow in a fast pace (Gössling & Scott, 2018).

Shopping, activities, accommodation and food has been argued to significantly contribute to the footprint in tourism, nevertheless, estimations indicate that the biggest contributor in the tourism chain of activities is the transport, accounting for as much as 75% of total emissions where air transport alone produces about 40% of the emissions (Gössling & Peeters, 2015). Despite the fact that only 17% of all tourist trips are undertaken by plane (Peeters & Dubois, 2010). The numbers might have slightly changed due to improved technology in aviation. However, it is still clear that air travel is the most critical factor responsible for the major part of direct emissions in tourism (Lenzen et al., 2018). International air travel especially adds to climate change due to its fossil fuel consumption, which then result in high greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Becken, 2007). Moreover, it has been stated that most emissions in air travel are released high up in the upper troposphere and lower stratosphere and in that way have a larger impact on ozone, cloudiness and radiative forcing than they do at the earth's surface (Gössling & Peeters, 2007, 2015).

Additionally, air travel is exempt from many obligations that other forms of transport need to consider. There is no tax on aviation fuel, no value added tax (VAT) on international aviation and airlines are usually dependent on government and other subsidies. The fees customers pay for are parking, take-off and landing and other charges by the airport related to airport operations and maintenance (Gössling & Peeters, 2007). International aviation and cruises are likewise not covered by the Paris Agreement (Gössling, Cohen, Higham, Peeters, & Eijgelaar, 2018; Lenzen et al., 2018). Moreover, the biggest footprint is not created in the countries that are most affected by the climate change in the developing world (Barry & Jonathan, 2015) or by the ones who get the biggest economic benefit from it (Gössling & Peeters, 2007), rather it is created by high-income countries in the developed world (Gore, 2015; Lenzen et al., 2018). There are claims that low-cost air services increase social inclusion, but still flying has stayed as a luxury for the wealthy, who uses the low-cost models to fly more often and contributes to the already existing class distinction in holiday behaviors (Casey, 2010; Higham et al., 2016).

When looking at the overall carbon emissions from tourism (8%) and then from flying in comparison with overall carbon emissions from all sectors, the number can seem quite insignificant. However, in an average trip including air travel undertaken by an individual person, about 60-95% of its contribution to global warming has been argued to come from the flight and also the emissions from a single flight will significantly contribute to the overall yearly carbon emissions of an individual. (Gössling & Peeters, 2007). Becken (2007) asserts that when it comes to the environmental concerns people usually have during travels, the local environmental impact such as litter are more noticed by the people rather than problems related to global climate change. Furthermore, since the aviation industry most of the time displays itself in a positive light when it comes to the environment, the public is not necessarily aware of its real impact (Gössling & Peeters, 2007) and might not understand how large part of the overall emissions it actually represents.

## 2.2 Suggestions for a solution

Much discussion on the possible solutions to the climate issue in aviation has also surfaced. Governments have encouraged voluntary public behavior change (Gössling et al., 2018; Higham et al., 2016) and hopes on technological advancements have been high, however, neither of these have led to much success so far (Gössling et al., 2018). Behavioral change has been seen not to work, because people see freedom of choice as such a vital part that it prevents them from acting

environmentally friendly (Becken, 2007; Gössling et al., 2018; Higham et al., 2016) and technological advances are largely dependent on the industry, which has not succeeded in making advances as fast as expected (Gössling et al., 2018; Niemistö, Soimakallio, Nissinen, & Salo, 2019). Alternative suggestions to reduced effects of the anthropogenic climate change have been increased airfares that would result in decrease in leisure travel demand (Becken, 2007), restriction in aviation (Higham et al., 2016), carbon tax on aviation (Gössling & Scott, 2018; Krennek & Schratzenstaller, 2016) and removal of fossil fuel subsidies, and incentives and rewards as well as other policy mechanisms that would support structural change (Gössling & Scott, 2018). As an example, a few European countries have shortly attempted to implement a tax on aviation but most of the countries have shortly after implementation removed the tax due to travelers choosing to fly from neighboring countries and therefore a loss in jobs and tax revenues have occurred (Niemistö et al., 2019). As with all of the alternative suggestions mentioned above, a loss in market share and revenue have been seen as the main obstacles for implementation (Krennek & Schratzenstaller, 2016). Krennek and Schratzenstaller (2016) argue that an internationally coordinated move towards a carbon tax is necessary for a widespread reduction to occur. However, so far for example the countries in the European Union have not succeeded in implementing a common tax.

Nevertheless, several scholars agree that to succeed in emission reduction in tourism it undoubtedly requires action from several levels of government (Gössling et al., 2018), individuals (Higham et al., 2016) as well as collective action (Becken, 2007; Higham et al., 2016). Pro-environmental behavior is determined by many different factors including knowledge and social norms; cognitions, moral, motivation and habits (Gössling & Scott, 2018; Steg & Vlek, 2009). Especially knowledge about evident environmental risks has been argued to help build awareness and eventually inspire to pro-environmental behavior (Becken, 2007). Also, belief systems and lifestyles built on specific forms of consumption affect people's behavior (Gössling & Scott, 2018). Information about an issue is very important to increase the awareness of individuals and help them make better travel decisions. However, research also show that especially in relation to global problems and sustainable consumption, increasing the level of knowledge and awareness many times lead to higher levels of helplessness and decreased control in individuals and on the contrary result in weakened action by individuals. (Jackson, 2005).

Marshall (2001) claims that situations where voluntary initiatives and proactivism to address the global impact of air travel does not work, confrontation by emotionally charged activities such as debates, protests and meaningful, visible alternatives are required. Since people's knowledge on

climate change is claimed to be highly influenced by its representation and the discourse that surrounds it, which is extensively transmitted to people through media, this source of information ought to be kept accurate and informative. However, this is not always the case and therefore people's knowledge on the issues are inaccurate (Becken, 2007). For example, several scholars have argued that dramatic, fearful and shocking climate change representation might lead to distancing individuals from the issue due to the feeling of helplessness and overwhelmed feelings (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole (2009) further suggest that communication approaches that consider individuals points of reference have the potential to more meaningfully involve people with climate change. People need to be able to establish a connection with the issue in a positive manner rather than only viewing terrible and shocking scenarios of the consequences of climate change. Nevertheless, this importance of both traditional and social media has been acknowledged by social movements and will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming chapter.

Due to the increased impact of travel activities on climate change (Gössling & Scott, 2018; Niemistö et al., 2019) and the inability to find suitable solutions from the side of the policy-makers, this have contributed to mistrust among civil society, which has then led to the rise of grassroot civil mobilization (Bäckstrand et al., 2017). It has been argued that global problems increasingly call for more collective and cooperative action (de Moor, 2018). In many cases these collective actions where people share the same beliefs and interests, and act to affect political, economic or cultural change in society give rise to social movements (Monterrubio, 2017). Social movements can be referred to as a collectivity of actors who is aiming to accomplish shared goals by affecting decisions of a target (Opp, 2009). However, the definition of social movements and their activities are more complex then so and in the following chapter social movements and public participation will be discussed in more detail and this will likewise serve as a theoretical base for the analysis of the empirical data collected.

### 3 Environmental governance and social movements in tourism

Public participation and social movements have become prominently approaching parts of political decision-making and governance ever since the 1960s. In the 60s the rise of the Civic Right movement and other community efforts, especially in the United States sparked action among citizens to transform social dynamics and advance the power of groups that had been excluded. During this era there were doubts whether public participation actually resulted in improved inclusion and equality (Quick & Bryson, 2016). However, ever since the early 2000s public participation has been an vital part of governance and several movements from the 60s up until today have helped influence and motivate people to defend their rights and take part in the decision-making, and influence issues that concern them (Evans, 2012). This chapter will first examine the theory of governance where decision-making has moved from simply being an issue of government to a more collaborative mode where several different stakeholders take part in the decision-making (Evans, 2012; Kooiman, 1993; Quick & Bryson, 2016), a special emphasize will be put on the public, since the movements studied represent public efforts. The chapter will further inspect why this has happened and how it is materialized to find out how this has facilitated the mobilization of people and in what way individuals can be seen to have the opportunity to influence other individuals and decision-makers. Moreover, parts of social movement theory and framing is examined. The theory explores how social movements come to be, crucial aspects of successful social movements and their overall potential as influencers in the climate change and tourism discussion as well as examine the tools of framing that has been claimed by some scholars to be a vital tool in social movement activity (Benford & Snow, 2000; M. C. Nisbet & Mooney, 2007; Snow & Benford, 1988).

#### 3.1 Collaborative governance

Currently climate change issues are raising worries and questions on multiple levels in society: on local, regional, national and global levels. Climate change is a global environmental challenge that is a reality and is affecting everyone regardless of their background (Gunderson, 2018) and therefore, it is claimed, an issue where every concerned stakeholder should have a saying in (Blue, 2015; Evans, 2012). Evans (2012) asserts that since the exact consequences of a changing climate are not certain and in many parts of the world the effects are not yet visible, it has been hard for the public, businesses and decision-makers to deal with the issue and genuinely realize the severity of the problem, and further make successful decisions on combating it. Consequently, Gunderson

(2018) further states that so far, the global environmental governance structures have not succeeded in sufficiently tackling the existing global environmental challenges. It has been argued that the global climate is precisely the system where politicians would like to have accurate knowledge, in order to make decisions accordingly, but the climate is one of the most tumultuous and unpredictable systems and therefore no significant solutions have been made (Evans, 2012). However, accepted science has already confirmed that climate change is an approaching crisis (Bulkeley, 2015), which then awakes the question: why have no further measures been taken to act upon it?

Since the issues are broader and more multi-faceted than previously perceived to be, also the governmental system has been forced to change. Several scholars agree that governance has moved beyond government (Kooiman, 1993; Quick & Bryson, 2016) and as a result public participation has become increasingly important (Blue, 2015; Evans, 2012; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Hence, the aim of governance, in contrast to government, is to engage a broad group in governing. Governance is about how things should be done, rather than what ought to be done. It is a mode between market and state, merging both in the process of steering to be able to accomplish shared goals. (Evans, 2012; Kooiman, 1993). Subsequently, governance includes both formal and informal procedures of decision-making and management. It does not exclusively include public actors, also nonprofits, businesses and other stakeholders, who have an interest or “stake” in governing, are identified as part of governance (Harriet & Arthur P.J, 2003; Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Quick & Bryson, 2016). As several of the environmental decisions being made significantly affects the public, it has been reasoned that it is only natural to include the public in environmental governance (Evans, 2012; Shakil, Bhuiya, & Rahman, 2014; Welp, Kasemir, & Jaeger, 2009). Local communities are claimed to not only have extensive knowledge about the place they live and work in, they also have deep emotional attachments to the place and therefore making them crucial associates in delivering sustainable development (Evans, 2012). However, Kooiman (1993) asserts that ‘interdependence’ is vital in governance, which indicates that no single actor is able to solve the problem alone and collaboration is needed. He further emphasizes that governance is exposed to a constant practice of mutual interaction.

Several scholars agree that public participation in governance is vital and includes either direct or indirect involvement through representatives of worried stakeholders in decision-making on policies, plans or programs of interest (Hawkins & Wang, 2012; McGehee et al., 2014; Quick & Bryson, 2016). These stakeholders have been identified as persons, groups or organizations that

have the possibility to influence or be affected by the policy decisions (Quick & Bryson, 2016). According to Evans (2012) reason to include the community and the overall public in environmental governance can be divided into ethical, practical and substantive reasons. Ethically, the public should be able to part-take in the decisions that affect them. In that way, people will also start realizing that the environmental problems are not external threats, rather threats that concern the broader public and therefore the public can also take part in solving the problems and, create a society and place in where they want to live. Practically, including the community in decision making will secure legitimacy for the decisions taken. Moreover, it diminishes conflicts between varying interest around argumentative topics. Substantively, involving the public improves the quality of decisions. To believe that only experts' knowledge is a valid base for decision making forgets the valuable information and experiences that people who live and work in a specific surrounding have about it.

Quick and Bryson (2016) similarly argues that the purposes for public participation are many. They claim that participation has the potential to greatly contribute to decisions by providing new information, a different viewpoint and increased inspiration to tackle problems. Furthermore, public participation has the potential to help government decision-makers and the public to become more informed and widen the view of issues. Consequently, it also creates resources for future problem-solving and helps to improve trust and legitimacy, build relationships and increase knowledge and interest on policy issues and processes.

Factors that have been seen as especially important factors in public participation in previous research are legitimacy and trust of decisions (Coenen, 2009; Dahlgren, 2009; Evans, 2012; Kooiman, 1993; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Also, some scholars suggest that another significant outcome of increased public participation is social learning (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Renn, Webler, & Wiedemann, 1995). Webler et al. (1995, p. 445) defines social learning as the “process by which changes in the social condition occur—particularly changes in popular awareness and changes in how individuals see their private interests linked with the shared interests of their fellow citizens”. Hence, it gives participant an increased capacity to engage in democratic citizenship, create permanent accomplishments of public value and help establish what the popular interest is, which then results in the basis of social learning (Quick & Bryson, 2016). Therefore, Garmendia and Stagl (2010) evaluate that participatory processes ought to be planned in a manner where all participants have the opportunity to learn.

In other words, Evans (2012) assesses that, over time, public participation has become much more cooperative where people have become part of the decision-making itself rather than just decision makers exclusively telling people about the decisions that have been made. Participation by the public has been seen by several studies as being fundamental in the successful pursuit of sustainability and environmental protection (Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Lindenfeld, Hall, McGreavy, Silka, & Hart, 2012). Additionally, several international organizations have recognized the importance of public participation in environmental decision-making (Coenen, 2009). Also, the field of sustainability science has realized the need for revision of science to more collaborative approaches requiring interaction with communities (Lindenfeld et al., 2012). Furthermore, public participation and citizens as stakeholders are perceived to be especially important in democracies (Dahlgren, 2009; Evans, 2012; Gough, 2003).

However, Giddens (Giddens 2011, p.2) argues that people find it hard to act due to a threat that is not perceived as real:

The politics of climate change has to come with what I call *Giddens's paradox*....It stated that, since the dangers posed by global warming aren't tangible, immediate or visible in the course of day-to day life, many will sit on their hands and do nothing of a concrete nature about them. Yet waiting until such dangers become visible and acute...before being stirred to serious action will be too late.

The matters surrounding climate change are highly connected with the relationship to risk and how much risks the society is willing to take (Giddens, 2011). Ulrich Beck (1992) coined the term *risk society*, which identifies the current society's perpetual and growing worry with the future and its risks. Beck argues that the risks today have become more global, they are not as perceivable to the senses as they were before and rather than under supply, there is an overproduction taking place. Evans (2012) identified three characteristics of risks that face the modern society today marking them apart from the pre-industrial society: (1) risks are geographically delocalized, which means that the negative consequences of decision are not seen close to us rather far away, (2) the possible consequences are principally hypothetical and (3) it is not possible to compensate those who have been affected. Climate change is a prime example of this kind of risk that cannot easily be perceived, difficult to quantify, and extremely difficult to compensate for and in that way engaging a wide arrange of policy-makers, people and companies to make sustainable decisions have been fairly challenging. That is why, while decision-makers have the appropriate knowledge available to



make suitable decisions, public participation is still needed to make the decision-makers more accountable for their decisions (Evans, 2012)

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that not all public knowledge is equal to expert knowledge. Experts have specific technical knowledge, because they dedicate their professional life to mastering a certain field (Bäckstrand, 2003). Still, the public can question the manner decisions are being framed by contributing with missed perspective or finding more creative solutions to solve problems. Especially in environmental problems, an issue that affects the overall society, public participation is highly relevant (Sprain, 2017)

On the other hand, there are some problems shadowing public participation: asymmetry, expert bias and lack of resources. Firstly, not all stakeholders are equally able to participate in the decision making and not all even should necessary be equally represented. It highly depends on the issue and who will be most affected by it. Secondly, institutions and decision-makers often have a mindset that only experts are able to answer policy questions (Evans, 2012). However, Welp et al (2009) propose that a combination of expert assessments and public views are needed for informed and accountable environmental decision-making. Finally, public participation requires a significant amount of time and money to be successful (Evans, 2012; Gunderson, 2018; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Furthermore, public participation has received criticism as simply just creating consensus between parties that already share the same values and strive to seek the same outcome (Evans, 2012).

However, overall public participation strives to involve the public formally with environmental governance at all levels and it has become an important part of decision-making processes in the developed world (Sprain, 2017). More than by merely voting in elections (Evans, 2012; Micheletti, 2003). As Coenen (2009) concludes, a key outcome of participation is that it leads to better decisions. One way for public participation to materialize itself is by the rise of social movements. The following section will look further into the aspects of social movements.

### 3.2 The prevailing social movements

Social movement theory has reoccurred in literature over numerous decades mostly in the context of individuals, organizations, and events (McGehee et al., 2014). However, in the tourism context the social movement approaches have just recently started to occur and they have mainly been

examined through the negative aspects social movements and activism has against tourism activities (Monterrubio, 2017), efforts to stop overdevelopment in tourism (Kousis, 2000) and in volunteer tourism (McGehee, 2002). Not so much on the positive aspects these have within the tourism perspective. In general, environmental movements have been perceived to be highly confrontational where radical viewpoints are wanted to be heard (Evans, 2012). Nevertheless, instead of exclusively being active on the streets by arranging protests and marches, much of the work also appear in less confrontational settings, for example online on different social media channels where individuals and groups are aiming to get their opinions heard (Bennett, 2012; Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011).

However, before the 1960s it was believed that people who participated in social movements did it exclusively because they were frustrated, irrational, or social outcasts that did not have other resources than going outside the usual institutional structures in an attempt to make change (Jasper, 2011; McGehee, 2002). But then, during the 60s when people from all sorts of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds became activists this perspective proved to be wrong (McGehee, 2002; McGehee et al., 2014). After that social movements were more defined as comprising of conscious actors making rational choices where the emotional factors were considered more carefully (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

It is argued that social movements arise when traditional norms fail to provide a suitable structure for behavior and therefore individuals see no other option than challenging the social order approaching it from another angle. When the feeling of dissatisfaction increases and institutions are not able to respond, social movements emerge are claimed to emerge. However, social movements do not only rise from tensions and structural conflicts, it is important to understand the underlying factors that lead to mobilization (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). During the 1960 the “new social movement” arose focusing on group identity and cause issues, these being two of the most prominent aspects to consider in social movements at that time. Bennett (2012) asserts that undoubtedly, these aspects still exist today, but they are accompanied by more heterogeneous mobilization where economic justice, environmental protection, and war and peace are moving from local to national and transnational and from government to business.

Della Porta and Diani (2006, p. 20) have successfully summarized the core purpose of social movements. “Social movements are a distinct social process, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action”:

- Are involved in **conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents;**

- Are linked by dense **informal networks**;
- Share a distinct **collective identity**

Della Porta and Diani (2006) have extensively studied social movements and they argue that members of social movements are engaged in political and / or cultural conflicts with a purpose to promote or oppose social change. Identification of a target for collective efforts is especially important. They argue that social movements are not organizations, rather networks that might include formal organizations, but not necessarily. Distinguishing social movements from single organizations is said to help understand the vital role of individual participation in movements. Individuals can see themselves as being part of a collective effort, without having to belong to an organization (McGehee et al., 2014). Therefore, social movements do not necessarily have members, rather just participants (Opp, 2009). Dahlgren (2009) further states that social movements are fairly fluid on their membership and therefore are easily rearranged. Social movements are claimed to occur when collective identities develop beyond certain events, initiatives and campaigns (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Conventionally, several scholars have perceived a focused, common identity as a crucial part for social movements (e.g. Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Della Porta and Diani (2006) expands the thought by claiming that not only identity building is vital, also maintaining it even after a certain initiative or campaign is extremely important. However, these claims about the importance of a strong common identity does not get as much support in more recent research (Bimber, Flanagin, & Stohl, 2012).

All things considered, the starting point for social movements is very often individual opinions and worries that turns into different forms of political and social participation (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). As Giddens (2011) claims, it is highly likely that the most dramatic initiatives within the sphere of climate change will come from the action of visionary individuals and from the civic society. Studying social movements means focusing “on how ideas, individuals, events, and organizations are linked to each other in broader processes of collective action, with some continuity over time” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 5). Nevertheless, social movements can be the result of aggression from a range of frustrated expectations and they can be the effect of either the inability of institutions or social control mechanisms to reproduce social cohesion or an attempt by society to react to crisis situations with the help of the development of shared beliefs on which to base new foundations for collective solidarity (Opp, 2009).

### 3.3 Social movements in the age of digital and social media

The past few decades have been transformative for the state of collective action, especially when it comes to the organization-centric view. As Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl (2012) explains, lately, the collective actions that tend to attract the most attention are the once that does not have any formal organization or central organizer, rather groups existing on social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter or meet-ups of people, who share the same private interests or hobbies. Moreover, several of the collective actions today does not only lack the organizational structure that scholars traditionally saw as vital, also a shared identity and ideological agreement seen as crucial are not necessarily present in the movements today (Bimber et al., 2012).

Due to the increased individualization in society and the claimed decrease in group loyalties, the social movements have also become less conventional than before where group leaders, organizations, and collective identity frames are no longer found as frequently as before (Bennett, 2012). Micheletti (2003) describes these as “individualized collective action” that refer to a large number of people joining loosely coordinated activities focusing on more personal emotional identification and rationales. Thus, individuals increasingly determine their personal politics through personal lifestyle values and narratives, as well as with their individual identity (Bennett, 2012; Opp, 2009). In other words, as Dahlgren (2009, p. 192) convincingly argues “the connection between engagement and personal values is strong”. Scholars increasingly see the modernity as having a negative effect on social movement activities, however, Touraine (2007, p. 120) argues that the modern day social movements also have positive aspects where they stand on the side of universal individual rights and the words “equality, freedom, justice and respect for all” can be heard commonly.

However, the social movements today still struggle to reach people, who are not already sympathetic or aware of the problems the social movement is attempting to bring forward (Dahlgren, 2009). Despite the fact that people are constantly told about the threats of climate change, many find it challenging to face up to them, because they do not feel real, and people have a feeling that they alone as individuals cannot make a change or that if other people do not change, why should they have to change (Giddens, 2011). According to Dahlgren (2009), one cause for a decrease in civic participation in Western democracies is people’s lack of belief in the chance for

real change. This is especially relevant, when discussing complicated problems such as climate change, which are large in scope, in need of global efforts, however, seem both temporally and spatially distant for many (Dahlgren, 2009; McAdam, 2017). Strong emotions towards an issue is important to mobilize people (González-Hidalgo & Zografos, 2012; Woods, Anderson, Guilbert, & Watkin, 2012), but unfortunately a significantly small amount of people feels a strong sense of identification with the concern of climate change and it has been argued that strong emotions require strong identification (McAdam, 2017).

Several scholars agree that digital media, especially social media platforms play an extremely important part of the formation and operation of the current collective actions and social movements (Bennett, 2012; Bimber et al., 2012) and therefore it is too important of a subject to be ignored when studying the underlying goals behind social movements and their attempts to influence the public. Additionally, over time, social movements have significantly changed in its formation and operation, and while many of the traditional characters of social movements still remain, some supplementary tools and ways of acting collectively has emerged (Dahlgren, 2009). Some scholars argue that technology has helped to overcome obstacles that previously were present in collective action, such as reaching a sufficient mass of people with shared interests, relevant forms for people to contribute and coordination of the action (Bimber et al., 2012). Some even say, that it is challenging to even imagine how the current adverse world-views and manifestations of alternative politics could have spread as extensively as it has without the Internet. The Internet has made it possible for those with less relative social power to engage as citizens in political activities due to the ease and adaptability of use. The Internet is a fast, inexpensive, far reachable and simple tool for political participation (Dahlgren, 2009; Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011). Therefore, it has been claimed that sharing of ideas, connections, interests and views has become much easier and a routine for many (Bimber et al., 2012; Dahlgren, 2009), and traditional centers of power has been argued to have less control over the environment than they had before (Dahlgren, 2009).

Consequently, the Internet is an excellent tool for social movements to publish the kind of information they feel as most valuable to gain support for their statements (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011). Social movements usually rely on alternative modes of media, such as social media, personal websites, blogs, alternative news, but occasionally they get noticed by the mass media and get coverage in traditional news channels (Dahlgren, 2009). Despite the fact that digital media has largely become the most important tools for many social movements, some scholars still argue that mass media continues to play an important role in gaining audience for the movement. It is said that

since mass media still has a bigger reach, it helps the audience to find the correct movement sites (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011). In other words, the net-based tools have become the most prominent way for social movements to reach out to potential participant and to reach the public (Dahlgren, 2009). However, Stoddart and MacDonald (2011) argue that social movements should likewise put emphasize on how the distinct medias can be used to complement each other. Mass media is still seen by some scholars as a significant channel, which without a doubt has great influence on people's perception of issues (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009)

It has been argued that due to the norms of openness and participation, the direction and goals of the group might get blurred, and the principal agenda of the group might change. Even though, the main activities mostly take place online, for the groups survival it is vital to acknowledge the importance of offline activities as well. Different meetings, social and cultural activities, and informal get-togethers enact an important role to in maintaining the collective identity, which easily gets lost in the increased use of internet (Dahlgren, 2009). Moreover, some counter-arguments for the seriousness of online political participation has occurred. Some scholars have argued that digital activism only serves to increase the feel-good factor of the participants and in that way, it would not be as genuine as often perceived (Christensen, 2012)

Therefore, also networking, information sharing, and alliance building on traditional grounds are argued to be vital parts of any social movement. Additionally, a strong sense of solidarity and trust prevails among activist, who aim at reaching social change. The main aim of these networks is usually knowledge sharing and competency development. These also help to strengthen the civic identity (Dahlgren, 2009). Shared social networks have been found as important elements of social movements participation, especially friends and acquaintances who share or support same ideas and goals (McGehee, 2002). However, identifying the importance of networking is no new aspect in social movement research. As already previously mentioned, when discussing the prevailing social movements, they were acknowledged as networks of individuals and organizations (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). McGehee et al (2014) assume that participants of social movement ought to have the opportunity to share and reflect their success with other individuals who support causes alike. They go on arguing that people might also feel sympathy for a cause rather than an action and social relations might be a reason to participate. Increasingly a large number of people voluntarily contribute their time and expertise to construct things of public value despite the absence of material incentives and formal organizations (Bimber et al., 2012; Monterrubio, 2017). Bimber et al

(2012) argue that the organization is not the ultimate solution for collective action, rather organizing. Undoubtedly, there are several factors that contribute to the successful influencing of people and one way to more clearly identify them is by framing (Benford & Snow, 2000; M. Nisbet, 2009).

### 3.4 Social movement framing theory

The concept of frame analysis used in social movements comes from the work by Goffman (1974). Goffman (1974) discussed that people frame events to be able to organize and understand the surrounding world and he further argues that frames exist to judge events or occurrences meaningful and in that way work to arrange experience and guide action. Benford and Snow (2000) claim that collective action frames are partially built for movements to negotiate a shared understanding of problems or situations that a group of individuals sees as in need of a change, who or what is to blame for it, what could be a better alternative for it and motivate others to act in affecting change. Nisbet and Mooney (2007) similarly emphasize that frames help to “organize central ideas, define the controversy to resonate with core values and assumptions”. Additionally, they expand that frames are great tools to cut back on complicated matters by stressing certain dimensions and due to this people identify quicker why a concern matters, who could be responsible, and what ought to be done. In other words, these collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that have been established to inspire and legitimate activities and campaigns of social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frame analysis is argued to detect “the process of the attribution of meaning which lies behind the explosion of any conflict” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 74). As Nisbet (2009, p. 15) puts it “frames are interpretive storylines that set a specific train of thought in motion”. Nevertheless, several scholars agree that frames alone are not adequate to bring about mobilization (Opp, 2009), therefore the frame analysis will be used as one part of the social movement theory and as a base for the analysis of empirical data.

Expanding on Wilson’s (1973) three component parts; diagnosis, prognosis and rationale, Snow and Benford (1988, p. 199) determine the following three core framing tasks for collective action:

1. Diagnostic framing – identification of a problem, in order for a social movement to be successful, a problem need to be identified. This part of the framing is focusing on blame or responsibility. An agreement about the source of the problem is not always guaranteed
2. Prognostic framing – finding or proposing a solution to the problem. Different organizations within the movement might have an opposing solution to a common problem

3. Motivational framing – “a call to arms” or motive to get involved in beneficial collective action, this includes the building of suitable vocabularies of motive

In practice, the *diagnosing* of the problem means that social movements shape their frames according to their own beliefs and goals as well as emphasize principles important to their target participants of the framing efforts. In that way, their claims are more likely to resonate and persuade the target group (McCammon, Muse, & Newman, 2007). The problems only exist when people have defined and interpreted them as such. However, selecting a problem is extremely selective and stressing a certain problem might take the attention from another grave issue (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

Expanding on the *prognosing* or finding a solution to the problem, indicates that a movement needs to find potential new social patterns, new ways of controlling relationships between groups, new modes of agreement and of exercising power. The answers to a problem is usually not limited to one single solution (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

Symbolic elaboration is claimed to be essential in the *motivational frame*, in order to construct the motivation and incentives essential for action. Linking the individual sphere with the collective one is vital in this part. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006)

Asara (2016) implies that tools such as framing theory have the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the reactions from society and the ways society organizes politically. Further, frames can be considered as a sense-making device, which contributes to the formerly unclear or less meaningful state (Dewulf, François, Pahl-Wostl, & Taillieu, 2007). This tool has the potential to help scale down information, emphasizing some issues and elements over others (M. Nisbet, 2009). Dewulf et al. (2007) outline that framing is especially important in groups where people come from different backgrounds and they tend to see the issue at hand differently. Nisbet (2009, p. 22) concludes by argues that “one way to reach audiences is to recruit their influential peers to pass on selectively framed information...that resonates with the background of the targeted audience and that addresses their personal information needs”.

Nevertheless, the framing analysis has received criticism. Some scholars argue that the framing theory in question fail to situate the framing efforts of movement players in the greater cultural context where the framing takes place (McCammon et al., 2007) and it has been accused of utilizing



frames as alternative to ideology (Asara, 2016). Despite the criticism, this theory was seen as useful in the analysis of the social movements at hand to clarify their aim and attempts to influence individual people and decision-makers.

This theoretical framework that has been introduced in this chapter will be further brought up in the discussion chapter of the thesis, where the findings are interpreted and discussed in light of the theory that shows what is already known about the research problem in question. The framing theory will further be used as a base for the analysis part to evaluate how the social movements in this study have framed their issues and activities. However, before the analysis and discussion, the next chapter will introduce the methodology with the suitable data collection methods chosen for this research.

## 4 Methodology

As has become evident from the previous chapters, this thesis studies a highly social phenomenon where the aim of the research is to find out how individuals seek to influence other people and aim to achieve social change, therefore the most prominent modes to undertake the research were seen to be qualitative research methods. In other words, the study is aiming to explore social reality that is constantly changing depending on individuals' creation highlighting the ways individual people unravel their social world (Bryman, 2012). The research in question focuses on words rather than measurements in the collection and analysis of data, which makes the thesis inherently qualitative. Furthermore, the theoretical background of the research is highly rooted in societal issues that ask for methods that are able to explore the underlying intentions and deliberation of individuals, which semi-structured interviews, netnography and participant observation were identified to be able to do. Previous research show that these methods are suitable for the study of social movements and political participation (Stein & Mankowski, 2004; Uldam & McCurdy, 2013).

Qualitative research methods have been identified to function well in community and action research to help "giving voice" to people who otherwise would not necessary get it and in that way, it is linked to social change (Stein & Mankowski, 2004, p. 21). As the research aims to determine the goals and motives behind civic engagement and environmental movements, the individual perspective of initiating members are vital and therefore qualitative semi-structure interviews was seen as the most suitable to reach the best conclusions possible for my specific research questions. To complement the interview data, observational and netnography data was equally collected. Participant observation has been acknowledged as important to be able to find out the underlying meanings, actions and strategies, and to further recognize the motivations, assumptions and dynamics that support them. These can be scrutinized in relation to matters such as protest tactics, media strategies, articulations of visions, and collective identity formation in social movements (Uldam & McCurdy, 2013). Therefore, observation was identified as a valid method to strengthen the data collected. Finally, a third method was seen as fundamental to complete the other two methods. As the theoretical part already emphasize, social media and traditional media play a central role in social movement building in present time (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011), that is why collecting data from their social media and traditional media channels such as Facebook groups and newspaper articles were seen vital and suitable also for this research.

## 4.1 Research philosophy

Understanding the philosophy of science is a central part of doing research. The epistemological position identifies what works as acceptable knowledge and how do we come to know it (Bryman, 2012). By examining the aim and the research questions of this research the epistemological position lean towards an interpretivism viewpoint because rather than studying the natural order the research focuses on social actions where becoming part of the environment these social movements act in became vital to understand their rules and norms. The ontological position, on the other hand, is concerned if the social phenomena can be considered as independent entities that have an existence external to social actors (Bryman, 2012). This thesis follows a constructionist position, which means that the social phenomena and their meaning are continuously being organized by social actors. It can be said that the social movements in question create meaning to the social phenomena through their interactions between the members and these interactions are in constant state of revision.

## 4.2 Research approach

The qualitative research within the field of social science traditionally follow an inductive approach rather than a deductive approach in research and likewise does this research. However, since this research wants to understand both the theoretical background behind public participation and collective action as well as the meaning and perspectives of the subjects studied, the research is identified as an abductive one. In other words, this research follows an abductive theory approach, meaning that the research moves back and forth between theory and empirical data (Awuzie & McDermott, 2017). It is important for this study to also understand the world as it is seen by the groups providing the empirical data (Bryman, 2012).

## 4.3 Research design, quality and strategy

Defining reliability and validity in qualitative research in general is relatively difficult since it by nature requires a certain degree of measurement. However, there are some methods in qualitative research that can help establish reliability and validity. Firstly, to make sure that the research is credible, respondent validation was used with the interview participants to make sure that the findings were in line with what they were aiming to convey (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2013). By the end of each interview the interviewee was informed that they will be provided with an account of the findings for them to check, to make sure that the direct quotes used were in line with what

they were aiming to say. Secondly, as part of the research, triangulation was used to further add to the trustworthiness of the research. Semi-structured interview data was evaluated with the help of observational and netnography data. These three methods were undertaken to get a saturated data set, but also to cross check findings from each method to improve the credibility of the research (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2013). All data collected during the research was carefully and completely recorded (Bryman, 2012). Besides recording and transcribing each interview, a small interview diary was also established containing feelings, observational data, and important points derived from the interviews. The interviews were transcribed word by word to get as accurate results as possible (Silverman, 2013). Furthermore, before starting to collect observational data, an observation protocol was established specifying the points important that were to be observed during the official observation moments. Field notes were taken both during and after the observation took place. Finally, during the writing process regular feedback from the supervisor was requested. Also, at the final stage of the research peers revised and acted as auditors for the research to determine how extensively proper procedures have been followed.

Moreover, reflexivity is very important to consider during the process of this kind of research (Bryman, 2012). Since two of the main modes of data collection used in this research are interview and observation, which are highly subjective data collecting methods, it is important to reflect on my own position as a researcher in the research. The idea for the research arose from my personal interest in environmental issues, tourism and political participation. The type of groups studied appealed to me, because of their work within the climate change and travel field, but also due to the extensive reach and popularity they have managed to accumulate. Their form of “activism” was relatable. However, it is good to mention that the initiating members of the groups being studied were not familiar to me before the study and therefore my position in the research can be identified more as an outsider that throughout the research process became more familiar with the research subjects. Moreover, I took a fairly distant role during the observation where the role could be defined as observer as participant or complete observer (May, 2011). Likewise, my position in the Facebook groups had the status of a member, but without much interaction with the other members.

A set of qualitative research methods were selected for the study because the objective of the research is to study a highly social phenomenon where the aim is to find out how a specific group of dedicated people are attempting to influence and gain attention to a cause important to them. Moreover, since a vast part of the group’s activities are based online, exploring written text on their online platforms as well as personally freely interviewing initiating members to get in-depth data

and visiting events inspired by the group was seen to be the most suitable. Further in this chapter, the different data collecting methods will be examined in more detail.

#### 4.4 Population and sample

For this research purposive sampling was used by sampling participants in a strategic way where the groups and participants of the research were all relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2012). Suitable sample movements were chosen through the influence of media, social media and information received from a non-profit, non-governmental organization promoting fair travel. Since social movements directly related to travel and tourism are fairly rare and these kinds of movements have just recently gained more popularity, the scope of movements were quite limited. Moreover, the research focuses on movements established and working in Finland, which further limited the scope of groups and people available. Nevertheless, relevant groups were found for data collection and through them a substantial amount of data was collected. Additionally, the rareness of the groups and their recently gained popularity makes them a very current and unexplored subject in research, which further strengthens the contribution and knowledge this research has on the research in the tourism and travel field. The first step on getting familiar with the movements was on Facebook where their main activities take place. Two specific movement groups and their founders were then chosen as the base source for data collection for this research. Both groups are founded on voluntary bases and all the participants participate during their free time in the movement activities.

Below I have a table that demonstrates the different methods used and the duration or amount of each method. The interviews were an initiating stage in the method collection to get insight into the goals, motivation and aims of the founders and initiating members of the groups studied.

Observation at the different events further strengthened the data by showing how the movements aim to mobilize people and inspire people to get involved in the movement activities and further travel more environmentally friendly. Finally, the Facebook pages of both movements were studied, this is where most of the day to day activities of the movements take place and therefore analyzing posts, comments and conversations in the group further helped confirm the research aim.

Additionally, to gain extra insight to the group motives and aims and how they have been displayed in the traditional media, their webpages and media articles were studied.

## 4.5 Data collection and analysis

Data collection is an important stage of the research (Bryman, 2012), because with the help of the data collected the research have the possibility to contribute to the research field in question and result in interesting empirical data. After the collection of a saturated amount of data, the data was analyzed using a thematic analyzing process, this means that a set of themes were identified in each method applied and further used during the analysis part of the thesis. Data saturation means that enough data required to get a sense of thematic exhaustion and variability within the set of data has been achieved (Bryman, 2012).

Interview	Date	Duration	Notes
Respondent #1	20.3.2019	41 min 13 sec	
Respondent #2	23.3.2019	58 min 46 sec	Google Hangout
Respondent #3	27.3.2019	34 min 09 sec	
Respondent #4	3.4.2019	1 h 04 min 11 sec	
Observation	Date	Duration	Notes
Event #1	10.3.2019	1,5 h	1 presentation
Event #2	13.4.2019	6 h	9 presentations + 1 panel discussion with 4 panelists +1 moderator
Event #3	5.5.2019	3 h	Several presentations, stands and 2 panel discussions with 4 panelists + 1 moderator
Netnography	Amount		
Facebook posts	500		
Content analysis	Amount		
Web sites	2		
Newspaper articles	22		

#### 4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

As one of the methods employed for this research semi-structured qualitative interviews with founders and initiating participants of the social movements were conducted. The majority of the interviews were conducted face-to-face with one exception where the interviewee was living in another country and no other option than doing it electronically was available. The online interview was carried out through Google Hangout. The interviews were completed in Finnish language, because this was the mother tongue of all the interviewees and therefore seen to be the most comfortable choice of language. Also, my second mother tongue is Finnish, which further eased the communication in the interviews. Therefore, the direct citations used in the analysis part have been translated from Finnish into English. Each interview was conducted in a place and time chosen by the respondent to ensure rapport and a comfortable environment for the person being interviewed. “Criteria for a successful interviewer” by Kvale (1996) was revised before undertaking any interviews to have the best pre-requisites during the interview itself.

Semi-structured interviews were seen as the most suitable method due to the flexibility it gives to the interviewee to respond and elaborate on the questions. A list of questions covering topics from the theoretical framework were written down as a guideline for the interviews, this can be referred to as an interview guide (Appendix 1). An interview guide was a good base to make sure that more or less the same questions were asked from all the interviewees and same themes occurred during all interviews. Nevertheless, each interviewee was allowed to discuss and comment further outside the pre-written questions. The chosen type of interviews also gave the interviewer flexibility to ask follow-up questions that were not necessarily written down in the interview guide. (Bryman, 2012). The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions (see the translation of the guide in Appendix 1). The questions were formulated as simple as possible, phrased not to lead the answers and open for the interviewee to further collaboration on the answers. However, the questions were kept specific enough to follow the theoretical framework. At the beginning of each interview anonymity was ensured to all participants and the interview respondents were made clear that the data collected was only to be used for academic research purposes. Due to this, the names of the interviewees have not been disclosed. The interview part of the research specifically focuses on individuals that have started movements, rather than organizations or overall population involved in these movements. Seven relevant people were contacted, resulting in 4 positive answers that lead to interviews.

#### 4.5.2 Netnography and content analysis

The second method used in this research is netnography including content analysis of newspaper articles. As internet is seen as an important tool for the social movements in to communicate their message and it also gives the movements more independence to showcase what they stand for (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011) netnography was seen as a highly relevant method and has therefore been used for this research. As the definition of netnography implies, it is a particular form of ethnography reformed to today's social world, which is highly computer-mediated and this method is particularly beneficial in the research of online communities and cultures, as well as when researching other forms of online social behavior (Kozinets, 2010). Due to the previously mentioned, this method was identified as specifically appropriate to the social movements in question that have a large social media presence.

In practice, the netnography research entailed the revision of 500 Facebook posts in both the social movement groups. The first group had significantly more members than the other and likewise much more discussions and comment, therefore the 400 latest posts were analyzed from that group. The second group have significantly less members and therefore much less discussion, so all together 40 posts were analyzed from this group. Furthermore, a sample size of 60 posts by the administrators of the groups were analyzed to get an overview of how they interact with the other group members and how they manage the communication within the social movement as well as how they actually proceed to mobilize people. Additionally, a simple coding was established to identify different themes and topics in the Facebook posts. NVivo data analysis program was used as a supporting tool in the coding process. Also, both of the movements have webpages, which have been used to gain further insight to their work.

Beside the Facebook pages and webpages, the groups have been interviewed to traditional media and mentioned in several national and local newspapers. The visibility in traditional media have significantly contributed to the growth of the groups and therefore these played a vital role in the mobilization of people. Therefore, 22 newspaper articles have additionally been examined to see what kind of message about the social movements is conveyed to the overall public in Finland.

#### 4.5.3 Observation



The third method applied included observation during events that arose from inspiration and in cooperation with the social movements. Altogether, observation took place at three distinct events. One event promoting train travel as an alternative mode of travel, organized by an active participant, the second event was a travel fair exclusively promoting travel by land and the third event was similar to the second. The first event was a public lecture taking 1,5 hour and fitting about 200 listeners into the premises. The second and the third events were travel fairs consisting of several sections and small presentations on different subjects related exclusively to traveling by land and more climate friendly travel. The second event was going on for 6 hours and the third event went on for 3 hours. Participant observation was undertaken during all three events. No exact participant amount was recorded for the second and the third event, however, the second event had 1829 interested people in the Facebook event and the third event 5632 people interested.

Since the observation only took place during three separate occasions, I took the role of an observer as participant or at times only complete observer (May, 2011). Furthermore, I took a mainly covert role during the events, since I did not inform all the participants of the events about my research intentions. During the first event I was a complete observer, exclusively observing the surrounding, looking at the dynamics and listening to the presentation given by the presenter. In the second and third event some discussion with participants and exhibitors took place, which means that my role was observer as participant where I as a researcher conducted a one-time visit with small discussion included (Uldam & McCurdy, 2013). Before undertaking any observation, an observation protocol was established with specific topics and points that were to be the focus of the observation. These topics and points derived from previous research in the area as well as from the theoretical background. During the observation itself some minor field notes were written down on the mobile phone. However, the main notes of the observations were written down on computer shortly after the events had taken place. Additionally, most of the presentations and panel discussion from the events were streamed, which gave me the access to full presentations and discussions later on. Both events were recorded according to the same key point criteria and saved for later use in the analysis part, since consistency and accessibility are crucial components during this part of the research (May, 2011).

#### 4.5.4 Data analysis

Once all the data had been collected, it was time for analyzing the data. The data was analyzed using the thematic analysis approach. After the transcription of the interview data, specific topics

were established and “coded” in an excel sheet. 14 different topics were established, these were “starting point”, “main goal”, “target audience”, “challenges”, “media attention”, “rewarding”, “climate change”, “what needs to be done”, “where does the change have to occur”, “networking”, “importance of social media”, “future”, “politics” and “additional”. These codes helped compartmentalize the data and attach it to the theory, and in that way be able to derive at conclusions.

Similarly, the Facebook data was also coded, but this time with the help of the data analyzing program NVivo. First the posts were revised and copied to a word sheet, and then eventually uploaded to NVivo where the coding was done manually into different categories. There were four main categories: “climate change”, “travel and tourism”, “neither travel, nor climate change” and “other elements”, these then included several sub categories. This coding system was done for the 440 overall posts from the Facebook group to find out what kind of conversation the groups have sparked and to explore the underlying intentions and emotions in the discussion. The additional 60 posts by the administrators were analyzed one by one where short comments were added after each post in a word document.

Finally, the observation data was written down in the observation protocol in a simple word document and then consequently analyzed manually with different topics and themes in mind. Themes were the same as mentioned above in the other methods.

#### 4.6 Ethical consideration

In all three data collecting methods, ethics were carefully taken into consideration. As mentioned, before undertaking any interviews, a consent to record the interview and further use the empirical data collected in this thesis was asked from every interviewee. Not until the respondent agreed to be recorded was the mobile phone recorder put on. Further, one of the Facebook groups included in the study was a public group while the other one was a closed group. Even if one of the two groups was an public group and asking permission is not seen as necessary (Kozinets, 2010), as a good practice I informed one group administrator in each group about my intention to study their Facebook group and investigate what kind of conversation take place inside the group. Both administrators gave me the permission to study their group and use the research findings in my thesis. Since only the overall discussions and general themes were analyzed, and no individual people are mentioned or pin pointed in the analysis, asking permission from individuals were not seen as a necessity. During

the observation the organizers were informed about my presence as an observer and likewise during the short talks I had with participant of the events as a participant myself, no identifying aspects will be used in the analysis.

#### 4.7 Limitations

After discussing the benefits as well as the shortcomings of this research it is important to understand that this study is not without limitations. Firstly, the qualitative research approach as well as the purposive sampling methods used have an effect on the generalizability of the research (Silverman, 2013). The study has focused on two specific movement groups that are active in Finland, therefore it is questionable whether the results fit in to other similar social movements in other parts of the world. Secondly, qualitative research methods, such as the ones used in this research have a high possibility to influence the research objects by being directly involved in the data gathering process (Bryman, 2012). However, this aspect has been taken into consideration and I, as a researcher, have attempted to stay objective during the whole research process.

#### 4.8 Groups studied

In Finland there are some organizations, associations, groups and other organs slowly starting to discuss the issue surrounding the environmental impact of travel. Recently, likewise, there are several smaller and also bigger events taking place covering this issue. However, after an extensive search it became evident that there are only two independent movements that suit the definition of social movements, open for practically anyone, and that have managed to receive a fair amount of attention and media coverage, bringing up the topics of travel and climate change. These two movements serve as a base for the data collection and analysis. Their activities, goals and motivation have carefully been examined to find out how these movements attempt to mobilize people, bring awareness and create discussion. Furthermore, the position these movements take in the political discussion and how they aim to influence both individuals and decision-makers alike have been observed.

The first movement, discussing travel by land is a group that wants to travel environmentally friendly without planes. The group is mainly present in Facebook where the participants of the group have several discussions daily about traveling by land, mainly travel by train, but also by bus, car and bike. The group had less than 40 members in Facebook ever since its founding date in June

2015 until February 2018. Still in the end of November 2018 the number was around 500 members and after that the number started to increase immensely. Presently (17.5.2019), the group has almost 12 000 members and every day gaining more supporters and creating livelier discussion on the various topics of the group (Facebook, 2019b). The administrators of the group allow people to very freely discuss about different topics related to the subject of traveling by land and climate impact of different modes of travel. The group is a public group on Facebook, and anyone can join and start a discussion in the group. However, any offensive or inappropriate comments will be dealt with by the administrators, depending on the gravity of the comment, it can lead to a “warning”, removal of comment or deletion from the group. For example, spreading lies in the group such as climate change is not caused by human activity and that flying does not have a negative impact on the environment, will lead to the participant being expelled from the group (Junttila, 2019), nevertheless, these measures are rare.

The popularity of the group has similarly inspired one member to make a webpage sharing travel information on travel by land (Maatapitkin, 2019). Moreover, one of the initial members have been involved in organizing a travel fair promoting travel by land, which has been organized already twice during the first half of 2019 in Helsinki and which has also inspired people in other cities in Finland to have an alternative travel fair for travelling by land. Additionally, another individual member of the group has organized two public presentations on train travel in Europe, sharing a lot of useful knowledge on train travel. This individual member actively also gives advice to people in the Facebook group. In the analysis the Facebook conversations in this group will be referred to as “the first group”.

The second movement is a group for people aiming to stop flying altogether or decrease considerably for the sake of the climate. Unlike the first group, this group is a closed one and more conditional in its aim and discussions. The aim of the group is to share information and experiences about environmentally friendly modes of travel and holiday making, and to demonstrate the drawbacks of flying. This group arose from a successful campaign that then turned into a social movement. The group has a clear aim and written rules on what can and cannot be posted in their social media. This group has 332 members (17.5.2019) and has been active ever since mid-October 2018. However, they have over 700 people following their cause on Facebook. They further have a webpage where the aim is discussed in more detail and one can find stories of people who have decided to join the movement by stopping or significantly reducing flying. In the analysis the Facebook conversation in this group will be referred to as “the second group”.

On the surface, the main aim of both of these groups are very similar: they want people to significantly reduce flying and find alternative ways to travel for the sake of the climate. However, when looking below the surface there are significant differences between the two groups, especially in the way they are endorsing themselves and by the way they seek to attract attention. The most prominent differences between these two groups are the fact that the first group displays itself as “doing” something rather than “refraining from doing something” as the second group is doing, this can be seen as one of the reasons of the big difference in the popularity of the groups. Moreover, the first group has received significantly more traditional media attention and events have been organized in the name of that group, which also explains the increased attention of the first movement and therefore a larger amount of people involved. As Stoddart and MacDonald (2011) argues, the mass media still has a wider reach and therefore assist the audience to find the correct movement sites. This has shown to be the case in the movements analyzed.

Moreover, it is important to note that all interviews undertaken are related to the first social movement, by land travelers, and they as individuals have distinct motives as initiating the movement. These factors are important to take into consideration throughout this chapter. Nevertheless, it is also vital to take into consideration the similarities reoccurring in these two groups and in the interviews. It is also good to keep in mind that these social movements and all events surrounding them are grounded on voluntary activity and there are no official organization behind them.

Similar movements have been identified to exist elsewhere as well, which comes to show that these kinds of movements are not only limited to a specific country. Examples of these can be found in Sweden, with movements such as the “Tågsemester” group promoting travel with train (Facebook, 2019c; Tågsemester, 2019), the “Jag flyger inte – för klimatets skull” (Facebook, 2019a), a group for people who have made the decision never to fly again for the sake of the climate and “Vi håller oss på jorden” (Vi håller oss på jorden, 2019), a campaign with the same aim as the previous. These groups have gained widespread popularity in Sweden as well as in other Scandinavian countries and have risen with the aim to influence both individuals and decision-makers.

## 5 Analysis

Several scholars agree that the framing theory in social movements is a good tool to clarify shared ideas and problem, who are responsible for them and what should be done (M. C. Nisbet & Mooney, 2007). Some scholars even argue that this is a vital tool for the success of any social movement (Benford & Snow, 2000). The framing theory will be used here to evaluate how the social movements at hand have succeeded in framing their activities and it will be used as a base for this analysis part of the thesis. More closely, Snow and Benford's (1988, p. 199) three core framing tasks for collective action: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing will be used as the base.

### 5.1 Diagnostic

1. Diagnostic framing – identification of a problem, in order for a social movement to be successful, a problem need to be identified. This part of the framing is focusing on blame or responsibility. An agreement about the source of the problem is not always guaranteed

#### 5.1.1 Flying is a significant contributor of climate change

An increasing concern of the environmental impact of traveling clearly surfaced in both of the groups studied. It became evident from the beginning, when analyzing the Facebook groups, that the main problem identified by the social movements was that flying is a significant polluter in travel activities and this mode need to be used less in order to combat climate change. By analyzing the discussions in both the groups, it was noticed that the movements are aiming to shift the current trend where people travel to nearby destinations more frequently and to faraway place for shorter periods of time as well as the use of low-cost airlines (Gössling & Peeters, 2007; Higham et al., 2016) to more slow modes of travel with means that are not nearly as polluting as flying. For example, the most common questions among the Facebook posts was “how can I get with train to...?” and then mentioning a certain destination or “does someone have experience of this train connection” and then mentioning a specific train connection. Out of the 440 posts examined 246 posts were directly talking about train travel and an additional 36 discussing travel by bus, these being inherently slower, more time-consuming modes of travel and less polluting in most countries.

Several of the interview respondents agreed that a visible increase in the popularity of the group was seen after the release of the most recent IPCC report (IPCC, 2018) and after the intensified

climate change discussion in the traditional media over the concerns of the increased negative environmental impact of traveling, especially flying (Östman, 2019), which further emphasizes that climate concerns genuinely is the reason for many to join. First of all, the group have seen a peak in member ever since last autumn, the Facebook group had just a few thousand members in the end of November 2018 and in May 2019 almost 12 000. As a group active only in Finland, this increase is seen quite significant. Secondly, several people posted articles in the Facebook group where the climate impact of flying had been discussed and added captions such as “the increasing emissions of flying are a considerable problem” or “flight shame” or other similar captions to highlight their concerns.

However, during the netnography analysis of the Facebook groups it was also noted that in the first group, direct climate change issues were not the main theme in the conversations, rather how to travel to a certain area and what are the best ways of getting there. Out of the 400 posts analyzed in the first group, only 43 were directly related to climate change issues. Nevertheless, by more closely analyzing the content and comments of the posts, it was further noted that the main reason for many people to join this movement in the first place was to find alternative modes of travel due to the concerns they have for the changing climate. This mainly surfaced in the comments where people occasionally collaborated that the reason for them to take the train, even if it is more time consuming is due to the climate concern. This indicates that the underlying reason for most members to join were still climate related. The posts in the second group on the other hand showcased a different story. The majority of the posts were clearly climate change related, where sharing of articles discussing carbon emissions from flying, fly shame, significant contributors to climate change, flight tax and alike, were very common topics. Here all the 40 posts analyzed were more or less related to climate change issues.

Further, the event repertoire included several discussions and presentations focusing on the climate impact of travel and the ability to reduce the emissions of travel. One of the events had two directly climate related panel discussions, one where actors from both the public and private sector discussed the possibility to reduce of carbon emissions in travel and another about the prospects of implementing a flight tax to Finland. Moreover, another of the events likewise had a panel discussion about the future of travel where the climate impact of travel was a central issue in the conversation.

Consequently, the first and foremost problem identified by the social movements is the highly polluting forms of travel, such as flying, that has become a central means of travel in the tourism field. Nevertheless, not all members of the group agreed that the main problem or purpose of the social movement is climate issues. By analyzing the Facebook posts and more specifically the comments by various group members in the first group, certain disagreements about the core purpose of the social movement appeared. Despite the group description saying that the aim of the group is to travel “environmentally friendly without planes”, some members still classified the core purpose as being different, more closely, a movement for information sharing, since there is a vast insufficiency of information about alternative modes of travel and availability of services are almost non-existent, some feel that this should be the core problem to solve. For example, posts were the climate change concern arose, comments such as “Why do we always have to bring up climate change, at least I am in this group to find out more about travel by land”. This leads us to the second problem identified by the social movements.

#### 5.1.2 Lack of information on alternative modes of travel

All of the interview respondents agreed that the social movement rose due to a clear lack of common widespread knowledge of traveling by land and a deficit of services in this area. One interviewee (#3) reflected that the reason for him to start and get involved in this area was due to the lack of existing information, he had realized that the food, fashion and housing industry had received attention, but not much information on long distant travel and alternatives to flying was out there. He mentioned that such thing as a “Momondo” for travelling by land does not exist and people need to get the information from somewhere. That motivated him to start shedding more light on this issue and get more people aware of the matter and in that way also catch the attention of decision-makers. Another interviewee stated that:

Maybe what I want is that people understand that there are options in travel and train is one good option, that at least nobody will fly just because they don't know that train is an option and then also if they decide to fly that they fly less, just part of the trip. That they would take a direct flight and the rest of the trip with train...

(Respondent #1)

The Facebook data confirmed the concerns of the interview respondents. The social media group facilitated information receiving and giving as well as experience and knowledge sharing. People in



the first group were especially interested in information about train travel, since 244 out of 400 posts were related to train travel and further 269 posts out of 400 was about travel in Europe. Most members had a destination, usually in Europe, in mind where they wanted to travel and they were asking advice on how to get there, what to see on the way and where to purchase the tickets. Many determined the down falls to be the difficulty of purchasing tickets all the way to the final destination and the lack of information in this area, but also the lack of common knowledge on the pricing policies. In comparison to buying a plane ticket, this was seen as highly challenging and therefore a problem identified by the social movement and its members.

### 5.1.3 Challenge of making a change alone

As Giddens (2011) suggests it is hard for individuals to make a change, if other people in other parts of the world continues with “business as usual”. One of the interviewees had clearly seen this as an issue, but at the same time saw a clear answer to it.

A big discussion that is also going on in Finland is that what is the point for us to do something when they don't do anything in China either, this is ridiculous, because throughout the times we have been doing things in Finland that China hasn't done and that is why we are doing ok. If we always start thinking that when something big is happening in China related to the environment, we don't need to do anything, then we could at the same time talk about forgetting equality and human rights from this country altogether...

(Respondent #3)

The interviewee (#3) clearly stated that the reason for him to get involved in the activities and start promoting alternative ways of traveling was due to the fact that the environmental impact of traveling has not been discussed largely by the public and no major changes have occurred in this sphere. According to him, different stakeholders are already discussing and aware of the climate impacts of for example food, fashion and housing and alternative solutions have already been propose in these areas. However, in the area of travel there is nowhere to seek help and people are very alone with the issue. Furthermore, some discussions in the Facebook groups also reflect the fact that people are satisfied that there is now a platform for discussing issues concerning the climate impact of travel and a help to find alternative modes and to realize that they are not alone with the issue. An example was one person in the first Facebook group who wrote that: “I am very happy to have found this group and now have a foot inside, I have already read some stuff and soon

I will be asking more information from you” (anonymous commenter), indicating that now there is a platform to find like-minded people and to find information about travel by land.

## 5.2 Prognostic

2. Prognostic framing – finding or proposing a solution to the problem. Different organizations within the movement might have an opposing solution to a common problem

### 5.2.1 Finding alternative ways of travel

The three events analyzed clearly display how the movements aim at materializing the solution to their identified problems and in practice give information about environmentally friendly ways of travel and traveling by land. All three events gathered a substantial number of participants who had genuinely arrived at the events prepared with practical questions and concerns about alternative ways of travel. Some people at the event asked directly “what is the most environmentally friendly mode to travel” and “how do I get from place A to place B without flying” from the several exhibitors in the event. For example, one couple wanted to go Interrailing for the first time and they had a long discussion with a train travel expert, who was able to give them detail account on his experiences. One of the interview respondents (#1) affirmed that he at least wants to make people aware that there are alternatives to flying and that individuals decide to fly because they are not familiar with alternatives.

Likewise, the two Facebook groups confirmed this solution to the problem as being accurate. The description in the first group state that their aim is to “travel environmentally friendly without planes” and the second group ask in their aim their members: “could you decrease flying or stop altogether?”. People joining the movement have then written posts in the group such as “I dare myself to be without flying...” adding a certain date of time after the statement and there are several of the same kind of posts on the movements Facebook group wall. Moreover, many people pose questions like “how to get to a certain place without using air plane”.

### 5.2.2 Combatting the information deficit

The groups have presented themselves as great sources of information concerning climate change and travel. As the Facebook data shows, people have not only learned from being part of this

movement a lot about the climate impact of travel, but likewise an extensive amount of practical knowledge on different routes to travel, what transportation to take and literally how to get from place A to place B of their desired destination. This has been demonstrated in several of the paragraphs above. Receiving information about an issue is extremely important to expand the awareness of individuals and to encourage them in making better travel decisions (Jackson, 2005). As many as 189 out of 400 posts in the first group were from people asking for advice for their travels, which every time resulted in comments from other people who were sharing their own experiences and advice. Furthermore, 96 out of 400 posts were advice giving, where people gave tips and shared their advice with others, these also resulted in comments with further questions and discussions on specific destinations. This comes to show that the groups are an important source of direct and personal information that the members have had difficulties to find elsewhere.

In relation to this, it is important to take into consideration individuals' personal points of reference, because they have the potential to engage people more meaningfully within the climate change sphere (O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). The above-mentioned posts and discussions, where information was shared between members demonstrates highly personal information sharing. Individuals got first-hand information on issues and travels close to their personal interest. The conversations in the group assist people to get help to problems to which they have a personal attachment and that might reflect the high interest people have in the group and its events. Many of the members additionally participated in the events to get more first-hand information from professionals in the field. One of the events consisted of 9 travel story presentations for people to hear from others who had already undertaken travels by land, and they had the possibility to ask personal questions from travel experts. Very practical questions arose, where common questions were "what is the best train route to take?", "how much does a seat reservation cost in that train with an Interrail pass?" and "how is it to travel with kids in that train?". A multitude of questions arose, where people in the audience also shared their own experiences.

### 5.2.3 Individual initiative

As Giddens (2011) believes, the most dramatic initiatives arise from individual visionaries and then also from the civic society. With the increasingly more active Facebook groups and the various travel by land travel fairs that each time gather more participants show that these movements have been able to pave the way for a new innovation. The initiating members can therefore be seen as individual visionaries that have been able to establish a dramatic initiative that is increasingly

shaping the way people travel. As both of the initiating members of the first group mentioned in the interviews (#1 and #4), they established the group out of personal interest in environmental issues and their willingness to learn more about alternative modes of travel. The group was first established to share travel by land information among friends. Later on, however, it expanded to be much bigger than that. But there are no formal attachments to the group and people have the ability to easily join or decide not to. In that sense the social movements are very fluid (Dahlgren, 2009).

To further emphasize the importance of the individual initiative, in one of the interviews (#4) it became clear that the founder had at several occasions tried to establish influential groups, but several of them had failed. Nevertheless, he never gave up the faith and eventually the group he now administers have succeeded to break through and actually have a significant impact. Likewise, when analyzing the social media and webpage of the second group, it turned out to be a success story from a well-executed campaign. One person had started a campaign due to personal worries of the impact of flying on the climate and this then led to a movement. More closely to a webpage where people are able to share their environmentally friendly travel stories and a Facebook page where people come to seek peer support.

Not only online social networks but also other modes of networking between people appears to be important. One of the interviewees (#3) agreed that networking is an extremely important function to be able to get change done. Networks with tour operators, hotels, different companies involved in train travel and with other individual influencers is vital. The founder of the first group during the interview (#4) emphasized that the movement is a way for him to build his network and this helps him to expand the movement activities.

### 5.3 Motivational

3. Motivational framing – “a call to arms” or motive to get involved in beneficial collective action, this includes the building of suitable vocabularies of motive

#### 5.3.1 A positive approach to solving the issues

From all of the interviews and by browsing the posts in the first group it was evident that the group wants to display their agenda in a very positive light. As O’Neill and Nicholson-Cole (2009) resonates, people need to be able to relate to the issue (climate change) more positively. As the

comment from one of the interview respondents shows below, the first group is aiming to keep a positive connotation in the discussions, so that all people will feel comfortable starting conversations and commenting on other conversations.

If there is an argument, I aim to relate friendly to everyone and that has worked well for me and that has worked well so far in my opinion and even if there is a little bit like stupid or inappropriate questions, then to them as well, I relate to them in the same way, I relate to them in that way, understandably and give a good advice that this might not belong here.

(Respondent #4)

This was confirmed in the Facebook posts and comments in the group. In several comments made by the members of the group, especially on the posts of this one particular administrator it was shown that the positive atmosphere created in the group and the professional interference from the administrator, when needed, positively affected the willingness for people to be part of the group and share it with their friends. For example, one post where the admin informing the group that he is traveling in East-Europe and would like some recommendations and possible also meet up with some fellow people travelling by land, he got several positive recommendations from people who had travelled there and also some suggestions for meet up.

When asking another interviewee if he has received some negative feedback or if people have reacted negatively to the social movement, he genuinely felt that the feedback has only been positive.

Not really and that is why I think it is so much fun. We do a lot of projects and usually negative feelings arise, among other things, because we discuss difficult issues all the time, but in this one I have not even received a first bad comment and I don't think anybody else either, I don't know who could possible get upset about this...we don't criticize people nor blame them, you can do whatever you want, we want to help find another alternative

(Respondent #3)

Several interviewees agreed that despite the fact that the issues surrounding the social movements are extremely sensitive and occasionally difficult to process, the movement has succeeded in keeping the conversation and encounters positive and encouraging. These arguments by the interview respondents and the group members above were confirmed during the observation in the events. It was observed that the atmosphere and the message conveyed were kept very positive,

despite the topics of the presentations at times were dealing with grave issues. Several people commented in the Facebook event afterwards “thank you for a great event” and “thanks to the organizers for arranging this kind of event”.

### 5.3.2 Influencing decision-makers and the sector

From analyzing the various data, it was noted that the movements clearly want to be part of governance and make a difference in society. Even though, especially in the first group, there are not much direct political discussion, actually some people condemning it at several occasions in the posts. For example, when the administer urged people to go voting in the Facebook groups. Numerous people posted that “please let’s not make this a political group” and “I really enjoying being in this group, but it’s not a place for political discussion. Nevertheless, during several of the interviews it became clear that getting as many people as possible involved in the activities to achieve visibility for the cause and further influence both companies and policy-makers is one of the goals of the movement. One of the interviewees believe that these types of groups are important to create pressure on decision-makers.

...you can’t expect that the citizens have the political analysis and the channels of influence or all the steering instruments well in hand, so that they could directly present how things should be done. The politicians should ask appropriate experts and statements, but the citizens can only create pressure to it, like this is what we need to do

(Respondent #2)

Another interview respondent agrees that indirectly the cause is aiming to affect the decision-makers and the more visibility the cause get and when a larger group of people starts demanding a certain thing from the decision-makers, they become obligated to listed. Moreover, when analyzing the Facebook posts of the administrators it showed that they take a political stance. They encourage people to vote, in for example the parliament elections in Finland and the European Parliament elections and further inform the other members in the group about their attempt to influence decision-makers and they ask for advice and opinions from others, so that a possible change in the area would occur. However, from some discussions in the Facebook group, it becomes clear that even if the movements partly aim to take part in politics, they are not encouraging or aiming to influence the members to vote for a specific political party. Rather, they want to influence politicians to make significant regulatory and infrastructural changes in the area of travel by land,

for it to become easier for the overall public to travel with trains, buses and other more environmentally friendly modes of travel.

### 5.3.3 Visibility for the cause

Above it has already been identified that the social movements encouraging more climate friendly, alternative ways of travel are less confrontational than environmental movements traditionally were perceived to be (Evans, 2012). Recently, online channels, like social media, have become more prominent channels for social movements to get visibility (Bennett, 2012; Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011) and as the Facebook data shows us, most of the day to day activity of these movements takes place online with the exception of occasional travel fairs that are organized a few times a year, these likewise not being confrontational in their character. As a matter of fact, no conflictual protests have been registered for the groups so far.

The Facebook data clearly shows that the social movements are centered around the social media platforms where most of the discussion and information sharing takes place and therefore identified as vital to the survival of these groups. All interview respondents agreed that social media is fundamental for sharing information about the movements and gaining more members. One interviewee (#4), however, emphasized that Facebook might not work for all, but for him it has been very successful in gaining supporters for his cause. The events visibly confirmed the claim. The main channel for promoting especially two of the events (#1 and #3) were exclusively through Facebook and both of the events managed to attract a substantial amount of people. During the first event, not all people were able to fit in the auditorium where the event took place due to popularity it received.

Nonetheless, the traditional media likewise uninterruptedly continues to play an important role, especially when it comes to helping the audience to find the correct movement site (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011). One interviewee expressed, the important role traditional media also plays in gaining visibility and support for the cause:

...I always follow how the group, in what pace the group grows and every time there is something in the traditional news...every time there is a peak upwards...surprisingly many people follow traditional media, even if it is said that social media rules the media field, the traditional channels are clearly stronger...

(Respondent #4)

By analyzing several newspaper articles, it was confirmed that the movements had received a substantial amount of attention in the traditional media. Many local but also national newspapers had written an article about the group, usually in relation to topics related to the group, such as traveling by land or emissions related to flying. A few of the articles had even been published in the most popular and widespread newspaper in Finland, Helsingin Sanomat, which has almost 700 000 daily readers (Media Audit Finland, 2017). This comes to show that the movements have succeeded in reaching visibility for the cause and therefore gain a substantial number of members. The group has managed to become a legitimate source of influence.

#### 5.3.4 Social learning and peer support

Moreover, the movements truly facilitate social learning (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Renn et al., 1995), which is especially obvious in the Facebook group where people learn from each other and realize that they are not alone with the issues at hand. The comments in the second group particularly emphasized the importance of peer support. The members reflect upon their satisfaction of having a group where they can get support from like-minded people. For example, one person posted that “thanks to this group I have reduced flying significantly”. Likewise, the aim of the Facebook group is said to be a facilitator of peer support, where people can come to realize that they are not alone with their worries. One of the interview respondents further expressed her happiness for the fact that people have become more aware of traveling by land and how her personal interest is now linked to the shared interest of a larger population.

It is very exciting that when you are used to it yourself that everybody thinks that you are weird and you have to explain why you are doing it...but nowadays it is very easy, when so many has read a newspaper article or something and everybody is aware of the climate impact of flying...so now when you say that you travel by land...all people can connect it already to something and understand that there is a point behind it

(Respondent #2)

The Facebook group comment explicitly endorse social learning and peer support as being a strong motivational factor for people to take part in the movement. From the discussion it surfaced that the people involved had managed to create a common identity where the peer support had made them more likely to act in a certain way. The experiences and comments posted by other people were said



to encourage others to do the same. Several people had already posted pictures in the group with greetings from their trip, which shows that the talk had actually led to action.

In the discussion of the first group it is clear that not all people start a conversation or aim to participate but is rather in the group to support the cause and possibly learn something new about the topics. According to one interview respondent (#3) not everyone is made for influencing others, many are in the group to receive information without making a huge fuss about it. Further, several of the interview respondents agreed that expert knowledge is important to maintain legitimacy and accuracy of information. Due to this, the respondents were extremely happy to see that the group have also attracted a wide range of professionals from different fields. One respondent (#4) expressed his gratitude by saying that he had learned very many technical aspects himself during the course of the group's existence from experts in the field that are members of the movement. Another interview respondent (#2) mentioned that a scientific article had been shared in the group and the author turned out to be part of it and able to comment further on the article. Further, during the observation it was noted that the events had several experts exhibiting at the event, for example, the national railway company, travel agencies promoting home stays, train travel experts and NGO's promoting fair tourism was present at the events sharing their knowledge about traveling by land. Furthermore, the Facebook groups demonstrated that people had to a certain degree established a collective identity because in the posts and comments in the group, people were sharing similar views with each other and they expressed their feeling as to working towards a common goal.

#### 5.4 Challenges within the movements

The framing analysis tool used above helped identify the shared ideas and problems, how to potentially solve them and factors motivating people to get involved and act. However, within the themes identified while analyzing the data, challenges of the groups was one theme that also appeared. All of the interview respondents agreed that there are challenges with this kind of groups and most of them agreed that time was one of them. Since the movements exclusively work on voluntary basis, most of the people involved do it beside their normal work. One interviewee (#1) especially pointed out that the activities are extremely time consuming for him. He mentioned that it requires a lot of time "hanging" on social media and therefore it takes away from his time doing other relevant things. Thus, he has decided not to continue with the work he is doing. Another interviewee (#4) agreed that particularly in the beginning it took a lot of his time to monitor the

group, especially when the group was growing rapidly. A sufficient amount of time dedicated for the movements was seen as a significant obstacle for the continuity of the groups.

While analyzing the Facebook data of the second group, there was a clear decrease in the posts in recent times. The second group had risen from a campaign and through that then continued its work more broadly by establishing a webpage, a Facebook page and attending different events to move on from just being a campaign to a social movement. However, the movement have not succeeded in gaining more members and the discussions within the group are scarce therefore the continuity of the movement is questionable. At times the newspapers called the movements “a trend”, which further emphasized the doubt of believe in the group’s possibility to extend additionally.

Nevertheless, the first group show no signs of decrees, quite the opposite, which indicated that other factors such as media attention, group dynamics and goals potentially affects the popularity of the group.

Additionally, during the interviews and further confirmed by the Facebook group data some additional minor challenges were mentioned, such as the versatile demographics leading to some people’s posts receiving more comments than others, for example since there are less seniors in the group their Facebook posts receive less answers and therefore they might not always get the help they need because the other demographics cannot relate to their problem. Moreover, some inappropriate posts and comments occurred occasionally, for example, people who argue for flying even though the groups aim is to find alternative ways and reduce flying. At times there have been minor insulting comments. However, neither of these challenges were frequently occurring incidents, therefore these are not necessary a major challenge within the social movements.

## 6 Discussion and conclusion

### 6.1 Discussion

After concluding the analysis of the data collected, it is now time to critically examine the findings in a wider theoretical and social context. The social movements studied in this research inevitable, to a certain degree, reflects the rise of a new type of collective action that is based on positive grounds and does not directly get involved in confrontational actions. Nevertheless, when interpreting previous theory there are a lot of factors that help find answers to the research question. Firstly, it is time to revise the research aim of this study. This thesis has attempted to determine:

- (1) How do these two groups seek to influence people towards traveling more climate friendly?
- (2) How do the groups strive to mobilize people and influence decision- and policy-makers?
- (3) What are seen as the best practices for public participation in the context of travel and climate change?

As the analysis part show, framing the movements' activities into Snow and Benford's (1988) three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational undoubtedly helped clear the ideas and thought behind the social movements studied and therefore the framing analysis will also help in answering the research questions.

#### 6.1.1 There are alternative ways of traveling

The findings demonstration that by studying the social movements three main problems approached, which were identified by the movements as problems that the tourism industry and policy-makers have not been able to shed light on, these three problems being: (1) the increasing climate impact of flying, (2) a lack of information about alternative ways to execute leisure travel and (3) a feeling people have about not being able to alone as individuals solve the problem of climate change. As the theory reflects, climate concerns have been a topic discussed for long (Bäckstrand et al., 2017; de Moor, 2018) and even the huge impact of flying have been known (Gössling & Peeters, 2015), nevertheless, these concerns have not been seriously dealt with by the industry and the policymakers, therefore the social movements have approached. Even though, the impacts of flying have been known, the results from the analysis in relation to the previous research shows that no similar movements have existed before, where the impact of travel and alternatives to air travel have been discussed this extensively. This has highly motivated the movements to action. The findings further show that a significant lack of information about alternative travel options have

driven the movements to act. Air travel has been made easy, while traveling by other modes, such as train and bus is significantly more difficult because of the lack of information surrounding it. This argument gets support from previous research where information is not only said to create awareness in individuals (Jackson, 2005) but also public participation actually arises to provide new information and help the public become more informed about an issue (Quick & Bryson, 2016). Further, previous research discusses that local communities' have extensive knowledge about the place they live (Evans, 2012). Nevertheless, this aspect was a considerably important issue for the movements studied, not only to gain more information about climate change but more importantly gain practical information about individual travel options. The lack of information about alternative modes of travel were seen as a major problem to why people decided to start a movement and participate. However, the theoretical background did not reflect on it as being as important as the movements actually emphasized. Finally, the third problem identified was the feeling of being left alone with the issue. Both the founders and the participant of the movements displayed dissatisfaction about the fact that before joining the movement, they had been left alone with the issue. Extremely little information was available and there was nowhere to find support to travel more environmentally friendly, the tourism industry has minimal promotion of alternative travel modes and proper information on for example train routes, prices and options to travel are scarcely found, which led to people choosing to fly. As Giddens (Giddens, 2011) confirms people find it hard to make a change when they have to do it alone. Individuals feel that if other people do not make a change, why should they.

#### 6.1.1 Traveling by train instead of flying

Likewise, the findings determine three possible solutions to the problems identified, these being (1) finding alternatives to travel, (2) fighting the information shortage and (3) individual initiative. The first and the second possible solution identified are closely related to each other, nevertheless, the first solution was also increasingly identified as a solution directed to the decision-makers and with their activities being able to affect them. When it comes to the information sharing, it was acknowledged that the movements have taken the matter into their own hands by having an extensive sharing network on their Facebook page and taking the initiative to organize whole travel fairs aiming to promote travel by land. Nevertheless, the support and action from other stakeholders, such as the tourism industry, public transportation companies and the policy-makers is needed to further make the transition toward more environmentally friendly modes of travel. The theory on governance clearly supports the findings where it is said that several actors ought to be

involved in the governing activities (Harriet & Arthur P.J, 2003; Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Quick & Bryson, 2016) and that ‘interdependence’ is vital (Kooiman, 1993). The third possible solution to the problems was identified to be individual initiative. The social movements studied would not exist, if it would not be for a few dedicated individuals. This gets the support from theory where the action of visionary individuals is identified to bring about the most dramatic initiatives within the climate change sphere (Giddens, 2011) and where social movements it is said that the starting point for social movements are usually individuals opinions and worries (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

### 6.1.2 Making a change is fun

Finally, the third framing tool reflected the “call to action” or motives for people to get involved. From the findings, four dimensions were found as important factors for people to get involved, these are: (1) a positive approach to solving the issues, (2) the possibility to influence decision- and policy-makers, (3) get visibility for the cause, and (4) social learning and peer support. Firstly, unlike several traditional social movements where conflict has been a defining aspect to gain attention (Della Porta & Diani, 2006), the movements within the travel sphere has leaned towards a more positive connotation in their activities. The groups have clearly chosen to take a more peaceful and indirect stance in their participation process in governance. Nonetheless, they have managed to attract a substantial amount of people and gain attention in media. As theory confirms, public participation has the possibility to surface in many different ways that might be both direct or indirect (Hawkins & Wang, 2012; McGehee et al., 2014; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Even though, the discussion surrounding climate change is often connected to the perception of risk and people find it hard to combat the issues on an individual level (Giddens, 2011), the positivity of the movements studied has therefore been an important factor contributing to the increased mobility within these movement. As previous research has exemplified, when it comes to climate change issues people need to be able to personally resonate with the issue in a more positive light (O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). The findings show that not only the positivity motivates people, but also the information received is highly personal where people get help to their individual dilemmas in travel. Individuals get answers to their private travel plans first-hand in a way that no other source has been able to provide. Secondly, the findings indicate that indirectly the movements want to influence the decision-makers, especially by getting visibility for their cause to show that many people are worried about the climate impact of flying and that there is interest for alternatives. Therefore, thirdly, visibility for the cause was seen as a motivational factor for people to join the movement. Undoubtedly, social media presents an important role in the influential activities of the social

movements studied, which many modern-day social movements scholars agree with (Bennett, 2012; Bimber et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the analysis further shows that within these movements the traditional media has significantly contributed to the rise of the moment and the widespread attention the movement has received. However, some scholars still agree with the statement that traditional media displays a vital role (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). Finally, a last motivational factor acknowledged in the findings was the social learning and peer support. Previous theory highly emphasizes the importance of social learning (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Renn et al., 1995) and it is said to be an important factor in public participation. The empirical study reveals that several members of the social movement was happy to have finally found a place where they get support and information about travel by land. Lastly, findings show that the movements have been able to combat the dilemma of expert knowledge identified as a problem in public participation (Evans, 2012). The group has a versatile mix of both experts in the field and a curious public sharing their ideas and thoughts.

### 6.1.3 Challenges

Even though it appears that the social movements studied have been able to frame their activities, in other words, been able to identify problems, suggest solutions and motivate members. The study additionally show that the social movements have encountered some challenges. The findings indicate that the main challenge the social movements encounter is time consumption. The activities take a substantial amount of time, which takes away from the time doing employed work. Theory confirms that time and money has been seen as challenges in public participation (Evans, 2012; Gunderson, 2018; Quick & Bryson, 2016). Additionally, findings demonstrated the continuity of the movements was seen as another challenge encountered. This was mainly the case for one of the movements that had seemingly had some problems gaining members and discussion within their Facebook group. The theoretical background verifies that mobilizing people requires strong emotions, especially when it comes to climate change concerns (e.g. González-Hidalgo & Zografos, 2012; Woods et al., 2012) and Dahlgren (2009) additionally confirms that one reason for decrease in civic participation in the Western democracies is individuals decreased believe in the change of making real change, which can explain the decrease in participation.

## 6.2 Conclusion

With the help of the social movement framing theory the research has been able to identify the core factors that the social movements use to influence people to travel more environmentally friendly as well as mobilize individuals and effect policy- and decision-makers within the travel and climate change sphere. Here the discussion to the research aim will be further clarified. After carefully studying the Facebook group and events of the two social movements studied in this thesis as well as undertaken interviews with key members, the goals, motives and ideas behind these collective groups became much clearer. It became apparent that these groups were aspiring for a new, changed form of influential activities. Especially, after the release of the latest IPCC report when a significant increase in the worries of a changing climate surfaced. This led to an augmented movement among people, who felt that the current global environmental governance had not been able to successfully tackle the global environmental challenges (Gunderson, 2018). However, many people often feel that they alone cannot make a change and that is where the importance of visionary individuals come in (Giddens, 2011).

The two social movements studied surfaced through the initiative of a few dedicated people that had realized the enlarged impact flying has on the environment, but who still wanted to continue travelling, however, by land. Due to the aforementioned two separate movements emerged, one movement mainly finding alternative modes of travel to flying and another one urging people to decrease substantially or stop flying altogether. As the findings revealed, the movements are aiming to influence individuals through personal and positive relevance that encourages people to discuss their individual travel needs and worries. This form of positive movement activities has played a central role for the founders in the attempt of influencing people. Nevertheless, their aim is not only to encourage individuals to make a change, likewise they want to facilitate the change by a network of information sharing. The social movement Facebook group has become an important source for practical information sharing and receiving. In other words, the aim of the movement is to mobilize people in a positive manner where people can hugely benefit personally from all the practical travel information that is shared in the group. Additionally, the activities reflect a positive means for people to get involved in climate change activities. With this they further want to emphasize the possibility for social learning and a feeling that people are not alone combatting climate change.

However, the movements are not only attempting to influence individual people, but also decision- and policy-makers. With the help of an increased number of people getting involved in the movement activities followed by an added media visibility the movements have aimed to grasp the attention of policy makers. Moreover, active Facebook channels have played an important role in

reflecting the change people want to see in society when it comes to environmentally friendly travel activities and the large number of people taking part in their events further come to show that there is a clear interest among the public to change their travel habits toward more environmentally friendly alternative travel options. If a large amount of people wants to see change happen, it is only natural that decision-makers take it into consideration.

To answer the last research question, it can be said that the various aspects and practices identified above and, in the analysis, have shown to be the best practices for public participation in the travel and tourism field, at least for the movements studied in this research. By studying these two movements, it has been shown that to this point the activities and approaches have been identified by the movements as successful. However, it is important to keep in mind that the same practices are not always suitable for all types of movements and other practices similarly exist.

### 6.3 Critical examination of methods used

The semi-structured interview as a method to investigate the goals, motives and ideas behind the social movements was identified as a valid method of data collection. This method helped gain insight to their motives to start and further continue their work of mobilizing and influencing people. The especially suitable aspect with semi-structured interview is the fact that follow-up questions are possible, and, in that way, more specified questions were thinkable during each interview situation. The follow-up questions most of the time resulted in more personal views about the interview respondent's motivations to start a social movement.

Further, netnography study also gave insight to the social movements' influencing possibilities. Through reading the posts, comments and conversations deriving underlying meanings and intentions helped to strengthen the understanding of the group dynamics and reasons behind joining. However, a deeper netnography study where conversations and interaction with members would have taken place, could have had the potential to further strengthen the study.

The observation undertaken during the events inspired by the social movements studied likewise helped in getting a deeper understanding of the activities taking place within the movements and how this aim to mobilize and influence people. Nevertheless, to strengthen the insights gained, the positions taken during the observation could have been participant as observer instead of observer



as a participant or complete observer. In that way more interactions would have probably taken place and the influential factors could possibly have been revealed.

#### 6.4 Research contribution and future research

Due to the noticeable lack in previous research on social movements in the tourism context, this research has had the potential to shed light on an issue previously fairly undiscovered. Public participation has been recognized as an important part of governance (Blue, 2015; Evans, 2012), therefore studying the underlying goals, motives and ideas behind public participation in the form of social movements is likewise important to understand the society that we live in better. An extensive amount of research about public participation and social movements can be found, similarly research on other fields influenced by movements and activism. However, a clear absence of previous research in the tourism context exist and therefore there is a great potential for future research in the area. This research has mainly focused on how the social movements aim to influence people and decision-makers, and what are practices within these movements that have been seen as best for public participation. However, other aspects of the social movements in the tourism are similarly important. Emotions have been identified by several scholars as an important aspect in social movements activities (e.g. González-Hidalgo & Zografos, 2012), therefore it would be useful to further research on the role of emotions in the tourism context. Furthermore, social media and other technological advances have been identified to play an important role in social movement formation and operation (e.g. Bennett, 2012; Bimber et al., 2012). This has been extensively researched however, the role of social media seems to change constantly, and more recent research is clearly needed on how online social movements within the tourism sphere have the potential to influence other potential actors in society.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. How did you first decide to start promoting alternative ways of travel/with this movement?
  - How did you decide to get involved in influencing peoples travel behavior? How do you personally 'define' travel behavior?
  - How did it all start? Can you recall any specific moment or event that triggered you?
  - When did you realize that there was a problem that required collective action?
  
2. What is the main goal or objective behind the work you do?
  - Environmental issues? Experiencing travel in a different way? Feeling better for yourself? Leaving a better world behind?
  - Do you mainly want to influence authorities/policy-makers, the society or the tourism industry? → Who is your target?
  - How do you think climate change is best approached – by changing individual behavior, radical policy change, technological innovation, social innovation...?
  
3. What is the main motivation to go on with the work you do? What are your rewards? When do you experience the greatest frustration?
  
4. In the beginning, how did you present yourself, so that you managed to attract people, media and other parties to get familiar with your group?
  
5. How do you see your messages affecting people?
  - Does it spark a lot of conversation about climate change and travel? Where do you feel that you start new conversations, ideas, etc – on what social arenas/contexts?
  
6. The group have received quite much media attention lately, how has this affected the popularity of your group?
  - Have you seen an increased participation?
  - Have these led to possible changes in society? How do you know this? Do you have a 'strategy'?

7. Do you think you have been able to motivate people that are perhaps not that aware of the climate change? Or are they already climate conscious people or would you say that you have been able to attract people that otherwise would not consider their carbon footprint?
8. What is your personal attitude towards climate change and the affect our travel behavior has on it? Where do you get your information?
9. Do you think there are enough people getting involved to be able to make a larger change happen?
  - a. What would you consider a significant change?
  - b. What else would be needed to make this significant change?
  - c. Where do you think change needs to start?
10. What are the changes in society (travel behavior) that you would like to see through the movement you have started?
11. What are the changes among policy-makers/authorities that you would like to see through the movement you have started? How would you like to see these changes implemented?
12. Do you have some concrete examples on how the movement has affected people to make a change?
13. Are you involved in some other activities, groups or organizations discussing the same issues (travel and climate change)? What networks do you think are necessary to really influence individuals and policy makers?
14. Are you involved in other activities addressing climate change, but not necessary travel?
  - Are you extending the activities beyond the primary interest?
15. How does the future look for the movement?
  - Do you think you will be able maintain the popularity of the group?

- What are your strategies to maintain the popularity you have achieved or further increase it?
- What would you need to continue affecting individuals and policy makers?
- What kind of science do you think is needed to persuade a greater number of individuals and policy makers to pay more attention to climate change?
- What do you think are the best channels of communication to inform the public of climate change?

→ Do you think that your movement can also negatively affect authorities and society to prevent them from making a change?