

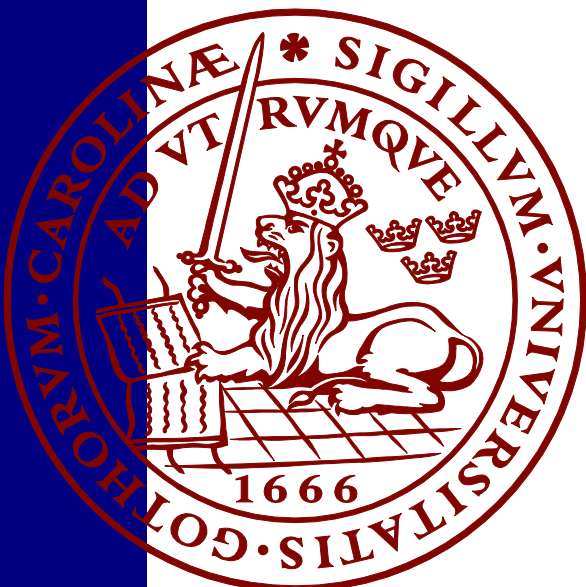
Who runs the movement?

A feminist empirical analysis of gender dimensions of the climate movement in Sweden

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Lund University Centre for
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Submitted May 11, 2020

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Abstract

Rooted in the environmental movement, the climate movement in Sweden is on the rise and increasingly gaining support in its fight against climate change and its unequal impacts. If successful, the movement can play an important role in changing society. There is increased awareness and proof of the gendered effects of climate change, but awareness of the role of gender in the climate movement seems unexplored. Gender is a central feature of society, and even within movements like the climate movement that do not have a gender-oriented goal can be formed by it in its origins. Therefore, awareness of the gendered dimensions of the climate movement are important. To find out if and how the climate movement in Sweden is gendered, a mixed method study embedding quantitative data in qualitative data was conducted. The gender balance of the climate movement in Sweden terms of mobilising participants was found through visual data analysis of four cities in Sweden. Through semi-structured interviews with key figures of the two main climate movement organisations in Sweden, Fridays for Future (FFF) and Extinction Rebellion (XR), four potentially gendered areas of social movement inquiry were explored: 1) Emergence & Mobilisation, 2) Identity & Framing, 3) Tactics & Strategies, and 4) Organisational structure.

On average 61% of the participants were women. Data analysis shows that in all four elements gendered structures are seen. These gendered patterns are more evident in FFF than XR, mostly due to more diverse tactics in XR. An additional finding that characterises the climate movement in Sweden is the lack of young participants and diversity in ethnic, social, and economic background creating concern among key-figures.

So who run the movement? This empirical research shows that women are on the forefront of the climate movement in Sweden and that this is enabled by underlying structures of the movement, making it less accessible to men. The climate movement in Sweden needs more awareness of how gender has played a role in shaping it, and how it can move towards a more equally balanced movement not only in terms of gender, but also race, class, and age. Groups of the population are missing from the equation that can contribute to a successful outcome of the social movement. Future research should focus on how this can be improved.

Keywords: Social Movements, Gender, Climate movement, Diversity, Sweden

Word count: 11 995

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"There's a lot of talk about going back to normal after the COVID-19 outbreak. But normal was a crisis."

Greta Thunberg, 2020

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List of Abbreviations

CMO – climate movement organisation

EIGE – European Institute for Gender Equality

EMO – environmental movement organisation

FFF – Fridays for Future

GEI - Gender Equality Index

SMO – social movement organization

SSNC – Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen)

XR – Extinction Rebellion

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1 Introduction

Attending climate protest events in Sweden, I could not ignore this observation: it felt like the majority of people attending were women¹. I observed people speaking as mostly young and female, following the example of Greta Thunberg, the Swedish girl that is seen as the person that boosted the global climate movement by organising school strikes every Friday. Additionally, it looked like most of the organisers were women. This sparked my interest: is there actually a difference in terms of gender among people participating in these events? How is this perceived and what can this mean?

Impacts of climate change are seen all over the world, affecting some areas and populations more than others (Roy et al., 2018). Rooted in the environmental movement, the climate movement is on the rise and increasingly gaining support worldwide in its fight against climate change and its unequal impacts (Laville & Watts, 2019; Marris, 2019). Nevertheless, the impact of the climate movement is not as large as it is aiming for (Nulman, 2015). Political leaders and the industrial sector are not cooperating and listening to the demands of the climate movement, and oil companies are still large and powerful polluters (Rebellion, n.d.; Thunberg, 2019). Climate change is happening fast, and we cannot wait to act. There is increased awareness and proof of the gendered effects of climate change, for example in academia, the media, and in sustainable development reports (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Castañeda Camey, Sabater, Owren, & Boyer, 2020; Demetriades & Esplen, 2010; Harvey, 2020). This adds a dimension of gendered impact to the climate change conversation, but how does gender play a role in the climate movement?

Gender plays a role in all levels of society, and therefore one would expect it to play a role in social movements like the climate movement. Taking a feminist approach and addressing gender issues in social movement is challenging and important, and can surface unresolved questions (Kuumba, 2002;

¹ Gender is a social construction and a social relation, which is difficult to define. A binary bodily distinction of the concept of gender is made throughout this thesis, namely man or woman. There is awareness of the different dimensions of gender and gender identity. Caution was used throughout this research, and interviewees were given the option to refrain from stating their gender identification. Nevertheless, for this research this assumption was made for the purpose of simplification and ability to analyse the data to give general insights in the topic.

Maddison & Shaw, 2012). Additionally, gender can influence social movements, even when the main goal of the movement is not gendered (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018; Taylor, 1999; Whittier, 2013). As McKee Hurwitz and Dahl Crossley (2018, p. 541) state: “Historically and contemporarily, mixed-gender social movement organizations have been sites for the perpetuation of gender inequality”. For example, women in the movement of the American New Left only obtained status if their male partners were leaders (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018). Awareness of this is important, and future research in gender and social movements should focus on movements that do not have a gendered purpose (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018; Whittier, 2013), of which the climate movement is an example.

My first instinct was to research the reasons why I saw so many women at the climate strikes in Lund, however, then it struck me I did not have evidence whether there actually was a gender imbalance. Therefore, if I wanted to research this, the first step that has to be taken is largely empirical. This thesis will serve as a first observation and increase knowledge and understanding of the gender balance and gendered areas of the climate movement in Sweden, and will offer a discussion of these observations, showing the importance of the outcome of the study, its implications, and how this empirical knowledge can be used in the future and applied to other contexts. It will make connections between previous research and theories, and the new research outcomes to address entry points for further research.

This thesis will give an overview of the emergence of the climate movement and its aims, with a more in-depth focus on the context of gender and social movements in Sweden. Then, the theoretical framework on gender in social movement theory is presented. To answer the main research question: **how is the climate movement in Sweden gendered?** two sub-questions were constructed. Firstly, the gender balance in the Swedish climate movement in terms of participants needs to be found. The second sub-question covers four areas of social movements that can be gendered and is formulated as: how are gendered dimensions seen in the climate movement in Sweden in the 4 general areas of social movement inquiry: 1) Emergence & Mobilisation, 2) Identity & Framing, 3) Tactics & Strategies, and 4) Organisational structure? Then, these findings will be analysed and discussed.

1.1 Relevance for sustainability science

Sustainability science is an inter- and transdisciplinary field working towards a sustainable global society (Kates, 2016). The climate movement ties in with this field, as they address climate change and its impacts, and sustainable development is needed to counter these effects. Due to its recent

emergence, research on this social movement is limited, and thus has the need to be explored from several research angles. This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining social movement theory and gender theory and figures out the implications of this for the climate movement, which can have a larger societal, political and sustainability impact in the long run. Gender equality is goal 5 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, n.d.), therefore taking a gendered approach can add to understanding on how to reach this goal. Especially in the faculty Lund University Centre for Sustainability Studies (LUCSUS) and the program Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science (LUMES), there are many of us that are active in the climate movement and support its goals. It is a topic that addresses interests of people that work with climate change and its impact, and their goals to conduct research working towards a sustainable future.

2 Background

This section gives an overview of the climate movement and gender in the context of Sweden, and emergence, history, and current status of the movement in Sweden is addressed. It will offer an overview of the climate movement to increase comprehension of the context of the movement and allow for deeper understanding of the theory, methodology, analysis, and discussion brought forward in this thesis.

2.1 The climate movement in the context of Sweden

The climate movement finds its roots in the environmental movement, which has protection of the environment as its core aim. In Europe, this movement came forth from several environmental disasters in the 1950's and 1960's, which lead to a breakthrough of the movement in the 1970's (European Environment Agency, 2013).

Sweden was the first country to introduce environmental protection legislation in 1968 (Thörn & Svenberg, 2017). A key process highlighted in research is the processes of institutionalisation of the Swedish environmental movement at an early stage, as the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) already got an official role in the 1950's (Thörn & Svenberg, 2016, 2017). This has to be understood in the context of the Swedish welfare state and its "consensus culture", which supports "harmonious relationships, avoidance of direct conflict, a striving for consensus and a clear conception of an active role for the state" (Thörn & Svenberg, 2017, p. 194). Additionally, neoliberal responsabilisation added to the interaction between the state and social movements, leading to active engagement of society and business in tasks that were previously thought of being a political

responsibility of state agencies (Peterson, Thörn, & Wahlström, 2018; Thörn & Svenberg, 2016). Swedish environmental movement organisations (EMOs) participated in these shifts in (de)responsibilisation and (de)politicisation or 'politics of responsibility' as described by Thörn and Svenberg (2016) by calling upon responsibility of the consumer and partnering up with businesses. In Sweden, an especially important figure for both the environmental and movement was Elin Wägner. She shaped both movements through her work on feminism and ecology, resulting that since the late 1970's, women have dominated the environmental movement in Sweden (Peterson, 1994).

The climate movement in Sweden started in the 2010s and came forward from the influence of global political processes (Peterson et al., 2018; Thörn & Svenberg, 2017). The main aim of the climate movement was slightly different than the environmental movement, and can be summarised as fighting against climate change and reaching a sustainable society (350, n.d.; Extinction Rebellion, n.d.; Fridays for Future, n.d.; People's Climate Movement, n.d.). Initially, this was more seen as a subgroup of the environmental movement, however it has grown out to be a movement on its own in terms of numbers and support. Climate activism caused substantial changes in the context of Sweden (Peterson et al., 2018). Researchers claim that Sweden is one of the most ecologically modernised countries in the world, however the movements connected to this in Sweden have gotten little attention in the 21st century (Thörn & Svenberg, 2017). Even though the environmental movement was strongly institutionalised in Sweden, this seems to not yet have happened with the demands of the climate movement. Thörn and Svenberg (2016) saw in their research that "movement actors resist responsibilisation, thus engaging in a politics of responsibility" (p. 605). This was seen in three ways, namely that movement actors refused to participate in processes policy-making, changing moral agency of civil society and corporations, and asking for re-politicisation (Thörn & Svenberg, 2016). Especially after Copenhagen Summit in 2009 this intensified, addressing that political leaders and the government should start taking action against climate change (Thörn & Svenberg, 2016). Over the past decades the general framing of the climate movement has slightly changed and broadened, and has moved from climate change to climate justice (Della Porta & Parks, 2014).

There is little knowledge on the gender dimensions of the climate movement in Sweden. A descriptive cross-country study on the larger climate protest by the climate movement organisation (CMO) Fridays for Future (FFF) on the 15th of March 2019 also covering the two Swedish cities Malmö and Stockholm showed that more women participated than men (Moor et al., 2019). This indicates that there is a chance that this trend is the similar at regular protest of the climate movement in Sweden.

2.1.1 Climate movement organisations in Sweden

In Sweden, several CMOs are active with different branches, different means, and different sub-goals. Nevertheless, the overarching goal is similar for all: fighting against climate change and for climate justice (350, n.d.; Extinction Rebellion, n.d.; Fridays for Future, n.d.; People's Climate Movement, n.d.). This thesis is concerned with the general climate movement in Sweden, represented by Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion. These two CMOs are deemed appropriate, because of the previous knowledge of the researcher on these CMOs and their ubiquity, both internationally and in Sweden, and thus their coverage of a substantial part of the climate movement spectrum in Sweden.

Some movements were started by youth, such as FFF. Together, they join the 'School strike for Climate' (Skolstrejk för Klimatet) every Friday, which was started in August 2018 in Sweden by Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg (Fridays for Future, n.d.). The three demands of FFF are to "1) keep the global temperature rise below 1.5 ° C compared to pre-industrial levels, 2) follow the Paris Agreement and ensure climate justice, and 3) listen to the best-unified science currently available (Fridays for Future, n.d.)." The main goal of the strike is to ask for attention for the lack of action taken against the climate crisis by governments, which has now spread to many countries across the world (Fridays for Future, n.d.). As Thunberg stated in her speech to world leaders and the UN Climate Action Summit in September 2019: "You are failing us. But the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you. And if you choose to fail us, I say: We will never forgive you. We will not let you get away with this. Right here, right now is where we draw the line. The world is waking up. And change is coming, whether you like it or not." (Thunberg, 2019)

Another movement at the forefront gaining attention is Extinction Rebellion (XR), founded in 2018 and protesting for the first time on the 31st of October 2018 in the United Kingdom, with the aim of rebelling against the government of the United Kingdom and their climate policy (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.). Currently, they define themselves as "an international movement that uses non-violent civil disobedience in an attempt to halt mass extinction and minimise the risk of social collapse" (Extinction Rebellion, n.d.). In Sweden, activists were inspired by the movement in the UK. People from all over the country came together and organised the first XR demonstration in Sweden a few weeks after that (Extinction Rebellion Sverige, n.d.). XR is currently active in several regions and cities in Sweden and has 10 principles and values the organisation builds on:

- 1) We share a vision on change
- 2) We focus on what is important
- 3) We need a sustainable culture
- 4) We challenge ourselves to work towards change
- 5) We value reflection and learning
- 6) We welcome everyone and share everything with everyone
- 7) We work towards equal power for all
- 8) We avoid naming and shaming
- 9) We promise to be non-violent
- 10) We build on autonomy and decentralisation (Extinction Rebellion Sverige, n.d.)

2.2 Gender in Sweden

Worldwide, Sweden is seen as one of the frontrunners in terms of gender equality. In 2019, Sweden scored 83.6 out of 100 point on Gender Equality Index (GEI) from the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), and it has scored the highest since 2005 (EIGE, 2019). This is especially evident in the field of politics, where power almost equally shared between men and women at a GEI of 95.1 (EIGE, 2019). Furthermore, Sweden scores highly on this index for equality in healthcare and how people spend their time (EIGE, 2019). Therefore, it can be said that feminism in Sweden is at a developed stage. Nevertheless, the several researchers and the Swedish government does see room for improvement in the area of gender equality (Adman, 2011; Martinsson & Griffin, 2016; Sweden, n.d.).

3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this thesis is based on gender in social movement theory. Even though the connection between social movements and gender studies has already been made, it is yet to be applied to the climate movement in Sweden. Combining the two fields, this thesis aims to give new insights in how gender plays a role in and can affect the climate movement. Since the aim of this study is to explore its internal gendered dimensions, the approach was taken of assessing four potentially gendered areas of the movement.

3.1 Social Movements

Giving an exact definition of a social movement is difficult, as all social movements are different. However, in general social movements can be defined as “collective challenges, based on common

purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 9). At the basis of social movement lies contentious collective action, since demonstrating claims against the state or opponents is the most accessible resource for most ordinary people (Tarrow, 2011). Furthermore, historical understanding is important for the study of social movements (Tilly & Wood, 2015). Historical context helps explain some of the crucial features of social movements that make them different from other politics, shows changes in operations of social movements, and calls attention to changing political conditions that enabled social movements (Tilly & Wood, 2015). Social movements can have large political and societal consequences, and are thus an impactful field to research and analyse.

When studying social movements, they are generally categorised in four categories described by Aberle and Moore (1966) based on who should change and the amount of change aimed for (figure 1). Under the alternative category fall small changes in specific individuals, for example asking people to recycle. In redemptive movements, people aim for a new inner state (Aberle & Moore, 1966), for example through religion. The Women’s Suffrage movement falls under a reformative social movement, as they aimed for voting rights for women, but also societal change. A revolutionary movement would be going beyond the system in place, for example a communist movement.

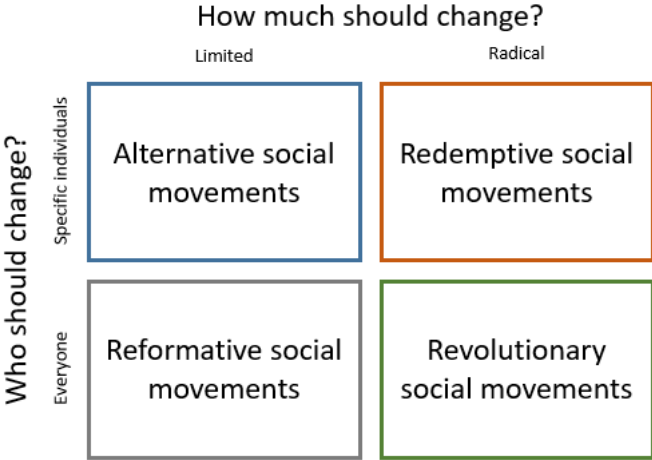


Figure 1: Visualisation of the four types of social movements as described by Aberle and Moore (1966).

Tilly and Wood (2015) identify a synthesis of three elements that are seen in emerging social movements. Firstly, it consists of a *campaign*. With this is meant that there is organised effort to make collective claims towards certain authorities. Second, there is the *social movement repertoire*, aiming at the adoption of different forms of political action. Lastly, there is the *display of “WUNC”*, an abbreviation for worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment, which is an acclaimed list in social movement research and aims at the public representation of the movement participants (Tilly & Wood, 2015).

Considering the previously described history and characteristics of the climate movement, it can be addressed as a social movement. It has a *campaign*, *social movement repertoire*, and *displays WUNC*. It is beyond the aim of this research to go in depth on these three areas or, or to assign the climate movement in Sweden to a category. However, it does show that the movement will most likely fall under the reformatory or revolutionary movement, since the goals previously discussed address everyone, which can indicate the size and ambition of the movement.

3.2 Stages of social movements

There are four different stages of social movements that are widely adapted in the field of social movement research and can be used to analyse the movement and its characteristics as described by Christiansen (2009). The first stage is *emergence*. Characteristics of this stage are that there is no to little organisation and based on individual action, if any. There is potential increased media coverage on the issue (Christiansen, 2009). The second stage is *coalescence*, or the “popular stage”. In this stage there is a clearly defined sense of discontent, which can be focused and collective. Leadership starts to emerge and strategies are worked out (Christiansen, 2009). The third stage called the *bureaucratisation* phase and is characterised by “formalisation”, or higher levels of organisation. Strategies can be based on coalitions, social movement organisations (SMO) can have (paid) staff. At this point, the social movement will gain more political power (Christiansen, 2009). Lastly, there is the *decline* phase. There are five reasons mentioned by Christiansen (2009) that can lead to the decline of a social movement.

- 1) Organisational failure: for example factionalism or encapsulation
- 2) Co-optation: movement leaders are associated with authorities
- 3) Repression: authorities destroy a social movement, for example through law or police action
- 4) Establishment within mainstream society: meaning there is no longer a need for the social movement
- 5) Success: an outcome that is similar to the previous outcome, but more likely for small localised movements with very specific goals.

There are some limitations to describing social movements in terms of these four stages, or by categorising them into different types. However, this is outside the scope of this research and using this theory enables us to understand social movements more easily and clearly, and allows for comparison. The climate movement can be considered to operate between the 2nd and 3rd stage, however this can differ among CMOs and geographical locations. With this theoretical knowledge in mind, the researched areas of social movement inquiry relevant for this study were picked.

3.3 Gender in Social Movements

Adding a gendered dimension to social movements can be a fruitful addition to the research field. As Taylor (1999, p. 1) states: “Linking theories of gender to mainstream theories on social movements allows us to recognize gender as a key explanatory factor in social movements and, in turn, to identify the role that social movements play in the social construction of gender”. In their chapter on feminist social movement research, Maddison and Shaw (2012, p. 622) use a quote by Taylor and Whittier (1998), who explain that viewing

“analysing social movements as simultaneously political and gendered raises sweeping and exciting challenges for both fields. Scholars grounded in social movements and gender have begun to bring together the concerns and analytical approaches of the two fields. (...) Feminist reconceptualizations of the state, cultural hegemony, discourse, identity, and organization challenge social movement approaches that treat these institutions as gender neutral.”

Thus, stating a feminist approach to research social movements is important and challenging. Historically, women have often advocated for their goals via collective action and social movements, due to their marginalised political position (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018). Social movements are considered as the best channel for women and their concerns to be incorporated into politics, due to their marginalised political position (Eschle, 2018). Thus, women are more likely to take part in grassroots or community-based activism than in formal institutions (Eschle, 2018). Movements go beyond borders of the public and the private spheres, where they can practice their own politics through traditional roles (Eschle, 2018). Through this, women can be enabled to contest these roles, and build collective identity (Eschle, 2018).

Over the past decades, there has been more research attention towards gender and social movements. It first started with more focus on documenting women’s movements, both feminist and non-feminist, and looking at the emergence and development of those movements (Whittier, 2013). Then, this advanced into analysing gender in social movements in a broader sense, also including masculinity and intersectionality (Whittier, 2013). More recently, there is a research focus on different areas of the social movement that can be gendered in their origins (Horn, 2013; McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018; Whittier, 2013; Zemlinskaya, 2010). There is a general consensus between scholars on which areas these are, and are most extensively described by Whittier (2013). Based on this previous research on the different areas that can be gendered and affect participation in social movements and the current stage of the movement, four focus areas were chosen for this thesis, namely 1) Emergence and Mobilisation, 2) Identity and Framing, 3) Tactics and Strategies and

4) Organisational structure. These four areas mostly cover the internal aspect of social movements. Areas that will not be covered that are more dependent on external factors and later stages of the movement and are outside the scope of this research are inter-movement dynamics, opportunities and constraints, and outcomes.

1) Emergence and mobilisation

The first area of focus is emergence and mobilisation. Emergence is the start of the movement, while mobilisation covers for example the resources of the movement and who participates in it. These processes can be gendered, since the status of gender can shape the personal organisation and who participates in terms of ability and willingness (Whittier, 2013; Zemlinskaya, 2010). Factors that affect this status are for example access to education, income, and fertility rate, which are in turn varying by factors like race, class, nationality, and time (Whittier, 2013). For example, a general trend is that “women tend to be over-represented in early mobilisation, before the movement is institutionalised” (Zemlinskaya, 2010, p. 631). Additionally, social movements can emerge from previously established organisations and networks, which can already be gendered (Horn, 2013; Whittier, 2013).

2) Identity and framing

Secondly, identity and framing address the perception and the appearance of the movement and its participants. The collective identity holds groups together, and is built through developing group consciousness and boundaries, and negotiating group practices (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018). These processes of building collective identity can be gendered, and gendered notions can be used to show this collective identity (Horn, 2013; Whittier, 2013). An example is women in the suffrage movement describing themselves as mothers to justify to deserve more influence (Whittier, 2013). This goes hand in hand with the framing, which is constructed by social movements to explain what they stand for and call for action, and built around mainstream discourses (Whittier, 2013; Zemlinskaya, 2010). Additionally, the perception from the outside of the movement can be gendered.

3) Tactics and strategies

The third area, tactics and strategies, is affected by gender though the difference between men and women in terms of social activities they use to bring about change (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018; Whittier, 2013). People employ social activities that are already established to reach change, which can differ between women and men (Whittier, 2013). Taking a similar example as in mobilisation, women tend to use more social and unofficial channels, while men reach out to the

institutionalised sphere. In addition, women and men are subject to different kinds of violence depending on the tactics and strategies, for example women generally being more vulnerable to (sexual) violence than men (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018).

4) Organisational structure

Lastly, organisational structure of a social movement can be gendered, as there can be differences in roles and labour division between men and women (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018; Whittier, 2013). This can include leadership positions, and follower or participant positions. Women may take on the roles that are categorised as caring, for example providing food, while men take the public positions, like speaking at demonstrations (Whittier, 2013). These gendered processes in organisational structures show “how gender inequalities and hierarchies influence the emergence, development, and outcomes of social movements” (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018, p. 541).

4. Methods

To create understanding of key concepts and history of the topic area, the background section of this thesis forms the basis for this research. The section was constructed through a literature review and provides knowledge necessary for the later stages and covered history of gender and social movements in Sweden, and the climate movement globally and in Sweden. Due to the relatively recent prominence of the climate movement, there is limited academic research available on the topic. Sources for the background section are therefore a combination of academic papers, news articles, and websites of institutions. The theoretical framework built on social movement theory and gender in social movements were discussed.

To answer the main research question: **How is the climate movement in Sweden gendered?**, two sub-questions were constructed. These were based on previous research and theory on social movements and gender. Firstly, the gender balance in the Swedish climate movement in terms of participants needs to be found. The second sub-question covers the four areas of social movements that can be gendered and is as follows: how are gendered dimensions seen in the climate movement in Sweden in the 4 general areas of social movement inquiry: 1) Emergence & Mobilisation, 2) Identity & Framing, 3) Tactics & Strategies, and 4) Organisational structure?

The study area is Sweden. Sweden’s limited societal inequality and developed feminism that the climate movement operates in may reduce the likelihood of confounding factors for this study. The

participants in the climate movement may consist of different backgrounds than the Swedish nationality. The research focuses on adults within the climate movement.

4.1 Research method

The chosen research method to answer the main research question and sub-questions is mixed methods research. Mixed methods research combines qualitative and quantitative data and is defined by Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) as “an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm (along with qualitative and quantitative research)”. In this thesis, the nature of the two sub-questions calls for quantitative methods and qualitative methods respectively, hence the need for mixed methods research.

There are four important aspects in planning a mixed-methods study, namely timing, weighting, mixing and theorising (Creswell, 2017). Figure 2 shows the four aspects and choices made for this thesis. Firstly, timing wise, the data will be gathered at the same time because of time constraints. Additionally, this was appropriate because the data would not interfere with each other.

<i>Timing</i>	<i>Weighting</i>	<i>Mixing</i>	<i>Theorizing</i>
No Sequence concurrent	Equal	Integrating	Explicit
Sequential- Qualitative first	Qualitative	Connecting	Implicit
Sequential- Quantitative first	Quantitative	Embedding	

Figure 2. Image from Creswell (2017), indicating the different choices made for this mixed-method study in blue frames. The thicker line in the *weighting* category shows that qualitative is weighed more heavily in this study.

By answering the question about the gender balance of participants, I will show whether there is a difference in representation among genders in the climate movement in Sweden concerning participation, through visual protest event analysis. Rather than counting at events, it was decided to use ‘snapshot’ photographs (for an example see appendix A), because the lower chance of human error than counting on the spot that it allowed for a better overview of the protest events. Visual methods like this have been widely applied and deemed appropriate in the research on social movements (Doerr & Milman, 2014; Langmann & Pick, 2018). Visual protest event analysis is a

systematic way of analysing different protests on a broad scale (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002), which is why this is an appropriate measure to find out the gender balance of the participants of this social movement.

On its own, quantitative data will not give any explanations or more insights on how the gender balance came about is the case, so qualitative data in the shape of in-depth semi-structured interviews can fill this gap (Doerr & Milman, 2014). As Della Porta (2014) states in her book on research methods for social movements “Qualitative in-depth interviews have been very often used in social movement studies, where they not only provide a way of overcoming the limited information contained in written sources but, especially, answer central questions on the micro-dynamics of alternative forms of political participation.” (p. 32). The quantitative data will complement the qualitative data and bring more evidence to the case and is objective, while the qualitative data is subjective. Semi-structured interviews are useful for new movements, and can help with understanding the perspective of actors involved (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002). It is also appropriate as gathering information from field observation or from a questionnaire with set questions than can restrict the interviewees and thus the data. There is little information available on the topic, so this method allows for more information to be shared between the interviewer and interviewee. The in depth interviews will be with people more involved or having a more central role with the climate movement in Sweden, so called key participants. For example, these people can be organisers of climate marches and strikes, or people that are closely involved with the movement in another way.

The qualitative data will have more weighting than the quantitative data in the analysis, due to the more in-depth knowledge that is created by the qualitative data for to all four gendered fields of social movement inquiry, and the aim of the study to explore these different theoretical areas. The quantitative empirical data will feed into the theoretical framework to address similarities and differences in outcome that might arise. Explicit theory will be used as an orienting lens to shape the study and analyse the data (Creswell, 2017).

4.2 Data collection

Quantitative data and qualitative data were collected in four cities of different sizes in Sweden, namely Lund, Helsingborg, Malmö and Gothenburg (table 1) to cover different contexts within the

country. Five photographs per location were collected from public social media pages, groups and websites taken by participants themselves or by the media.²

Table 1: Cities part of this study and the number of inhabitants.

City	Number of inhabitants
Lund	124,935 (Lund Kommun, 2020)
Helsingborg	147,734 (Helsingborg Kommun, 2019)
Malmö	344,166 (Malmö Stad, 2019)
Gothenburg	579,281 (Goteborg Kommun, 2019)

For this study the main data source will be the qualitative data in the form of semi-structured interviews. The sampling of this group was done either by approaching people at strikes, or via online messaging with members of the CMOs. There were no specific requirements for the interviewees to participate – they were considered relevant if they saw themselves as key-participants or were especially active people in the movement. Key figures that participated in the interviews were based in Lund, Malmö, Helsingborg, and/or Gothenburg.

The questions in the semi-structured interviews touched upon the four areas that can be gendered that were chosen relevant to cover for this study, namely

- 1) Emergence and Mobilisation
- 2) Identity and Framing
- 3) Tactics and Strategies
- 4) Organisational structure.

A total of 9 individual interviews were conducted, and one interview with two people was conducted. Interviewees were asked to talk from their own perspective, and not specifically represent the CMO they are active in or feel part of. Interviewees did not know beforehand that the main theme of the interview was gender to avoid preoccupied bias towards the inquiries³.

² See appendix A for an example of a photograph and appendix B for a full overview of the photographs used including their source.

³ See appendix B for the full interview guideline.

4.3 Data analysis

The photography data was analysed empirically through quantitative visual content analysis. The unit of analysis was the protest event participant, and the specific variable tested was (external) gender. Participants were coded male (M), female (F), or unknown (U, for people that were not visible). Calculating the percentages of each code, it shows the binary gender balance in each location. There is awareness that it is difficult and can be controversial to assume another person's gender identity from a picture, however to obtain empirical insights, this assumption had to be made.

The in-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed. Then, the transcribed text data was coded according to the aforementioned gendered areas of social movements. The transcripts of the interviews were analysed and categorised, and connections were made between the findings. Figure 3 shows a visualisation of the full thesis research methodology.

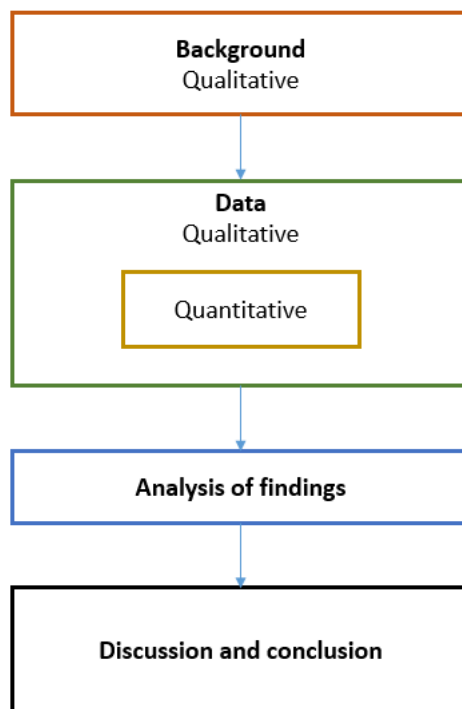


Figure 3. Visualisation of the mixed-methods research methodology of this thesis, adapted from Creswell (2017).

4.4 COVID-19 outbreak

The research for this thesis was conducted during the worldwide COVID-19 outbreak. This had an impact on the research methods which had to be adapted. These events prohibited me from reaching all planned research locations, and social media platforms played a larger role in the research than anticipated. Initially, I chose to take photographs of the protests as the researcher

instead of using photographs taken by media or participants themselves, in order to reduce bias and know the context of the photograph. I would be in charge of the conditions of the photographs, and give insights on the representativeness of the sample. However, due to the climate movement not physically meeting during the outbreak, I had to find another way to get this photograph data, so I used photographs from the CMOs open social media platforms and websites of social movement groups, or media and was dependent on that availability. The first photographs taken were disregarded. The semi-structured in depth interviews were mostly done over the phone instead of in person. Interviews conducted in the time before the virus outbreak are still used in the final research.

An additional dimension of data collection that was initially planned was having short interviews or surveys at protest events with the participants. This process was started, but was discontinued due to the cancellation of protest events. Since there was limited time and the in-depth interviews provided more data than expected, I chose to not continue this path and send out a survey instead.

5 Results and Analysis

Firstly, a descriptive analysis of the results is presented. Data was organised into the previously mentioned four categories and recurrent themes and new insights were identified and connected.

5.1 Background of the interviewees

The key figures that were interviewed seem to have similar roles within the climate movement, but in different cities: Lund, Helsingborg, Malmö and Gothenburg. All participants are part of either a planning group or an action group within a FFF and/or XR in Sweden. Some also have other roles in smaller CMOs, for example Fossil Free, an organisation fighting against use of fossil fuels in particular in Sweden, and working to divest money from the fossil fuel industry. They describe that they go to almost all of the events organised by FFF and/or XR. Some self-describe as the first or among the first people to start the CMO in their city or area and build up the movement. In general, all interviewees are active on social media to spread the message of their CMO and reach out to more people to join the movement. Being part of planning- and action groups, they are thus very involved in the decisions, events, strategies, and tactics of the CMOs. The age of the interviewees lies between 18 and 70 years old. Of the 11 participants, 4 identified as male and 7 identified as female.

5.2 Qualitative analysis and quantitative results

The quantitative results⁴ have been embedded into the qualitative analysis of the interview data of the semi-structured interviews⁵. The four previously theoretical areas of social movements that can be gendered will be analysed one by one.

5.2.1 Emergence and Mobilisation

In all four cities, the climate movement in the shape of FFF started either a week or a few weeks after Greta Thunberg started her School Strike For Climate in Stockholm in August 2018, just before the Swedish general election. Among the first participants of the CMOs there was some overlap of people that were already active and demonstrating in the environmental or climate movement, for example the SSNC. In all cities, the key figures mention that first initiators of the CMO were many and sometimes consisted of solely women. XR as an organisation is a bit more difficult to trace back to its emergence, as it originates in the United Kingdom. However it seems to have been started in Skåne by people in their late teens and early 20s [KF1].

Motivation and inspiration

Generally, there are a variety of ways members were introduced or inspired to join the movement, mostly related to demands of the CMOs. Nature is another important factor; people want to preserve nature for future generations. For some that were already part of the environmental movement before the climate movement, they saw the climate movement as a new start or logical next step in their activism. When asked about if a particular individual inspired key figures to join the movement, many interviewees active in FFF mention that Greta Thunberg was an inspiration for them, or an individual they look up to. Besides this, many mention their children or grandchildren as an inspiration for joining the climate movement. Additionally, academics or writers have inspired people to participate.

Gender balance

Results of the visual content analysis of photographs from all four cities, suggests there are more female than male participants in each case, with an average of 61% women, 30% men, and 9% unidentified. However, the extent to which there are more female than male participants is different per city or area, and also seems to be different across CMOs (table 2).

⁴ See appendix C or a full overview table of the quantitative data and its sources.

⁵ See appendix D for the list of interviews.

Table 2: Overview of the results of the visual content analysis in %, showing the city, CMO, and gender distribution.

City	CMO	Women %	Men %	Unidentified %
Lund	FFF	52	33	15
	XR	67	27	7
	Total	54	32	14
Helsingborg	FFF	72	13	5
	XR ⁶	-	-	-
	Total	72	20	8
Malmö	FFF	82	12	6
	XR	44	44	12
	Total	63	28	9
Gothenburg	FFF	68	32	0
	XR	48	45	6
	Total	57	40	3

Key figures from Lund see a rather mixed group of people that attend protest events, and that they have not noticed any unbalanced gender divisions within the movement participants [KF6; KF7]. The quantitative results show 54% women and 32% men, which means a majority of women were counted, however there is a relatively large proportion of unidentified participants. In Helsingborg, female participants made up 72% of all participants, which is higher than other cities. Key-figures in Helsingborg confidently stated that *“it has always been more women”* [KF4] in their surroundings. In Malmö, visual content analysis showed there was a majority of women at the protests. Key figures from Malmö also mentioned similar trends of there being more women [KF8; KF9; KF10]. Data of Gothenburg showed that 57% of the participants were women and 40% were men, which accounts for the smallest difference over all cities. The two key-figures based in Gothenburg confirm this observation and mention a majority of women, however with larger demonstrations the gender gap seems to be smaller [KF2].

⁶ There was no data found for XR Helsingborg.

The people active in both FFF and XR mention that they noticed that there are more female participants in FFF than in XR, where they see a more balanced group of participants. This is confirmed by the quantitative data. However, it is mentioned women seem more active online than men XR.

Youth

A theme that was not specifically raised in the interview by the researcher, but mentioned by many key figures and thus deemed important is that people under the age of 18 (hereafter young people) are underrepresented at events organised by the CMOs. Generally, key figures mention that FFF was not a youth demonstration at the start.

In the current mobilisation, a general average age of 30-35 is mentioned. One participant mentions this is *“unusual in the world, but not unusual in Sweden”* [KF2]. Key figures are worried about the small amount of young people joining the climate strikes. In Lund, the youngest participants are university students [KF7]. Only in Malmö interviewees see two young participants that participate frequently. One interviewee stated: *“I have two daughters myself, 11 and 18, and I think it could be that when they are in the gymnasium (high school) they are afraid of not getting student loan, if they don’t show up they lose money”* [KF9]. Also indicative of this is that in Malmö school administrations told students that if they would participate in the Global Climate Strike in September 2019, they would get a no-show which can affect their overall grades: *“I think children are really keen, (...) they are aware of what’s happening, but they are also aware of their grades, so they are not coming. That’s really sad”* [KF10]. Interviewees mentioned that during the emergence phase there were more young people, but this has decreased over time. However, during large (global) strikes announced and supported by international organisations and Greta, youth is much more present. This was especially the case in Gothenburg, where the climate movement started among the younger participants after the Global Climate Strike on the 15th of March 2019, after being asked by one of the older female participants. Currently, there is a more solid base of younger participants in Gothenburg compared to the other three cities. It was mentioned that there is an especially striking amount of young women [KF2]

5.2.2 Identity and Framing

Key figures identify the atmosphere within the movement as *“very kind, humble, and compassionate”* [KF6]. People feel safe, care about each other and other people, and are aware of their surroundings. General empathy, sympathy, and understanding of the issues is viewed as important. It is a group of people that finds comfort with each other, and shares the same worries about the climate which

brings them together. Everyone is and should feel welcome. One of the key figures says that he thinks *“they are very open minded, kind, they let other people in, and they respect each other and respect all the people”* [KF6]. Both CMO’s describe a feeling of community, however it is mentioned that this can differ per group, place and over time. Key figures active in FFF say that it is a broad movement that is open for everybody. They *“want the climate issue to become something everyone can join, and can feel that it’s an issue for them”* [KF9]. They describe it as low-key and easy to access. XR specifically builds on inclusion. Decisions are taken in a (scientifically) informed way and with caution, and there is awareness of how a wrong decision of the movement can lead to destruction of the movement in terms of how they are viewed.

The interviewees were asked how they think people outside of the movement view of them, and it seems like that framing differs. Generally, they think people on the outside think positively about FFF, and don’t see them as *“scary”* [KF9]. This also adds to participants of FFF being framed as *“naïve and harmless”* [KF6], not having any impact in the fight for a better world [KF6]. However, XR has a more radical reputation, which can scare people away. An active member in XR said *“if we look at the rebels at XR I think they’re a little bit scared of us”* [KF6]. This view is shared by some activists that decide to be active in FFF and not in XR. What applies to both is that the people within the climate movement and their demands are seen as *“radical”* [KF11], their solutions are *“too extreme”* [KF6], and that they are *“not ordinary people”* [KF11]. Sometimes, climate activists get mocked and labelled as *“green hippies”*. However, this is the assessment of the key figures of the movement, so there could be bias in this characterisation.

The two CMOs also frame each other differently. An activist within FFF mentions that *“Some people are also involved in XR, so they have a different view on what we can do and should do. They are more radical. I agree with and support XR but I think FFF exists for a reason and we need FFF because it’s more of a stepping stone into being an activist, and that it has to be child friendly, legal and nice, and we exchange cookies and coffee.”* [KF8] On the other hand, participants in XR mention taking a more radical approach than FFF because disruption is needed to get attention for the issue [KF1].

Diversity

Another finding that became apparent without being specifically addressed by the researcher is diversity. Four of the interviewees mentioned that they noticed that the climate movement in Sweden is lacking diversity in terms of ethnic, social and economic background. They see this as a common criticism and observation of the climate movement that could have to do with collective identity and framing. This strikes the key figures, and is described as not right, which *“is really hard*

because climate change is affecting everyone, and if people feel like they are not welcome in the movement and that the movement is not for them, there's something wrong with the movement and not with them" [KF3]. The interviewees are generally sad that this is happening and are unsure as to why this tendency is apparent.

5.2.3 Tactics and Strategies

Regarding the tactics and strategies, there seem to be large differences between CMOs, which means that in this section they will be addressed more separately than before. FFF focuses on perseverance, as they want to show politicians that they do not give up, and are steady fighters for the climate. They demand action from the political field. *"The strategy in FFF is to keep doing it week after week, and by doing it week after week we show that this is very important and that we are not giving up. This has opened the eyes of politicians in Lund, and I know because I have talked to them. And they are very surprised that we continue to do it every week."* [KF6] XR takes the approach of 'non-violent civil disobedience', aiming to grab attention and spread the message by disruption, demanding change in all levels of society. Both organisations build their activism on key-pillars set by the CMO, highlighted in the background section of this thesis.

For both, part of the strategy is getting as many people as possible involved in the movement and get as much support as possible, which is done through personal contact, social media or people coming across the movement in real life. Besides this, both CMOs have contact with the political field in terms of writing letters to and having meetings with political actors. The identities and framing previously described are part of the strategies of the CMOs.

To carry out these strategies, CMOs choose different tactics. While the basic principle of FFF is weekly strikes in front of buildings of political bodies and occasionally participating in bigger events, XR takes a more diverse approach. One of the tactics mentioned by an active member in XR is that they aim to get media attention for their actions. They do this through blockades, strikes, and so-called die-ins. This civil disobedience can sometimes lead to arrest. One of the interviewees mentions that they observed that when assessing who is interested or willing to be arrested during an action, a majority of these people are female and over the age of 65. XR aims to generally go further than FFF and sometimes shocks people. An interviewee describes one of their actions where activists pretend to hang themselves, while standing on a block of ice. The more the ice melts, the more pressure on the rope. This symbolises icecaps melting, which will in the long term lead to death of many.

To better understand the tactics, key-participants were asked about the motivations for the choices they and the organisation make. XR participants mostly mention that they would participate in all

events organised, and not much is *“too far”* [KF6] for them. FFF participants mention they would not want anyone to be upset about their actions, and that they want to talk, not disrupt. The motivation for the tactics and strategies are for FFF that they would like to be accessible, and reach change by talking with politicians. A key-figure in FFF says *“I want to work within the system a bit, the parliamentary way”* [KF10]. An activist in XR mentions the reason for going further than that saying that *“The environmental movement has existed and has been active in the past decades and had minimal if any effect really, collecting signatures or going on marches and protesting outside buildings. This kind of thing has had no effect and the world kind of continues to hurdle towards climate catastrophe. (...) The only way to make something happen is going and be disruptive. If you’re disruptive people will pay attention. Take things up a notch, start getting right in people’s faces. So XR strategy is pretty well thought out and built on what other movements have done and achieved. Non-violent civil disobedience has been shown to work time and time again.”* [KF1]

Occasionally, the CMOs work together and/or show support towards each other or other CMOs. For example, Fossil Free and an organisation protesting against the Swedish oil company Preem is mentioned. FFF Gothenburg participated in the Women’s March on the 8th of March 2020, to show solidarity with the cause [KF2]. In general, interviewees mention that both movements and their tactics and strategies are necessary and complement each other. *“I think FFF is extremely needed to reach people, and then if they’re interested in doing more we will help them to get into XR. It’s important to have both”* [KF8].

Culturally, the tactics are explained by one of the interviewees as: *“I think in the Swedish culture we are not very used to taking it to the streets. Sitting on those stairs is already a big thing for people and that’s also why I haven’t been able to bring many people to the stairs. It’s perceived as radical to say something to politicians.”* [KF8] More key-figures explained that there are more cultural impacts. For example an activist from Gothenburg states: *“I feel like in Sweden we’re not taken as seriously as in other countries”* [KF2]. FFF feels ignored, and politicians do not always pay attention to them. Another interviewee explains that indeed it is not very common in Sweden to ‘take it to the streets’, and that the movement is still too small to make a political change in Sweden. *“In XR we kind of don’t have the impact that we would like to have, because one part of civil disobedience is that you are not friends with the police and that you get arrested (...) and that’s just not happening”* [KF2]. This is explained by the interviewee through the fact that Swedish government and the police avoid conflict: *“we’re almost like friends with the police and that they protect us more than they are trying to get us to stop”* [KF2].

5.2.4 Organisational Structure

The organisational structure of XR and FFF is slightly different. XR works with many different action groups with specific tasks, for example planning actions, recruiting members, or managing media [KF1]. Both organisations mention that anyone can join these meetings, at that the organisations are very flat, meaning there is no specific leader. Nevertheless, there are differences in amount of experience and activity at different points in time between the activists. The groups of people that are more active is only a small part of the movement.

There is not always a gender balance on the organisational level according to the interviewees, especially in FFF. In Lund they mention that they think it is made up of 2/3 of women and 1/3 men, and that it has quite a similar balance to the general participants of the movement. In Helsingborg a fairly even gender distribution is mentioned. In Malmö, all interviewees agree that there are more female actors in the planning group, but that it is a new trend that it is becoming more balanced. One of the male interviewees mentions that this makes him feel left out sometimes, as the women address the group with *“hey girls”* or *“sisters”*, and *“sometimes don’t see the men”* [KF11]. In Gothenburg, key figures see a trend of more men at demonstrations than in planning groups in both CMOs. An interviewee in XR Lund/Skåne mentions that they work with a sociocracy, meaning everyone takes an equal amount of space in the meetings, and that there is a balance in gender among the participants in the action groups [KF1; KF6]. Participants in FFF mention that there is no specific leader, and that the organisation is flat. *“We’re not really super lead by someone that has much of a plan other than those three demands that we have. What happens happens, and that is kind of nice”* [KF9].

At larger events, there are often speakers that talk to the protesting group about certain themes. A key figure mentions they are not always representative of the movement participants. In Lund they say that the people that speak are *“for example, the head of the Naturskyddsforeningen (SSNC) or a political party or that. Sometimes we have younger persons giving a speech. I think I would prefer more younger people giving a speech”* [KF6]. They would say there are more men than women speaking, mostly for this reason. This also applies to FFF Malmö. where In Helsingborg, they report a balance [KF4]. In Gothenburg, there is awareness of this, since after the first larger events with speakers the organisers noticed that the gender of speakers was not 50/50, so they decided to pay more attention to it for future events [KF2]. Nevertheless, the themes the speakers address are still more important than the gender of the speaker when asking them to participate.

6 Discussion

The results and analysis of this mixed methods study indicate that more women than men are active in the climate movement in Sweden. This is in line with the findings of Moor et al. (2019) in their cross-country study of the climate march in March 2019. The trend is more evident in FFF than in XR. While some are more obvious than others, gendered dimensions are seen in all four areas of social movement inquiry explored in the semi-structured interviews. This section will first provide a discussion on these findings, and then address limitations to the study as well as new entry points for future research.

At the basis of FFF lie the school strikes started by Greta, a young woman. Firstly, in terms of emergence, a striking finding is that most key figures mention a female founder of this CMO in their city. These founders mostly had a history of being active in the environmental movement. Women historically took the lead in the environmental movement in Sweden (Peterson & Merchant, 1986), which can explain this phenomenon within the climate movement. This connects to the motivation or inspiration by Greta for participants of FFF. Taking an ecofeminist approach, this can indicate that activists active in FFF identify with Greta, and connect to having a 'motherly instinct' towards Greta and the cause. Some key figures seem to encourage youth to take more action, taking responsibility and care over their behaviour, helping to inform them this addresses their future. The view that outsiders have that the movement is naïve and harmless, which can be connected to traditional image of young girls, can also be problematic and decreasing the impact of the movement. On the other hand, for younger people it can be seen as 'uncool' to be part of the climate movement, as currently the older generations are much more present.

The terms used by the interviewees to describe the people that are part of the climate movement have a background in traditionally feminine traits or terminology. For example, terms around empathy and care for each other and for nature are used. A potential explanation in the social context of Sweden is that women seem to still take on the more caring and social roles in the Swedish labour market: 43% compared to 12% of men (EIGE, 2019). However, family care and unpaid labour is effectively equally shared among genders in Sweden. These points again tie in with more of an essentialist and ecofeminist approach towards the socially constructed role of women and the connection to nature and climate issues (Buckingham, 2015). This collective identity can be problematic from a gender perspective, as men might have the feeling that they cannot identify with these terms, and are thus excluded from this movement. On the other hand, XR frames its participants as 'rebels', which is a word that can scare people, as mentioned by some interviewees.

Not surprisingly, as the definition of rebel is “a person who rises in opposition or armed resistance against an established government or ruler” (Lexico Oxford, n.d.). This gives the CMO a much harsher and tougher framing than FFF, highlighting the more radical approach. Generally, this framing can be more attractive to men, due to the traditionally masculine connotation of the word.

Women take up most of the formal and informal organisational roles in the movement. A statement by one of the male interviewees is especially concerning, as he mentioned to feel left out in the organising groups. This shows that even though people aim to be very inclusive, this (consciously or unconsciously) does not always happen, and as described by McKee Hurwitz and Dahl Crossley (2018) gender inequality can easily be perpetuated in a mixed-gender social movement.

Tied to this is the labour division within the movement. Both men and women among key-figure indicated having taken an informal caring role in terms of providing food for fellow protest participants, which can refute that women take on the informal roles in the climate movement in Sweden. However, the statements of interviewees on speakers at bigger events are partly concerning from a gender perspective. Even though more women are involved in the organisational structure, public speaking roles are sometimes more taken up by men. However, there is general awareness of this issue already within the movement.

The FFF strikes are during regular working hours for most people, thus one should be available to take part. On average, the employment rate for women in Sweden is still lower than for men, women work less hours, and these gaps larger between women and men in a couple with children (EIGE, 2019), indicating that this strike tactic is more slightly more accessible to women than to men. Even though this gap is small in Sweden, it seems like it can still have an effect on the emergence phase and mobilisation of a movement if the tactics are not accessible to everyone. Global Strikes attract a larger and more diverse audience, indicating that the impact of these events boosts the movement. The fact that young people feel like they cannot afford to strike due to missing points in school, indicates that this tactic might not be the most suitable for younger participants. However, during larger events, younger students participate more, which can indicate they feel more strong when striking together. XR protest events appear to be more diverse in timing, and can thus allow a broader audience. Being active online can be of lower risk than in real life, which is seen in women having more online activity than men in XR.

Culturally, strategies and tactics of FFF are in line with Thörn and Svenberg (2017), who mention that the relationship between politics and social movement is strong in Sweden. The fact that key figures mention they would rather have a good conversation with a politician than make people upset

supports this. The collaborations with other SMO's is promising, and shows solidarity between organisations with either similar or different goals, which can strengthen the position of the movement and help its image to be broadened (Weldon, 2006). However, the participation of FFF Gothenburg in the Women's March also has implications for the collective identity of the CMO regarding gender. The climate movement can learn a lot from the feminist movement, but it should question whether it wants to become one.

The strategies of XR are more high-risk and controversial. According to key-figures and research by Thörn and Svenberg (2016), this is culturally not something the Swedish society is used to, which is not unsurprising, as this CMO originates outside of Sweden. Disobedience has a negative connotation, and mostly does not go without consequences. There is a chance that other people get upset or disagree with the movement and its tactics. Civil disobedience can interrupt other people's lives, for example by blocking a street. Sometimes, arrest can be part of an event, for which older women do not seem to hold back. Additionally, XR takes a more diverse approach in their tactics, ranging from die-ins to blockades, to marches and strikes. This can attract a broader audience than focusing on one type of tactic, which is reflected in the more equal gender balance in participation of this CMO. Another gendered difference between these strategies and tactics can be the safe versus high-risk, where safe tactics can attract women and high-risk tactics can attract men. A larger range of tactics and strategies has proven successful by other social movements, for example the feminist movement (McKee Hurwitz & Dahl Crossley, 2018), which seem to be modernised and replicated by XR.

Part of the research outcome that was unplanned was the strong indication of how the age distribution among climate activists in Sweden is a worry for most of the key figures. An intergenerational connection in terms of participation seems to be missing. As DeMartini (1983) states, this is very important for the success of a movement. Firstly, he sees that generational ties "facilitate the transmission of political values and orientations across generations (...) which contributes to social movement participation" (DeMartini, 1983) p. 214). Second, he sees that people can hold on to their dissident political values they might have when they are younger, and continue to feel the same when they engage in adult social roles (DeMartini, 1983). Additionally, social movements are both driving change in the short run, and can create and sustain change in the long run, which has an effect on participants of all generations (DeMartini, 1983). Fourth and last, DeMartini (1983) mentions the importance of the socialisation process. The socialisation process maintain continuity, even over generations, in the non-traditional values that are brought forward by social movements (DeMartini, 1983). Older generations mention participating for the younger

generations and their future, indicating a sense of responsibility. The climate movement has a “strong generational dynamic” in terms of demands (Mingle, 2013), however this dimension seems to be missing in Sweden, or only appears to exist unidirectional. Youth seems to need more inspiration from others, and Gothenburg is a good example, showing that an older female participant asked them to start something can indicate encouragement is needed for younger people. Also among youth the gender gap is indicated, which is also in line with the findings by Moor et al. (2019).

Another unexpected outcome is the limited diversity in the movement that is surfaced in the interviews. Not only in terms of gender, but also in ethnic, social, and economic background. Diversity is needed in the movement for it to thrive, as it provides room for discussion and different perspectives within the movement that reflect to outside framing of the movement, and diversity can help build public support (Wouters, 2018). A crucial point is that the divisions in race, class, and gender can obstruct cooperation within the movement and with outside parties (Weldon, 2006). It also has implications on the mobilisation of the movement, perpetuating the problem even more in the collective identity and framing. In practice, increasing diversity example be done through the creation of dialogue within movement participants, setting up separate groups for different audiences, while building a consensus between all groups (Weldon, 2006). Cooperation is key in the case of the climate movement in Sweden. The climate movement seems to have lost its momentum that can be regained by focusing on diversity. The demands entail change for and by everyone, and in this process of demands everyone should be included, which sheds light on the importance of an intersectional approach needed in the context of the climate movement in Sweden. There is already research out there focusing on diversity in the environmental and climate movement in other countries, however for Sweden this knowledge must be expanded.

6.1 Limitations

In addition to methodological limitations due to the COVID-19 outbreak and the assumption of gender, there were other limitations to the study that should be taken into account. Downsides of the visual content analysis are that it is just one moment in time, and it does not cover a very large amount of events and pictures. There might be better ways to measure this more broadly on a larger scale, and in a more trustworthy manner, for example through a survey at the event. Additionally, not having taken the photographs myself meant having no control over the situation and setting, so bias from the original photographer could have played a role in the study. I was also not able to give an indication of how many people attended the strike, which could have added to the judgement of

representativeness of the data. Nevertheless, this method did give the general empirical understanding that was needed for this research.

The semi-structured interviews with key figures pose a few areas of potential bias. With this method comes the representativeness of the sample that can be compromised. The background of the key-figures in terms of their activities was similar. During the COVID-19 crisis I had to reach out to the people through social media instead of in person, which makes it understandable that I reached the people with media roles within the CMO, also accounting for similar perspectives. As a researcher not speaking the local language well enough to use it in research, the interviews had to be held in English. English proficiency of the interviewees was more than sufficient, however there could have been a language barrier in some cases, which could have affected the answers.

Furthermore, the research area could have been wider, rather than focused on the southwest of Sweden and only two CMOs. Already in this research it is visible that there are large differences between cities, regions, and CMOs which is an indication that this could also be the case in a study of a larger scope.

Lastly, I as an individual highly aware of climate change issues, stand by everything the climate movement and climate activists stand for. Throughout the research process, I have remained conscious about staying impartial towards the movement, and evaluated the findings as objectively as possible.

6.2 Future research

The outcomes of this thesis have brought about many new entry points for future research. After exploring the gender dimensions of the climate movement in Sweden empirically, more in-depth research that is analytical or experimental is needed to explore the reasons behind the gendered nature of the Swedish climate movement further. For example, it would be interesting to see the general participant's view instead of just the view of key figures by interviewing them and taking their perspective into account. Specifically in Sweden, an intergenerational research project looking for reasons why there is such a divide in age in the climate movement, also comparing the reasons for youth and older participants to compare and find out why young participants seem to be underrepresented in the climate movement.

This study can be carried out more broadly, covering larger areas in Sweden, and can also be translated to other countries, as regional differences have already shown in this research. A comparative study to get an overview of the global climate movement and gender can be very

interesting and benefitting to better understand the gendered dimensions of social movements, and find out what the implications are globally.

Intersectionality is playing a larger role in the climate movement in Sweden than expected. A starting point that is strictly gender-focused is useful as a general indication of differences present, but there are clearly more layers of inequality that add to differences in mobilisation in this case that have not been shed light on in this research. Thus, it is a really important future study to take an intersectional lens towards the study of the climate movement and address race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality and the roles they play in CMOs. This can bring many new insights concerning CMO framing, collective identity, tactics, and strategies. Ultimately, it would be great to find out how to make movements as inclusive as possible with the results of such research.

The other areas of social movement inquiry identified by Horn (2013); McKee Hurwitz and Dahl Crossley (2018); Whittier (2013); (Zemlinskaya, 2010) that are not covered in this research and dependent on external factors and outside like inter-movement dynamics, opportunities and constraints, and outcomes can be explored as well. When the climate movement progresses and reaches the next stages of social movements, one can examine the areas that are more connected to the outcome of the social movement, and connected to external factors. Especially at the final stages, the impact of climate movement and gender and diversity should be researched more deeply

7 Conclusion

So who runs the movement? Looking at the gender balance in terms of participants and the four areas of social movement inquiry, women are currently on the forefront of the climate movement in Sweden. In a country where the societal and political gender gap is the smallest in Europe, it would be expected that the participation in a social movement that is mixed in terms of gender would also be generally equal. However, a gender imbalance in the climate movement is seen, which indicates that this can also occur in other countries.

The four areas of the social movement contribute to the development and outcome of the social movement, therefore these are informative insights. It was found that women mostly started the activities of the CMOs, adding to a gendered emergence of the movement that can be connected to framing and collective identity. The framing and identity of the movement shows gendered structures, as traditionally feminine terminology is used when addressing the movement and its participants. This is more apparent in FFF than in XR, as XR also takes on a more masculine identity as 'rebels'. Tactics and strategies differ between the CMOs, and can be considered gendered in terms of

accessibility and risk, and potentially explaining the reason why XR generally has a more balanced gender distribution than FFF. Finally, women take up the majority of the informal and formal leadership roles. Nevertheless, in public roles there are occasions where men take the stage, which shows that an unequal gender balance is perpetuated in the organisational structure of the CMOs.

Within the climate movement in Sweden it is seen that there are different CMOs ultimately fighting for the same purpose. They have different tactics and strategies, a different framing, and thus different followers. It is positive that women have a place to express their concerns and feel part of a movement they identify with, but further diversity can strengthen the movement.

Gender is an important issue in the climate movement, however race, class, and age, and thus an intersectional approach seems even more important. If the climate movement in Sweden wants to actually become a 'movement of all the people', something has to change. CMOs are aware of the differences between them, however, they can benefit from focussing on similarities and collaboration. The intention to be open to all people is there, however in practice it does not always seem to work yet. Ways to increase general diversity should be explored in the climate movement in Sweden. In practice, this can for example be done through the creation of dialogue within and outside of the movement. Inclusivity and cooperation is key when moving the climate movement in Sweden forward.

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Appendix A: Example of a 'snapshot' photograph for visual content analysis



Photograph taken by the author as an example on 7 February 2020. In this photograph there is a total of 25 people visible, of which 10 are coded as 'woman', 13 are coded as 'man' and 2 are coded as 'unidentified'. Note: this image is merely an example and was not included in this research.

Appendix B: Interview guideline

(Semi) neutral question: Do you come here to strike often?

What are your tasks as an active member?

What is your reason for coming here today?

Emergence & Mobilisation

Was there anyone in particular that motivated or inspired you and your decision to participate?

Do you know how the movement started here (city)?

Who were the first participants?

- Follow up: women, men, are you not sure, is it equal?

Identity & Framing

What is your perception of the participants of the climate movement in this place or in general in Sweden?

- Media?

Is there any goal of the movement you particularly identify with?

- Help with examples: energy transition, children's future, animals, pollution reduction, degrowth

Tactics & Strategies

What kind of protest activities have you seen organised around you?

Which ones did you participate in?

- Follow up: why participate in these/don't participate in some?

Organisational structure?

Is there a certain organisation in place here (city) that organises events and gathers people?

Do you know who is in charge of the events?

- Follow up: Do you think there is a balance in gender of the people that organise events?

Who are the speakers at events?

- Follow up: Do you think there is a balance in gender of the people that speak at events?

Final question: if you are comfortable with answering this question, what gender do you identify with?

Is there anything you would like to add/come back to/change?

Appendix C: List of photographs

City	Photo ID	CMO	date	Photographer	Link	n	Women	Men	Unidentified
Lund	L1	FFF	n.d.	Ranka Steingrimsdottir	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=105303584451553&set=a.105303607784884	33	17	9	7
	L2	FFF	15-3-2019	Unknown	http://www.kimnicholas.com/activism-opinion.html	16	7	6	3
	L3	XR	2-3-2019	XR Skåne	https://twitter.com/ExtinctionR/status/1101975616969150464/photo/2	15	10	4	1
	L4	FFF	n.d.	Adriane Trottnar	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10221089460602882&set=pcb.738551093620240	27	15	9	3
	L5	FFF	n.d.	Adriane Trottnar	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10221089463042943&set=pcb.738551093620240	10	6	4	0
Helsingborg	H1	FFF	2019	FFF Helsingborg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=424720238179764&set=a.333844807267308	18	16	1	1
	H2	FFF	2019	FFF Helsingborg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=423769598274828&set=a.333844807267308	20	11	5	4
	H3	FFF	2019	FFF Helsingborg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=424999264818528&set=a.333844807267308	5	4	1	0
	H4	FFF	2019	Sven Broqvist	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=473741243277663&set=a.473466239971830	14	9	5	0
	H5	FFF	2019	FFF Helsingborg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=424720284846426&set=a.333844807267308	7	6	1	0
Malmö	M1	FFF	n.d.	FFF Malmö	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2540985769479249&set=a.2349906841920477	14	10	3	1
	M2	FFF	n.d.	FFF Malmö	https://klimatsverige.se/tag/fridaysforfuture/	36	31	3	2
	M3	XR	n.d.	Johan Nilsson/TT Nyhetburån	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/pLb45R/klimataktivister-intog-malmo--14-greps-av-polis	6	3	3	0
	M4	XR	29-2-2020	XR Skåne	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2770142466388451&set=a.2770128789723152	15	7	5	3
	M5	XR	n.d.	XR Skåne	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2675805822488783&set=a.1968244256578280	29	12	14	3
Gothenburg	G1	FFF	20-3-2020	FFF Gothenburg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=217362219622341&set=a.117111666314064	7	5	2	0
	G2	FFF	n.d.	FFF Gothenburg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=147506143274616&set=a.117111662980731	9	5	4	0
	G3	FFF	n.d.	FFF Gothenburg	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=180528006639096&set=a.117111662980731	9	7	2	0
	G4	XR	n.d.	XR Gothenburgn	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=587951868657869&set=a.587951418657914	24	11	11	2
	G5	XR	2020	XR Gothenburgn	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=657078135078575&set=a.400241007428957	9	5	4	0
Total						323	197	96	30
%						100	61	30	9

Appendix D: List of interviews

All interviews were recorded, transcribed for analysis and quoted with permission from the participants.

Key figure ID, CMO(s), medium, date

KF1, Extinction Rebellion Malmö/Skåne, telephone, 05-04-2020

KF2, Fridays for Future Gothenburg and Extinction Rebellion Gothenburg, telephone, 08-04-2020

KF3, Fridays for Future Gothenburg, telephone, 13-04-2020

KF4, Fridays for Future Helsingborg, in person, 28-02-2020⁷

KF5, Fridays for Future Helsingborg, in person, 28-02-2020¹

KF6, Fridays for Future Lund and Extinction Rebellion, 14-04-2020

KF7, Fridays for Future Lund, telephone, 26-03-2020

KF8, Fridays for Future Malmö & Gothenburg, video call, 20-03-2020

KF9, Fridays for Future Malmö, telephone, 03-04-2020

KF10, Fridays for Future Malmö, telephone, 07-04-2020

KF11, Fridays for Future Malmö/Seden & Extinction Rebellion Malmö/Skåne, telephone, 09-04-202

⁷ In person interview with two interviewees.

