Rebels with a Cause

Exploring the Antecedents and Motivations of Environmental Activism in Norway

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Abstract

Social movements have been essential in constructing the foundations of the Norwegian democracy and welfare society. Owing to collective actions in the 20th century the living conditions, education, welfare, rights, and prosperity for large parts of the Norwegian population improved dramatically. Subsequently, new movements with other motives have emerged, of which some of the most visible today are concerned with environmental issues. Hypothesising that the main motivations of these movements are not instrumental at neither individual nor group levels, this thesis aims to explore other motivations of political engagement and action. Recognising that much of the existing research on social movements and collective action is quantitative and operates at a structural level, this thesis aims to complement these approaches with qualitative, thematic analysis at an individual level. The analysis is based on semi-structured interviews with nine participants that have devoted substantial parts of their lives to activism and participated in collective civil disobedience actions.

The analyses indicate that while a generational divide in the motivational effect of *perceived efficacy* of collective action is evident, instrumental motivations in ego-centric terms are absent at the individual level and vague at group level. All participants indicate mainly selfless motivations within two categories; anthropocentric and altruistic, and ecocentric values. Further analyses, drawing on theorising in social psychology, political ecology, and the *cultural turn* in social movement studies in other disciplines, suggest that factors related to *identity* are the main motivators of political engagement; identities formed, expressed, and catalysed by factors like *values*, *emotions*, *moral convictions*, and experiences in *youth and adolescence*. Furthermore, certain *transformative moments* serve as catalysers that transform political engagement to collective action. While utilising social-psychological concepts and theories, and albeit briefly discussing the cases in terms of structural theories and context, the thesis suggests that the structural and quantitative approaches to social movement studies are too deterministic and insufficient to investigate and fully understand antecedents and motivations of political engagement and action. Moreover, the absence of ego-centric and instrumental motivations challenges the heuristic assumption of the rationally behaving *homo oeconomicus* that underlie much theorising in the political and social sciences.

Acknowledgements

To reembark onto this long-adjourned project amidst a pandemic, after years of pursuing other ventures, has been more demanding than I ever anticipated. Yet, being granted the freedom to pursue this journey into new fields of knowledge has been a challenge and a privilege I would not have missed for anything. Like its field of inquiry, completing this thesis has not been an individual effort. It has leaned on the vigorous collective actions of countless wonderful individuals that have helped keep my spirits up for a year, despite the moments of despair. I feel intensely privileged and joyful to be surrounded by such an exquisite collective of people to whom I owe my deepest and most heartfelt gratitude:

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All my friends, no one mentioned no one forgotten, thanks for being you;

Veslemøy for everything;

I could not have done this without you. My endless love and admiration to all of you,

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April 2022.

Table of acronyms

Acronym	Meaning	Translation
AKP	Arbeidernes kommunistparti	The Worker's Communist Party
AP	Arbeiderpartiet	Labour Party
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity	Konvensjonen om biologisk mangfold
CCS	Carbon Capture and Storage	Karbonfangst- og lagring
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna	Basque Country and Freedom
EU	European Union	Den europeiske union
FA	Folkeaksjonen mot utbygging av Alta-Kautokeinovassdraget	The Peoples Action Against the Development of the Alta-Kautokeino Water Course
FD	Fiskeridirektoratet	Directorate of Fisheries
FIVH	Framtiden i våre hender	The Future in Our Hands
FOE	Friends of the Earth	Friends of the Earth
FRP	Fremskrittpartiet	Progress Party
GU	Grønn ungdom	Young Greens of Norway
H	Høyre	The Conservative Party
HI	Havforskningsinstituttet	Norwegian Institute of Marine Research
ILO	International Labour Organisation	Den internasjonale arbeidsorganisasjonen
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	FNs klimapanel
IRA	Irish Republican Army	Den irske republikanske armé
IT	Information Technology	Informasjonsteknologi
JD	Justisdepartementet	The Ministry of Justice
KFUK	Kristelig forening for unge kvinner	YWCA
KFUM	Kristelig forening for unge menn	YMCA
KLD	Klima- og miljødepartementet	Ministry of Climate and Environment
MD	Miljøverndepartementet	Ministry of Environmental Protection
MDG	Miljøpartiet de Grønne	Green Party
Mdir	Miljødirektoratet	Norwegian Environment Agency
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation	Ikke-statlig organisasjon
NKP	Norges kommunistiske parti	Communist Party of Norway
NL	Norske lakseelver	Norwegian Salmon Rivers
NNV	Naturvernforbundet	The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature

NOK	Norske kroner	Norwegian Kroner
NOU	Norges offentlige utredninger	Norwegian Official Report
NRK	Norsk rikskringkasting	Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation
NRL	Norske reindriftsamers landsforbund	Sámi Reindeer Herders' Association of Norway
NSD	Norsk senter for forskningsdata	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
NSF	Norges Sosiale Forum	The Norwegian Social Forum
NSR	Norske samers riksforbund	Norwegian Sámi Association
NTB	Norsk telegrambyrå	Norwegian News Agency
NU	Natur og ungdom	Nature and Youth
NVE	Norges vassdrags- og energidirektorat	Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate
OED	Olje- og energidepartementet	The Ministry of Oil and Energy
PM	Prime Minister	Statsminister
PR	Public Relations	Informasjon og samfunnskontakt
RU	Rød ungdom	Red Youth
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals	FNs bærekraftsmål
SIT	Social Identity Theory	Sosial identitetsteori
SM	Social Movement	Sosial bevegelse
SMI	Social Movement Industry	Sosial bevegelsesindustri
SMO	Social Movement Organisation	Sosial bevegelsesorganisasjon
SMT	Social Movement Theory	Sosial bevegelsesteori
SSB	Statistisk sentralbyrå	Statistics Norway
SU	Sosialistisk ungdom	Socialist Youth
SUM	Senter for utvikling og miljø	Centre for Development and the Environment
SV	Sosialistisk venstreparti	Socialist Left Party
TEQ	Tradable Emission Quota	Omsettelige utslippskvoter
TM	Transformative Moment	Forvandlende øyeblikk
UN	United Nations	Forente nasjoner (FN)
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	FNs klimakonvensjon
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly	FNs generalforsamling
UV	Unge venstre	Young Liberals of Norway

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1. Introduction

Social movements, collective actions, and civil disobedience – one of the most powerful weapons of non-violent movements – have played an imperative role in building the foundations upon which the current Norwegian social democracy and welfare state stands: Voting rights, labour rights, decent salaries, equality, justice, and more, are all products of the relentless struggles and collective actions of the labour movement and other social movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. The most influential prime minister in the post-war era, 'father of the country' Einar Gerhardsen, took part in, and was convicted for, civil disobedience actions in the interwar period, as were nation builders as Hans Nielsen Hauge and Martin Tranmæl before him. More recently, Sámi rights, Sámi laws, the Sámi parliament, and a national plan for watercourse protection were established in the wake of the largest civil disobedience actions in post-war Norway, the Alta actions. In other parts of the world, pioneer figures like Henry Thoreau (1849), Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King jr. used civil disobedience in their struggles and protests against slavery, war, colonial rule, and for civil rights. Disobedience has advanced the rights, freedoms, and benefits we take for granted today, but has always been condemned by the ruling classes and 'the obedient masses'. Still, the 1961 trial against Adolf Eichmann, one of the main architects of the holocaust – and Hannah Arendt's (1963) reporting from the trial in particular – enshrined the modern thinking on the individual's political responsibility; the responsibility *not* to stay obedient when facing immoral orders and commanders (Bay 1968, 13, 70, 90–92). In his review of Arendt's (1963) work, Norwegian author Jens Bjørneboe (1965, 4) noted:

> Every time we bow to an order from a higher authority, without first assessing and judging it morally, — then it is Eichmann who bows in us. […] Eichmann was neither intellectually or morally worse equipped than most people. He assumed that law was law, and when the law bid him to help Jews to emigrate, he did that, — when the law bid him to send them to the gas chambers, he did that. His error was that he did not feel personally responsible for what his government did. He is not alone.

Despite these irrefutable acknowledgements, politicians and other public officials keep framing present day civilly disobedient environmental activists as threats and

hindrances to the democracy[1]. This framing has in turn been used to justify or threaten civilly disobedient activists with brutal force, heavy fines, and jail time (Persen and Johansen 1998; Hjorthol 2006; A. Nilsen 2019).

While the labour movement continuously struggles to sustain and improve the hard-earned rights and welfare of the Norwegian people, most Norwegians can now reap the fruits of the struggles of previous generations. The Sámi people – who were left behind in substantial parts of the first, great leaps of the Norwegian population in terms of rights and recognition – had to fight for their constitutional rights as late as in the 1980's. Still, for large proportions of the population, increasing and relatively stable levels of prosperity and wealth, functioning democratic institutions, and a safe welfare state has reduced the need to struggle to improve one's own group's social or economic status and means. Consequently, in the post-war era, movements with other motives, like protecting the environment or solidarity with oppressed or otherwise disadvantaged groups, have grown in size, visibility, and influence.

This thesis aims to investigate two generations of participants that were activists when the environmental movement and related movements engaged in collective actions, including civil disobedience, to protest infrastructure development encroachments on nature: The Alta case and the Førdefjord case. The Alta case took place in the intersection between environmental protection and the struggle for Sámi rights, while the Førdefjord case does not involve Sámi territories or interests. However, the emphasis of this study is not Sámi rights or environmental protection in itself; the study aims to explore what factors motivate people to take part in civil disobedience actions when the potential costs and consequences evidently are high, and the necessity in terms of fulfilling group needs, egocentric needs, and economical rationality apparently is low for many of the participants. While both cases involved activists with personal vested interests in preventing the development projects in question (i.e. fishing rights or tourism), none of the participants in this study stated any personal or economical interest in the protest actions.

1 Most recently Extinction Rebellion's (XR) climate actions in Oslo, August 2021, and Natur og Ungdom's [Nature and Youth] (NU) actions against a mining development in Repparfjord in the summer and autumn of 2021 incurred these reactions from politicians and a columnist: 'Extinction Rebellion: Are these the future's terrorists?', 'The contempt for democracy', threats of withdrawal of public funding, and appeals to 'Cut their hair and get a job' (Vårt Land 2019; Enoksen 2021; Estenstad 2021; Heldahl, Wiese-Hansen, and Lepperød 2021; Rystad 2021; Wilsgård and Døvik 2021).

Meanwhile, several studies show that a majority of the Norwegian population claim that they are willing to make sacrifices in their lifestyles, like reduced consumption and acceptance of increased prices, to deal with climate change and environmental concerns, and to promote sustainable development and solidarity (Bolle 2021; Harboe and Kilsti 2021; Nave 2021). However, the proportion of the population that take part in activism, obedient or not, is small: Evidently, there is a *Value-Action Gap* (Blake 1999), 'the widely-observed phenomenon that environmental concern often does not translate into behaviour' (Hards 2012, 761). What makes the participants in this study willing to expose themselves to the great risks and sacrifices being an activist and participating in civil disobedience involves, unlike most of the population?

When searching for literature for this thesis, I found little academic research on the field, and almost none with a qualitative approach. As Fisher (2016, 231) asserts: 'Although this research is important, there has been little investigation on the life trajectories of youth committed to climate activism', while recently, 'there has been a limited empirical focus on climate activists across age groups'. This is even stronger reflected in a Norwegian context, where most of the (limited) available literature is based on quantitative studies within sociology, focusing on youth volunteerism, engagement, and NGO membership and participance in a structural perspective (see, for example Seippel 1995; Skogen 1996a; 1996b; 1998; Seippel 1999; Skogen 1999; Strandbu and Skogen 2000). Elsewhere, social-psychological research is more prevalent, but mainly focused on volunteerism using quantitative surveys rather than qualitative approaches, and investigating volunteerism rather than activism (see, for example, Omoto and Snyder 1995; Clary et al. 1998; Clary and Snyder 1999; Atkins, Hart, and Donnelly 2005; Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005; Elena, Chiara, and Maura 2006; Omoto, Snyder, and Hackett 2010). Hards (2011, 24) also asserts that 'significant areas [within the subject] remain unresolved' and points to that in recent decades, 'the field of human-environment relations has been divided between structural and agentic approaches. Psychological literature has predominantly focused on models centring the individual as a decision-maker, while sociological work has generally emphasised structural transitions', that 'many conventional approaches have modelled decisions as one-off events' and that a 'more nuanced approach to the genealogy of personal values could provide a deeper understanding

of change' (ibid.). Although I discovered Fisher's and Hards' studies late in the writing process my rationale has partially corresponded to the literature gaps they also found.

1.1. Aims, objective, and research questions

Aim

My aim with this thesis is to explore the individual narratives of activists' pathways, antecedents, and motivations to political engagement, activism, and collective action including civil disobedience – narratives that lie betwixt and beyond the schemata of structural and quantitative studies and theories, although respectfully recognising their contributions to the field. By scrutinising these activists' own accounts and perceptions, this thesis aims to complement and widen the understanding of the antecedents and motivations of political engagement and action; to how individuals become activists and agents of change for a selfless cause. In doing so, it challenges the permeating assumption of the instrumentally motivated and rationally behaving *homo oeconomicus* (Ostrom 1998; Boda 2013), and contributes to the understanding of how knowledge and concerns about political issues can be transformed to political engagement and collective action – and ultimately create change.

Objective

To meet the aims of this thesis, I have conducted a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews with nine participants. The selected participants are, or have been, based in different strands of the social and environmental movements in Norway; are situated in different parts of the country; are born in the 1950s, 60s, and 90s; and have different backgrounds. The participants in the study share at least three select common denominators: First; they have devoted substantial parts of their lives to one or more political causes. Second; they have been engaged in environmental issues to some extent at some point in time. Third; they have participated in collective actions that involved the use of civil disobedience as a tactic at least once. These select common denominators serve three distinct causes: First; they distinguish political activists from people engaging in every day (e.g., pro-environmental) practices or behaviours. Second; environmental engagement is often deemed a selfless cause, and third; acting civilly disobedient demonstrates a distinct willingness to make sacrifices

and take personal risks for a political and selfless cause. While the participants in the study are or have been, engaged in several different causes, cases, and organisations in their lifetime, their least common denominator, and ground for being selected to this study, is their involvement in either of two specific cases; the Alta case (1979-81) or the Førdefjord case (2016). Both cases involve projects developing extraction of natural resources and were selected for instigating the most extensive[2] and the most recent[3] collective actions employing civil disobedience as a tactic against environmental encroachments in Norway.

Employing the aforementioned denominators enabled the gathering of information from a selection of highly devoted participants, distinguished from one another by their diverse ages and backgrounds. By scrutinising the participants' narratives, starting from background and experiences in childhood and adolescence up to the events that initiated activism and collective action, I have produced a thematic analysis of the factors leading to political engagement and action, presented in this thesis. Employing an inductive approach in the initial phases of the study, I conducted the interviews as openly as possible, with no existing theories, concepts, categories, or methods guiding the interviews, apart from general principles for qualitative studies and semi-structured interviews. I performed the initial rounds of coding and analysis of themes and categories based on the interview material only. The final rounds of analysis were performed in consultancy with existing literature on the field, aligning the categories that emerged in the initial rounds of coding with conceptualisations and theorising in social movement studies within several disciplines; mainly in social psychology but with contributions sociology, anthropology, history, organisational studies, and educational science. For analytical purposes, clarity, and alignment with existing research on the field, I have chosen to adopt existing relevant terms and concepts in the presentation and analysis of my findings. They primarily stem from sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and educational science. Preceded by a succinct discussion of the antecedents of political engagement, including participant backgrounds and experiences in childhood and

2 In terms of duration, participance, resistance, attention, and impact. The civil disobedience actions took place from 1979-1981
3 At the time of the fieldwork. The Førdefjord case, both in terms of the development project and the protests against it, is an ongoing case, and new civil disobedience actions are being held in May 2022.

adolescence, the main proportion of the discussion is centred around the participants' conscious accounts and perceptions of their motivations and paths into activism.

Research questions

Hypothesising that many social movements and their members in present-day Norway are not necessarily fighting for their own benefit, I place this thesis in the discussion about the antecedents and motivations of selfless political engagement and action. This is an ongoing discussion within many disciplines studying social movements, contention, protest-participation, and volunteerism. By conducting a qualitative, interview-based exploration of the antecedents and motivations of political engagement in general, and the participation in specific cases of collective action in particular, I investigate the participants' own accounts and perceptions of which factors may contribute to bring about political engagement, action, and ultimately change. Accordingly, this thesis aims to answer the following main research question:

i. What factors motivated the participants to get politically active and join collective actions?

Additionally, the thesis aims answer the following sub-questions:

ii. What antecedent factors in youth and adolescence were involved in triggering the participants' political engagement?

iii. What role did specific events or experiences play in transforming the participants' political engagement to political action?

1.2. Thesis structure

The thesis is organised in the following chapters: (2) Methodology; (3) Background, introducing social and environmental movements, civil disobedience, and the Alta and Førdefjord cases in particular; (4) Social movement theories, introduces and demonstrates why the classic theories do not provide sufficient explanations to the aims of this thesis, and continues to introduce the terms, concepts, theses, and theories which will be presented in and employed throughout the findings and discussion chapters. The findings and discussion part is divided into three chapters each of which address one of the research questions: (5) Antecedent factors; (6) Motivational factors – identity, values, emotions, moral convictions, instrumentality, and perceived efficacy; (7) Transformative moments; (8) Conclusion.

2. Methodology

In this chapter I will present and discuss the methodological choices for this study, the process of data collection and analysis, the methods used in this process, limitations, and ethical considerations in the research process.

2.1. A qualitative approach

The aim of this study is to explore what factors motivated the participants to become activists and participate in collective actions including civil disobedience. While class, gender, social and cultural background can provide interesting and important background information, getting in depth of the social and personal complexities, interactions, processes, experiences, beliefs, values, events, identities and more would be a crucial part of the study. A qualitative, inductive, and open-ended approach is natural for this kind of study. O'Leary (2017, 142) states:

> [The qualitative tradition] calls on inductive as well as deductive logic; appreciates subjectivities; accepts multiple perspectives and realities; recognises the power of research over both participants and researchers; and does not necessarily shy away from political agendas. It also strongly argues the value of depth over quantity and works at delving into social complexities in order to truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences, and belief systems that are part of individuals, institutions, cultural groups and even the everyday.

Secondly, there were not enough participants at the Førdefjord actions for a quantitative study, while tracking down a large number of participants from the Alta actions would be too time consuming. For privacy reasons lists of participants are not available.

Applying a partly inductive approach, all stages of the study have been conducted without the aim of testing a theory or using theories to guide the study. Existing theories and research have been consulted and applied to the analysis only after an independent coding and thematic analysis of the empirical material. In the last stage, I aligned my findings, analysis, and categories with existing research, concepts, and theories.

2.1.1. Case study

'The most common use of the term "case" associates the case study with a location, such as a community or organisation. The emphasis tends to be upon an intensive

examination of the setting' (Bryman 2016, 47). This study fulfils these criteria, investigating a group of activists who have participated in actions at two specific locations, with the purpose of preserving environmental values within a similar conflict scenario. The conflicts were between groups of proponents and opponents of industrial development projects in mainly untouched nature. The opposing groups, to which the participants in this study belong, included people with different motives for protesting the development projects. The participants in this study were recruited based on their affiliation to environmental organisations or otherwise expressing environmental concerns as their main motivation, and that way expressing a selfless motivation[4].

Bryman (2016, 48) states that 'with a case study, the case is an object of interest in its own right, and the researcher aims to provide an in-depth elucidation of it' and continues:

> Unless a distinction of this or some other kind is drawn, it becomes impossible to distinguish the case study as a special research design, because almost any kind of research can be construed as a case study: research based on a national, random sample of the population of Great Britain would have to be considered a case study of Great Britain! […] What distinguishes a case study is that the researcher is usually concerned to elucidate the unique features of the case.

Accordingly, the objective of this thesis is not to be able to generalise or quantify based on its findings, but to thematically discuss, analyse, and conceptualise the findings specific to the participants in the study. However, where the findings coincide internally among the participants or with existing research, the thesis might suggest relationships and antecedents motivating activism that may be applicable beyond the participants in this study. Although an intergenerational analysis is not a primary aim of the study, the 35-year interval between the two cases also enables an analysis of emerging generational differences.

2.2. Ethical considerations

2.2.1. Background and positionality

When I started at the master's programme at Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM), I had spent several years working voluntarily in different parts

4 Unlike an individual with an economic interest of environmental protection.

of the organised civil society and social movements in Norway. Mainly as a coordinator of the climate committee in the environment and development youth organisation *Spire*[5], as a delegate to the United Nations climate negotiations[6], and in the board of *Norges Sosiale Forum*[7] (NSF), a branch of the *World Social Forum* (WSF) and the *alter-globalisation* movement that arose around the year 2000 (Amoore 2005, 1, 100, 158, 175, 190–93, 361). At the same time as I began the research for this thesis, I accepted a full time position as chairperson for the NSF which I kept for the whole duration of the study. Having been a participant in the environmental movement in Norway for several years myself, I was familiar with several of the participants, while several participants were familiar with me. My positions made me a visible character in parts of the Norwegian civil society. Getting biased responses in the interviews as a result was a major concern. To mitigate that concern, I decided not to include people whom I knew well, or had personal relationships to. At the same time, it must be considered that in both qualitative interviews and large-scale quantitative surveys, people tend to express more 'noble' or 'correct' preferences, causes, and choices than what is the actual case. On the contrary, there are few personal gains to achieve from, i.e., less noble causes to participate in, civil disobedience. It should also be noted that my perspective is one from a privileged, majority citizen's view, that has not experienced existential threats due to development projects such as the ones subject to this thesis, which may again colour my interpretations, viewpoints, and analysis of the empirical material.

2.2.2. Anonymity

As the subjects of this study have all taken part in actions that are punishable by Norwegian law, I have omitted information that can identify the participants. Acronyms, picked from the most used names in each decade for each sex, are used when the participants are quoted in the text. The audio recordings have been stored anonymously in a secure storage and deleted according to the regulations of *Norsk senter for forskningsdata* (NSD)[8]. It should be noted that none of the participants

5 https://spireorg.no.

6 https://unfccc.int.

7 The Norwegian Social Forum; https://globalisering.no.

8 Norwegian Centre for Research Data; https://nsd.no.

have tried to disguise their actions, but have rather openly announced their participance, many in both social and conventional media.

Acronyms

The nine participants are given the following acronyms (sex and age): Jan (male, 64), Ole (male, 63), Per (male, 61), Anne (female, 51), Martin (male, 26), Kristian (male, 25), Thomas (male, 23), Julie (female, 21), Ingrid (female, 20). See appendix 1 for an introduction to each participant.

2.3. Data collection process

The empirical material selected for analysis in this thesis was obtained through nine semi-structured interviews, or in-depth 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess cited in Mason, 1996, 38 as cited in Seale 2018, 219) with participants in the Alta and Førdefjord cases. The interviews were conducted between May 2016 and May 2017, while I was working full time as chairperson for the Norwegian Social Forum. The quantity was originally higher, but some interviews have been omitted due to poor quality or different practical and technical issues.

The participants are born in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1990s, where four belong to the older generation that participated in the Alta case and five belong to the younger generation that participated in the Førdefjord case. Several of the participants have also been part of other social or protest movements and have participated in other civil disobedience actions both before and after the cases in question in this thesis. Initially I wanted more participants from the Alta actions and better gender balance, but limitations in time and resources in the research period did not allow for continuing the data collection process.

To preserve as much information as possible, all interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The participants in the study were provided an informational letter, including a declaration of consent stating the intention of the study, that it was voluntary, anonymous, to be recorded, and that the consent could be withdrawn at any time. An oral briefing about the study prior to the interviews also allowed for some preparation for the topics of the study and for potential questions. The interviewing process for the interviews included in the thesis produced approximately twelve hours of audio records, with interviews ranging from forty-five

to 122 minutes, resulting in 232 pages of transcripts. When the transcripts were ready the audio recordings were deleted according to national guidelines for scholarly research.

Sampling

I got names and contact information through my acquaintances in the social and environmental movements in Norway, as well as my supervisor at the time, Nina Witoszek. One of the first participants posted a note in an internal forum for Førdefjord protestors encouraging to participate in the study. This resulted in a few positive responses, of which I interviewed two individuals. Following the first interviews, I continued with a *snowballing* method approaching additional interviewees based on recommendations from participants that I had already interviewed. While the snowballing method facilitates a randomised selection process, a common way of sampling for explorative interviews is by more strategic and purposive selection processes that allows for taking considerations like diversity into account when prioritising participants (Bryman 2016, 408–20). This is particularly advantageous when the time and resources available for a study do not allow for selection sizes sufficiently large for a natural emergence of diversity or an adequate spread of select factors and variables. The selection process for this study took considerations for diversity in gender, place of birth/residence, political and organisational background into account to gather data from a more diverse group. Nonetheless, when the number of interviews got closer to the preferred amount, approximately ten, I also started to see certain repetitive patterns and correlations in the responses. This may indicate that the empirical material for a study of this size with this scope was getting saturated, and marked a natural end to a purposive snowball sampling method.

Interview environment

The participants got to choose the location for their convenience, for them to feel as comfortable and safe as possible, and to create an environment for open and relaxed communication. Most of the interviews took place in the workplace, university, or home of the participants, three interviews took place in a suitable meeting room at my workplace at the time, while one interview took place in my home.

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian, the mother tongue of nine participants, while one participant was bilingual Sámi/Norwegian. All interviews begun with some light-hearted and casual conversation to ease the participants and make them feel content and comfortable with the interview situation. Several of the participants were familiar with me from my roles in the Norwegian civil society; this 'insider role' could turn problematic for the reliability and objectiveness of the information provided by the participants in the interviews. However, it most likely also contributed to create a clearly non-judgemental atmosphere where the participants felt safe and comfortable talking about their individual pathways to disobeying law enforcement for a cause they believe in. An indication of this was a clearly humorous conversation and laughter in the beginning of and during most of the interviews. Several of the participants also stated that they felt they could talk easier and more freely with an interviewer they were familiar with, and whom they knew would not be judgmental of their beliefs and actions. This is also supported to some extent by available literature on research methods (Bryman 2016; O'Leary 2017; Seale 2018).

Interview process

Most of the interviews kept the flow of an informal conversation which covered large parts of the information I wanted without me having to ask questions or interrupt. Meanwhile, I was careful to prompt to get more information and detail where necessary. Towards the end of the interviews, I consulted the interview guide to make sure I had covered all major areas and revisited some questions to get more details or clearer answers. Every interview ended with an open question on whether the participant would like to add something or had any questions, to make sure everything the participant found important was covered. In most cases this last question provided little additional information.

When transcribing and analysing the transcriptions, the steep learning curve in the research process became evident, as the first interviews were clearly more tied to the structure of the interview guide and flowing less as informal conversations than the last interviews. I was more focused on getting all questions covered during the interview, rather than consulting the interview guide towards the end. At a few occasions in in one of the early interviews, I asked a question the participant had already answered, thus unveiling that I did not listen carefully enough because I was too concerned with consulting the interview guide during the interview.

2.3.1. Analysis

The audio records were transcribed verbatim. Before analysing the transcripts, I reviewed and corrected all of them once more, which appeared fruitful and important; a significant amount of mishearing and misunderstandings appeared in the first version of the transcripts, a few of which completely changed the meaning of the sentence. That is a very clear example of the issue of reliability in interpretation of qualitative data and the importance of taking actions to mitigate the sources of misinterpretation. Several factors that may affect the reliability of the interviews appeared when transcribing and reviewing the transcriptions: On the participants side factors like nervousness, mid-sentence corrections, hesitation, and laughter; and on my side poorly worded questions, double barrelled questions, or questions that tend to be slightly leading. The factors on my side tended to be more frequent in the first interviews, before I got more experienced and aware of these pits, and towards the end of some of the interviews where I was notably getting tired.

As all the interviews rely solely on the memory of the participants it is important to keep in mind during the analysis that false, altered, and lacking memories from the events in question will always be a potential source of factual errors in both qualitative and quantitative studies. In this case it is particularly important to consider that issue in the analysis of the participants from the Alta case as it took place more than 35 years prior to the interviews. However, qualitative analysis in general seldom seeks to prove 'facts' or 'truth' but to interpret, discern, and present subjective perceptions, experiences, and interpretations. This thesis in particular aims to explore the participants' personal perceptions of the antecedents, reasons, pathways, and motivations that brought them to an activist life and civil disobedience, not the factual events of the cases. Thus, these potential errors are not an imperative issue for this thesis.

Thematic coding and analysis

The transcripts were thematically coded and analysed using NVIVO 12[9] qualitative research software which proved useful but time consuming. There is no definitive way to approach the coding, and I tried out and experimented with a range of coding structures and hierarchies when doing the coding and analysis. When interpreting

9 https://qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home/.

material in a qualitative study there is always a chance of misinterpretations and biases that may alter how the researcher understands and analyses the material. Interpreting and translating research data between two or more languages may amplify this effect. Quotes from the interviews are used extensively in this thesis. To present the expressions of the participants as accurately as possible, I have chosen to translate the quotes as literally, word by word, as possible, provided that the sentence constellation makes sense in English. Where Norwegian terms and slang are not directly translatable, explanations are provided in the footnotes. This is to preserve the *emic* dimension, the participants' 'own wording and interpretations', in the text, while applying the *etic* dimension, 'the concepts and categories that have meaning amongst the scientists' to 'enable scientific dialogue and comparison' to the analysis (Salman and Assies 2017, 59).

As I commenced the study using an inductive approach, the interviews were not guided by existing literature on the field. The initial thematic analysis was done before consulting relevant literature; organising the empirical material in themes and categories before reviewing relevant literature. Most of the most relevant literature appeared in the field of social psychology, where especially identity related theories and concepts corresponded with my findings. The second round of analysis was done utilising and aligning my findings, themes, and categories with existing concepts and terminology which is used in this thesis. This figure helps illustrate the research process:

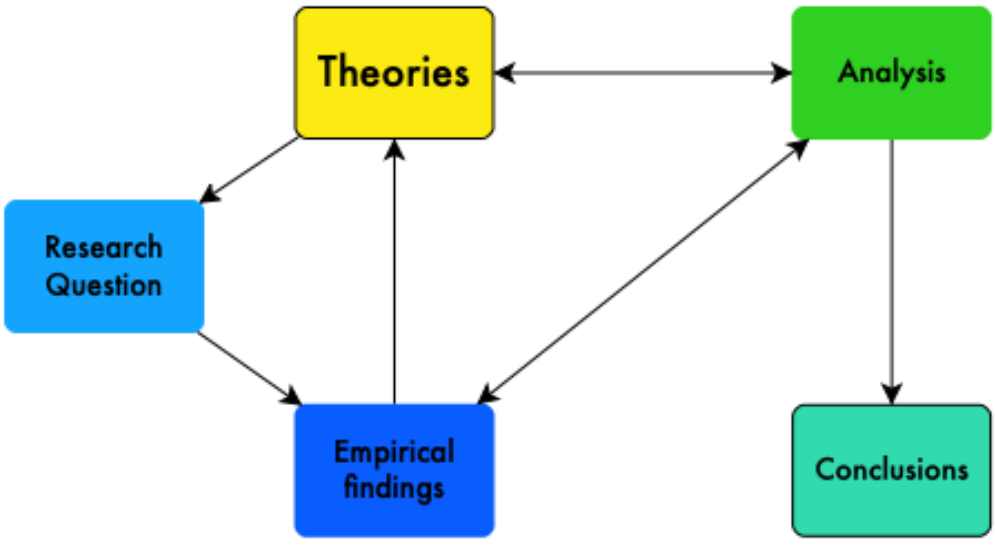

Figure 1 Model of study process

As I do not have any prior education in social psychology – nor many of the disciplines commonly used methods – the use of empirical findings, terms, and concepts from social-psychological studies, which substantiates a considerable part of the analysis in this thesis, is and must be interpreted as guiding and indicative, not as directly comparable findings.

Diversity

The diversity of the participant group in this study is limited: most of the interviewees come from a white, middle-class background. I addressed this issue with several of the participants, not to problematise their participation in the study or cases, but whether it was an issue for the movement as a whole or in these two specific cases, and whether they could recommend some participants with different social and cultural backgrounds. Not surprisingly, the participants I asked struggled to come up with suggestions. Their perception was that both the general movements and the specific cases are rather homogenous. Ingrid, one of the participants in the study stated, 'although my family background is not characterised by economic and educational capital, we possessed a considerable cultural capital in our community'. Although I found this lack of diversity within my group of participants problematic, it is not necessarily as problematic for this specific case study, as most participants in the study still saw themselves as quite representative for the cases and their movement.

3. Background

This chapter introduces social movements and collective action as a field of study, the environmental movement in general and in Norway, the principles and history of civil disobedience, and the Alta and Førdefjord cases.

3.1. Social movements

Amidst disputes over what to include and exclude from the definitions, Hadden and Tarrow (2016, 213) define social movements as 'a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions and solidarities that sustain these activities'. This definition emphasises repeated performances to distinguish social movements from individual protest campaigns and single events, while highlighting the broad 'array of public performances including marches, rallies, demonstrations, creation of specialized associations, public meetings, public statements, petitions, letter writing and lobbying' (ibid.) social movements may employ (Tarrow 1998; Tilly and Tarrow 2015). These performances, or actions, are also referred to as *collective action*, which 'refers to any action that individuals undertake as group members to pursue group goals such as social change' (van Zomeren, Kutlaca, and Turner-Zwinkels 2018, 122).

3.1.1. Old and new social movements

A distinction between pre and post Second World War, or 'new' and 'old', social movements, is widely accepted. The old social movements are regarded as instrumentalist and mainly based on divisions, imbalances, and conflicts over class, property, and material goods. The new social movements are regarded as more expressive, more diverse, horizontal, and informal, and being occupied with socio-*cultural* rather than socio-economic issues. Thus, they include post-material and cultural contradictions over factors like identity, ecology, humanity, value systems, and governance, reflecting the shifting class structures and increasing freedom, economic prosperity, and individual autonomy in the post-war Western societies. While its first roots stem back to the 19th century, the contemporary environmental movement is mainly regarded as a 'new' social movement (Melucci 1980; 1996; Touraine 1981; 1985; Anugwom 2007; Salman and Assies 2017).

3.1.2. Environmental movement

Environmental movements have emerged in several waves in the Western world: First, as a response to the pollution, health issues, and the loss of natural and pastoral landscapes caused by industrial development in the 19th century United Kingdom and United States – followed by the labour movements' demand for equal access to pristine nature (Chester 2007)[10]. Environmentalism also had a colonialist aspect to it, creating national parks in African colonies for hunting and safaris. The different environmental views at the time, much like today, spanned from *anthropocentric* to *ecocentric* views, the former mainly valuing nature by its ability to provide human-recreational services and measuring nature's worth from its ability to provide replenishable raw materials for human consumption and development, to the latter, emphasising nature's intrinsic value privileging environmental considerations over human concerns (Laberge 2007; Miles 2007).

A second wave of environmentalism emerged in the mid-20th century, along with the society wide wave of counter culture and social movements swiping through the Western world, fighting for civil rights, social justice, and against wars and rearmament. It is popularly cited to Rachel Carson's (1962) book *Silent Spring*[11], which gained huge popularity and impact upon its release, as did Arne Næss' (1974) *ecosophy* and concept of *deep ecology*[12] in the 1970's, which inspired movements in Norway and internationally[13].

From the 1970's and onwards, the environmental movement and environmentalism have evolved from protecting physical environments locally to become increasingly

10 Environmental organisations like the Sierra Club and Naturvernforbundet (NNV, The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature) were established at the time (Sierra Club 2018; Naturvernforbundet 2021).

11 Mentioned by several participants in this study as an important factor instigating their environmental engagement and motivation for collective action.

12 The key element was a shift away from the dominating anthropocentric worldview towards an ecocentric worldview: Opposing the general growth discourse, 'the protection of nature is more important than economic matters, industry, corporations, governments, and private interests' (Laberge 2007, 594).

13 International environmental organisations like World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), Greenpeace, and Friends of the Earth (FOE), along with *Natur og Ungdom* (NU, Nature and Youth: the Youth branch of NNV), *Framtiden i våre hender* (FIVH, The future in our hands), and *Samarbeidsgruppene for natur- og miljøvern* (snm, The collaborative groups for nature and environmental protection) in Norway were established in the 1960's and 70's. For the time being, FIVH, NNV, and NU are still among the largest and most influential organisations in the Norwegian environmental movement, along with Greenpeace, WWF, and FOE (Greenpeace 2021; FoEI 2014; WWF 2021; Natur og Ungdom 2021; Wormstrand 2007; Tvedt 2020b).

concerned with global environmental issues, solidarity, injustice, and inequality related to environmental issues. Above all, the growing awareness of climate change spurred the shift towards a global injustice focus for large parts of the environmental movement, together with the globally oriented concept of sustainability (Miles 2007). Environmental concerns reached more public and official attention, where the entry of environmentality into the government sphere marked a governmentalisation of the environment through the establishment of environmental bodies in both governments and the United Nations (UN) (Luke 1999; Goldman 2004; Whitehead 2007; Foucault 2010)[14]. The definition of *sustainable development* was coined by the World Commission on Environment and Development's (1987)[15] report *Our Common Future*. Emphasising the need to balance three pillars: environmental sustainability; economic sustainability; and social sustainability; the report declares:

> Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to *ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs* (ibid. 1987 section 3, paragraph 27; [emphasis added]).

The impact of the report and definition can hardly be overestimated: Together with the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (UNGA res. 43/53 1988), it instigated the UN General Assembly's (UNGA) decision to follow up to the Stockholm conference* with the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (UNGA res. 44/228 1989). According to Miles (2007, 531), the Earth Summit was

> one of the most influential moments in the modern environmental movement. It succeeded in bringing together representatives of 180 countries, hundreds of environmental and activist non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and a consortium of international scientific institutions […]. The Earth Summit revealed a fundamental paradigm shift with regard to environmentalism[16].

This has been fundamental to both the discourse and action on international development and environment policies up to present-day. Social movements, NGO's,

14 The establishment of environmental ministries, Norway being the first in 1972. The Limits to Growth report (Meadows and Club of Rome 1972) and the UNGA resolution on the 'Problems of the human environment' (UNGA res. 2398/XXIII 1968) led to the first *UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 (United Nations 1973).

15 Led by then Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, Arbeiderpartiet (AP, The Labour party).

16 It produced resolutions adopting the Agenda 21 global action plan on environment and development (United Nations 1993), the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change16 (UNFCCC) (United Nations 1992a), and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (United Nations 1992b), followed up by the United Nations Millennium Summit producing the Millennium Declaration with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNGA res. 55/2 2000), the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (United Nations 2002), the 2012 Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development (United Nations 2012), and ultimately the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 (UNGA res. 70/1 2015), which are the latest global policies on sustainability in force.

and other non-state bodies have been an essential part of, and channelled substantial resources towards, the processes of the bodies and declarations that were conceived at the Earth Summit (Miles 2007). The environmental movement is both influencing and criticising these processes, and utilising their outcomes (accords, declarations, scientific reports) to push governments, corporations, and mobilisation of new activists (Chester 2007). The discourse of sustainable development has replaced the growth-critical discourse of environmentalism and deep ecology to a large extent, gradually eliminating the dichotomy between environmental concerns and economic growth[17]. This made a mainstreaming of environmental concerns possible, where state and non-state actors could continue pursuing economic growth and further industrialisation 'in harmony with the environment' (Laberge 2007, 594), while expressing concerns for the environment and present themselves as parts of the solution (Anker 2016)[18]. The unequal effects of environmental degradation and climate change along ancient class and colonial divisions has become a central part of the framing of environmental issues, while movement itself is criticised for a lack of diversity when it comes to gender, class, and race, both in Norway and internationally. The typical environmental activist is a non-minority, white, middle class, male, although the gender distribution is improving (Miles 2007; Chester 2007). The major exception in Norway is the Alta actions, where a substantial proportion of the participants, and all the central organisers were Sámi (A. Nilsen 2019).

3.1.3. Environmental activism

In this thesis I distinguish between (environmental or political) *engagement* and *activism*, the former being distinguished from the latter by involving only passive behaviours, like an expressed concern for the environment without any following action. Once some kind of action is taken, the environmental engagement can be

17 Curiously, Arne Næss was a central actor in the establishment of the University of Oslo Centre for Development and the Environment (Senter for utvikling og miljø, SUM), at which this thesis is written. SUM was established in 1990 as a response to the Norwegian government's efforts to meet the need for new and more interdisciplinary scholarship on the issues and solutions presented in the Our Common Future report (SUM 2020).

18 The increased international attention to and the mainstreaming of sustainability, climate change, and environmental concerns has also made organisations like Attac, Changemaker, KFUK/KFUM Global18, Spire, Extinction Rebellion (XR), and several youth parties become significant actors in the broader Norwegian environmental movement, of which all relate their work to different UN processes (Spire 2022; Attac 2022; Changemaker 2022; KFUK-KFUM Global 2022; Extinction Rebellion 2022; XR Norway 2022; Chester 2007).

categorised as an environmental activism; as Corning and Myers (2002, 704) defines it, an activist orientation is 'an individual's developed, relatively stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors spanning a range from low-risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviors'. Séguin, Pelletier, and Hunsley (1998, 630–31) add that environmental activism as a concept usually is defined by behaviours like membership in environmental groups or movements; strong identification with these groups; taking action towards particular environmental problems through political participation, campaigning, or attempts to change the attitudes and actions of policy makers, the general public, or actors threatening the environment; and being ready to engage in environmental protection behaviours., Environmental activists are concerned about the environment, like most people, but are often of a higher socioeconomic level, have less belief in material wellbeing, and are concerned about nuclear war; traits that participants in this study also express (Walsh and Warland 1983; Mohai 1985; Axelrod and Newton 1991; Edwards and Oskamp 1992; Herrera 1992). Wright (2009, 873) distinguishes between *normative* and *non-normative* action, 'the distinction between actions that disrupt and violate the rules of the current system and actions designed only to alter the position of groups within that system'. He continues:

> Nonnormative actions are, by definition, more disruptive than normative action as they challenge not only the current intergroup status inequalities, but also the structure and the rules (the means) that determine group status. Thus, while normative actions provide tacit support to the social order, nonnormative actions communicate to in-group members, to the out-group, and to third parties a clear message that the actors perceive the current social order to be illegitimate. Thus, participation in nonnormative actions may require firmer convictions about the injustice/immorality of the out-group's actions. […] when a normative avenue is available, it is likely to be engaged first (ibid., 874).

Civil disobedience is by this definition a kind of non-normative collective action.

3.1.4. Civil disobedience

> It's not something you do for fun you know. […] The point must be to never have to act civilly disobedient (Martin). It is a moral responsibility to save the world (Anne).

Participance collective actions using civil disobedience as a tool is the common denominator of the participants in this study. Civil disobedience as a concept was

first described by Henry David Thoureau (1849)[19]. Theorists on Thoreau have emphasised the double meaning of the term 'civil': the individual's resistance to the civil government and as in a polite, or *civil*, kind of disobedience. The essay inspired the non-violent actions and movements of individuals like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King jr., who in turn inspired Arne Næss and the environmental movement in Norway. It is still an important text for political activists around the globe (Sharp 1959; 1965; Thoreau and Narvesen 2011, 88).

Principles of civil disobedience

The exact definitions and principles of civil disobedience vary. Persen and Johansen (1998, 23–50) have stated five basic principles for civil disobedience, written in a Norwegian context but based on historical and international custom for civil disobedience actions: (1) *Transparency*: the action must happen within the public, open, and *civil* space; (2) *Non-violence*: distinguishes civil disobedience from actions like sabotage and terrorism; (3) *Disobeying a law*: may be *direct* or *indirect.* Direct civil disobedience means the violated law is the subject of protest, e.g., racial discrimination laws. Indirect civil disobedience means the violated law is not the subject of protest, but e.g., violating the police's orders by not removing a blockade; (4) *Serious moral conviction*: distinguishes civil disobedience from other crimes[20]; (5) *Social or ethical objective*: follows directly from the serious moral conviction.

Additionally, some or all of the following normative criteria are often applied by activists and theorists: Civil disobedience should be the last resort; It should be used to prevent an irreparable decision; The goals of the action should be clear and limited; The action should take place in a civilised society. These principles guided the civil disobedience training conducted by NU in the Førdefjord actions and were fundamental to the Alta-actions (Aaresvik 2021). NU also emphasises safety, respect, action training, and decision-making processes in general meetings as fundamental elements of their civil disobedience actions; that activists act individuals, not as members of, or representing NU; and distance themselves from any further criminal offences (Aaresvik 2021).

19 First published by Elisabeth Peabody (1849, 189) in Aesthetic Papers as 'Resistance to Civil Government', based on the lecture 'On the Relation of the Individual to the State' by Thoreau. The final title, 'Civil Disobedience', came about in A Yankee in Canada with Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers (Thoreau 1866) printed four years after his death (Bedau 1991, 28).
20 Also an imperative motivational factor for most of the participants in this study.

Civil disobedience in Norway

Norway has a long history of significant developments and changes resulting from activism and civil disobedience. The *Haugianer* movement led by Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) pushed for religious freedom challenging the monopoly of the clergy and threatening the power of the priesthood, government, and king using civil disobedience. They were punished hard for their disobedience, but with time, Hauge gained repute and respect for his achievements, also among the bourgeoisie. Moreover, several economic and social improvements for the commoners came along with the purely religious achievements of the movement, along with the repeal of the Estates of the realm (Persen and Johansen 1998, 120–31).

Civil disobedience actions have also been crucial for the victories of the Norwegian labour movement, such as labour laws and the eight-hour working day. The *Thrane* movement, led by Marcus and Josephine Thrane, arose in the wake of the February revolution in Paris in 1848, but was crushed by the King before it achieved any tangible victories. Later, during the first half of the 20th century, the labour movement saw many great victories won through a range of civilly disobedient actions. Einar Gerhardsen, Norway's longest-serving prime minister in a series of *Arbeiderparti* (AP)[21] governments in the post Second World War era, also took part in civil disobedience actions in the interwar period (ibid., 151-74).

The environmental movement is the movement that has used civil disobedience most frequently and systematically in Norway since the 1970's. The first environmental civil disobedience actions in Norway were the *Mardøla*-actions[22] in 1970, protesting the development of a hydropower in the highest waterfall in Northern Europe, *Mardalsfossen*[23]. While the actions failed to terminate the development, the contributions to the discourse and public opinion on environmental protection were seen as positive takeaways from the actions. So was the decision to create the *Verneplan for vassdrag*[24] in 1973 (St. prp. nr. 4 (1972-1973) 1973; NVE 2021), a significant victory towards which the actions in Mardøla had a considerable impact (Persen and Johansen 1998, 186–89; Tvedt 2020a).

21 The labour party; https://arbeiderpartiet.no.

22 https://snl.no/Mardøla.

23 https://snl.no/Mardalsfossen.

24 The national plan for the protection of watercourses.

3.2. The Alta and Førdefjord cases

In this section I will present the two cases in which the participants of this study were involved: the Alta case and the Førdefjord case. The section provides the reader with the geographical, historical, social, and political context in which the actions took place and to which the participants refer in the analysis chapters. The presentation of the Alta case is more comprehensive than the presentation of the Førdefjord case because of its longer duration, its historical and contemporary significance, and its major political and social impacts. It was one of the first cases in Norway where protestors used civil disobedience to express environmental concerns, and is by far the best known civil disobedience action in the Norwegian public. The Førdefjord case is still ongoing (2022). The first civil disobedience actions took place shortly before I conducted the interviews for this study.

In both cases, the conflict that culminated in civil disobedience actions were between parties and actors with conflicting interests; *proponents* of infrastructure development and the *opponents* of infrastructure development. First, I will present the locations of the cases, followed by the cause of the conflict, the parties of the conflict (proponents and opponents), the motivations and interests of the parties, the political process, the protests, and the aftermath, outcomes, and impacts of the cases. While the Alta case and its outcomes and impacts were clear ten to forty years ago, the Førdefjord case is ongoing and its outcome still to be seen.

3.2.1. The Alta case

> The Alta/Kautokeino watercourse development battle was one of the most protracted and bitter political conflicts in post-war Norway. Never before had civil disobedience been used to such an extent in an environmental conflict for such a long time. The battle of Alta also became an ethnic conflict, a showdown on Norwegian Sámi policy, and a watershed in Sámi history (Hjorthol 2006, 9–10)

The *Alta River*[25] runs through *Guovdageaidnu*[26] and *Alta*[27] municipalities in *Finnmark*[28], the northernmost landscape in Norway. The river is part of the Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse which originates around the Finnish-Norwegian

25 https://snl.no/Altaelva.

26 Kautokeino; https://snl.no/Kautokeino; population: 2 000.

27 https://snl.no/Alta; population: 20 000, the most populous settlement in Finnmark.

28 https://snl.no/Troms_og_Finnmark; Finnmark county was merged with Troms county in 2020.

border and runs through Guovdageaidnu and *Máze*[29] towards Alta and the Norwegian sea. This area is also within the land of the indigenous Sámi people, *Sápmi*[30]. It is the habitat of a rich and vulnerable ecosystem and is classified as a National Salmon Watercourse[31]. It is traditionally famous for being one of the world's best rivers for salmon fishing and holds great cultural and economic value for the local communities in the surrounding areas – an important rationale for the Alta actions. The Alta River also runs through essential areas and communities of the Sámi people, of which some live a nomadic lifestyle while others live in permanent settlements. A large proportion of the Sámi people in the area base their livelihoods on traditional reindeer herding and agriculture. The reindeer-population in Guovdageaidnu municipality is about 79.000 (Kautokeino kommune 2019; Dalfest and Askheim 2021; Svendsen and Askheim 2021).

The conflict and its parties

The source of the conflict that constitutes the Alta case was the plans to build a hydropower dam in the Alta River that initially involved flooding the entire Sámi village Máze. The battle took place between 1968 and 1983, with a peak of events and tension between 1978 and 1981. The proponents of the development project were the Norwegian state, represented by the parliament, government, and *Norges vassdrags- og elektrisitetsvesen* (NVE)[32]. Finnmark county also voted in favour of the development. The opponents of the development project were the local Sámi people, *Norske Samers Riksforbund* (NSR)[33], *Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund* (NRL)[34], other locals and stakeholder organisations like *Alta laksefiskeri interessentskap*[35], and national environmental organisations like NNV and *Økopolitisk samarbeidsring*[36]. The Alta and Guovdageaidnu municipalities voted against the development. The protection interests formed *Folkeaksjonen mot*

29 Masi; https://snl.no/Masi; population: 300.

30 https://snl.no/Sápmi.

31 https://snl.no/Norske_lakseelver; https://lakseelver.no/nb; see also appendix 3.

32 Norwegian Water Resources and Electricity Authority. From 1986-1990 NVE was reorganised and re-established as Norges vassdrags- og energidirektorat (Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate), now acting solely as a public administration and supervision agency. The power plants and electricity grid were separated to the new state-owned companies Statkraft and Statnett, and electricity distribution privatised.

33 The Norwegian Sami Federation; https://snl.no/Norske_Samers_Riksforbund.

34 The Norwegian Reindeer-Herding Sami Federation; https://snl.no/Norske_Reindriftsamers_Landsforbund.

35 The Alta Salmon Fishery Stakeholders Partnership; https://lakseelver.no/nb/alta-laksefiskeri-interessentskap.

36 Eco-political Cooperation Circle.

utbygging av Alta/Kautokeino-vassdraget (Folkeaksjonen)[37] in 1978 to coordinate the protests against the development (Persen and Johansen 1998; Hjorthol 2006; T. E. Nilsen 2016; Berg-Nordlie 2019; A. Nilsen 2019).

The proponents' case

NVE presented their first plans to build a hydropower dam in the middle of the Alta River in 1968. The motivation was trajectories showing that a power shortage in Finnmark was imminent and that the development would create valuable workplaces in Alta. The original plans included flooding the Sámi village Máze upstream in the Alta River, with no consideration to where the inhabitants should move and how to compensate for their lost homes and livelihoods. The plans were soon abandoned due to protests. NVE modified their plans and continued to push for a less intrusive hydropower dam in the river, close to the *Čávžu*[38] canyon. The development plans became subject to a prolonged political battle and were temporarily halted multiple times due to political and administrative obstructions and blockades by protestors. The first construction attempts took place in 1979, and after a series of obstructions, continued fully from 1982 until the hydropower plant was put into operation in 1987.

The opponents' case

What made the Alta case stand out from similar hydropower developments was the severe, negative consequences for the reindeer-herding Sámi people in the area. The suggestion to flood the entire village Máze was a grim example of the state's ruthless and ignorant mindset and conduct towards the Sámi people. It instigated a strong commitment against the development, not only among the locals and the Sámi people, but among environmentalists and commoners all over the country and abroad. After centuries of Norwegian colonialism, oppression, racism, and assimilation policies against the Sámi people, they rose against the Norwegian colonial state. Moreover, environmentally grounded arguments on the river's significance as a salmon river, its importance for agriculture, local climate, and the rich flora and fauna in the unique Čávžu canyon was central for the protection movement. Any damming and infrastructure development in this area would be harmful to the rich ecosystems living in and adjacent to the river and the surrounding

37 The Peoples Action Against the Development of the Alta/Kautokeino Watercourse (The Peoples Action); https://snl.no/Folkeaksjonen_mot_utbygging_av_Alta%2FKautokeino-vassdraget.

38 Sautso; https://snl.no/Sautso.

reindeer herding areas, according to the opponents. Lastly, the opponents learnt that NVEs trajectories for future power demand were flawed and that the gap between NVEs baseline trajectories and the corrected and factual trajectories were equivalent to at least two Alta power plants. Furthermore, the conflict hit in the middle of a very politicised decade in Norway where the centralisation debate, the industrial development versus the deep ecology discourses, and radical leftist movement were central in the Norwegian political scene. The Alta case touched on all those flammable political issues (Hjorthol 2006; Berg-Nordlie 2019; A. Nilsen 2019; NRK 2021).

The conflict

The conflict started when NVE presented their plans for the development of the Alta River. The Sámi villagers of Máze would have their homes, community, and livelihoods entirely devastated by NVEs plans. They protested against the plans immediately, and marked the beginning of more than a decade with battles and protests. When the parliament's Standing Committee on Local Government visited Máze in 1970 protesting villagers met the committee with banners expressing their views and handed over a resolution that unambiguously expressed their resistance to move from Máze (Berg-Nordlie 2019; A. Nilsen 2019, 17). In 1973, after a few years' political battle, Máze was permanently protected and left out of the development plans. In the following years a long and bitter battle took place not only between the parties of the conflict but also within different branches of the government and political society. The opponents used a long range of methods and strategies of protest trying to convince NVE and the parliament that the power demand trajectories were flawed, before the use of civil disobedience became inevitable in 1979, as the construction work commenced. While the Folkeaksjonen kept strictly to passive, non-violent actions, they received inquiries by foreign groups like the IRA and ETA to assist in commencing sabotage actions against the construction and the police (Persen and Johansen 1998; Hjorthol 2006; A. Nilsen 2019; NRK 2021).

During the Alta battle, Folkeaksjonen and its affiliates held demonstrations, petitions, marches, lawsuits, processions, hunger strikes, protest festivals, occupied the prime minister's office, and most significantly, held dozens of civil disobedience chaining actions. Folkeaksjonen had twenty thousand members at the most, more than fifteen

thousand people signed their petition, eight thousand people visited the protest festival camp in *Detsika* in July 1979, eight hundred took part in the sixty-kilometre *Stilla* march in July 1980. More than a thousand people chained themselves on the 'D-day' in Stilla in January 1981, the largest civil disobedience action during the battle, in minus thirty degrees and complete darkness. The state responded by sending six hundred police officers, ten percent of the national police force, to Alta with a leased cruise ship to remove the protestors in a police action that took sixteen hours:

> 'It's not true!' — The image is still stuck to the retina, 25 years later. A silent, blue morning; on the peaceful Finnmarksvidda[39] comes black-clad police officers marching in two long lines. I cannot see the end; they are overwhelmingly many. Around us the morning silence is chased away by tracked vehicles, snowmobiles, and barking police dogs. The picture is surreal, like a movie. Is this the Norwegian, harmonic, social-democratic reality? Or is it a completely different reality that comes marching? – Stilla, 14th of January 1981 (Hjorthol 2006, 9–10)

Prior to the action there was a fight between the minister of justice (AP) who had requested support from the Armed Forces, and the minister of defence (AP), who denounced and aborted the plans last minute. The massive mobilisation of protestors and sympathisers on the one side, and the massive mobilisation of police force and attempt to mobilise the Armed Forces against the protestors on the other side illustrates the magnitude of the case, and the level of prestige associated with it. After years of battle, Folkeaksjonen considered the burdens of constant action, incarcerations, and fines too heavy, the case lost, and decided to dissolve in January 1982. From then the construction of the dam continued and the hydropower plant was put into operation in 1987.

Outcomes

Although the causality is not proven, the salmon population in the Alta decreased by seventy-five percent from 1981 to 2000. While the spawning grounds further downstream in the river seem unaffected by the dam, the spawning grounds closer to the dam in Čávžu have disappeared (T. E. Nilsen 2016). In the years after the battle, its impacts proved significant although the core case was lost: During the 1980's a Sámi paragraph in the constitution, a Sámi census, a Sámi act, and the establishment of the Sámi parliament were adopted by the parliament. King Olav opened the

39 The Finnmark highlands; https://snl.no/Finnmarksvidda.

parliament in 1989. The parliament also adopted a national plan for watercourse protection, ratified ILO convention nr. 169 on the protection of indigenous people, and the Finnmark Act: The state transfers its unmatriculated land to the Finnmark commons to be administered by Finnmark county council and the Sámi parliament conjointly. In 1990 Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland admitted that the development was 'unnecessary'. (Hjorthol 2006, 181–201; NVE 2018; A. Nilsen 2019, 91–92; Christensen 2021). To shorten this section, significant information is left out and put in a *timeline* in appendix 2. It illustrates how constructing a dam and the battle to protect the river against it became the longest lasting, inflamed political battle in post-war Norway.

3.2.2. The Førdefjord case

Førdefjorden[40] is a fjord in *Sogn- og Fjordane* in *Vestland* County on the western coast of Norway. Most of the fjord is situated within the *Sunnfjord* municipality[41], and the largest settlements along the fjord are in *Førde*[42] and *Naustdal*[43]. *Engebøfjellet*[44] lies along the northern coast of Førdefjorden, uphill from the village *Vevring* in the former municipality of Naustdal. Førdefjorden is classified as a National Salmon Fjord and is known for its rich ecosystems and fisheries. The local aquaculture and fishery businesses have an annual turnover of four hundred million NOK yearly (Askheim 2021).

The conflict and its parties

The source of the conflict in the Førdefjord case are the plans to develop a mineral extraction mine at Engebøfjellet and deposit the tailings in the Førdefjord (The Engebø Project). The proponents of the development project are the mineral extraction company Nordic Mining[45], the Norwegian state represented by the Ministry of Climate and Environment (KLD) and the parliament, and Sunnfjord municipality, which all have approved the project. The opponents of the development

40 The Førde Fjord; https://snl.no/Førdefjorden.

41 https://snl.no/Sunnfjord_-_kommune; Established in 2020 after merging the former municipalities of Førde, Naustdal, Gaular, and Jølster. Population: 22 000.

42 https://snl.no/Førde; Population: 10 300.

43 https://snl.no/Naustdal; Population: 2 800.

44 The Engebø Mountain; https://snl.no/Engebøfjellet.

45 https://www.nordicmining.com/operations/engebo/.

project are NNV, NU, *Vevring og Førdefjorden Miljøgruppe*[46] (VFM), and *Norske Lakseelver*[47] (NL).

The proponents' case

Nordic Mining's 'Engebø Project' aims to extract the minerals rutile and garnet from an open-pit mine in the Engebø eclogite ores and deposit the tailings in the Førdefjord. Strong cash flow, low production costs, and high environmental and social standards are their main arguments to proceed with the project. They contend that the tailings are benign, the currents in the area moderate, and therefore expect the environmental impact of the tailings to be small and pose little threat to the habitats, biodiversity, and fisheries in the fjord. Further, they claim that in case harm is caused to the biodiversity and habitats, they will recover and be recolonised shortly after the project is completed ('Engebø Rutile and Garnet' n.d.).

The opponents' case

The opponents look differently on the impacts of the Engebø Project. While the general natural damage generated by mineral extraction was a major concern, the imperative factor causing the protests against the project was the plans to deposit the tailings in the fjord. A National Salmon Fjord[31] with an extraordinary protection scheme (which NU has used actively in their framing efforts to emphasise why they protest the Nordic Mining project). Contradictory to the claims by Nordic Mining, the opponents claim that the sediments from the tailings will be spread by currents, that the tailings will have vast, negative impacts on the biodiversity and the habitats of the fish and benthic organisms, and that it is unclear if the fish stocks and biodiversity will ever recover. This may also have negative consequences for both the commercial, subsistence and recreational fishing interests in the fjord.

The conflict

The conflict started when Nordic Mining acquired the rights to the Engebø deposits in 2006. In 2010 Naustdal municipality adopted a zoning plan permitting mineral extraction and the deposition of tailings in Førdefjorden. *Fiskeridirektoratet*[48] (FD)

46 Vevring og Førdefjorden Environmental Group; https://fjordaksjonen.org.

47 Norwegian Salmon Rivers; https://lakseelver.no.

48 The Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries; https://www.fiskeridir.no/.

Region West made objections to the zoning plan, based on the harm the tailings would cause to the fjord and its ecosystems, and the lack of knowledge about further consequences of the project. The central body of FD and *Havforskningsinstituttet*[49] (HI), both government entities, supported the objection made by FD Region West and expressed concerns regarding the project and the disposal of tailings in the fjord (Fiskeridirektoratet 2012; 2020). *Miljødirektoratet*[50] (Mdir) advised The Ministry of Climate and Environment (KLD) against allowing emissions in the fjord on November 4th 2014 (Miljødirektoratet 2014). Nordic Mining immediately contested Mdir's report and advice in a letter to KLD, whereupon KLD requested Mdir's responses and a new 'overall recommendation' by Mdir (Naturvernforbundet 2015).

While advising against emission allowances in the fjord in November 2014, Mdir changed their mind by February 2015. In their requested overall recommendation, Mdir now concluded that there were 'significant advantages and significant disadvantages' related to the Engebø project, but that an emission allowance was 'justifiable' (Miljødirektoratet 2015, 6). KLD granted Nordic Rutile, a Nordic Mining subsidiary, the permit[51] to deposit tailings in the Førdefjord on June 5th 2015 (KLD 2015; Regjeringen 2015). Nordic Mining planned to begin test drilling in February 2016. NU, NNV, VFM, and NL filed a complaint, but the complaint was rejected and the permit upheld by a royal resolution put forward by KLD in the cabinet on the 19th of February 2016 (Kongelig Resolusjon 15/3378 2016).

In the years following Nordic Mining's acquisition of the mining rights, the local resistance activity increased through meetings, protest marches, petitions, and calls to action. NNV joined the protests at an early stage, whereafter the Engebø Project and the protests against it gained national attention (Naturvernforbundet 2015). In 2012 NU announced that civil disobedience could be relevant in this case and held an action camp that summer, training their members, supporters, and local protestors in civil disobedience actions (Natur og Ungdom 2012). NNV would not take part in civil disobedience but supported NU's intention to do so.

Following Mdir's sudden change of mind in 2015 and the subsequent KLD emission permit, accusations were made that the Mdir had deflected due to lobbying by the

49 The Norwegian Institute of Marine Research; https://www.hi.no/.

50 The Norwegian Environmental Agency; https://www.miljodirektoratet.no/.

51 https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/d64de37507d347f0b2ea6beaf6f8b288/nordic-rutile-asa--tillatelse-pdf-l239074.pdf.

mining industry and a too business-friendly KLD. Several protests were held in Oslo and locally in the Førdefjord area in 2015, and NU announced that civil disobedience actions to obstruct the Engebø Project were inevitable if the test drilling was commenced.

The civil disobedience actions on the Engebø mountain took place between the 1st and 21st of February 2016, obstructing the test drilling to be performed by Nordic Mining for three weeks. The first actions took place as protestors blocked the road to the drilling site and set up a protest camp. The first protestors were removed by the police on the 2nd of February and were prohibited from re-entering the area. Nordic Mining managed to get their machinery to the drilling site during the following night, but protestors chained themselves to the machines the next day, obstructing the test drilling. By the end of the day, the police arrived, cut the protestors loose, arrested, and fined them. During the following three weeks, groups of four to thirty protestors chained themselves to the drilling machines for several hours every day. Some of the days, the protestors were replaced immediately after being removed by the police, but Nordic Mining managed to get some drilling done between the actions. After three weeks of civil disobedience actions, a last twenty-four-hour blockade was announced before the actions ceased on February 21st. The police removed protestors almost every day, and by the end of the three-week blockade, they had fined eighty protestors a total of nine hundred thousand NOK. Except for an occasion where a machine was started while protestors were chained to it, no major incidents occurred during the three weeks of civil disobedience actions (Mjaaland 2016).

In addition to the civil disobedience actions, 150 people gathered in Vevring for a spontaneous demonstration supporting the protesters on the 6th of February. Later, a hundred supporters showed up to grill fish cakes with the protestors at Engebøfjellet and Friends of the Earth and NNV showed up in support. Before the twenty-four-hour blockade, more than two hundred people attended a protest party in Vevring, while sixty people came to the mountain to support the protestors (ibid.).

The protestors who took part in the civil disobedience actions were mainly members or supporters of NU. They organised the actions and the registry of willing activists, locals in VFM, and leaders and members of the youth parties of MDG, Rødt, and SV.

4. Social movement theories

In this chapter I will first succinctly present and discuss some of the most common *grievance, deprivation,* and *structural* social movement theories (SMT), and why their limitations make them insufficient to properly analyse the empirical data collected for this thesis. Sociology remains the home court of scholarship on social movements and collective action, having contributed with the most research and theory on social movements. However, political science and economics inspired the adoption of rational choice models in the mid-20th century structural theories. Yet, Klandermans and Roggeband (2017a, 3) point out that political scientists generally 'demonstrate a remarkably low interest in social movements and protest', while Vráblíková (2017) found that most of the current scholarly work on protest in political science addresses political violence. Nevertheless, as social movement studies have become more prominent in other disciplines, 'spill-over effects and trading' between these disciplines and sociology have become central to the development of the field. However, other disciplines are 'no longer mere auxiliary sciences to sociology, but have increasingly developed as distinctive subfields' (Klandermans and Roggeband 2017a, 2). The later contributions of other disciplines to social movement studies are particularly relevant for the analysis of the empirical data of this thesis, and will be succinctly discussed in the latter part of this chapter and applied to the analysis. Before treating the classic SMTs, I will present four fundamental concepts within the social sciences and SMTs over the next two pages: *alienation*, *anomie*, *agency*, and *structure*.

Alienation and Anomie

While the prominent social movement scholars Tilly and Tarrow (2015; Tilly 2004) track the roots of contemporary social movements back to the 18th century revolutions in the West, some of the earliest theorising on social movements originates in Karl Marx' (1844; 1867) works. *Alienation* is a key term in his analyses of capitalism, class, labour, and commodification, referring to a sense of estrangement and cognitive dissonance that is forced upon the proletariat by the impersonal environments and hostile forces created by the capitalist economy and division of labour (Law 2011, 11–14). Consequently, social movements are incited by opposition to alienation as 'a demand of autonomy' (Beilharz 2005, 17) and as

‘the expression of material interests that organized class conflict and ultimately propelled social and political change’ (Meyer and Kretschmer 2007, 542). These are the conditions that the ‘old’ social movements grew from.

Akin, but in contrast to alienation is Émile Durkheim’s (1897) concept *anomie,* referring to ‘the unhappy, asocial condition generated by an absence of moral regulation’ in the individualistic societies and monetary economy of the Western world (Law 2011, 16). Accordingly, people are left with a sense of normlessness or rootlessness – anomie – when the *collective conscience,* ‘the common morality, or more specifically, shared understandings, beliefs, norms, and values’ (Ryan 2005, 17) are weakened. Unlike alienation, anomie does not occur only because of negative events and conditions like poverty, injustice, or hostile environments, but might just as well develop from a state of abundance and limitless individualism. As such, anomie is a more conservative and morality-based concept than alienation, as Durkheim was more concerned with ‘curing’ the immoral society than revolutionising it (ibid.).

Alienation and anomie have influenced most of the later analyses of social movements, contending that social movements are either essential, necessary phenomena that bring about progress and change, *or* irrational, dysfunctional, and dangerous outlets of anger. Anomie as a concept was particularly prominent in the pre and post Second World War eras, when ‘analysts viewed the Nazi movement, which emphasized mass mobilization and emotion, as a symptom and consequence of a society gone mad’ (Meyer and Kretschmer 2007, 542). Still, connecting the Marx-derived SMTs with the Durkheimian perspective can prove useful; as the concept of anomie, ‘in which individuals – unhinged from traditional roles and identities – sought new collective identities through personal reintegration in movements’ (Tarrow 1998, 14), supplements the understanding of the cases treated in this thesis, taking place in a social and economic context characterised by abundance and individualism more than revolutionary conditions and strong class affiliations.

Agency and structure

Agency and *structure* are fundamental constructs in SMTs, sociology, and social sciences in general treating the relationship between the individual and the society.

Agency is essentially 'the property of being an agent. An agent is an entity that acts. This makes acting or action the primary notion in terms of which agency is defined' (Mele 2013, 12). In social sciences this relates to human agency and the capacity of individuals to act independently and make free choices:

> Weber, for example, distinguished between four different types of social action: instrumentally rational action geared toward "the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends"; value-rational action, which is pursued for reasons of personally held value, regardless of that action's prospects of success; affectual action, determined by the actor's emotional states and orientations; and traditional action, "determined by ingrained habituation" (from Weber 1916, 24–25 in; Stones 2015, 1).

Structure is essentially a metaphor to the qualities the skeleton has in a body or the frame has in a building. Being rather fixed features in the society, structures shape, determine, and limit the ways its members think, act, and feel. Concepts like ideology (Marx and Engels 1845; Althusser 1970), hegemony (Gramsci 1971), and discourse (Foucault 1972) are akin to structures (Lopez and Scott 2000; Stones 2015)

The power dynamics, independence, and interdependence between structure and agency is a perpetual debate in the social sciences. Some structuralist writers like Parsons (1945), Lévi-Strauss (1968), and Althusser (1970; 1986) treated agents not only as moulded and constrained by structures, but as entirely determined by them, while Foucault (1972) pronounced the 'death' of the agent due to the coercive force and imposition of discursive regimes and power relations (Stones 2015, 2). Later, the debate has concerned how agency and structure and influence each other. For instance, agency can be possessed by any entity and thus be executed collectively – for Marx (1844; 1867), class was the significant entity in creating change (Wyatt 2010). Thus, class can both be an agent of change and a structure constraining its individual members. Theorists like Bourdieu (1977; 1986) and Giddens (1984) have 'synthesised' agency and structure in the concepts *habitus*, *doxa*, and *structuration*, roughly seeing the structures as the tacit knowledge, perceptions, patterns, and habits internalised and reproduced in the agent.

On the next three pages I present the most common and influential, classic SMTs, and their limitations to analyse the empirical material for this thesis.

4.1. Grievance and deprivation theories

The first wave of scholarship on social movements after the Second World War – rooted in anomie – theorised on grievances and deprivation instigating social

movements. While prominent at the time, they later became 'associated with so called "breakdown theories", which were discredited for portraying social movements and movement participation as irrational responses to structural strain' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 106). *Relative deprivation theory* (Runciman 1966) is prominent within grievance theories, asserting that individuals perceiving their situation as relatively deprived compared to others, to their own past, or to some other standard, are more important to movement participation than material deprivation in absolute measures.

4.2. Structural theories

As grievance theories were discredited, a new wave of structural theories emerged in social movement studies, the most prominent being the *value added*, *resource mobilisation*, and *political process* theories. They were developed partly as a reaction to the earlier assumptions of social movements being momentary and irrational, partly derived from Marx and alienation, and inspired by the profound belief in the instrumentally acting *homo oeconomicus*[52] within the political and economic sciences (Olson 1965; Ostrom 1998; Anugwom 2007). Emphasising structural factors, these theories assert that social movements emerge when relatively stable social structures are disrupted, like the economic or political conditions, so that individuals' quality of life declines (Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 10–11).

4.2.1. Resource mobilisation theory

Resource mobilisation theory emphasises the changes in and interaction between the resource availability[53] for a group, their organisational structure, and the opportunities and attempts to meet the demands of the group through collective action as key factors for the emergence of social movements (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Applying an economic approach and jargon to analyse social movements and collective action, McCarthy and Zald (1977,1237) shows 'how important stable

52 Economic man, or the rational agent depicted in economic models. Such an agent has consistent and stable preferences; he is entirely forward-looking, and pursues only his own self-interest. When given options he chooses the alternative with the highest expected utility for himself. It is controversial whether this figure is realistic, and if not, how much that matters to economic theory (Blackburn 2008).

53 Categorised as material resources (finances, physical space and equipment); human resources (leaders and reliable members); moral resources (support by actors outside the movement) (Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 11–12).

resource flows are to the competitive position of a SMO'[54] by referring to the Bolshevik revolution (Wolfe 1955), revolutionary peasants in Vietnam (Leites and Wolf 1970), and mobilisation in tribal and peasant societies (Oberschall 1973). Organisations are essential in resource mobilisation theory as they are the units that 'shepherd resources and harness dissent' (Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 12). Resource mobilisation theory encompasses four core assumptions: (1) there are always grounds for protest in modern pluralist societies, hence grievances alone are insufficient in mobilising social movements; (2) the organisation of social movements depends on pooling together needed resources; (3) social actors are rational and consider the costs and benefits of social movements' participation; (4) social movements depend on organising mobilisers and protest organisations in order to transform discontent into social movements (Anugwom 2007, 1313).

4.2.2. Political process theory

Political process theory emphasises the role of political *opportunities* and *cognitive liberation* in shaping and predicting the emergence, mobilisation, and outcomes of social movements and collective actions in a society. The political opportunities depend on the structure of power relations in, and the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system. Hence, factors like acceptance for challenges and political space (pluralism), repression and ability to withstand confrontation, elite disunity, and elite support for organised opposition shape the conditions for social movements. In political scientist Eisinger's (1973, 11) words, 'such factors as the nature of the chief executive, the mode of aldermanic election, the distribution of social skills and status, and the degree of social disintegration, taken individually or collectively, serve in various ways to obstruct or facilitate citizen activity in pursuit of political goals'. Cognitive liberation refers to the citizens' conscious sense of injustice in a society – not just the mere existence of deprivation and grievances – together with the perceived efficacy of collective action (Anugwom 2007, 1313).

54 Resource mobilisation theory distinguishes between social movements (SM), which by nature are never fully mobilised; social movement organisations (SMO), which are organisations that identify with and work towards the goals and preferences of a social movement; and social movement industry (SMI) which are constituted by 'all SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement' (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1219).

4.2.3. Value added theory

Value added theory, also referred to as the structural — strain theory of collective behaviour, was first proposed by Smelser (1962). Its main argument is that social movements and collective action emerge from conditions characterised by structural and social strain. Under such conditions, individuals', being rational decision-makers, calculate the value-added from engaging in collective action to surpass the cost of inaction. The theory distinguishes six factors that generate social movements: (1) structural conduciveness; (2) structural strain; (3) solution; (4) precipitating factors; (5) loose social control; (6) mobilisation (Anugwom 2007, 1312).

4.3. Critique and relevance for the Alta and Førdefjord cases

The grievance and deprivation theories usually refer to protests aimed at improving one's own (often subaltern) group's social and material conditions, which is not the case in the Alta and Førdefjord cases. Still, one may argue that they were instigated by grievances due to a sense of deprivation of environmental values, and in the Alta case, a culmination of centuries long deprivation of Sámi culture and rights. Nevertheless, only a minority of the protestors in the Alta case, and none of protestors in the Førdefjord case, were subaltern, but rather privileged majority citizens, and did not protest to improve their own material or social conditions (Persen and Johansen 1998; Hjorthol 2006; A. Nilsen 2019). Also, grievance and deprivation theories fail to sufficiently explain the emergence of social movements as both environmental encroachments and oppression of the Sámi took place constantly and in countless incidents for decades and centuries ahead of these cases. As Trotsky (1932, 1–3:249) noted long ago: 'if grievances were sufficient to cause an insurrection, then one would expect the masses to be in constant revolt' (Dill and Aminzade 2017, 170)[55]. Later empirical studies assert that an individual-based sense of deprivation does not predict collective action, while a perception of group-based relative deprivation is a strong predicting factor of collective action (van Zomeren and Iyer 2009, 648), as is mobilisation due to group-based emotional responses provoked by a sense of shared grievances and group-based appraisals of social

55 On the contrary, Moore (1978) addressed the discoveries anthropologists made when studying social movements; that the subaltern more often than revolting accepted their destiny and only in extraordinary occurrences mobilised to collective actions.

injustice and inequality (Simon and Klandermans 2001; van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008, 523–24).

The structural theories are neither sufficient to analyse the empirical data of this thesis, primarily due to the lacking emphasis on individual agency and exaggerated emphasis on the homo oeconomicus as fundamental premises. Although the emphasis on resource mobilisation complements the grievance theories, the theory is too simplistic, over-emphasising financial resources and the rational choice and cost-benefit analyses as a motive for individual movement participation. The organisation of the Alta and Førdefjord actions did arguably involve several of the conditions provided by the theory, being social movements that encompassed several SMOs who were part of a larger SMI, organising and mobilising for the collective actions by pooling together the needed material, human, and moral resources. While there were protestors present at the Alta and Førdefjord actions that had individually economical and instrumental vested motives for participating in the actions (like salmon fishing interests), no accounts in the provided literature or in the empirical material of thesis study suggest that cost-benefit analyses were an *important* factor for the motivation to participate in the collective actions at neither individual nor group levels, although present in some cases.

Political process theory neither provides an explanation for how individual beliefs may turn into collective action. Both resource mobilisation and political process theories over-emphasise the facilitative properties of structural factors like resource flows and political institutions, and ignore why, in a given situation, some individuals get mobilised while others do not. The political opportunities in Norway in the 1970's, 1980's, and 2010's were favourable for collective protest actions, and cognitive liberation in terms of awareness of environmental encroachments and oppression of the Sámi were present when the Alta and Førdefjord actions took place. Thus, it can explain some favourable conditions that had a facilitative role for the collective actions.

The value-added theory adds factors that help explain the emergence of social movements, but is too encompassing to explain the emergence of specific movements and the motivations of the individuals participating in them. Whereas some movements probably have emerged as a result of the six listed conditions, movements have been created without following these steps and emerged regardless

of the presence or absence of one or more of these factors and conditions (Anugwom 2007; Rohlinger and Gentile 2017). Some of the six factors that generate social movements according to value added theory were arguably present in the Alta case: both previous literature and participants in this study mention the general debate and critique of the 'industrial growth society' and centralisation, or *structural conduciveness* and *strain*, as underlying factors for the actions. The development project was the *precipitating factor* itself, and the *solution* was not to construct it, partially argued by demonstrating that NVE produced exaggerated power demand trajectories. *Loose social* control was arguably a present factor in the liberal democracy of Norway, but the State's and other parts of the society's reaction to the protests and action might suggest that this factor was only partly present. *Mobilisation* was a clearly present factor, while the presence of structural strain in this sense is debatable, in both cases, on same grounds as argued treating the grievance and deprivations theories. For the Førdefjord case the structural conduciveness seems less present than for the Alta case, although several of the participants in this study express a general growth critique. The precipitating factors and solutions are relatively identical for the two cases, while loose social control appears as a more present factor in the Førdefjord case. Mobilisation efforts took place, but the turnout was only a fraction of the Alta actions. Ultimately, like with the grievance and deprivation theories, collective action may occur at any time, fulfilling all or some of these conditions, while all conditions may be provided, even mobilisation efforts, without any substantial collective action taking place. Thus, the theory does not provide a sufficient explanation of the antecedents and motivations for activism, especially not on an individual level.

The classic SMTs do provide some factors and conditions that may be facilitative or triggering for collective action, but which seldom are necessary to their full extent. This critique is quite widespread, and a *dynamics of contention* approach has evolved as a response to some of this critique, identifying generalisable processes and mechanisms that influence the direction and content of social movements. Emphasising the dynamic relationships between different conditions in the societies social movements emerge in, the approach is still state-centric and pays little attention to the individuals in the movements (Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 13–15).

4.4. Cultural and individual approaches

The theories and approaches to social movement studies described this far treat social movements as meso and macro level phenomena and the structural factors antecedent to, facilitating, and triggering social movements and collective action. As a response, the scholarship on social movements took a turn towards examining culture and individual agency both within sociology, but also in interaction with anthropology, social psychology, human geography and political ecology, educational science, communication studies, law, history.

As briefly mentioned, Giddens (1984) incorporated some of this in his *structuration theory*, elaborating on the relationship between social structures and individual agency: Most of the time individuals reproduce structures in *patterns* of *repeating* quotidian praxis – 'We recur to known repertoires and routines, we are in a "flow of conduct"' (Salman and Assies 2017, 72). Resistance to these patterns requires a highly active, reflective, and *rationalising consciousness*, a concept akin to cognitive liberation. This may occur when routines fail to function, leading agents to mobilise 'their efforts and focus their thoughts on responses to problems which will diminish their anxiety, and ultimately bring about social change' (Giddens 1984, 134). This view emphasises the agents' 'victory over tradition' and habits to a further extent than Bourdieu did in his concept habitus (Salman and Assies 2017, 72). While emphasising the will of the agent to a further extent, attention was brought to relational approaches to issues regarding *framing* and *frames*, *emotion*, and (collective) *identity*, allowing for more thorough analyses and explanations of social movement dynamics at multiple levels, especially regarding mobilisation and participation (Salman and Assies 2017).

4.4.1. Social psychology

The available literature and research on individual level activism and participation in social movements and collective action is limited[56], of which a substantial amount has been produced within social psychology in the last decades. A prominent scholar on the field, Bert Klandermans (2013, 133), asserts that the social psychology of

56 The social-psychological literature on factors that motivate environmental action, pro-environmental behaviour, and motivations and antecedents for *volunteerism* is quite extensive (see, for example, Omoto and Snyder 1995; Clary et al. 1998; Clary and Snyder 1999; Atkins, Hart, and Donnelly 2005; Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005; Elena, Chiara, and Maura 2006; Omoto, Snyder, and Hackett 2010), while the scholarly work on activism and non-normative actions is rather limited.

movement participation 'distinguishes three fundamental reasons why people participate in social movements: people may want to change their circumstances, they may want to act as members of their group, or they may want to express their views', and continues:

> Together these three motives account for most of the reasons why people take part in collective political action. […] In brief, the literature refers to these three motives as instrumentality, identity, and ideology. Instrumentality refers to movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment; identity refers to movement participation as an expression of identification with a group; and ideology refers to movement participation as an expression of one's views. Different theories are associated with these three angles (Klandermans 1997; Tarrow 1998). Instrumentality is related to resource mobilization and political process theories of social movements and at the psychological level to rational choice theory and expectancy-value theories; identity is related to sociological approaches that emphasize the collective identity component of social movement participation and with the social psychological social identity theory; and ideology is related to approaches in social movement literature that focus on culture, meaning, narratives, moral reasoning, and emotion and in psychology to theories of social cognition and emotions.

Several social-psychological findings and concepts on motivational factors are closely corresponding to the findings made in the thematic analysis of the empirical material for this thesis, namely *identity* and *identity related motivational factors* like *values* (also referred to as ideology, ethics, and worldview), *moral obligation* (strongly held values), *emotions* (reaction to violated values); and to a lesser extent, *instrumentality* (the perceived efficacy of the collective action towards the goal of the action). While recognising Uri Bronfenbrenner's (1979) critique of the excessive focus on the individual in psychology (as well as the deterministic nature of sociological theories on structure), a substantial part of the findings and discussion in this thesis will refer to social-psychological concepts and findings.

Quantitative and experimental studies dominate the social-psychological research, which is criticised, much like the SMTs discussed previously, for being too reliant on rationality based explanatory models with a *too* individualistic and cognitive view of action, not including the social, cultural, and other contexts that may shape actions and behaviour sufficiently (Hards 2012; Shove 2010). Although many social-psychological scholars have included more factors in their models, Hards (2012) synthesises some challenges to the conventional behaviour-based understandings, as complex, contextual factors are difficult to encompass as a series of independent variables in model-based approaches (Shove 2010). Hards suggests we need a more

comprehensive approach to understanding individual actions as ‘embedded in contexts and entwined with other life domains, and shaped by social interaction’ and suggests a narrative approach that ‘concerns temporal dimensions, especially the development of pro-environmental practice throughout the life-course’ (Hards 2012, 761). This falls partially within the scope of this thesis, and Hards contends that the application of a narrative analysis of *transformative moments* can fill many of the gaps left after conventional behavioural studies. Hards conducted a life-course study applying narrative analysis to analyse the interviews and locate the transformative moments; While my interviews do not comprise all the attributes of life-story interviews and a full narrative analysis is beyond the scope of this study, they include narrative episodes. Thus, the discussion will employ an extensive use of participant narratives, through direct quotations, to analyse the factors motivating their participance in social and environmental movements and collective actions using civil disobedience. The following chapters will treat some antecedent factors, analyse the parts of the empirical material corresponding to the identity related motivational factors, instrumentality, and transformative moments, recognising some of the critique and challenges asserted by both Hards (2012) and Bronfenbrenner (1979). These concepts will be further presented along the way.

Findings and discussion

In this part I will present and discuss the empirical material collected for this thesis. As noted, many academic disciplines produce research on social movements, antecedents, and motivations of collective action: As this thesis is part of a multidisciplinary master's programme, I will conduct the discussion in interaction with literature and concepts derived from a multitude of disciplines. Employing an inductive approach, I conducted, transcribed, and coded the interviews, then performed an initial thematic analysis of the material, before consulting relevant literature. During the literature review I discovered that the most relevant and comparable literature on the field appeared within social psychology, a discipline previously unknown to me. When conducting the following rounds of analysis I utilised the themes, categories, and concepts found in existing literature and applied them to identify analogous distinctions in my empirical material, which turned out to correspond significantly with the findings in existing literature. Thus, for analytical and comparability considerations, I will use predominantly social-psychological terminology in the analysis (although also appearing in other disciplines), rather than the (analogous) terms I used in the interviews and initial analysis. While the existing research can help confirm, disconfirm, interpret, define, resolve, formulate, and simplify my empirical material, the entire discussion is performed bearing in mind that the findings of the multifaceted range of literature applied (both in terms of disciplines and methods) are not directly transferable and comparable to the findings of this thesis, which also the reader must keep in mind.

The following chapters present and analyse the *antecedents* of political and environmental engagement, the *motivations* of environmental activism, and the *transformative moments* that triggered activism and participation in collective actions, in that order and in accordance with the research questions. While the participants' narratives generally cohere to these stages there are individual variances and cross interactions. Direct quotations will be used extensively to properly elucidate these nuances in the empirical material[57].

57 Translated as directly as possible, many quotes will contain highly oral language. Three dot ellipses (…) in the direct quotations indicate faltering speech, hesitation, hiatus, or pauses in the dialogue. Ellipses in brackets ([…]) mark omissions. For further descriptions consult The Chicago Manual of Style Online 17th edition sections 13.50-13.58; https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part2/ch13/psec050.html.

5. Antecedent factors

In this chapter I will first present the participants' backgrounds[58] (in terms of parental background, class, place of birth and residence, education, and employment) to provide context for analysis and comparison with previous studies on the field. The second section treats *childhood experiences* as a factor that the participants in this study, as well as existing literature, contend has significantly influenced and impacted the development of their identity related motivations, treated in the next chapter, such as *values*, *moral convictions*, and *emotions*, which in turn motivated their activism and participation in collective actions including civil disobedience.

5.1. Participant background

Although of secondary significance for this thesis, an overview of the participants' backgrounds provides useful information for the analysis of the primary empirical material. Moreover, it provides for a comparison to previous literature: Several studies of the (youth) environmental movement and other *new* social movements in Norway and elsewhere have found that most of its members identify with, and have a parental backgrounds from, different substrata most commonly referred to as *middle class* strata, such as the *new class* and the *humanistic-social intermediate strata*, predominated by highly educated, moderately salaried people mainly working in the public and non-profit sectors (Skogen 1995; 1996b; 1998; 1999; Horwitz 1996; Krange 1996).

The participants in this study differ little from previous findings: All participants possess background *or* current status characteristics in accordance with the middle-class strata; only Ingrid's current status can be characterised as uneducated working-class (with no intentions to undertake higher education), while her parents are middle-class. All participants except Jan, who has a Sámi background, have (majority) Norwegian backgrounds. The participants also substantiated existing findings when asked about their impression of the prevalent background and status of

58 The nine participants are given the following acronyms (sex and age in parentheses): Jan (male, 64), Ole (male, 63), Per (male, 61), Anne (female, 51), Martin (male, 26), Kristian (male, 25), Thomas (male, 23), Julie (female, 21), Ingrid (female, 20). **Please see appendix 1** for a more detailed summary of each participant.

the environmental movement's commonplace member; all answered along the lines of 'white, privileged middle class'. The snowballing sampling method and the relatively small sample may also have influenced this; a more targeted sampling method combined with a larger sample could have produced a more diverse sample diverging more from previous findings and perceptions. This also indicates that a certain level of economic and cultural capital, i.e. the privilege of not having to struggle to make the ends meet, is a necessary precondition to sacrifice time and resources on environmentalism and paying the sentenced fines for civil disobedience.

The participants' place of birth *and* residence are slightly more diverse than their social backgrounds and statuses: The eastern, western, central, and northern regions of Norway are all represented, as are cities, small towns, and rural areas. All the participants with a rural background grew up at small-scale farms, and some of the participants with urban or small-town backgrounds also mention that experiences with agriculture in youth has contributed to their values later in life, which is also found in other studies (Horwitz 1996).

Meanwhile, the participants' place of birth and parental backgrounds revealed a generational divide: All the participants born before 1990 grew up in uneducated working-class or small-scale farmer families, while all the participants born after 1990 grew up in the middle-class strata, *and* mostly in cities. This reflects the general demographic development in Norway since the 1960's in terms of the steep increase in urbanisation and general level of education (SSB 2008; Thune 2021). Some of the participants also reflect on this: All the participants born before 1990 have made some sort of class-journey to the middle-class, and belong approximately to the same generation as the parents of the participants born in the 1990s. These generational divisions are particularly evident in this section, where the experiences with political engagement or activity in the youth also follow the generational division.

5.2. Childhood and adolescence experiences

Experiences in childhood and adolescence have been found significant to the development of a personal identity, and an environmental identity and environmental ethics in environmental activists specifically (Erikson 1963; Marcia 1993; Horwitz 1996; Clayton and Opotow 2003; Matsuba et al. 2012). 'Through a qualitative analysis' Horwitz (1996, 29) found 'six principle themes emerged: (a) deep

environmental concern and an affiliation with nature often began in early childhood' where (b) 'a combination of intellectual and direct experiences with nature' contributed, which in different cases were influenced by, and linked to factors like (c) 'familial and extra familial models', (d) 'spiritual, cultural, and religious feelings' (e) identity issues, (f) historical events (ibid.). Of these themes, all except (d) emerged in the analysis of the empirical material for this thesis, of which some will appear in later parts of the discussion. Two main categories of childhood experiences stood out as influential antecedents for identity related motivational factors such as values, emotions, and moral convictions – and thus political engagement and activism – later in life: familial and extra familial political engagement, and nature experiences. Several participants emphasised the theme considerably in the interviews; discussing what may have led them to become activists, the conversations mainly circled around positive relationships.

5.2.1. Familial and extra familial political engagement

Thomas and Julie emphasised political *activity* or activism among family members as important factors to why they became politically and environmentally engaged. Likewise, Martin, Kristian, and Ingrid contend that social and political awareness and discussions within the family were enabling and encouraging factors to take action in organised political activity later in life, although not necessarily directly encouraged. Julie, Thomas, Kristian, and Martin have similar backgrounds: Born in the 1990's, grew up in medium or large Norwegian cities, with highly educated parents that were politically interested or 'aware/woke', and some of whom have been politically active in their youth.

Julie describes a childhood influenced by highly educated and quite politically engaged parents that made her 'politically aware' at an early age. She recalls being brought along to Nepal and Tanzania for her parents' research fieldworks, where she was exposed to inequality and natural damages, and their impact on people. She contends that her parents' political engagement and these concrete experiences in her youth were significant contributors to her later political engagement.

Thomas describes his parents as politically engaged in their youth, but that they were not part of party politics, although his father was a member of *Unge Venstre*[59] (UV) for a while. His parents continued to be interested in the public debate in his adolescence, and got the newspaper *Aftenposten* at the door every day. They encouraged liberal attitudes, open-mindedness, and supported his political engagement, regardless of its political hue. He cannot recall that they ever pushed any specific political views, and none of them were affiliated with socialism, as he would later be. They took opposite sides in the EU debate[60], but Thomas' clear impression was still that Høyre[61] (H) and especially Fremskrittspartiet[62] (FRP) were not 'friends of the family'. His first meetings with SV were through two of his uncles, one of whom had been vice president of SU at, while his other uncle, who runs a farm, got involved in SV about the same time as Thomas joined SU. Thomas contends that the liberal and politically aware atmosphere he grew up in was a contributing, or at least facilitating, factor to his political engagement.

Similarly, Kristian remembers parents who were not particularly politically or environmentally engaged, but who encouraged social and political involvement. He 'learnt at an early phase to be sceptical towards FRP' and 'caught that spirit early on', and unlike Thomas, he sees his parents as 'generally left-leaning', with a general attitude advocating fairness, civility, and justness, and suggests that it might have shaped how he encountered the public debate later.

Likewise, Martin grew up with a politically and socially engaged family, parents who were active in NGOs in their youth, but with few conversations about politics or the environment before he joined NU, as he can recall. He perceives his choice to join NU and establish a local chapter as an individual choice that was not influenced by the political interest or atmosphere in his childhood home, although his parents were not negative to this.

Ingrid's childhood differs somewhat from the participants described above. She grew up on a farm with an educated mother who ran the farm part-time and worked elsewhere part-time, while her father ran a farm in another part of the country. She

59 Young Liberals of Norway.

60 The most dominant and divisive political debate in Norway both prior to the 1972 and 1994 EU-referendums.

61 The Conservative Party.

62 The Progress Party.

recalls a childhood with somewhat politically engaged parents, but that neither her peers nor parents were particularly politically active in her youth. Still, she reflects around the impact of the atmosphere she grew up in:

> I think it [the political engagement] comes a bit from the family anyway, to some extent. Because even though my mother was very, very ill then, we had a lot of books on the bookshelves and read a lot. […] We did not have very much economic capital but had very high cultural capital in the home then. So, I kind of think it's really something that's always been like that… been there…

Unlike Julie, Thomas, Kristian, and Martin, Ingrid remembers some experience with activism in her youth. The first issue she got actively engaged in as a six-year-old, was to preserve and protect a small island community where she spent her holidays, by making and distributing posters with her other family members in her grandmother's kitchen. They were strongly committed to the community, the local store and school against the wealthy holiday guests from western Oslo who wanted to deregulate local residence requirements to create holiday homes. Along with the reflections above, she relates this experience to a later recognition of the virtues of, and urge to get politically engaged.

Jan, Ole, and Per were born in the 1950's, and Anne in the 60's. Per and Anne grew up in small towns, while Jan and Ole grew up at farms. All of them had uneducated parents either in the working class or working at their farms. None of them can remember any specific social or political interest in their upbringing, but Per mentioned that his parents had been active in the labour party in their younger days. All of them also recall that their parents were sceptical towards their activism in the beginning, but modestly supportive after some time.

Experiences with injustice

Jan and Ingrid refer to specific childhood memories related to injustice that laid the foundations for their later political engagement: While few of the social justice motivated participants mention personal injustice-related experiences as a cause, Ingrid makes a clear connection to childhood experiences: When asked about whether political activity among her peers inspired her, she responded:

> No, there was absolutely nothing. In, like the ones I grew up with. It was sort of ... You either played handball or you played football. That's what they did. And it was a bit like, sort of… How cool you were at school was sort of dependent on which side of the school you came from. If you came from somehow, the […] side, or if you came from the other side of the school. That is, towards the church, where we lived. Then you were like, such a nerd and loser because then you were from the

> countryside. While if you lived on that side, with the "town" where there lived four thousand people, then you were kind of hip and cool and could hang out with people…

When I asked whether I understood her correctly saying that she did not become politically engaged due to politically active parents or peers at school, she countered: 'I think it comes from school and home anyway, even though it does not seem like that'. Ingrid was bullied, beaten, and frozen out because she lived on the 'wrong side of the village', and has felt angry for being mistreated for no reason, only due to artificial divides made up by some people. Later she managed to look at it differently and linked it to the political system as well:

> Now I have always been, from early on, aware, in a way, of injustice then. In such things. There was no... The kids had no reason to beat me, like... I was not a disgusting child, I was a kind girl, like… It was just because I lived on the wrong side of the school, from that side... And that, sort of, was one of the first things that made me kind of see injustice: That all those kids had to put up with so much shit just because their parents lived there and not there. So, I think it comes partly from there.

Jan's experiences of mistreatment and bullying in childhood for being a Sámi instigated a strong interest and commitment to fight for Sámi rights. The rising Sámi rights movement was a part of his childhood, and a reaction to the racism and discrimination the Sámi people were facing and had suffered from for generations:

> We immediately noticed that there was a difference between Sámi and others… When I went to first grade, someone asked, "can your mother *ganne*[63] people?" … "No, she cannot. She is a Christian…" But I have always done well in the Norwegian society. I have not had any problems, no language problems. My oldest sister had problems, she could not speak Norwegian when she started school. So, she had big problems with it. She had to repeat a year.

5.2.2. Nature experiences and agriculture

Nature experiences in youth was one of the universal antecedent factors of environmental engagement I hypothesised before doing the fieldwork for this thesis. Although stressing the need for more research and assessment of the exact mechanisms, Rosa, Profice, and Callado (2018) have found a clear positive relationship between nature experiences and connectedness to nature, pro-environmental behaviour and attitudes in a study done across continents. Other studies, carried out in Western countries, also support these findings (Strandbu 2000;

63 To curse; cast a spell.

Strandbu and Skogen 2000). All participants in this study contend that nature experiences and connectedness to nature has played a role in their adult environmental engagement to different extents. Many of the participants elaborate quite extensively on this theme, like Anne, when asked:

> Yes, yes, yes. It played a huge role. Taking care of nature and taking care of who is around you, that is a part of the upbringing really. And to take care of and appreciate nature and… The Alta development was in a way at the other end. It was to destroy nature. And it is a bit impressive, in a way, that I also saw the value creation, i.e. having nature and experiences and untouched nature as tourism, as a way to create value for the village. And it's fun to see today that it's tourism that is growing rapidly. And that untouched nature is so much appreciated. So, I have to say that I am a little impressed with myself that I saw it, and who also used it as an argument then.

Kristian gets into the subject during a longer reflection on the antecedents of his environmental engagement, and reveals that he is not really the man of nature although he feels a close connection to it:

> … it is the banal thing that I have grown up in a very beautiful county. […] is a very nice city with scenic surroundings and things like that. So, I have been quite a bit out in nature, yes, both with grandparents and things like that, been a bit out at sea. You get, many Norwegians get it: You get a lot of contact with nature, so you become personally connected to it. So, it may have done… I think the combination that I am afraid of the world's doom and that I love nature... Now I shan't exaggerate how much I love nature. I'm probably more of a "Caffe Latte"[64] fond of nature, so there are a lot of people in MDG who go on long mountain hikes and skis and stuff, but I was never "there" then. I kind of stay in the city, but I think nature is very nice when I'm in it, and in orderly conditions.

Thomas feels a similar kind of connectedness to nature through his family as Kristian, but also highlights his school's role in creating connections to nature, and how experiences from his uncle's farm have contributed to shaping his views on environmental issues.

> [I] grew up with both a kind of mentality that nature has a lot to give us and that nature is important, from, sort of, the family's point of view. Both with the fact that we spent a lot of holidays and leisure time going out into nature in different ways, whether it was a skiing trip or whether it was a, eeh... long weekend in a tent with fishing and living from nature, and... So, I have, in a way, grown up with a relationship with nature and grew up in […] which is outside the city and there it is like; you go out into nature a lot in school too […]. At the same time, I have spent a lot of my upbringing on my uncle's farm and seen where food comes from. So that has shaped me in its own way too.

64 'Caffe latte […]' is a frequently used, predominantly derogatory, term and prefix to describe urban, allegedly liberal, and often young people, and their alleged culture, experiences, worldviews, and opinions.

Julie remembers spending a lot of time out in nature, but mainly on shorter hikes, as her hometown is surrounded by many mountains. Although the city she resides in now is surrounded by forests, she does not find nature as accessible there and spends less time in nature now. She also recalls a trekking adventure in Nepal with her father and sister that influenced her environmental engagement as she got to see how the smog from Kathmandu covered the city, and coloured the Himalayan glaciers several thousand metres above. To see the connection between pollution, natural damage, and human behaviour has shaped her worldview and sparked her environmental engagement.

Martin does not mention childhood nature experiences as a specific reason for his environmental engagement, but has been active in organised environmental education and conservation from an early age:

> I have always been concerned about the environment. I was in Blekkulfklubben[65] and the boy scouts for a few years and spent a lot of time in nature. I always have, I do not know where it comes from, but I have always thought it was important to take care of nature. Important to… We only have one globe in a way. And it probably developed a bit as I joined Natur og Ungdom, understood what it takes for us to be able to solve the climate problem, and how urgent it is. And that the political structures behind the world and climate policy today are as they are then. So, I think there was something latent there that I don't know exactly where comes from, but that made me come into a kind of community of people who were concerned about the environment then.

While the former participants relate positive nature experiences from recreation or Blekkulfklubben to their environmental engagement, Per did not recall any specific positive childhood nature experiences in terms of recreation that sparked his environmental engagement. On the contrary, and like Anne, he experienced environmental problems in his local community when he was young: A local factory polluted the river and killed the fish, an incident that instantly ignited Per's engagement for environmental protection, as will be discussed in the 'transformative moments' chapter. Horwitz (1996, 37–38) also found that 'observing environmental destruction and limits to growth' as well as experiences from youth clubs had an influence on the environmental sensibility and ethics of the participants in her study. Some of the participants do not relate nature experiences as in recreation or protection, to their environmental engagement, but growing up with agriculture: Jan

65 Blekkulfklubben is an environmental protection club for children, created in co-operation with NNV; https://www.blekkulfklubben.no.

grew up with small-scale farming and a close relationship to nature, as did Ole. Both emphasise their own experiences with making a living from what nature has to offer as an antecedent factor to their later commitment to protect the environment. Likewise, Ingrid reflects that she does not necessarily feel so 'connected to nature', but emphasises her engagement for the people basing their livelihoods on nature and its harvests, like around her home farm, or Førdefjorden. Thomas also emphasised his childhood experiences from his uncle's farm in shaping his environmental engagement and 'connectedness to nature'. Again, Horwitz' (1996, 33) study's participants also noted farm life experiences as '"heightening… awareness of the natural world" or "help[ing] establish an early appreciation of nature," and 'instilling a sense of the finiteness of resources'. Furthermore, Erikson (1963) and Marcia (1993) argue that the 'development of ideological commitments in later adolescence […] is a key component of the development of a personal identity' (Matsuba et al. 2012, 1093), while Clayton and Opotow (2003, 11) claim that nature experiences can shape an environmental identity that in turn can become politically charged when 'threats to the environment are discerned'.

5.3. Chapter summary

This chapter shows that the selection of participants for this study belong to the sociological strata that previous studies investigating the Norwegian environmental movement have found. This may suggest that participating in the environmental movement is partly influenced by social and cultural conditions, and requires a certain socio-economic status, or privilege, as one of the participants claims. Further, experiences in childhood and adolescence have contributed to, and facilitated later political engagement and activism. Nature experiences in childhood and adolescence, either through recreation, protection, or agriculture, is to some extent a contributing factor to the environmental engagement, and possibly environmental identity, of all the participants. While this is a finding in line with similar studies, its importance should not be exaggerated; recreational nature experiences are very common parts of a typical Norwegian childhood, while most Norwegians are still not environmental activists. At the same time, none of the participants related their childhood nature experiences *directly* to becoming *activists*, only to a general engagement or concern for nature: More factors are at play in making an activist.

6. Motivating factors

This section presents the definitions and features of personal, social, and collective identity, and the role the identity related motivational factors *values, emotions*, and *moral convictions* play in shaping a politicised identity that in turn leads to political action. The last section discusses the role of instrumentality and *perceived efficacy* of collective action as a motivational factor. The section begins by presenting and defining the key concepts and some of the literature on the field, and further discussing them in relation to my findings. Most of the cited literature in this chapter is social- psychological, as it is the discipline that is most preoccupied with the individuals in movements. Still, these concepts are also treated in disciplines like anthropology, sociology, and history. The methods used in psychology to map concepts like identity, emotions, and values are more comprehensive, using standardised surveys, than the replies I have gathered in my study. Hence, I cannot and do not intend to come to any definitive conclusions regarding the personality traits of the participants in my study. Nevertheless, the concepts, theories, and findings from the literature prove useful as analytical tools that, despite the divergence in methods and disciplines, are very relatable to my findings, as my findings do *indicate* traits similar to the social-psychological concepts and categories employed in this chapter. The section starts by presenting the definitions and traits of identity, and moves on to values, emotions, and moral convictions, and their role in shaping a collective identity.

6.1. Identity

Identity[66] and social identity are core concepts in the social movement literature and research on motivations and antecedents to political engagement, protest participation, and volunteerism. According to Jenkins (2004) 'identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally other people's understanding of themselves and others. […] Identity is not a given fact, but

66 'An individual's sense of self defined by (a) a set of physical, psychological, and interpersonal characteristics that is not wholly shared with any other person and (b) a range of affiliations (e.g., ethnicity) and social roles. Identity involves a sense of continuity, or the feeling that one is the same person today that one was yesterday or last year (despite physical or other changes). Such a sense is derived from one's body sensations; one's body image; and the feeling that one's memories, goals, values, expectations, and beliefs belong to the self. Also called personal identity' (APA n.d.).

a practical accomplishment, a process' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 111). Identity; personal, environmental, social, or collective; was not a part of the interview guide for this thesis, and few of the participants emphasised identity in their responses. Thus, there are few direct quotations in the following section. Nevertheless, the thematic analysis revealed that identity related motivations are imperative for most of the participants.

6.1.1. Social and collective identity

The formation and development of personal identity is a central part of the human psychosocial development, a process that continues in different stages throughout life, with childhood and adolescence as the most decisive epochs (Erikson 1950; 1963; 1968; Simpson 2010). While personal identity and personality traits are common subjects of inquiry in studies of individual antecedents and motives for volunteering and activism, e.g. (Davis et al. 1999; Finkelstein and Penner 2004; Atkins, Hart, and Donnelly 2005; Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005; Omoto, Snyder, and Hackett 2010), the social movements literature is mainly focusing on *social* and *collective* identities' role as antecedents and in motivating activism and collective action. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013, 5) assert that *'personal identity* refers to self-definition in terms of personal attributes, whereas *social identity* refers to self-definition in terms of social category memberships'. It should also be noted that people can hold multiple concurrent identities simultaneously, which may appear both symbiotic, harmonic, or conflicting. They may both strengthen each other, appearing as 'dual identities', or create dilemmas and crises for people holding them, thus being capable of both encouraging and discouraging protest participation (Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Huo et al. 1996; Kurtz 2002; González and Brown 2003; Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg 2008; Simon and Ruhs 2008; van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2013).

Ole and Ingrid have two different experiences of what identities, perceived identities, identity markers, and identity attributes may entangle. Ole recalls that the environmentalist identity was clearly visible in the 1970's:

> We were almost uniformed. Everyone had jackets from Fjällräven, you know, the green Greenland Jacket, and very many of us had "nikkers"[67], which we had bought from Arne Randers Heen, who was a climber, a famous climber and kept up in *Møre*

67 Norwegian short pants intended for outdoors life.

> *og Romsdal* and had his own sewing room. He had to make a living from something he too, between the many trips up to *Romsdalshornet*. You could just glance at a person, and then you knew just about the whole package of what he or she stood for, what political interests they had, what they did in their spare time, what kind of music they liked and so on and so forth. I discovered that that had already disappeared […] in the early 80's, because then I discovered that people had opinions that were completely independent of how they dressed and it confused me very much to begin with.

On the other hand, Ingrid has experienced a discrepancy in her own activist identity and other peoples attributions of opinions to their own perception of her identity:

> Everyone thinks I'm kind of against shooting wolves. But then you talk to, in a way, the people in Trysil who are genuinely afraid of them then, they do not send their kids to school tomorrow because they are afraid that the seven-year-old can be taken by wolves. Then I cannot be completely against it… Maybe not shoot all the wolves then, but to reduce that wolf population a bit, even if everyone thinks "yes she is against it". But because it affects the people living there, in the local community, it is, in a way, the most important thing. Whether it is an environmental issue or a completely different political issue then, it is the people who live where it happens that tip me in favour of or against it.

Social identity

Social identity is closely linked to personal identity, but distinguished as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1978, 63). In their *Social Identity Theory* (SIT) Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1986) identify *in-groups* and *out-groups* – and the *competition* between them – as the cornerstones in the formation and definition of social identity. In-groups are the social groups to which an individual identifies as a member, while out-groups are the social groups that an individual is not a member of and does not identify with. Hence, similarities versus differences are the main components of social identity, which is formed in the interrelation between identifying with one's in-groups and distinguishing oneself from one's out-groups. The group sizes can range from smaller groups such as families, groups of colleagues or friends, groups of people with shared interests (like football or the environment), to larger groups defined by indicators like class, nationality, or race. Ultimately, some scholars argue that some individuals express identity traits that are inclusive to the point where they can identify with the entire humanity as an in-group, termed a *global identity* (Reese, Proch, and Cohrs 2014; Reese and Kohlmann 2015; Renger and Reese 2017). A global identity is, to a great extent, an opposite to a national identity, which is built on the notion of a nations' (in-groups) unique, exceptional,

and exclusive (and in some cases superior) essence, distinguishing it from other nations (out-groups). Global identity, as will be discussed later in this section, is a good concept to explain like international solidarity and a sense of care, responsibility, or duty towards people in other parts of the world, nature, animals, and the planet as a whole.

Collective identity

While social identity arguably constitutes a crucial aspect of life for almost all humans, *collective identity* is especially important for social movements. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2017, 112) assert that while social identity 'concerns cognitions of a single individual about his or her membership in one or more groups', *collective identity* 'concerns cognitions shared by members of a single group', and that '*group identification* forms the link between collective and social identity'. Collective identities are under constant construction, and are shaped by factors like collective action.

> Group identification seems to be the fundamental social-psychological answer to the question of what drives people to engage in collective action. Identification with the group involved seems a powerful reason to participate in protest on behalf of that group […] studies report consistently that group identification and collective action participation are correlated (ibid. 110).

De Weerd and Klandermans (1999) divide group identification into an *affective* and a *behavioural* component, where the 'affective component refers to the degree of attachment to the group (farmers in this study) or category and the behavioral component refers to membership in identity organizations (being a member of a farmers' organization)' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 112). Huddy (2001; 2013) similarly categorises group memberships as either *ascribed* (e.g. farmer) or *acquired* (member of farmers organisation).

Identities vary in strength, and the strength of group identification tends to increase when a group membership is voluntary and *acquired*: van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2017, 113) argue that 'membership of a social movement organization can be seen as a prototypical example of a voluntary acquired, hence strong, identity'. Likewise, while both the affective and behavioural components have shown an impact on the *willingness* to participate in political protest, studies have only found causality in both directions between the *behavioural* component and actual participation. This causality is palpable, as de Weerd and Klandermans (1999,

1092) argue that ‘being organized implies communication networks, access to resources, interpersonal control, information about opportunities when, where and how to act, and all those other things that make it more likely that intentions materialize’. Moreover, Polletta and Jasper (2001, 415) emphasise that group identification is more than a cognitive process: ‘a collective identity is not simply the drawing of a cognitive boundary […] most of all, it is an emotion’. Hence, it is difficult to imagine that identity is purely cognitive yet strongly held; the strength of an identity comes from its affective, or emotional component. Similarly, Melucci (1995, 46–47) argues that collective identity is ‘never entirely negotiable because participation in collective action is endowed with meaning but cannot be reduced to cost-benefit calculation and always mobilizes emotions as well’, and adds that ‘collective identity is as much an analytical tool as a “thing” to be studied’.

As noted on environmental identity (Clayton and Opotow 2003) in the antecedents chapter, the sense of collective identity must become politically charged, or *politicised*, to be politically relevant and an engine of collective action. This may happen through politicising events like natural destruction or awareness of shared grievances (or cognitive liberation, rationalising consciousness, structural strain, precipitating factors (Smelser 1962; Eisinger 1973; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Giddens 1984)), identification of external enemies, as well as winning the support of third parties – e.g. the general public or specific individuals, institutions, or organisations that hold some sort of authority relevant to the field of contention or in the general society, and often in that order (Simon and Klandermans 2001; van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 114). Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) name three features that distinguish a politicised collective identity from collective identity. First, raised consciousness: ‘the growing awareness of shared grievances and a clearer idea of who or what is responsible for those grievances reflect a distinct cognitive elaboration of one’s worldview providing group members with a meaningful perspective on the social world and their place in it’ (Simon and Klandermans 2001, 327). Second: Defining other groups as either opponents or allies, and third: Collective action directed at government bodies or the public to make them take sides in the conflict in question.

Environmental movement and other social movements

The classic social-psychological view of collective action – a social competition between in-groups and out-groups in terms of relative status, rights, or means (derived from Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory) – does not apply well to the participants in this study. Arguably, neither to the environmental movement nor many other social movement groups in Norway in general. While the traits and development of identities as precursors of collective action can be applied to explain many social movements and collective actions, the idea that group members recognise their in-group's disadvantages and act collectively to raise their in-group's relative status to a more advantaged out-group's status does not apply to all collective action (Wright 2009, 871). The goal of the environmental movement is not a better treatment or higher status for their in-group (environmentalists), but better treatment and higher status (e.g., as compared to monetary value) for the environment. The same goes for many social movement groups and organisations in Norway that mainly focus on solidarity and the conditions of out-groups with whom they sympathise, or external entities like the environment. For environmentalists, the outward message and goal is often to increase the size of the in-group, namely to mobilise as many activists and sympathisers to join the group and its actions as possible. Still, the environmental movement often identify out-groups as opponents, like polluters, oppressors, government entities – or as in this study, mining companies, hydropower developers and their proponents. This dynamic keeps the social identity theory somewhat relevant for studying environmentalists. Among the participants in this study, there is only one participant, Jan (who identifies as a Sámi) that belongs to a historically disadvantaged group. The remaining participants identify culturally, socially, or both as ethnic Norwegian middle class. Still, Jan contends that the main motive for the Alta actions for him was the environmental concern and that Sámi rights were secondary in that struggle. Nevertheless, the struggle for the Sámi people was an important part of Jan's lifelong political activism and an important or main motivating factor for a significant part of the Alta activists. Coherent with the *environmental identity thesis* discussed in the next section, the Alta case gathered the forces of disparate groups with different motivations to promote and carry out collective action.

Global identity

Introducing *global identity* as a concept also improves the applicability of the social identity theory to groups that do not act collectively to improve their social status or material terms. Global identity is a conceptual twin to terms like global solidarity: Renger and Reese (2017, 869) define global identity as 'identification with the group of all humans' and that 'it is also possible to extend the definition of global identity to include not only human beings but also individuals' attachment to the world as a whole. Such emotional bonds that connect people to the earth or world can become a part of individuals identity' (see also McFarland, Webb, and Brown 2012; Reese, Proch, and Cohrs 2014; and 2015). Thus, the earth and world would be the largest entities subject to the 'study of affective bonds between humans and places' (Korpela 2012, 148). Using this concept, Renger and Reese (2017, 869) investigate 'whether global identity translates into proenvironmental (and thus ingroup serving) behavior' as 'it is plausible to assume that those who identify strongly with all humans and the world are also interested in securing the conservation of nature because without the natural environment, humanity would not be able to exist'. Their findings prove that global identification is a 'significant predictor of proenvironmental activism and a powerful addition to previous models predicting environmental engagement' (ibid. 867), coherent with Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013) who first provided evidence of a positive relation between global identification and attitudes toward sustainability and responsibility to nature conservation. Reese and Kohlmann (2015) also found that the positive relationship is mediated by perceived injustice, which will be discussed in the following section.

Akin to the research and theorising on global identification, Iyer and Ryan (2009, 795) find that identification with disadvantaged out-groups and feelings of solidarity and sympathy with disadvantaged out-groups motivates action. Sympathy is typically experienced in response to those who are suffering illegitimate harm (and is related to an increase in injustice-relevant emotions, like anger, which will be discussed later in this chapter). While Iyer and Ryan's (2009) findings conceptually diverge from global identity, as they discuss identification, solidarity, and sympathy with disadvantaged *out-groups,* the empirical findings and theoretical outcome would arguably be similar: when relatively advantaged groups act collectively for a cause, be it environmental conservation, social justice, or global equality, it diverges from

the previously dominant view in social movement studies, namely in-groups taking action to improve their status and terms but is in line with either global identification, sympathy/solidarity with disadvantaged out-groups, or both concepts.

6.1.2. Identity in political ecology

Political ecology is a transdisciplinary research field focused on critical examination of economic, political, power, and social factors, and how they relate to and influence the environment and environmental change (Robbins 2004). Given the nature of the Alta and Førdefjord cases, political ecology is a highly relevant vantage point for any study examining them. As this thesis does not concern the environmental change caused by these cases or the factors driving them, other than for background and as motivational factors for collective actions, political ecology is not directly relevant for this thesis. But, as Fielke and Bardsley (2013, 771) puts it:

> Robbins (2004) generalises that political ecology can be used in two distinct ways, as a "hatchet" and a "seed": as a hatchet to critique dominant approaches to the environment, essentially 'cutting down' these ideologies, particularly from the point of view of marginal groups; and, as a seed to explain how individuals or groups cope with economic or political forces to change, which can lead to the 'growth' of alternative social movements.

The 'seed' metaphor is relevant for this thesis, as examining how individuals respond to environmental damage and injustice, and what motivates them to instigate or join collective protest actions against it, is a component in explaining the emergence of social movements and collective actions. Robbins (2004, 14) also presents four theses of political ecology of which the fourth thesis on *environmental identity and social movements* relates to the seed metaphor and sketches an approach to interpret the cases of this thesis at an overall level. Robbins (2004, 188–89) elaborates:

> Changes in environmental management regimes and environmental conditions have created opportunities or imperatives for local groups to secure and represent themselves politically. Such movements often represent a new form of political action, since their ecological strands connect disparate groups across class, ethnicity, and gender. In this way, local social/environmental conditions and interactions have defined, modified, and blunted otherwise apparently powerful global political and economic forces.

The way the development of the Alta watercourse and the plans to extract minerals and disposing the tailings in the Førdefjord created imperatives for local groups and sympathisers to protest, and connect disparate groups across class, ethnicity, and gender to modify and blunt powerful political and economic forces, though not truly

global, are class examples of the environmental identity and social movements thesis in practice. As such, the thesis provides a description of how powerful forces' impact on environmental conditions can unite people in collective actions, certainly if facilitated by some of the conditions provided in the structural theories, combined with framing efforts that help create collective (and environmental) identities. As the antecedent chapter and values section demonstrate, several express views and experiences coherent with a personally held environmental identity.

The following sections analyses *values*, *emotions*, and *moral convictions* as motivational factors, which are closely related to identity and the development and shaping of personal, social, and collective identities. Several of the quotes presented comprise expressions by the participants that reveal a strong sense of solidarity and sympathy with disadvantaged groups at a global scale, and to some extent identification with all humanity and earth. Indeed, the definition of global identity presented above is resembling the more commonly used term, especially in a social movement context: solidarity. Expressions of solidarity with disadvantaged out-groups can be interpreted and categorised as an expression of a global identity.

6.2. Values

Values, worldviews, and ideology are themes that took a significant part of most of the interviews for this thesis, indicating that most participants deemed those themes important motivating factors for their political activism. Weber (1916, 24) distinguishes values-rational action as one of four types of social action 'which is pursued for reasons of personally held value, regardless of that action's prospects of success'. Schwartz (1992, 21) defines values as 'desirable transsituational goals varying in importance, which serve as a guiding principle in the life of a person or other social entity'. He specifies: 'values '(1) are concepts of beliefs, (2) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, (3) transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluations of behavior and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance' (Schwartz 1992, 4). Values are 'considered to be relatively stable' (Steg et al. 2011, 350; see also Stern 2000), something people feel strongly about, and are treated both as individual phenomena (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2009) or collective, shared values, 'sacred' to all members of an in-group (van Zomeren and Spears 2009). Thus they can be related to both personal identity, social identity, and

collective identity, and are even considered as the very basis of collective identity (Wright 2009, 869) and conceptualised as 'the core of one's personal identity' (Hitlin 2003). In both cases, a violation of values often instigates a motivation to participate in protest or otherwise express one's view. They work as a compass in determining where we stand, where other people stand, and give 'directions to people in complicated and sometimes foggy social and political matters' (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2009, 818). The larger the discrepancies are between actual and ideal situations, hence to what extent central values are violated, and 'to what extent social and political situations are evaluated perceived as illegitimate, unjust, unfair, and thus "wrong" […] the more strongly people will be motivated to express their view. Therefore, value violation plays a key role in the ideological path to collective action' (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2009, 818). Childhood and adolescence are the main formative periods for values, and experiences in those epochs shape values held later in life.

In the following, I treat values as the fundamental concept which establishes the core that more ambiguously defined concepts like worldviews, ideology, and philosophy (of life) concepts build upon. Values, worldviews, ideology, and philosophy are often part of various figures of speech that are used interchangeably. Values is a well-defined concept placed at the core of identity and serves as a cohesive force amid an individual's various social identities (Hitlin 2003), whereas worldviews and ideology to a greater extent are socially constructed categories used to describe various notions and perceptions both by participants and cited literature in this study. Rokeach (1973, 13) argues that 'values are standards employed to tell us which beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of others are worth challenging, protesting, and arguing about, or worth trying to influence or change'. Because this concept is conveyed in terms of ideology and worldviews by some of the participants, these terms will still appear in the following sections.

6.2.1. Ideology and framing

Ideology is a term that appears several places in the empirical material for this thesis, as well as in the social-psychological literature on pathways to collective action. Ideology is regarded as one of the most complex and contested concepts in social sciences and is employed both in a descriptive and a critical and evaluative sense.

Marx and Engels (1845), which most later conceptualisations stem from (Drucker 1972, 152), regard ideology as paradigmatic and part of society's superstructure, essentially being the ideas of the ruling classes portraying society as cohesive, and employed to cover up conflicts of interest. They deemed ideology to be an essentially all-encompassing cognitive distortion, false forms of consciousness to which conventional notions of ideology, like socialism and liberalism, were merely superficial labels that did not capture the essence of ideology (McLellan 2013; Porter and Ramsey 2010). Discourse, doxa, hegemony, and paradigms are closely related concepts within social and political sciences that encompass some of the same analytical purposes. While these concepts undoubtedly have influenced both the participants and me as a researcher and how we understand and interpret the world, and could provide highly interesting findings if employed as analytical tools, they are besides the scope and beyond the reach of the empirical material for this thesis. When the participants express ideological stances, it is coherent with the conceptualisation of values in this study, as are worldviews and beliefs, and is interpreted as that when it appears in the following. When employed by van Stekelenburg et al. (2011, 93–94) in their study of paths to collective action, they 'regard people as ideologically motivated when they indicate that their values have been violated and they want to air their indignation'. In this study, most of the participants identify themselves or emphasise values that can be categorised as left-leaning in the left-right political axis. Some of the participants emphasise that they do not want to be identified as left or right-leaning, but affiliate themselves to a green or independent third dimension, while others emphasise an anarchist, power critical and growth critical worldview. Still, many of the values they emphasise can loosely be placed to the left on an axis, while none of the values emphasised can be identified as right-leaning.

Kristian, Thomas, and Ingrid have all been active members with central positions in national youth parties; *Grønn Ungdom*[68] (GU), *Sosialistisk Ungdom*[69] (SU) and *Rød Ungdom*[70] (RU), which all have articulated ideological positions. These participants still express individually articulated foundations for their world-views, seemingly formed before they joined the youth parties, and based on their own experiences. Jan

68 Young Greens of Norway.

69 Socialist youth.

70 Red youth.

had a central position in NSR, which is a party in the Sámi parliament. NSR does not parish to any ideological superstructure as the parties to the Norwegian parliament do, but is committed to advancing Sámi interests and rights. The remainder of the participants are clear about not being members of a political party.

When interviewing the participants about these matters, I used several common ways to speak of what is broadly referred to as values, asking if they had an overarching worldview, value or belief system, ideology, philosophy, or religious beliefs that helped contextualise, guide, motivate, rationalise, or justify their political activism in general and civil disobedience in particular. How explicitly the participants express their views on this concept varies, but notably, none expressed religious beliefs as a fundament for their values. As the participants have quite varied backgrounds, it can be expected that the consciousness around values and worldviews, and their relation to political action will be articulated quite differently. As discussed above, three of the participants, Kristian, Thomas, and Ingrid, are active and central members of youth parties, while Julie and Martin are active members with central positions in NU. All these organisations were officially supporting the Førdefjord actions. The respective participants in this study, although acting as private individuals according to the principles of civil disobedience, also acted as proponents for their organisations. With such organisational backgrounds, one can expect that these participants' values and their role in guiding their political activism are more thoroughly thought out and articulated than for the participants who did not have these organisational affiliations from an early age. Individuals with a background from political organisations are also more likely to possess clear and ideologically articulated values as they have been more exposed to the *framing process* (Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 16) that takes place in social movement organisations.

Framing refers to the processes of constructing and interpreting grievances, attributing blame, and selecting movement targets and tactics. *Frames* are the results of these processes – employed at both individual and organisational levels in strategic and tactical ways to define and articulate problems, foes, solutions, and thus a rationale for building movements through mobilisation of both participants and sympathisers. While 'regular' frames typically regard specific situations, *master frames* refer to frames already established at a higher level, and thus may be employed by a range of movements due to their inclusive, generic, or universal

character (Snow et al. 1986; Gamson 1992; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1997; Benford and Snow 2000; Rohlinger and Gentile 2017, 15–20; Salman and Assies 2017, 96). Injustice or inequality are examples of master frames and have been important motivations for several of the participants in this study, as will be discussed later. In their mapping of cross-movement activism in Vancouver, 'informed by a neo-Gramscian analysis that views social movements as (potential) agencies of counterhegemony', Carroll and Ratner (1996, 601) found that the use of a 'broadly resonant master frame – the political-economy account of injustice', was employed by different movements in the 'labor, peace, feminism, and the urban/antipoverty sector […] suggesting that a political-economy framing of injustice provides a common language in which activists from different movements can communicate and perhaps find common ground'. Framing and frames are analogous to the concepts *narrative*, *discourse*, and *meaning-making* (Vráblíková 2017), while master frames are akin to (articulating the problems of or resistance against) *cultural hegemony* (Gramsci 1971; R. W. Cox 1993).

> 'Social movements work hard to create moral outrage and anger and to provide a target against which these can be vented […] In doing so, social movement organizations play a significant role in the selective process of construction and reconstruction of collective beliefs and in the transformation of individual discontent into collective action' (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2009, 818).

The discussion on structural theories demonstrated that the structural conditions in Norway arguably were favourable and facilitative of collective actions. Furthermore, the Alta and Førdefjord cases took place after a process of rationalising consciousness (Giddens 1984), where some individuals, SMs, SMOs, and the SMI became aware of the, in their view, unhealthy patterns and practices taking place under the existing structural conditions, causing natural destruction worthy of protest. These actors then initiated a framing process to articulate the problems, their proponents, and possible solutions (alternative energy trajectories, and if not sufficient to cancel the development project, civil disobedience). The frames were then related to master frames: general growth critique, and a general resistance against social and environmental injustice.

Kristian's value orientation, that he discusses in terms of both values, beliefs, ideology, and philosophy, did play a role in his decision to become an activist and will be discussed in the next subsection. But unlike the other participants, he has a

very clear reflection on the influence framing had on his decision to do civil disobedience at Engebøfjellet:

> I think… That's why I might have thought that my input could be, a little arrogant perhaps, but I think it may be relevant to your study: Because my experience was that my belief was not the first, it was not like "Now, it's action!", "my belief tells me that now I have to go and do it". Because I was in a professional situation where there was really a great expectation that *someone* from the Green Youth had to do it [civil disobedience]. Whether it was me or someone else was not so important. But in that very situation I was the one who had the best time and opportunity to do so. So, it became very much like, an expectation that I should do it. But I was very reluctant at first. We were called by NU: "Hey we have an action, will you come?". And I was like "shit I don't want to break the law", somehow. It was very far-off for me at first. But then it came with the expectation, in a way, from my party organisation, right, that someone has to do it. And then I could, in a way, lean on my conviction, the ideological part. Like a "NOW THEN!". Right. I think it is a pretty interesting dynamic, because officially you say, right, civil disobedience is something everyone does based on a deep conviction you have for yourself, and you should be individually responsible for it. The organisation is not responsible, in a way, that's the official thing. And that's a pretty important thing. We got that imprinted quite clearly from the organisation. NU, who organised it, right. But I did not experience that, that was not really what happened to me. It was not my deep conviction, and *then* action, it was a kind of implicit pressure. That now you are expected to show up by the virtue of your role. And then you justify it with the conviction afterwards. That's how I experienced it a bit then.

On the other hand, Anne got much of her environmental values from nature experiences in childhood, but was not influenced by major environmental philosophies at the time, but rather the case as a precipitating factor:

> I had no idea who that was [Arne Næss]. I had no idea about that tradition at all [deep ecology], when I started in the Alta case. No, so it was very coincidental that I met Arne Næss somehow, in Alta and somehow got nuts and some raisins and chocolate from him. But uh, no, I did not know that at all. It was like, that was the thing: I was like that, extremely *case-focused* on Alta and what was in a way, wrong.

6.2.2. Ecocentric and anthropocentric values

The main distinction in the empirical material regarding values is between participants emphasising a concern for the environment and nature as their main motivation and those who emphasise a concern for humanity as their main motivation – or *ecocentric* and *anthropocentric* value sets (Bechtel et al. 2006; Scott and Willits 1994). *Emphasis* is an important term here, as none of the participants exclude the other concern as part of their values or as a motive for political activism. The distinction between concern for nature or humanity is found in other research on the field as well: In their study on the role of values, worldviews, and environmental concern Steg et al. (2011, 350) found that 'three value orientations are relevant in the

environmental domain: an *egoistic value orientation*, in which people try to maximize individual outcomes, an *altruistic* value orientation, reflecting apprehension for the welfare of other human beings, and a *biospheric* (or ecocentric) value orientation, in which people focus on interests of nonhuman species and the biosphere' [emphasis added] (see also Stern, Dietz, and Kalof, Linda 1993; Steg, Dreijerink, and Abrahamse 2005; Stern 2000; de Groot and Steg 2007; 2008). Steg et al. (2011) further assert that altruistic and biospheric values are positively related to pro-environmental beliefs and behaviour while egoistic values appear to be negatively related to these beliefs and behaviours. Chawla (1999, p. 17) asserts that there is a distinction between people who express 'a concern for nature, in and of itself, and a concern for social justice' which this thesis also suggests. Similarly, Reese and Jacob (2015, 88) contend that 'beliefs about environmental justice are an important aspect in the willingness to continuously commit to pro-environmental behaviors and actions both on individual and societal levels'.

Ecocentric values

In the following subsection I will present the statements of the participants that emphasise biospheric and ecocentric value orientations, a concern for nature, in and of itself. Common for all the participants that emphasise ecocentric values as their main motivation for political activism are elements of both pragmatism and other identities and values. None of them are categorical about their ecocentric views and are to varying extents open to letting other considerations and values influence their stances on environmental concerns.

Environmental conservation and Sámi rights

Being a Sámi from the Alta-Guovdageaidnu area, Jan comes from a family and culture where many would lose their livelihood to projects such as the Alta case and the Førdefjord case. He has been strongly engaged in Sámi rights and struggles, and environmental issues all his life. Regarding the Alta case, which is the main issue in question here, neither Jan personally nor any close relatives suffered in terms of damage to their livelihoods due to the construction of the hydropower plant. To my question on which concerns engages him the most, Jan responds:

> It was nature conservation in general. I have been involved in most of the actions that have taken place. So, at a national level, I have been involved. When it comes to

> hydropower. But I have been involved in other environmental issues as well. It has sort of been everything that has engaged me.

I prompted on whether he was concerned with the environmental issues because of his Sámi heritage and the fight for Sámi rights, or whether it was because of the environmental destruction exclusively:

> It was probably both, I would say. I would probably say that the Sámi issue meant a lot, but also that about nature conservation because nature conservation cannot be separated from ordinary life. We must behave in such a way that nature is well. So, of course, I am involved in the oil campaign and in all possible ways, you see that you must limit yourself [consumption and growth]. There too. Now it's Søviknes, he's going to drill a lot[71].

Although Jan emphasises ecocentric values here, it also appears that his Sámi identity is a motivating factor. The statement 'nature conservation cannot be separated from ordinary life' indicates a worldview that both values nature's intrinsic value highly, but also sees humanity as part of nature. This is a commonly held belief in Sámi culture and identity. This can hardly be interpreted as an expression of an anthropocentric worldview, and not as an altruistic value orientation as the consequences of the development mainly hit his own in-group, but neither as ego-centric as the development did not impact him or his close family negatively.

Growth criticism

Martin is clearly reluctant to place himself within any specific ideological or philosophical compartment related to the traditional left-right axis in Western politics, but could place himself somewhere along a green axis. He also contends that rather than speaking of a left-right axis in environmental politics, there is a 'pollution triangle' between the AP, H, and FRP which deserves more scrutiny. When I asked him about his values and worldviews he replied:

> It's not something I've spent a lot of time thinking about. I've never been in such study circles or a kind of discussion forum about the ideological background to why I get involved. At the same time, I would say that it is definitely an ideological position to believe that nature and nature's limits come before human, infinite human growth then, economic growth if you will. […] And you can find central ideologies. At the same time, I do not necessarily recognise myself in all parts of all those ideologies. For example, I am not against all growth at any cost in any way. Or, I think it is possible to facilitate growth if you define growth as a more efficient use of resources. What one must oppose is environmental destruction. And then you have to be blind not to see that the two are connected in a way. So, in that sense, I

71 Minister of Oil and Energy at the time, Terje Søviknes (FRP).

> probably shop a bit between different ideologies, more than to connect very strongly to one ideology… Or, unless you can talk about a kind of green ideology then.

Following this reply, I continued to ask him if this statement means that he rather sees himself as a pragmatist in response to environmental concerns:

> I would say that. […] But if I am to answer your question properly: Then I think, to the extent that one can talk about that I have an ideology, then I think it will be an ideology based on the fact that nature has some absolute limits. That a kind of belief in protection, yes, the importance of taking care of things somehow, there is something conservative about it perhaps. But also, a kind of strength in decentralism then, in a way. That small-scale agriculture, for example, is important. That resistance is made easier and good adaptations are made easier in decentralised systems, perhaps. I think having a belief is important. Whether it is grounded in a kind of pragmatism ~~(…)~~ or if it is based on a kind of ideological superstructure that nature has certain limits or a combination of it. No matter what the reasons are for doing civil disobedience I think it is important that you have that conviction then. That thinking is also an important part of civil disobedience then. No one acts civilly disobedient I think, without having thought about the consequences of it. And that is what makes it such a clear expression of dissatisfaction in a society.

While emphasising that he does not want to conform to any ideological dogmas, he expresses strong identification with ecocentric and biospheric values. Although he is moderating these value expressions slightly with some pragmatic rapprochements, the ecocentric values stand out as clear identity traits that serve as core motivating factors for his political activism. He also comments the importance of having a belief system as guidance when doing civil disobedience at metalevel, which indicates that his personal conviction is strong, but also that he is both a subject of framing and an agent of framing by virtue of his role in NU.

Ole also emphasises growth criticism as his main and overarching belief which he identified with at an early stage in his activist career. Like Martin, Ole neither identifies with any ideological dogmas but unlike Martin, he is even doubtful about identifying with the environmental movement in general, as he disagrees with the pragmatic direction parts of the movement has taken since the 1980s:

> There was a general critique of technology at that time [the 1970's]. Eh, and it was probably more prevalent in France and Germany, and some of it blossomed out from and had common roots with the 68' generation and the 68' protests. Because the entire post-war period in Europe was very much governed by this technocratic development optimism. Where growth was indisputable and it was just a question of how to push on and increase the pace. And the technologists knew best. Engineers and scientists were the only ones who were rational, objective, and sensible, while all those who were critical of some of what they suggested, they were irrational romantics and impractical.-Em, yes. It was kind of like that, put a bit on the edge, but that was the attitudes on the techno-side. The belief in the growth-society, and technology and technocracy as the saving factor that would create paradise, that had

> been strong and almost dominant in the debate until the mid-70s. But then it got, if not a crack, then at least a challenger, because that way of thinking is still in its best shape, even within parts of what is called the environmental movement today. So, it is like a rather undefined and not particularly rationally reasoned optimism. – *"I'm a technology optimist!"– "All right! I believe in God"*. It is a religious belief. According to Erik Solheim from Førde, it is a *belief* and not a justified position. But at least it changed quite thoroughly. And in a way, these struggles [the Alta case] were involved in that.

Along with growth criticism indicating an ecocentric value orientation, Ole also emphasises that growing up at a small-scale farm, albeit he moved to the city with his family as a child, strongly shaped his ecocentric values and the picture of a 'down-to-earth, serene, and self-sufficient lifestyle at a farm' as an ideal way of living in pact with the earth.

Like Martin and Ole, Kristian sees growth criticism as an overarching belief but is not hesitant to confess to a green ideology along with inspiration from deep ecology. As he is a high-ranking member of GU, it is not surprising that he is less hesitant with conforming to a declared ideology and using that specific term about it. While inspired by deep-ecology, he conveys that he also considers the instrumental value of nature to society, and not just its intrinsic value when discussing the pros and cons of the Førdefjord and Engebøfjell mining project:

> After all, there are negative ecological consequences, and the job gains are not, do not compensate for that. In net societal benefit in my view. So, then it's kind of like that, then it's part of a larger such growth-critical thing.

At a different point in the interview Kristian conveys that the feeling of fear (discussed further in the emotions section) was a fundamental motivating factor that made him join GU and eventually led him to Arne Næss' philosophy:

> But that [fear of dying from climate change] was like my springboard. But gradually, I have, among other things, read [Arne] Næss then. […] That humans shall not necessarily be in the centre at all times. Right. […] To see people more in connection with ecosystems and the ecosophical project, sort of. After I started reading, that is where I found the reasons why I wanted to continue in the Green party then, because I thought it was so unique then, and had that ability to think outside the traditional axis and find a new fundament. So that has been the ideological fundament. (…) I think in that foundation there, that was where I found a lot of the justification for doing it [civil disobedience] at all. Because it was very far-flung for me to do such an illegal action, so I justified it with reference to that kind of mindset then, right, Næss was a spokes ... Yeah, what is the word, champion for… [civil disobedience].

While Kristian contends that his fundamental value orientation guides and motivates his general political engagement, he continues to reflect on the role framing had on

his decision to do civil disobedience, in continuation of the statements quoted the ideology and framing subsection:

> But when I came home from the action, Oslo MDG had arranged a fundraiser just them, for me then, so my fine was covered by them already. So, in that sense, I have risked less in the first place. So there, I felt that the concrete action for me was less such a conviction cause and more part of the job then. Which I do then because of what I said, so that my descendants may be allowed to do something else. So, it's a bit like that ... I do not know. I felt a bit like that, when like, NU said in the newspapers that "this is done by everyone based on everyone's strong personal convictions, this is not an organisation and such", that is not entirely true for me then. Because when it comes to environmental issues to get in chains for, there are worse things than the Førdefjord case, I think. I had to get to grips with the case before I did [the action]. And I see that, *yes, it is serious*, but the environmental movement has smeared on quite thick in the rhetoric, that is, when it comes to the concrete consequences in the concrete fjord. So [...] I rather landed on that, again back to some such matters of principles then. What was fundamentally wrong with that development is that jobs trump ecology. Yes. Also, when it comes to this specific action, I experienced... I do perhaps have more admiration for all the individuals who have *not* done it because they were representing an organisation. For them. Because there was more at stake for them.

These quotes reveal a complex dynamic between emotions, values, a feeling of duty towards both his descendants and the organisation he works for, the framing and master frames the environmental movement and NU specifically have used to mobilise for the civil disobedience actions, and the sense of importance and perceived efficacy of the actions. All these matters are discussed in different sections of this chapter, but I have included the longer quotations here for the virtue of preserving the essence and coherence of Kristian's reflections.

Anthropocentric values, altruistic values, and concern for social justice

The remainder of the participants convey that their environmental engagement is closely related to and intertwined with a larger sense of solidarity, justice, and equality. Inequality and human suffering both domestically and internationally are major concerns for several of the participants, some of whom are active in NGOs or movements engaged with other issues than protecting the environment. These concerns resonate well with the anthropocentric and altruistic value sets, and what Chawla (1999) calls a concern for social justice as opposed to a concern for nature 'in and of itself'. On my question on whether she has some values, worldview, or belief to which she relates her activism, Julie responds:

> I believe in a fairer distribution. That, for example, today there are enough resources and that they are unevenly distributed and unevenly utilised by us [...] We can create a fairer world if there are enough people who come along and kick. To make it

> happen. But as it is now, it is large companies that are allowed to exploit people and nature. That does not work. That needs to be changed.

In similar terms as Julie, Anne elaborates on her sense of justice as a motivation for her activism. She tells at the time of the interview that she mainly does online activism, or 'slacktivism' as she calls it:

> I have a very strong drive towards justice then, or what I... My sense of justice. It is not certain... Yes... I kind of think that if everyone were doing well then, the world would be an incredibly good place. And then that is the motivation, that you want to distribute things in a way that makes people do well.

This statement reveals a clear concern for social justice and altruistic values, and concern for global inequality that is akin to global identification. While Anne's life as an activist started at a very young age with the Alta actions, she continued to be an activist after moving to Oslo to study as a young adult. I continued to ask about whether she has any fundamental political, ideological, philosophical, or religious stance as a fundament for her activism:

> I have never been a member of any party. Have been a member of NNV then. And I have great faith in… I believe that of all laws I put *Kardemommeloven*[72] at the top. That you should do the best you can, and you should be kind and decent and not hurt others, and then you can do whatever you want, really. If you do not harm others. And that's maybe what I've thought ... I was a bit active in the Blitz community. And they were very interested in looking different and listening to different types of music. And take a room for themselves. And there was also political activism associated with, for example, Margaret Thatcher when she came [official visit to Oslo], in connection with the Falklands War. Which was one of the sickest things in the world... So hello, kill 15-16-year-olds like that to create peace in their own country. It's obvious, you do not… So, we stood and threw eggs then. And the car she was in we have down in the museum now… Yes. So, it's a little funny then… When it came here. So yes. But at least… So it's about some idea that there is something that is more important than prestige, that there is something that is right and wrong… Overall values then.

These statements on right and wrong, and moral outrage related to the Falkland war are prototype examples of activism motivated by events that violate basic values as referred to previously (Rokeach 1973; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2009). Following a general question about her motivation to join the civil disobedience actions at Engebøfjellet I asked Ingrid if she mainly identifies as an environmental activist:

72 Referring to the commonly known 'Cardamom Law' from the popular Norwegian childrens' novel *Folk og røvere i Kardemomme by* (When the Robbers Came to Cardamom Town) (Egner 1955): 'One shall not bother others, one shall be nice and kind, and otherwise one may do as one pleases'.

> Eeh, I feel like that might be a little secondary. Because I'm not quite sure if I would get chained up and get 12 000 [NOK] in fines if kind of, it's just about fish in a fjord. But when I, kind of, went down there, I was pretty sure I was going to chain myself, and it was a little fun then. There was a bit of that adrenaline rush over it. But then I was a bit like, so I was still unsure if I wanted to do it because somehow, I do not have the money to pay the fine. But then we talked about those who live around that fjord, and base their livelihoods on fish and agriculture and tourism, and who are completely dependent then, on that fjord being clean to be able to do what they do, and live where they live. They will also have to move or find a new job if that fjord is dumped full of toxic mining sludge. And that was kind of what made me chain myself, it was not necessarily, in a way, not sand in the fjord, but it was in a way, to talk to the locals and know that they agreed and wanted us to do it. And a bit the same with… Or so, that's what's most important, in a way the people who are affected by those things. That is what always convinces me. It is the people, the people who live where things happen.

The way Ingrid casually uses 'it's just about fish in a fjord' and 'sand in the fjord' to describe the ecological consequences of depositing tailings in the fjord reiterates that she does not primarily identify as an environmentalist, but as someone who is concerned with protecting other peoples' livelihoods. It is a clear expression of an anthropocentric and altruistic value set. Ingrid continues to emphasise that her environmental engagement is primarily related to social justice, and expresses solidarity as a motivating factor, a clear expression of global identification:

> I think it is a belief that who gave birth to you or where you come from should not be decisive for how you are treated and what opportunities you have then. And what country are you born in, or who your mother or your father is… Ehh, in a way should not determine how society treats you, or what kind of opportunities you have to hehe, I quote, "realise yourself" or, in a way, get somewhere then. Yes, I really think so. And it is in a way something that, it applies to both environmental policy. Because the main reason why I became active in NU was not that I am so keen on protecting *Jødalsmåsan*[73]. It's nice, but it's not the big picture there, it's the solidarity perspective. And the international perspective. The responsibility we in the West have, as it were, for those who come after us for those who live now and who are affected by our use of resources. And it's probably the same with RU too. So that's the basic socialist perspective, I think.

> I think that in Norway we have a strong focus on international climate policy and international solidarity. Maybe it's because we are fighting a battle here at home that we know... Or something like that. Of course, climate change will affect us, there will be more rain and we will lose some seagulls and blah blah blah. But I think everyone knows that, in a way, it is not us who will, like, get the big impact then, as we are sitting like calf-clad goblins on top of our mountain gazing about[74]. That the battle we are fighting is not mainly for us then. But, like, for other people. And that may be both a strength and a weakness that we have, because, as we do not fight for ourselves, not everyone may be able to take it as seriously

73 A vulnerable swamp in Akershus, Viken fylke.

74 Reference to a stereotype of the typical Norwegian environmentalist or eco-philosopher.

The responses from Julie, Anne, and Ingrid indicate a concern for social justice and identification with anthropocentric and altruistic values. The statements also convey a global identification. Still, the widest definition of global identity including every aspect of the earth and its living creatures does not necessarily apply to Ingrid as she is evidently less concerned about some species than others. As Kristian and Ingrid, Thomas discusses his values in terms of ideological belief:

> ... I ... think of myself as a, eeh… kind of democratic socialist, critical of, not, yeah… authorities sound a little strange, but large accumulations of power and inequality in power have, in a way, been ideological core concepts for me. Femmm... feminist. And ... when it comes to my environmental commitment, it is, sort of, about like a basic socialist idea, that we... about solidarity and that we share the earth's resources together and we must take care of both it and each other, but also more like a philosophical direction that comes a little from those I have met in SU, but maybe as much from those I have met at Blindern through my studies. That humans belong to nature, and we are not ourselves without some form of interaction with it, then. And that much of the problem is how we think about the relationship between nature and us.

This more ideologically funded expression of values may be related to Thomas', as with Kristian and Ingrid, membership in a youth party (SU). Nevertheless, Thomas also expresses strong altruistic values and a concern for social justice, but the view that humans are a part of, or belong to, nature is also a touch akin to an ecocentric value set. Per's stance is in many ways in direct opposition to Ingrid's, Thomas', and Kristian's, as he rejects the state and political parties as legitimate entities:

> I have a kind of an anarchist worldview, I think. Against concentrations of power, I see only misery coming out of them. It is possible to build the society on cooperation in smaller units, I do not see the state as a particularly good unit to work with. That is why I have never been involved on the nation-state level. [I have] Worked both locally, regionally and globally, but not a nation-state. [I] Do not look at it as a fruitful way forward. The nation-state is a historical appendix, been best at creating bureaucracy and… Too small to handle the global problems, and too large to handle the local ones. It is the wrong device. 1648 and the establishment of the state system, it has been going on for almost 400 years. It's time to put it down.

Per expresses particularly strong views about not being a member of any party. Discussing the Norwegian democracy, he expresses some strong, negative experiences from his background as a military denier that include all political parties:

> At the time the biggest environmental threat was a nuclear war, it really was. It still is today, but it is not talked about. […] So, the link to peace issues became apparent quite early on. I refused both military and civil service and we were given sixteen months in a closed institution, we who refused. Then you got thoughts about society and what one did with people who thought like me. All parties in Norway have always put people like me in prison, no one has supported total denial [of conscription]. So, I was never involved in party politics but was engaged in society.

> It made sense to get engaged. Thought it was wrong not to provide a better society for children and grandchildren.

This subsection has discussed the role values have in motivating the participants' activism. All participants expressed in manifold ways the important and sometimes imperative role their values, often closely related to identity, and the perception of violated values, played in motivating their activism. While the participants related childhood experiences to later social and environmental concern and engagement, no one made direct relations from these experiences to becoming activists: Childhood experiences are pivotal in the formation of values, and in that sense the childhood experiences may prove important in shaping social and environmental concern, engagement, and activism. Regarding ecocentric and anthropocentric value sets, there is no clear tendency in relations between recreational nature experiences in childhood and ecocentric value sets held later, or political awareness in childhood and anthropocentric value sets, or vice versa. While this study is by no means representative, and the gender balance is skewed, it is worthwhile noting that all females express an affinity to the altruistic and anthropocentric value orientations. The relationship between values, environmental concern, and *pro-environmental behaviour*[75] is subject to many studies. Schultz (2000, 2001) argues that people get concerned about environmental problems when they threaten things they value (Steg et al. 2011, 351). Fisher (2016) and Pearse et. al. (2010) found similar relations between social justice and environmental activism in their research on young climate activists, as this study has, proving that anthropocentric value sets may be just as strong motivators for environmental action as ecocentric value sets.

6.3. Emotions

Emotions[76] have a long history in the literature on social movements and collective action. However, their role, standing, and perceptions of them have fluctuated and changed during the 20th and 21st centuries. Scholars in the early 20th century held

75 A term that covers anything from individual, everyday actions like reducing consumption or recycling, to political activism

76 'n.a complex reaction pattern, involving experiential, behavioral, and physiological elements, by which an individual attempts to deal with a personally significant matter or event. The specific quality of the emotion (e.g., fear, shame) is determined by the specific significance of the event. For example, if the significance involves threat, fear is likely to be generated; if the significance involves disapproval from another, shame is likely to be generated. Emotion typically involves feeling but differs from feeling in having an overt or implicit engagement with the world. —emotional adj.' (APA n.d.).

emotions at the centre of collective action studies, but perceived collective action as irrational, emotional expressions of grievances and responses to discontent, as discussed in the chapter on social movement theories. The disproportionate emphasis on rational and structural explanations of the emergence of social movements and collective action in the second half of the 20th century was perhaps a reaction to the condemnatory perceptions of the precedent scholars. 'As a result,' van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2017, 118–19) depict, 'emotions as they accompany protest were neglected altogether'. But insights from relative deprivation theory suggested that perceived grievances, like injustice and inequality, created emotional responses and arousal, not only cognitive recognition, and that it is these emotional responses that motivate participation in collective action (van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008; van Zomeren and Iyer 2009, 648). Yet, Jasper (1998, 397) contends that 'the recent explosion of cultural work on social movements has been highly cognitive in its orientation, as though researchers were still reluctant to admit that strong emotions accompany protest. But such emotions do not render protestors irrational'. Twenty years later, Klandermans and Roggeband (2017a, 17) argue that emotions have got their renaissance: 'The cultural turn in social movement research renewed interest in how emotion influences the course and content of social movements […]. The rational trend has now been reversed and we see emotions back on the research agenda of collective action scholars'. 'Yet' van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2017, 118) point out, 'amazingly little is known about how emotions exactly influence movement participation'. The following subsection discusses the role of emotions in motivating activism as perceived by the participants.

The emphasis on emotions as a motivating factor and the number of expressions of emotion by the participants in this study varies greatly, and were neither particularly emphasised in by me in the interviews. Still, several participants clearly expressed emotional motivations, and other participants expressed them between the lines. Some of the participants contend that emotions were essential in their journey towards becoming environmental activists, while others put little or no emphasis on emotions as a motivating factor nor make any expressions of emotions in the interviews. There is a correlation in the material between those who, based on my observations, possess more expressive personality traits, like expressive language

and speaking pace[77], also express and emphasise emotions to a higher degree than participants with a more restrained language and speaking pace. That may partly explain the variation in the perceived effect of emotions within the group of participants to some degree.

While treating values as the most weighty motivational factor, several articles on youth climate activists also emphasise (mainly negative) emotions like fear, anger, hope, and guilt as fundamental motivational factors (Kleres and Wettergren 2017; Martiskainen et al. 2020). Social psychologists categorise emotions like anger, sympathy, and solidarity as justice and injustice-based emotions (Iyer and Ryan 2009; Wright 2009). Several participants contend that anger and solidarity played a crucial role in the formation of an activist identity. While solidarity has been treated in other parts of the chapter, participants also express emotions like anger, but also fear, disillusion, and joy as motivations.

6.3.1. Anger

Anger 'is seen as *the* prototypical protest emotion' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2013, 893). Some of the participants clearly emphasise anger as a motivating factor for their activism: Ingrid explains how she felt anger as a reaction to injustice inflicted upon her and her siblings by classmates in primary school, the reason being that she lived on the 'wrong' side of the village:

> I believe in a way, that realising that there is no reason in the world why I should not be cool, really, and that it is, in a way, an artificial divide that is set by some people who really have no right to decide then. That if you come from one side [of the village] then you are kind of cool, and if you come from the other side then you are damn uncool and get beaten up on the way to school. I think it was in a way, a thing I started to realise quite early then, and as in a way… It has made me angry[78], and if you, in a way, look largely at it then you can manage to see it a little in relation to the political system as well.

Although Ingrid does not clearly express anger as a direct motivation for participating in the Førdefjord actions, the quote unveils that the injustice and following emotional response Ingrid experienced contributed to shape a political awareness that developed into a political and social identification motivating her later activism and anger towards 'the system'. Per emphasises anger in reaction to

77 Interview length, words per interview, and words per minute all varies by more than 1:2 in the interviews although they are all conducted in accordance with the same interview guide.

78 'Sint'.

perceived environmental injustice as a crucial motivating factor for his political engagement, and that it still is a motivating factor for him:

> I saw the environmental consequences of the paper mill[79], below the paper mill the fish died in the river, they floated with their bellies up... I asked questions to the adult world: "Why does the fish die?". I was quite young and got very stupid answers about jobs, development, and economic growth and such. Then I got really pissed[80], angry. Now, 50 years later, I am still pissed, and I am still asking the adult world why there is so damn much stupidity in the world.

Unlike Ingrid, Per's anger and perceived injustice does not stem from injustice inflicted on him personally, but from injustice inflicted on nature. As he reveals later in the interview, injustice inflicted upon disadvantaged groups like refugees also awakens emotions like anger and sympathy which have made him conduct civil disobedience actions to improve their living conditions as well. Along with Ingrid and Per, Julie mentions injustice related anger as an important motivation for her to be an activist in both environmental and other issues where powerful entities conduct unjust and undue encroachments towards nature or human beings.

6.3.2. Fear

Only one participant expresses fear as an imperative emotion behind his activism: Kristian contends that along with the 'feeling of moral obligation', fear is one of his strongest motivating forces. Fear also motivated him to study environment and environmental philosophy more closely:

> Fundamental motivation? I think perhaps the most fundamental motivation is the fear of dying. The most essential, for me then. But I know that there are many who do not have it in the Green Party, and who have a different attitude to it. But that was like my springboard. […] My personality has always been preoccupied with the apocalyptic in a way, and been afraid of it, so I have a theory, as I get older, that I have channelled that personality trait into engagement with it in one way or another. That it becomes a kind of coping mechanism, to deal with the fear by using it and trying to do something about it. I think there may be something there. But there may be some self-diagnosis, I don't know how effective that is.

Kristian does not relate his feeling of fear to perceived injustice, and unlike Ingrid and Per he does not emphasise injustice as much in other parts of the interview either. Still, he relates the feeling of fear to a perceived threat to all life on earth, including himself, and that this fear may be deeply rooted in his personality.

79 A paper mill situated in the vicinity of his childhood home.

80 'Forbanna'.

6.3.3. Feeling good

Two participants emphasise the positive emotions, or at least the function in averting negative emotions, activism brings to them: While anger was an emotion that led Ingrid into a pathway towards activism in the beginning of her childhood, she also refers to emotions at another point in the interview, and suggests that spending almost all her time on activism as a response to the injustice she sees in the world is partly to feel better about herself.

> So, I really spend all my time on it. I think it is partly a little selfish, because, I do not think I would have felt so good about myself if I just walked around and did nothing when I know there is a lot of injustice in the world. So maybe it is a bit like that, so as not to have a bad conscience, or I feel I have to[81]. I do not really think there is any self-realisation project in it really.

Thomas, who identifies as a senior member in SU, emphasises positive emotions as the central motivation for him to stay longer in the organisation:

> I have got to meet people with other backgrounds but also with that always burning engagement and the good feeling you get from working with someone towards a goal that is bigger than yourself. Hehehe. It may sound a bit like a cliché, but you unite in an idea of what you work for, and it has always been important to me when I have looked at where I want to get involved then.

Several scholars have identified 'feeling better about oneself' as a motivating factor in surveys, and also suggest that emotional wellbeing is a central factor for sustained action and making members stay active in organisations for longer (L. Cox 2009; 2011; Klar and Kasser 2009). Scholars find that 'emotions permeate protest at all stages: recruitment, sustained participation and dropping out' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 119). The participants' responses in this study partly supports that, at least as valid for some of them, but while there are no grounds to disagree with the statement, there is no unison support for it either. Jasper (1998, 397) finds that 'emotions accompany all social action, providing both motivation and goals'. He continues,

> Social movements are affected by transitory, context-specific emotions, usually reactions to information and events, as well as by more stable affective bonds and loyalties. Some emotions exist or arise in individuals before they join protest groups; others are formed or reinforced in collective action itself.

81 Bad conscience and a feeling of duty to be an activist are also indicators of a strong moral conviction and feeling of moral duty which will be discussed further in the next subsection.

Jasper is critical to the inflated cognitive orientation in the cultural work on social movements paying insufficient attention to the role of emotions in protest and collective action. My findings also suggest that emotions, at least for some of the participants, has accompanied all decisions in their activist *careers* from engagement to recruitment, sustained participation and dropping out, which the following subsection will present.

6.3.4. Disillusion

While I have left reasons for disengagement from the movement besides the scope of this study, it is worthwhile noting that while emotions are crucial motivational components they can likewise lead to disengagement when the feeling of reason is lost. Two of the participants describe a strong feeling of disillusion and that the battle for a better world may be lost. During an answer to a question about whether he thinks the relatively new take on environmental protection 'sustainable development' and its more pragmatic approach to environmental protection and development leaves room for more optimism, Ole says:

> I'm very critical of such simplification, that "as long as we do this and that", the problem is solved. That is superficial solutions and greenwashing. They are futile arguments that sound great on the surface, but which when you look closer have no positive effect on the environment. The fact is that we are becoming more and more numerous, and the more people who have a good standard of living in addition the greater the resource requirements we place on the environment, and we are probably heading towards a new mass death of species. And we humans take over and dominate the ecosystems. So, it's kind of like that, the big picture is pretty dark, really. But you just have to hope. It has been pretty bad for humanity before too, which has been through war and famine and all sorts of things like that. And they did not give up then, and we can't do that either. But like all the optimistic gossip that is run by PR people who want to help big companies get a green image, you can have it for yourself. It's throwing dust in the eyes of people. The older I get, the more radical I become on that point.

Anne also has a strong feeling of disillusion and lack of hope, especially when she sees friends and acquaintances flying to distant places for holidays every year, without any concern for the climate. She feels that climate is the most important cause for her now and that for example Førdefjorden is not a big enough cause for her to do civil disobedience. Upon my question on whether oil drilling in *Lofoten, Vesterålen, and Senja* would be a big enough cause for her to join civil disobedience actions she responds:

> Yes, that is very relevant then. It's oil, it's very closely linked to the major challenges associated with climate. That we actually have to show now that we can't just overconsume and push out all these greenhouse gases. But I may be so disillusioned that I think we're going down anyway. That I can hardly stand it. I have stopped wanting grandchildren.
>
> There is an exponential development related to the climate problem […] we are already completely in the borderland. It will take an incredible effort within the political system we have now to be able to stop this. And then you get such an extremely rapid increase in temperature, right […] and when the permafrost starts to go, right, then all the gases stored in these areas are released. So that, I think I'm just so disillusioned that I think now that I just have to go to the mountains and live and ... Like that on the worst days, I kind of think that "Okay, you can get a suicide medicine so that, that day you can put everyone to death" somehow. But... No, that's nonsense. But no, I'm not very optimistic about the future from a centenary perspective, somehow, I am not…

At an earlier point in the interview, she told about how the developer in the Alta case, the state-owned and run NVE, and the deployment of armed police, military troops and equipment against the protesters is one of the reasons why she has lost much faith in the future and the Norwegian democracy:

> The director of NVE at the time, Vidkun Hveding... He was in a documentary that was made in Sweden or a Swedish documentary. And there he talks about the strategy for the Alta development. And the strategy was to show that there was an increase in energy consumption that was somehow just linear. And how they also thought that if they [said they] were to overflow Masi first, then they would, in a way, be able to say that "no-no, we disregard Masi" so they could build the dam further down [stream] so it would be easier for people to accept that they, in fact, do not put the whole Sámi village under water, somehow.
>
> It is actually a documentary that NRK did not show. So, it is, for me then, as I said, I was quite disillusioned with what a democracy really is. Because, first of all, they deployed military force, at least in the form of materiel, against us. And secondly, not all the cards came to the table. That's that documentary. Why shouldn't NRK show it? It was a very good documentary. About the Alta case. […] So, I thought, "you can't get anything done". The race is done. When they've decided, it's done. And then you somehow get brought into "the fold". Can't bear to dig any further into it. You just become like "alright, *alright*".

These statements are clear expressions of the chilling effect use of undue encroachments by superior powers and overwhelming natural hazards can lead to[82]. These are common reasons for disengagement and disillusioned activists. Meanwhile, these emotions can be overcome by moral convictions. At a point in the interview, Kristian stated that 'I was truly going to be a jazz guitarist', Martin that 'It

82 And are the reason I question the level of structural conduciveness in Norway, especially at the time of the Alta actions.

is not something you do for fun you know', while Anne wondered if she 'got an overdose of morale' in her life? They all became a full-time activist due to their:

6.4. Moral convictions

Moral convictions, or a sense of moral obligation, are important motivational factors for political activism highlighted by several of the participants in this study. Skitka and Bauman (2008, 31) define moral conviction as a 'strong and absolute belief that something is right or wrong, moral or immoral'. Wright (2009, 869) asserts that moral convictions 'compel action more so than other strongly held beliefs, because they describe what one "ought" to do. When something carries the mark of immorality, no other explanation is needed for opposing it'. Van Zomeren et al. (2012, 164) contend that the 'profound power of moral obligations' has been neglected in the social psychology of collective action, and that moral motivations are particularly important because they can 'unite disadvantaged and advantaged group members to fight for a joint cause'. They propose that 'moral convictions profoundly fuel individuals' motivation to engage in collective action against collective disadvantage. Because moral convictions do not tolerate any violation, their violation motivates individuals to change the situation. In the context of collective disadvantage, this means that violated moral convictions increase identification with the victims of the violation' (ibid., 168). Moral convictions are, by definition, closely related to values as a concept, and can be understood as stances grounded in values and value sets that are particularly strongly held; thus, serving as even stronger motivators of political and collective action when they are violated. Moral convictions also more closely to emotions than values are, in that they to a greater extent than violated values evoke emotional responses that motivate action. Rohlinger and Gentile (2017, 17) highlight the emotional component of violated moral convictions in what they term as *moral shocks* in their review of sociological perspectives on social movements, and contend that 'moral shocks, for instance, often are the first step toward participation in some types of activism' and refer to moral shocks as 'information that raises such outrage in individuals that they recognize political engagement as a solution […]. Such shocks may emerge suddenly or over a long period of time' (see also Jasper 1998). Being conceptually in the locus or interface between values and emotions, both fundamental components in identity,

moral convictions are closely linked to identity and identity motivations for collective action (van Zomeren, Kutlaca, and Turner-Zwinkels 2018).

In the analysis of the participants' responses regarding moral convictions, it is worthwhile noting that none of the participants born in the 1950's mention moral obligation in the interviews. This may be related to the globalisation processes that have taken place since they began their activist careers, where the activism has become far more directed towards international solidarity. Still, more than half of the participants clearly state a sense of moral duty as a fundamental motivational factor for their environmental engagement, and as Wright (2009, 874) points out, 'participation in nonnormative actions may require firmer convictions about the injustice/immorality of the out-group's actions' as they disrupt and preceive the current social order to be illegitimate.

Anne states that:

> I think you have to, it is a moral responsibility to save the world. Or it is a moral responsibility to take care of the world. And that sits in my spinal cord[83]. That is a motivation, right. Which makes me have a bad conscience for not doing more. I often feel that I should have done very, very much more than I do...

Anne expressed this clear motivation while talking about some of her friends' and acquaintances' negative reactions when she expresses her environmental engagement in social media. On my question on how come she is so engaged in environmental issues when her equally educated and aware peers evidently are not, she responds:

> Maybe I'm a little distorted, I don't know... No, but eh, I really dislike seeing unfair things happen. Maybe I've got an overdose of morale in my life? I don't know; it is partly about morality too. So, it is about, I do feel morally motivated. Because I see that, something is wrong, so I feel that I *have to* do something

The feeling of 'having to do something' is a key virtue of moral convictions (van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2012), and Wright (2009, 869) contends that they 'compel action more so than other strongly held beliefs, because they describe what one "ought" to do'. Referring to emotions, the feeling of 'fun' specifically, Martin reasons along with the same lines as Anne:

> It's not something you do for fun you know. It's something you do because you are morally convinced that there is something that is, that is wrong here, which it is important that I... Commit an offence to stop […]. That's what I want the big headline here to be. The point must be to never have to act civilly disobedient.

83 Referring to the Norwegian expression *ryggmargsrefleks* (spinal reflex), equivalent to the English term knee jerk reflex.

Martin continues to elaborate on what traits of the Førdefjord and Engebøfjell mining project makes him argue that civil disobedience is a moral duty, and toward the end of the statement, it becomes evident that he is also active in the framing of the Førdefjord actions:

> I think that the case in Førdefjorden, and to a certain extent the case in Alta, was quite special because they so easily and clearly put their finger on what was wrong. That all nature conservation was valued so low in favour of short-term profits […] Or articulated in many different ways then. Some would say it was about building welfare […] I think you get such a clear contradiction in these matters, between the environment on the one hand, and that Norway is one of five countries in the world that allows the mining industry to dump waste in the sea and industrial interests that will operate in the cheapest possible way and operate open pits. mining, and dumping waste in a fjord. And in cases like this, it becomes so clear that it also justifies action in another way. It becomes a story, a clear story of what is wrong, and it becomes easier to engage people.

To my question on why civil disobedience was the right choice in this case, and whether it would be a conceivable approach to protest, for example, oil drilling in Lofoten he continues:

> I think it is difficult to grade environmental issues. Because every case is special in its own special way. And I definitely think there are some nuances there. […] Førdefjorden and Lofoten are two different issues. There are various reasons why one would act civilly disobedient in the two places. Different people would act, it has an important geographical component. Definitely. It is part of various discussions right. It is quite clear to me that Norway is one of five countries in the world that allow the dumping of mining sludge in the ocean, and where many large mining nations have banned it. That says something about Norway's relationship to the ocean. That says something about Norway's relationship to pollution. It says something... It's so obvious then, and that's why I have no doubt. When I took action, I did not doubt that it was important. In the same way, so is Lofoten: the last large cod stock spawns there, it is unique nature. Seventy per cent of all fish in the Barents Sea are there during their lifetime. And of course, you have the climate component in that it is the society "Norway"'s way forward. If you do not set the limit there, where should you set the limit? So, it would probably be just as clear for me in Lofoten then. How important it is for people you will not know until you run two parallel civil disobedience battles for both then. And see which one is the biggest. It's a little impossible to say. I am a bit opposed to putting environmental issues against each other in that way.

Martin's opposition to comparing environmental values and the importance of different environmental issues and struggles against each other is evidence of a strong moral and value-based conviction. It is not a question of relative importance or efficacy, but about drawing a line in the sand and being clear about where the limits to industrial development and environmental resilience goes. As discussed previously, these clear formulations on the relationships between values, morale, and the matters of the case in question, which are notably more elaborate on Martin's part

than the other participants, may be the outcome of him being both a subject to, and an agent of NU's framing of this issue.

Thomas's reflection on the civil disobedience actions does not include the term moral conviction when he is discussing it on his own part, but the figures of speech he uses suggest a moral conviction, and also reveals an analysis of the relationship between development and the environment that is similar to Martin's, about the clear and articulated lines of conflict that the Førdefjord case highlights. This may indicate that Thomas' reflection on these matters are influenced by NUs framing of the case, especially as he speaks of moral conviction and the potential risks in a meta perspective in the second paragraph:

> It is such an issue where it is so clear, so clear, what one… How we organise our society versus nature then. You somehow don't get a clearer picture of our production, which we often do not have much knowledge of, than when you see that we extract natural resources and throw what we don't need right in a fjord where there is salmon and biological diversity. A very illustrative case, and in that sense also an important case to address. One was very careful in these processes of encouraging people because one was very aware that if you are going to break the law, you do it as yourself and not on behalf of an organisation. It goes on your own moral conviction and you should not be pushed into it. So, there was a very tidy aspect to it. But of course, we talk to each other anyway and it was agreed that the fines were quite a lot higher than for previous similar actions. So, it was seen as a bit of a deterrent strategy on the part of the police that they gave sky-high fines to prevent people from coming to western Norway. It is clear that there was a lot of local involvement there, but most of the activists came from around the country.

Like Martin, Ingrid also reveals that her activism is not for fun, and that her sense of moral duty is closely linked to her sense of solidarity and value orientations discussed in the previous section. One may suggest that the perception that she has the background, privileged position and hence, opportunity to be an activist for the greater good is what creates the sense of moral obligation, as opposed to actions based just on value orientations:

> Eeh, I think there may be a little more of a sense of duty than it is something I do, sort of because I think it is fun. It would have been so dope then, to just be such a person who did not care, or who knew about it, but who was not personally affected. Of such things... I'm completely like if something happens, and I have not done anything to prevent it or get organised, I get a backpack that weighs ten-thousand kilogrammes on my shoulders and I just get damn depressed [laughs]. So, I think maybe it's a little more like a, a sense of duty. That I do not come from a rich and very resourceful home, but from a home, and have such a background that I have the opportunity to spend my time on it [activism]. And then I think I should do it somehow. I do not blame people who come from homes that struggle to make the ends meet, and […] don't have time to be politically active. So, it's one of the trickiest things about being poor […] because it's a privilege to be able to do it.

Kristian's sense of moral duty is more grounded in a sense of intergenerational responsibility rather than present international solidarity. He elaborates more on how he perceives his moral duty:

> Why do I do it? That's in a way... *That*, I would say, is like one kind of a moral conviction. […] It is an idea that there is a responsibility towards the coming generations, then. If the coming generations are to be able to do other things, that is not to be politicians or activists, then we must do it now. And I really have, I was truly going to be a jazz guitarist, I really had... And that is what I want to do if this goes down the drain, in a way. To do music and stuff like that again. That is what I really wanted to do. But then I experienced that climate, primarily, and eventually other ecological challenges, biodiversity which was perhaps more what this type of action is about then, that the ecological crises are so precarious that if I do not engage in politics now, then there will be no opportunity for my descendants or anyone else to do anything else later. So, it is like that, it is very clear to me, and that is why I do what I do more generally.

However, as discussed in previous sections, Kristian says that his participation in the civil disobedience actions at Engebøfjellet particularly was based on a feeling of duty towards the organisation he represented as much as towards humanity or the planet. Nevertheless, he stresses that he feels the actions were morally justified, but that it was not a sense of moral duty itself that made him do it. He initially felt very bad about breaking the law and having to encounter the police, and that other encroachments of nature would have been more obvious objects for actions of civil disobedience than the Førdefjord case.

Per also emphasises a responsibility towards the coming generations when he discusses his motives for spending his life as an activist in the environmental, peace, and refugee movements: He 'thought it was wrong not to provide a better society for children and grandchildren'. Discussing what motivates him to be what he calls a 'full-time activist' I asked if there might be simpler and less risky ways to lead a content and comfortable lifestyle as an academic:

> To the extent that I understand what you mean by an "A4-life", I think it seems frighteningly boring. I believe that if we humans should have a decent life with content, we must be involved in conflicts and try to create a better world. Everything else is meaningless. […] I have never had any major thoughts about whether I have made the right choice, nor has there been any conscious choice either. It has been completely natural what I do. It has given me a good life. Grandchildren will come to the world and start thinking "how is it going?" My generation has done a lot of stupid and wrong things. The generation I am a part of was born into a world that was in a far better condition than the world I soon will leave. We did a bad job. So, they have every reason to criticise us for not doing a proper job. But I have been aware that I will try to be one of those who create a better world. Whether I have done a good enough job can probably be discussed, that is doubtful. There is no

> reason to beat ourselves on the chest over what we have done, the world is in a much worse position, in many areas. Although the environmental movement may be larger and broader than ever... It would have been *even* worse without the environmental movement, I'm absolutely convinced about that. But is it sufficient? That we don't know.

While Per does not use the term moral explicitly, strong beliefs about what is 'wrong' and 'right', what humans 'should' do and that 'everything else is meaningless', like Per puts it, indicate moral convictions as a motive for his activism (Skitka and Bauman 2008; Wright 2009). Wright (2009, 869) also notes that 'if the current in-group position or treatment can be framed as a moral violation or the outcome of an immoral act by the out-group, taking action to rectify the situation becomes a moral mandate, making other concerns (e.g., stability, efficacy, personal costs, etc.) less relevant', which comes through rather clearly in this statement.

6.5. Efficacy and instrumentality

Efficacy 'refers to the individual's expectation that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through protest (Gamson 1992)' (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2013, 889). They continue: 'this echoes certain properties of the classic sociological construct of *agency*, which similarly refers to beliefs that individual actions have the potential to shape, and thus change, the social structure'. Efficacy, just as agency, can function both at individual and group levels. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans further refer to Mummendey et al. (1999) who 'propose that group rather than personal – efficacy predicts protest participation', and continue: 'Furthermore, Klandermans (1984; 1997) shows that people are more likely to participate in movement activities when they believe this will help to redress their grievances at affordable costs. The relationship is straightforward: the more effective an individual believes protest participation is, the more likely she or he is to participate' (ibid.). In their theorising on social identity paths to collective action, van Zomeren et al. (2011) and van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) contend that identity, values (or ideology), emotions (or moral responses), and instrumentality (or perceived efficacy) are the main components predicting collective action. The discussion in the previous sections of this chapter illustrate that values, emotions, and moral convictions, all of which are closely intertwined, but also constitute core components of identity individually, are evident as motivating factors in the participants' responses. For the

last component, instrumentality, which includes the perceived efficacy of collective action, the responses in this study are more ambiguous.

6.5.1. Perceived efficacy

The participants express their perceptions of the efficacy of the collective actions quite ambiguously. Two of the participants that took part in the Alta actions say that their initial motivation and expectation was to end the entire development project, and believed that it would be possible – thus demonstrating a strong sense of efficacy as a motivation. None of the participants that participated in the Førdefjord actions thought that halting the mining project was a realistic outcome, and expressed somewhat ambiguous thoughts about what an adequate outcome of the actions would be. The ideal outcome for all the activists would undoubtedly be the termination of the project, but as the actions were the first major occurrences of civil disobedience in over a decade, experiences from e.g., the Alta case made the activists' expectations humbler. When asked whether she thought they could stop the mining project at Engebøfjellet, or if it was some kind symbolic action that was the goal, Julie responds:

> I think, I think there are both. It is so important in itself. But it is unlikely that you will actually be able to stop the mine, unless all of a sudden, all the investors withdraw and they do not get an operating license. But it is also to show a point of view. That… This does not work. That it will be a bit of a symbolic thing.

Thomas responds along the same lines on the same question:

> For it is clear that the purpose of this action was not to stop the project by chaining. It is about a change of attitude and creating awareness around an issue that is about something bigger, at least for the activists; and based on the feedback I have received, maybe so also for quite a few more.

Jan, on the other hand, was more confident about the goals of the Alta actions, at least in their initial phase:

> We probably thought we would save the river, we probably thought so. But we eventually saw that we could not do it. We just had to give up. We terminated Folkeaksjonen after a while. NKP[84] in particular, was opposed to it, they wanted it to continue, but it was closed down. For we saw no purpose, the arguments of Folkeaksjonen were not taken seriously, so to speak.

84 Norges kommunistiske parti (Communist Party of Norway).

Likewise, Anne was clear about the ultimate goal of the Alta actions, but by 'parallel issues' she refers to sending a clear message about their moral convictions in its own purpose, no matter the ultimate outcome of the actions:

> There are two parallel issues. So it is, for my part, who came from Alta, so I think the first goal was to stop the machines and that they should stop with this nonsense there somehow. I wanted them to say that "Hello, we have made a mistake, we just have to drop this". But I also saw... Because we had Mardøla, in a way, right, and those actions there. And I saw that it is here, so we must say that you cannot just go forward, by and large. And that, there are probably two parallel issues.

As described in the emotions section, Anne's feeling of disillusion and despair was strong when the development took place in spite of the massive resistance, and even stronger when she later got to know about the tactics used by NVE, the police and the Norwegian government. Regarding perceived efficacy, her decision to join the action was based on a certain perception of the efficacy in acting collectively:

> No, so what has driven me is the belief that it works to speak up. In that, with the rational analysis in advance: Seeing that here the answer that the government comes up with is wrong. In fact, we must be the watchdog that tells that this is so wrong that we must speak up. And the motivation is that you think that you should be able to influence society in a direction that you stand for yourself. You think democracy is good.

These are hallmarks of movements and actions that are referred to as *expressive* in (new) social movements research (as opposed to instrumental actions and movements).

6.5.2. Instrumentality

Only one of the participants, Anne, expresses that an instrumental[85] evaluation of the Alta case, a cost-benefit analysis, influenced her decision to join the civil disobedience actions. She asserts, as described in previous sections, that emotions, values, and moral convictions were factors that both instigated her instrumental evaluation, and concluded her decision afterwards. As her instrumental evaluation was in favour of her 'value-based hunch', it neither proves what her decision would have been in the opposite case:

> Of course, it was about beautiful nature and untouched nature, and all that, but it was an analysis based on rational points… That I did for myself. "How much do we lose by doing this that is interminable, developing that river? We will never remove the dam again". And I thought in a long-term perspective that this is actually not even

85Instrumentality theory: 'The theory that a person's attitude toward an event will depend on his or her perception of its function as an instrument in bringing about desirable or undesirable consequences' (APA n.d.).

> profitable. So that... What is the main motivation... Em, maybe it's like… It starts, maybe, with thinking that you have a feeling that this is wrong because it destroys the nature that you love. And then to somehow calculate what effort to put in it, and then you make the rational assessment and see: "Of course, it's like that", so you're counting on it, "are they right? Is this the only way to go? Or are there other ways to go than this, which one can then argue for?". And for me, it was important to have those arguments in a way. Because why should I invest so much energy in it? But I think people are very different. I'm like, extremely rational, cost-benefit, always... But yes, that... Even though I am extremely fond of nature... Then it is the case that if... So, I am a consequence ethicist. So that, if it had been the case that the whole of Alta had gone dark and that there had been no electricity, then I would have said, "Okay, then we must take the river", right. But if you have alternatives, and we had them, then it is clear that you should fight against them making such an infinite encroachment in something that can have huge value in the future.

The remainder of the participants do not mention any instrumental evaluations when they reflect on their pathways to civil disobedience actions. However, all have opinions on what they think is most effective to mobilise or gain the sympathy of 'the masses'. The unequivocal response from most participants is that while that 'facts-based', or instrumental, arguments are an important foundation, value-based arguments and arguments that could provoke emotional responses are the most powerful and effective for mobilising, in their view. As most responses to this question are rather cluttered, and the opinions differed little, the quotes are left out, except of Per's statement that sums up the collective view well:

> I think both are important. I cannot imagine that we can only have one of them. If we only talk technology, numbers, and technical solutions, we do not get a big strong movement. I think perhaps that a philosophical superstructure is important to make a movement come alive. But it cannot live in a vacuum either. You need factual knowledge to argue for your case. So, I do not want to conclude that one of them more important than the other. They live in a symbiosis.

Kristian is of a slightly different opinion than the rest of the participants, and thinks that the arguments used by the environmental movement often are too 'fluffy' and based on 'value-based guesses' that are not sufficiently elaborated. He thinks that these kinds of arguments do not necessarily resonate too well among Norwegians, as he perceives Norwegians as very factual and secular-minded. Nevertheless, he is clear that scientific facts must be communicated in a way that makes people understand what values are at stake. Thomas expresses some of the same thoughts:

> It is, at least, important to put a versus between charisma and the dissemination of knowledge. Because if you convey ideas that are often the result of someone's theorising and research or exploration, then it is the dissemination of science as well, but of a non-technical kind then. That's important to keep in mind. That's the important part. Charismatic dissemination of knowledge.

> Beyond that, power and everything that lies in it has been an ideological core concept for me. I think it is important to do the fight for the environment, to have a better interaction with nature as a society then. And make that fight a democratic fight. And it will be completely impossible if we are to speak technically. If the main argument that we should do something is that we save this many tons of CO2, then you will not get people who have not gone to academia with you. It's a bit elitist. So, it is important to me that one must convey ideas and convey them as a bottom-up fight. And therein lies some of the beauty of an act of civil disobedience as well.

While Kristian and Thomas are favourable to a slightly more instrumental approach to communicating natural hazards, they do not express any unilateral support to that approach, but rather as a means to balance out too 'fluffy' arguments and 'value-based guesses'. Rohlinger and Gentile (2017, 17) reveal that 'while emotions involve physiological changes, sociologists often focus on the strategic dimensions of emotions, or how activists use emotion to mobilize individuals to action and keep them involved in a movement over time'. This strategy is clearly evident among the participants in this study. While mainly discussing the instrumentality versus values–emotions–morale as a strategic issue, most participants give the impression that they tend towards being motivated mainly by value-based arguments themselves. From the field of environmental education Chawla (2006, 359) asserts that it always contained two sides: the one that emphasises 'scientific knowledge and technical or managerial solutions to environmental problems; and another that seeks to instil a sense of care and responsibility for the earth among the general population'. She continues, 'these correspond to two sides of our human nature', a rationality driven side and an 'emotional need for identification and affiliation with the earth'. Environmental education, she contends, has often been built on a false premise that 'knowledge about issues is sufficient' and 'will lead to action' (ibid., 360). This study also supports that stance; the participants' perception about both themselves and others implies that 'knowledge about issues is not sufficient' to motivate environmental activism.

This section illustrates that few of the participants made instrumental evaluations before deciding to join the collective actions in question, and few, if any, were motivated by a particular perception of the efficacy of the actions; at least in terms of halting the relevant development projects. This differs from the usual assumptions and findings of scholarly work on the field, like Klandermans (2013) three factors for protest participation: identity, ideology, instrumentality, where only the two first fit to my findings. However, Tausch et al. (2011, 49) have an answer to this issue, as

they ‘provide evidence that qualitatively different emotions underlie normative and non-normative forms of collective action and that, unlike normative collective action, non-normative action is likely to be driven by a sense of low rather than high efficacy’. Civil disobedience is the prototype non-normative action. They add, ‘together these findings suggest that non-normative actions are chosen by the disaffected and powerless’ (ibid.). Interestingly, none of the participants neither expressed any major concerns with the fines they were sentenced in terms of (de)motivation or evaluation, although they must have affected their personal economy

6.6. Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter, I have demonstrated and argued that identity related motivations, such as social and collective identity, values, emotions, and the interlaced concepts of moral conviction, in different ways are the main motivating forces of the participants in this study. Likewise, I have shown that instrumental evaluations and perceived efficacy had little to no effect on the majority of the participants. Van Stekelenburg et al. (2009) also demonstrate that ‘ideological motives are key predictors of participation in collective action, independent of instrumental motives (i.e., cost-benefit analyses)’ (van Zomeren and Iyer 2009, 655), especially in ‘value-oriented’ movements that protest opposing value systems, as is the case with most participants in this study who express criticism towards the ruling values such as growth and human superiority over nature (van Zomeren, Kutlaca, and Turner-Zwinkels 2018).

Consequently, the dominant theories in social, political, and economic sciences based on the instrumental, ‘rational choice’ and expectancy–value driven homo oeconomicus fail comprehensively in predicting the choices and actions of the activists in this study (see also Ostrom 1998; and Boda 2013). As all the participants come from relatively stable backgrounds with prosperous future prospects in terms of resources, education, and employment – important normative factors to lead a good life in Norway – the obvious ‘rational’ choice for these individuals is not to steer into a pathway ending with criminal charges and a possible pariah status in substantial parts of the Norwegian society. None expressed any possible personal benefits from participating in the actions, or dedicating their lives to activism in general. While Jan

was personally invested in the Sámi rights aspect of the Alta case to a certain level in terms of identity, he expressed clearly that neither he or his family were subject to any direct advantages or disadvantages related to the development or protection of the Alta-Guovdageaidnu watercourse. With all possibilities to live safe, stable, and prosperous 'square lifestyles', it was plausible to presume that other than personally instrumental motives motivated the participants' action, as this subsection has demonstrated – while there were a few who were motivated by a perceived efficacy at group level (Mummendey et al. 1999).

While this chapter has demonstrated the lines from childhood experiences to the formation of identities and values, and how emotional responses to violated values and moral convictions motivate political engagement and activism, the imperative events that triggered the participants' pathways towards activism and civil disobedience are not yet illuminated. Partly composed by several of the phenomena discussed in this section, the next section will discuss the activists' *transformative moments*.

7. Transformative moments

A transformative moment (TM) is a concept involving 'an experience occurring during a short time-period which results in a significant change in pro-environmental practice' (Hards 2012, 763). Without having encountered this concept in advance, I asked the participants about 'defining events/moments' to elucidate events or moments that stand out in the participants' perception of their pathways to activism. Hards (2012, 761) demonstrates that a variety of similar concepts exist in the scholarly literature in the field: 'similarly, work within life-course studies emphasises sudden transitions, using concepts such as "turning point" (Wheaton and Gotlib 1997) and "nuclear episode" (McAdams 1985)'. Furthermore, 'Denzin (2001) distinguishes four kinds of "epiphany" in people's lives: *major*, *minor*, *cumulative* (building on prior events) and *relived* (gaining meaning through retelling)' (Hards 2012, 761 [my emphasis]). As Hards concept – TM – resembles the initial question asked in my interviews the most, is well defined, and describes the phenomenon well, I will use TM as the conceptual term for the remainder of the thesis. Still, as will become evident, Denzin's (2001) concept of *major* and *cumulative epiphanies* are also descriptive of some of the participants' TMs. TMs, although many occur individually, may also be interpreted as moments triggering agency through cognitive liberation and rationalising consciousness, where the participants break out of their patterns of repeating quotidian praxis or flows of conduct (Eisinger 1973; Giddens 1984). Congruous with my experience from reviewing social-psychological literature, Hards (2012, 761) remarks that 'there has been little research on such processes [TMs] within pro-environmental practice'; and, I find, even less so when involving cases where individuals become political activists or agents of change, rather than somewhat passive participants in 'normative' pro-environmental behaviours like volunteering, changing travel habits, or recycling.

This section will focus on moments where the participants recall taking *conscious* action to commit to a political case – in most cases an environmental issue – highlighting the TMs role in directing agency and triggering or motivating activism (Fisher 2016). Experiences occurring during *longer* time-periods, or that were not parts of the individuals *consciously* committing to change, are covered previously. TMs are relevant to studies of radical change, for example towards pro-environmental behaviour, because they may be more memorable than more

elongated development or transitions (Chawla 1998), and 'illuminate clearly the conditions shaping change' (Hards 2012, 764). TMs also occur in academic and popular literature, and in the biographical accounts of environmentalists like Rachel Carson (1963) – which several of the participants in this study mention.

As Hards (2012, 763) notes, TMs may sometimes coincide with transitions or moments of change in the participants' life course, but TMs and life transitions are not the same. In about half of the cases, TMs are related to, or took place simultaneously with life transitions involving a change in the participants' everyday social context, like starting at a new school or moving to a new city. As Hards found in her study, TMs can often relate to moments of change in the participants' life course. About half of the TMs in this study were related to joining an organisation or other political group, while the remainder involved joining a civil disobedience action or a group preparing and mobilising for a soon forthcoming civil disobedience action.

This thesis has only been focused on the antecedents and motivations leading the participants to become politically active, and joining collective actions including civil disobedience, and distinguishes itself somewhat from the aforementioned studies focusing on change towards several levels of *pro-environmental practice*. Because of the nature of this study, all cases seem comparable to what Denzin (2001) calls *major epiphanies*, with wide-ranging impacts, like a life course significantly characterised by political activism, while none are resembling Denzin's category of *minor epiphanies* entailing change in very specific practices like changing consumption habits. Most of the major epiphanies also embody some attributes of Denzin's *cumulative epiphanies*, namely epiphanies, or TMs, building on prior events. These are cases where the participant experienced several TMs, where, for example, the first is a political awakening or gaining new insights about environmental affairs, while the second TM triggers political agency, like joining a political organisation or action. As the reader may notice, several of the participants will appear under several headlines, thus aggregating cumulative TMs.

Previous research on concepts analogous to TMs have found a distinction between 'a concern for nature, in and of itself, and a concern for social justice' (Chawla 1999, 17) and that a concern social justice is an imperative motivator for young climate activists, as Fisher (2016) and Pearse et. al. (2010) have found. This study has

revealed similar discoveries, as demonstrated in the previous section, and they were partly related to TMs although discussed in the previous section.

Presenting the characteristics of the participants' TMs, this chapter will focus on the experiences that the participants see as starting points or gateways to their political commitment that later made them become agents of civil disobedience. Besides the concern for environmental justice or social justice as an overarching characteristic of the participants' commitment to environmentalism, there are other attributes that distinguish the different TMs of the participants: The main categories are TMs that took place in a distinct *social* context, and TMs that took place in an i*ndividual* context. The social category includes those who were encouraged or influenced by friends or family to get politically engaged.

7.1. Social transformative moments

Social pull factors are among the key motivating factors for political engagement identified both by NGOs and scholars on the field. Social pull factors can be friends, family, classmates, co-students, and other people who directly or indirectly recruit or encourage people to join a movement or an organisation. The following section will present the TMs related to social interaction.

7.1.1. Change of social context

Thomas, who grew up in one of the wealthiest municipalities in Norway, describes how his time in middle school[86] involved a lot of political engagement and discussion, and how he found it engaging and actively participated. However, he experienced a lack of common interests with most of his peers as he identified with socialist values, while they mostly expressed conservative and right-wing values and opinions, like most of the population in their municipality. As a result, Thomas found it difficult to join an organisation not knowing anyone else that shared his values and opinions. He describes how starting at high school[87] some years later, still in the same municipality, was a life transition that turned into a TM:

> So at high school I met a couple of like-minded people, and it was unbelievable [utrolig][88], I had not thought that would happen. [...] For the first time I met someone

86 Ungdomsskole.

87 Videregående skole.

88 '*Utrolig*'; can be directly translated to unbelievable, but also to incredible, implicating strong, positive connotations.

> who was involved in an organisation, and that was SU. So then I joined almost immediately. So, it was perhaps because no one asked me that I had not got organised before. [...] I did not really know him very well [new school mate who invited him to SU]. But I knew that I should join a youth organisation sooner or later. So, I stood between SU and RU, and the first one to ask if I wanted to join something was from SU, so then I joined. Actually I still look at myself as, kind of, in between.

This description of a TM shows that several social factors were at work to transform Thomas from a politically engaged individual to become an active member of a political organisation. First, being introduced to a new social environment where he could meet like-minded people felt 'unbelievable' or 'incredible', suggesting a TM taking place, as he had found a community with shared interests that he could identify with. Second, he met someone who actively invited him to become active in a political organisation. Thomas describes that he stood between two organisations (SU and RU) at the time and still looks at himself as in between after years as an active member in SU. This suggests that the social factor was essential in Thomas' TM, and decisive in determining the specific direction his political commitment took. Thomas' TM took place at the same time as he started at a new school and got introduced to a new social context, but that is not a TM itself, but a change of context that assumably contributed to the TM taking place. This TM is also limited to motivating Thomas to take action and join an organisation, and would only lead him to a civil disobedience action at a later stage.

The importance of the TMs in a longer perspective is hard to determine, as the participants might just as well have become activists in a different situation, due to different influential factors. Julie has a partly similar experience as Thomas: She had been interested in different political causes for a while, but the reason she joined this exact organisation was due to changes in her social context. When asked if there was any special reason that explains why she got involved in an organisation concerned with environmental issues specifically she answered:

> It was both, I think, that I was interested in it [the environment], but also a little random. That there were friends from school who were in NU and said that this was a cool place to join. That's probably how most people join an organisation, that they talk to someone who says "come join a meeting", and that's a bit what I did. I joined a meeting and then I thought it seemed like a… Finally, a place to express my environmental engagement then. But I think I probably could have joined other similar organisations or youth parties. With the political affiliation I feel. I could probably have agreed to that too [join another organisation] if I had been asked at the right time. But NU somehow came by and they were very clear about the opportunity to join.

As with Thomas, Julie contends that while the social factor – friends who encouraged and eventually asked her to join a meeting – was decisive for decision to join NU, she was so politically interested at the time that she would probably have joined some organisation anyway. Also, while the TM triggered Julie to join NU, her childhood experiences discussed in the previous section had already made her politically conscious, establishing the antecedent of the TM.

7.1.2. Reaction and opposition

Some of the informants got politically engaged partly as a reaction or opposition to the community and individuals they grew up with. While Jan and Ingrid remember that as childhood experiences antecedent to their later political engagement, Thomas recounts this at an older age, a TM consciously triggering political action:

> I joined SU when I was 17. I had considered myself being on the left side [in politics] a few years before that too. A bit like a reaction to the place I grew up and the attitudes I grew up with around me then. […] is a pretty conservative place.

When asked whether he could recall a person or an event that inspired or triggered his political engagement, Thomas also emphasises that he took his political stances partly as a reaction to a specific person as well:

> I had a middle school teacher who was a newly devoted Christian and preached religion in social studies and religion classes and painted the world very black and white. To middle school students, I thought that was very ugly. [...] So I found my place quickly, in a way, as an opposition to him really. […] That was a very clear experience of how I became engaged.

Thomas describes that his personal development from being mainly concerned with issues related to social justice to becoming an environmentalist also was bolstered by social factors. When asked about how he went from being concerned mainly with social justice to become and environmental activist as well, Thomas highlighted the imperative role social interaction played in the formation of his environmental engagement:

> Yeah, say that… You get to know a lot of people when you are in Oslo and in an organisation, and eventually, so, you meet people who are active in the environmental movement. And then this happens a bit like that at the same time as I find the greater conviction for the environment myself then. And then it is probably about the same time as I started hearing about these plans for a sea fill and write myself up on the list right away. And it was more just to threaten at the very beginning of the process, or at least when I joined the process. It was not binding but they said they were willing to break the law to prevent the dumping of mining waste in Førdefjorden.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, several of the informants emphasise social justice and equality as their main political concern, into which they place their environmental engagement as well.

7.2. Individual transformative moments

The following narratives describe moments categorised as *individual TMs*, meaning the participants did not perceive that social interaction or context played an imperative role for the TM. However, this does not mean that all social interaction can be excluded: an unlimited number of factors may influence all TMs. The following subsection presents TMs related to different kinds of media experiences, while the last subsection presents case drive TMs.

Within the individual category, I have distinguished two subcategories of TM triggers: *Media* and *Case*. The media subcategory includes the TMs that were triggered by a book, movie, newspaper, or other media, while the case category includes TMs that were triggered by knowledge of a specific, political case. The case category is partly arbitrary as it may include both social pull factors and media factors, but the participants emphasise their perception of a case itself as the transformative factor, not the channels through which they got familiar with the case. The rationale for highlighting these specific attributes as independent categories is that many of the participants contend that the social pull factor, namely friends and peers who are engaged in a cause or active in an organisation, is the most effective way to mobilise new activists and proponents. Several of the participants speak of this not only as their own opinion but referring to their respective organisations' mobilisation strategies. Still, some of the participants in this study recount various media, namely books, newspapers, and movies, as the imperative factor in their TM(s).

7.2.1. Media related transformative moments

Several of the participants mention some sort of media as an imperative factor in creating, shaping, or directing a TM. The TMs categorised as media related in this thesis include participants' experiences with newspapers and websites, books, and movies. Kristian elaborates on how reading a book shaped and directed a TM out of

a profound life transition and crisis, together with prior knowledge about and engagement for environmental issues:

> Ehm, I remember the day I signed up for MDG. I remember it very well. Because I was in a life situation where I was unhappily in love with someone […]. I did not feel that the [musical] school was quite right either, even though it was what I had always wanted to focus on, to become a jazz guitarist and things like that. So personally, I was in a quite low place. And then my parents divorced and there were a lot of things like that happening.
>
> And then I remember sitting and reading Gert Nygårdshaug (2007), that book *Mengele Zoo*. I sat and read on the roof of my shared flat one night, and just, "shit, that was good". That book describes issues I had, in a way, known about since I wrote my first readers' post [to the local newspaper] and things like that. So that was the "gunshot in Sarajevo" for my environmental commitment. […] So, then I just went and read MDG's party programme, which I think I had only just heard about from a teacher way back somehow. It had just been there in my consciousness.
>
> I […] signed up right away and sought out the party very actively because I wanted to be active. I wanted to use my energy for something. […] Like, "Why not there? We have to fix this now". […] So, it was not like that I read Gert Nygårdshaug and became aware of all the issues he wrote about. It was, in a way, issues that I had already observed from various perspectives, but it was sort of the whole situation that escalated that made me go from being a sympathiser to become an activist.

This quote describes several dramatic turning-points and moments of change in Kristian's life that clearly prepared the ground for a TM where Kristian acted on his environmental engagement. Nevertheless, reading Mengele Zoo was not necessarily what created the TM in Kristian's life itself; rather, one can appropriately assume that a TM or need to act would have emerged from these life transitions in any case. Yet, Mengele Zoo, at least partly, determined the outcome of the life transition and TM: joining an environmental-political organisation. Besides, in what assumably must have been a time characterised by powerful emotions in Kristian's life, some of those emotions were directed towards the environmentalism and radical change that is also portrayed by the book.

Like Kristian, Ole vividly recalls how reading a book became the imperative factor in a TM that resulted in pro-environmental action when asked about specific events that sparked his environmental engagement. Unlike Kristian, Ole was introduced to the book through a social encounter with an old acquaintance:

> Yes, it was, and it was especially one book. And that was *Den økopolitiske sosialismen* by Hartvig Sætra(1973). And the reason I came across that book was that when I started at *Blindern*[89] and studied sociology, I ended up in the same

89 The main campus at the University of Oslo.

> building as the economics programme, and there I met a classmate from high school, who studied economics. And he had, had become, had somehow been captured by Hartvig Sætra. So, I was visiting him in his home and got to borrow the book from him then, and it captured me. Because I had already started, this was the 70's, there was a lot of discussion about, like, the city and the rural areas and a lot of different things. Em, and Hartvig Sætra formulated some interesting thoughts about a radical policy that was based on, uh, something that was also my experience, namely the life in the countryside. Small-scale farmers, fishers, farmers and so on, right. Em, that was what, yeah, was the background I think, really, because I then, joined the environmental movement and especially then, Hardangervidda-gruppa[90]. So, it was a very concrete thing to get involved in, a concrete goal to fight for, instead of talking about some abstract stuff about justice for developing countries and, uh, agricultural policy and stuff like that. So, that was a very specific issue, and I am still quite dependent on working on relatively specific things.

Again, reading a book was the factor that shaped and directed the outcome of a TM based on closely intertwined factors like a social encounter, childhood experiences, and the general political discourse at the time, which all played crucial roles as antecedents to his lifelong political and environmental engagement and activism. Moreover, at another point in the interview, Ole re-emphasises the decisive role books can play in shaping and directing someone's political and environmental engagement:

> It is completely clear, such as Rachel Carson (1962), Silent Spring, that was important. I remember I was in a meeting with Torbjørn Berntsen, later Minister of Environmental Protection, but then he was in the environmental committee in the parliament, in a meeting, and he said straight out that Rachel Carson had inspired him a lot when she was translated to Norwegian […].

The previous examples and quotes show how both fictional and non-fictional books can play important roles in shaping political and environmental engagement. While Silent Spring and Mengele Zoo are biographical and fictional books, respectively, they can provide insights and possible environmental and social outcomes of the issues they portray. Likewise, *Den økopolitiske sosialismen* (Sætra 1973) was an important publication that contributed to the articulation of a radical political growth critique in a Norwegian, ecopolitical context, that inspired many. Daily news-media that deal with current affairs can instigate transformations as well. Ingrid recalls her

90 An environmental group for the protection of Hardangervidda (the Hardanger highlands); https://snl.no/Hardangervidda_nasjonalpark.

own, independent decision to take concrete action, which unfolded on a train home from vacation in Denmark, where she read 'either *Klassekampen* or *Aftenposten*'[91]:

> I was bored and my mobile phone had charged out and stuff… Then I read the whole newspaper and was like "bloody hell, what a damn awful world we live in". Eeh, so I signed up for NU and RU right then, on the same day, I think. "Okay, we need to do something here, now".

Again, the effect of media representations of worldly affairs, however in various forms, played a crucial role in transforming political and social interest into action. The media related TM transformed Ingrid's social and political engagement into both social and environmental action, joining both RU, which primarily fights for social justice, and NU which primarily fights for the environment. In the continuation of the previous quote, Ingrid also tells:

> I think it also was a bit because all my teachers in middle-school had such an incredible belief in me. […] [They] loved me very much and backed me very much, and had a really strong belief in that I could get something done.

This quote illustrates how media can work as a catalyst for action, but that Ingrid's supportive and inspiring teachers, along with a childhood that included some political engagement, also prepared the ground for her youth and adult political engagement that materialised into action after this media related TM. Consistently, media have not created nor constituted the TMs in this study alone, but rather served as determinants of the shape and direction of the transformations. Moreover, this case demonstrates that Denzin's (2001) different categories of epiphanies are not mutually exclusive, as all TMs in this study include features that resemble both major and cumulative epiphanies, as Denzin defines them.

7.2.2. Case related transformative moments

While most of the participants emphasise either media or a social encounter as the trigger of their TMs, some participants do not suggest any influence of such factors. Rather, they emphasise that specific environmental cases themselves were the sole factors triggering TMs and motivating environmental action. Yet, it is dubious how these participants got to know about these environmental cases: Unless they witnessed the issues in question with their own eyes, they must have heard of it

91 Klassekampen (The Class Struggle) is the largest left-leaning national daily newspaper in Norway, while Aftenposten (The Evening Post) is one of the leading conservative newspapers, mainly based in Oslo. Both outlets feature international affairs and politics.

through either media or social interaction. This trait makes this category more debatable than the media and social categories. However, the case related TMs are distinguished from the two other categories by whether media or social interactions played an indirect or imperative role: The TMs are only categorised as either social or media related if either played an imperative role in creating, triggering, shaping, or directing the TM. Also, the books and newspapers named in the media related TMs presented general and unrelated narratives of social or environmental injustice, while the case related TMs were triggered by information about the very specific cases the participants later got involved in.

Per perceives his own experience of local environmental damage as the TM that triggered his environmental and political engagement: When asked about where his political engagement comes from, having grown up in a rather 'unpolitical home', Per answered:

> The short version is that I saw the environmental consequences of the paper mill[92]. Below the paper mill, the fish died in the river. They floated with their bellies up... I asked questions to the adult world: "Why do the fish die?". I was quite young, and got very stupid answers about jobs, development, and economic growth and such. Then I got really pissed off. Angry. Now, 50 years later, I am still pissed off, and I am still asking the adult world why there is so damn much stupidity in the world.

And like his environmental engagement emerged from a case related TM, Per, further on in the interview, specifies how local environmental cases also triggered the first time he acted on his environmental engagement:

> An action we had in […] against the nuclear reactor down there, and the paper mill... Demonstration march and sit-in actions in front of the gate. So that was the first time.

Per was fourteen or fifteen years old at the time, and remembers that his parents 'were a little shocked at first':

> They were afraid I would become a professional criminal. And I have actually become that, for the most part. Still do illegal acts, but with political arguments for doing so.

Per's willingness to act on his political engagement and disregard his parents' worries demonstrates the transformative power in experiencing environmental damage at an early age, and the strong moral convictions he held already in his adolescence.

92 Close to a river next to his home.

Like Per, Jan perceives local environmental damage as the trigger of his environmental engagement. However, similarly to Ingrid, cases of injustice directed towards him and his sister personally also provoked political engagement as well. When the Alta case emerged in his homeland, it was a culmination of both environmental destruction and the 'total disregard the Norwegian society demonstrated towards the Sámi people and their rights'. The blooming Sámi rights movement and the environmental issues related to the Alta hydropower development were themselves the events that sparked his engagement. He joined both NNV and NSR in his youth and was deeply engaged in both Sámi rights, fisheries, reindeer herding, and agriculture that would all be suffering from the development of the Alta River. Jan felt a strong affiliation to the Alta case, but his family were not reindeer herders, and Jan does not recall any other personal or family related vested interest that could suggest an ego-centric motivation. Also, he cannot recall any other person, social encounter, or event influencing his decision to become a political activist:

> I think I found out by myself. I was very interested in the Sámi culture. We did not wear a kofte[93]. I did not wear a kofte from I was seven until I was 14 years old. Because the Sámi culture, yes what shall I say. It should be removed. It was not, it did not have a very high status, if one is to say what was true, at the time. It is now, afterwards, that it has become more… More and more Sámi people… And they say they are Sámi and sign up for the Sámi census. […] And that does assumably stem from a lot from the work I have done with Sámi rights then. It has made people think about… And then comes the Sámi Parliament. But it came a while after this case…

While Jan's own decision to become an environmental and Sámi rights activist was made individually – not influenced by social encounters nor media as he perceives it – he appears proud to have inspired both activism and a strengthened Sámi identity among his peers and descendants, and not least the establishment of the Sámi parliament as a result of the Alta case. Anne, who also perceives the Alta case itself as her TM, expresses some ambiguity when asked whether some kind of social interaction also influenced her decision to join the actions:

> Yes, yes, I became aware of it myself. […] I got a boyfriend in the milieu that was a little older than me and... But he was picked out because he was on the same side as me. He would never have been relevant otherwise. But we went together on these things. So, it was like, spending the night out in a snow cave in minus thirty-five degrees became a little safer then, to be part of those actions. So, you could probably say that it was a bit like an interaction. I would probably not have been involved in so much if he was not there… But to put it that way, I would probably have met someone else, because it was an extremely inclusive environment. It was, for me who was so young, then get up there and meet all these people who were very much

93 Traditional Sami attire.

> older, who were so inclusive and so, what shall I say, so interested in talking about everything really. I remember I brought with me such a love letter from the village that I took with me up to the camp and went looking for people and who should get this letter. That was very sweet. There were a lot of nice people.

While Anne is clear that her decision to join the action was made individually, the quote suggests that the relationship to her boyfriend at the time and the strong social fabric at the actions were significant in bolstering and sustaining her activism over time.

7.3. No apparent transformative moment

Martin is the only participant that does not recall any specific TM that triggered his decision to become an activist. His decision to join NU and start a local chapter at his school was an individual action as he perceived it, and his decision to act civilly disobedient – and even encourage others to do so – was a result of a long process that can hardly even resemble a cumulative TM. When asked about political activity or engagement among his peers, he answers:

> To a very little extent. There, I think I'm a little special perhaps, in that most people become politically active because they know someone who is, or there is a milieu at school. […] I was the only one I knew who was involved in NU when I signed up. So, it was a very individual decision, or at least I experienced it that way, and it probably was. […] I recruited some friends, people who had been in the scouts and things like that. We started a local chapter at the school. […] It probably grew out of a kind of void in engagement that had to be filled by someone.

When prompted about other factors that could have triggered his choices or political engagement, Martin mentioned Gert Nygårdshaug (2007) as an author that 'probably' influenced him when he read it in his youth, along with Arne Næss, Sigmund Kvaløy Sætreng, and *An Inconvenient Truth* (Guggenheim et al. 2006), a documentary on climate change featuring Al Gore. Nonetheless, neither of these experiences, as Martin perceives and expresses them, resembles a TM. On his decision to act civilly disobedient, Martin continues:

> It was a very lengthy process. Actually. Before I was at my first action camp in 2012, in September 2012, where I practiced civil disobedience by Førdefjorden then, I was… I was not on the list for actions by Førdefjorden […]. I was not ready to act civilly disobedient then. […] This is another development that came over time but is also a bit about… I have read a lot of history about the environmental movement, the history of civil disobedience. Gained a better understanding of the place of civil disobedience in the development of important debates and struggles and decisions in world history. And this is where you probably can… From Gandhi, the liberation of India, female suffrage, Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement. The labour movement in Norway. Einar Gerhardsen is one of those who had to be

> imprisoned in Norway after the "sedition clause", which is a funny detail. […] It was probably –definitely– also a process […] to somehow become fully aware of what it is you are […] willing to do. The last decision to commit civil disobedience is usually not made until the general meeting […] and agree on the principles of the action. […] And it is probably a process that took longer than that, then, as you will never be quite ready to break the law. Or, it's not something you do for fun somehow. It is something you do because you are morally convinced that there is something here… Which is wrong. And it's important that I… Commit a crime to stop.

7.4. Chapter summary

This chapter has demonstrated how different kinds of TMs have worked as catalysts – sparking environmental and political engagement – and motivated action and agency based on that engagement. The participants' TMs are categorised as TMs related to social interaction, different kinds of media, or direct experiences with cases of environmental damage or injustice. Some of the participants refer to different TMs in different categories, making them comprise a chain of TMs comparable to cumulative epiphanies. The section also demonstrates how TMs are not fully detachable from childhood experiences, identity, values, emotions, nor moral convictions. All these concepts are closely related and interlinked, but distinguishing TMs from the other concepts enables an analysis of the specific moments that resulted in an increase in engagement, movement involvement, or a decision to act – civilly disobedient or obedient – on that political and environmental engagement. As the only participant, Martin did not perceive any specific experiences that could resemble a TM, but rather a long chain of minor events (not to be confused with minor epiphanies), a process of cognitive, emotional, and academic preparations that resulted in the decision to participate in civil disobedience actions by Førdefjorden, but that started with his childhood involvement in Blekkulfklubben, and his decision to establish a local chapter for NU in his adolescence.

Lastly, Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2017, 125–26) articulate some issues that have come to mind several times during my research process:

> Instead of focusing on people who are motivated to participate, we might also learn a lot from people who do not participate (Klandermans and van Stekelenburg 2015). Does the motivational constellation of non-participants differ from participants? And how about cognitions and experienced emotions? Is the identity content of participants different from those who do not participate? All this kind of questions are interesting and can learn us a lot about why (or why not) people take onto the streets (Khalil, van Stekelenburg and Klandermans).

While many of these elements would be interesting to investigate in terms of the discussion in the previous chapter, this also relates to closing the 'Value-Action Gap' (Blake 1999; Hards 2012). While finding a way to close the Value-Action gap was beyond the aim of this thesis, TMs can constitute an element in the explanation of this gap. Being diverse in terms of antecedents, origins, form, and manifestations, the TMs bridge the gap between values and engagement, and action, in the narratives of the participants in this study. Additionally, about half of the TMs occurred during transitional periods in the participants' lives, of which some were partly characterised by crisis, while all the TMs took place during adolescence, a life phase generally characterised by transitions in most peoples' lives. Derived from this, it can be concluded that identities and values, and the following moral and emotional convictions and response need a TM to be transformed to action – and that TMs are most likely to occur during life transitions, created either by outer circumstances, or commonly inherent transitions like adolescence.

For a movement or organisation to utilise this information for mobilisation purposes, targeting people that might hold the right set of values and identities, and find themselves in a life transition may appear as the most effective mobilisation strategy and tactic. Existing strategies and tactics in several organisations incorporate this. First year students in either high schools or universities are often primary strategic targets, thus being people in the middle of a life transition, while people who carry identity markers that express certain values often are tactical on-site primary targets. However, using such strategies and tactics also require careful ethical considerations to avoid targeting and exploiting vulnerable people in the middle of life crises. Some movements, and especially extremist movements, are known for targeting vulnerable youth and exploiting their crises and perceptions of exclusion from or lack of identification with other groups (be it groups based on nationality or smaller groups in schools et cetera) to recruit them to their extremist groups (PST 2016). Lately, Norwegian right wing extremist organisations and movements have been outed for using such tactics for recruitment purposes (Bjørgo 2018; PST 2019; Klungtveit and Skybakmoen 2021; Schau and Samuelsen 2022). When civilly disobedient environmental activists are labelled as terrorists, one need to be very careful in the choices of methods and tactics for both mobilisation, communication, and actions.

8. Conclusion

Based on a hypothesis that many members of social movements in Norway in general, and in the environmental movement in particular – whereof the participants in this study – are activists mainly for selfless causes, this thesis has explored the individual narratives of activists' pathways towards, and motivations to political and environmental engagement, collective action, and civil disobedience. While recognising the contributions of the structural approaches to social movement studies, I set off claiming that the theories do not sufficiently explain political engagement and activism on an individual level – especially not the selfless kind. The structural theories mainly treat the movements themselves as the unit of inquiry, not the individuals in them, and they mainly treat movements that fight to improve their own rights, status, and means. Besides, most of the theories on political action focus on individual agency driven by economic rationality and instrumentality, treating decisions to act on political engagement as one-off incidents motivated by egocentric rational cost-benefit analyses based on potential individual gain. The qualitative approach in this study illuminates the narratives that lie betwixt and beyond the schemata of structural and quantitative studies and theories. That way, this thesis complements and widens the understanding of the antecedents and motivations of political engagement and action; of how individuals become activists and agents of change for selfless causes. In doing so, it challenges the permeating assumption of the instrumentally motivated and rationally behaving homo oeconomicus, and contributes to the understanding of how knowledge and concerns about political issues can be transformed to political engagement and collective action – and ultimately create change.

The thesis set off with the aim to answer the following main research question:

i. What factors motivated the participants to get politically active and join collective actions?

And two additional sub-questions:

ii. What antecedent factors in youth and adolescence were involved in triggering the participants' political engagement?

iii. What role did specific events or experiences play in transforming the participants' political engagement to political action?

The questions can be concluded as following:

i. Motivational factors

The main factors that motivated the participants to get politically active and join collective actions were identity and identity related motivations – values and emotional responses to the violation of these values, triggering a sense of moral obligation to act – partly derived from antecedent childhood experiences, and catalysed and triggered by specific transformative moments.

The participants in this study were motivated by strongly held values related to social justice and/or environmental conservation, and categorised as expressing either mainly ecocentric or anthropocentric value sets. Several of the participants expressed a sense of moral obligation related to their strongly held values, and closely related emotional responses to the violation of the values and moral stances as contributing factors – i.e. identity related motivations. Identity as an explicit concept was not particularly emphasised by most participants. Thus, this thesis cannot conclude on the participants' activist, Sámi, political, and environmental identities based on responses discussing identity explicitly, but based on their expressions of identity related motivations. Values are considered the core attribute of identity, and constitute the general umbrella of the participants' different motivations.

Nevertheless, the fundamental role of social, group, and collective identities can be derived from, and comes to sight through the participants' emphasis on social factors in their recruitment processes, and strong value based, moral, and emotional responses to environmental destruction and perceived injustice, for example. Several of the participants also express value sets that indicate a global identity, a concept that includes those who do not base their activism on in-group identification based on common denominators like culture, ethnicity, or nationality, but rather identification with all human kind and all species, thus including the environment globally. Hence, a global identity is manifested as a motivation derived from a universal sense of solidarity and solidarity related values.

Besides the identity related motivations, a minority of the participants expressed that a group-based instrumentality in terms of perceived efficacy of the actions contributed to motivate the decision to join civil disobedience actions, while the

majority expressed that they did not believe the civil disobedience actions would be effective in terms of directly terminating the projects they protested.

Finally, no participants claimed to be motivated by factors related to instrumentality on an individual basis or other individual egocentric values, refuting the assumption that human action and agency is mainly based on individual economic rationality.

ii. Antecedent factors

A majority of the participants expressed that their environmental and social justice related values, sense of moral conviction, emotional bonds, and thus identities, were preceded by childhood experiences related to nature, agriculture, injustice, and political engagement in the family. While demonstrating that childhood and upbringing are important in forming values and identities, nature experiences are especially common in a Norwegian upbringing, and can thus not explain why some people become civilly disobedient activists (but may explain why most Norwegians express a concern for nature). The participants that emphasise experiences with injustice and violation of their sense of moral in childhood express a clear perceived relation between these experiences and later political engagement and activism. Political engagement in the family and extra-familial relations seems only vaguely related to later engagement, but may have had a facilitating function, or reduced the barriers against becoming activists for some of the participants. Some of the participants also suggest that politically engaged or active peers made a greater contribution in forming an activist identity than parents and other family members, which may be related to the fact that politically active peers may appear later in life than family members.

In general, different kinds of experiences in childhood and adolescence are emphasised by all participants, however to varying degrees, as contributing antecedents to their later political *engagement*. However, none make direct connections between childhood experiences and political *action*; the making of an activist demands more contributing factors.

iii. Transformative moments

All except one of the participants expressed that one or more transformative moments, sometimes correlating with larger life transformations, were imperative in their pathways to political activism and civil disobedience. These transformative

moments represent a bridge that transforms values and a sense of moral obligation to action, structural preconditions to individual agency, and turns political engagement to political activism. For some participants, political activity meant joining a social movement organisation and getting involved in collective action and civil disobedience at a later stage through that organisation, while others took part in collective action and civil disobedience more directly after experiencing a transformative moment.

The different categories of transformative moments perceived by the participants in this study all demonstrate different pathways to activism. Either by social encounters with people they identify with and by whom they are motivated, encouraged, or persuaded into joining an organisation or activist community, or by moral outrage and emotional responses to violated values experienced either through media representations or by direct encounters with cases violating e.g., environmental values and their environmental identity.

As the experiences in childhood and adolescence and many of the environment related values expressed by the participants are not exclusive to them (but rather quite commonly held), the transformative moments represent a possible answer to what triggers, catalyses, or transforms values and passively held political engagement into individual agency and activism, and collective action.

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Appendix

1 Participants

Jan

Background

Born and raised in the outskirts of […] in the early1950s, grew up with one sister. Both parents were settled Sámis and ran a small-scale farm. His mother was a homemaker and ran the farm while his father also worked in the national road administration[94]. The rest of his relatives were also mainly permanently settled, and only a few ancestors were nomadic reindeer herders. His parents were not politically active but were modestly supportive of his later engagement in the Alta case. Jan worked at the farm until 1984 but continued to live there for the rest of his life. He was educated as a school teacher and worked at the school until retirement. He got no children.

Keywords: Rural/agricultural upbringing, worker/farmer class parents, higher education, indigenous minority

First political experience

His first political awakening was a reaction to his encounters with stigma and harassment due to his and his sisters Sámi heritage in primary school. Although he contends that he has done well in Norwegian society compared to other Sámi, especially because he knew the Norwegian language well, the injustice he experienced made him particularly interested in Sámi culture and Sámi rights. He was also concerned with nature and environmental protection from an early age, but cannot recall that he got that from parents or peers. Until the large Alta hydropower case came up, he was concerned with other local environmental issues. When the Alta case emerged, he became a central and leading person in the resistance movement, founding the Alta Sámi Association and later the Peoples movement against the development of the Alta-Guovdageaidnu watercourse. He was one of the four convicted for incitement due to their leading roles in the civil disobedience actions in Stilla and other strategic places to prevent the development of the hydroelectric.

Keywords: Reaction, injustice, connected to nature in childhood

Ole

Background

Born and raised in […] in the early 1950s, grew up with one brother. Both parents were small-scale farmers in […] until the family moved to […] in 1962. His father got a job as a carpenter at Løvenskiold while his mother got a job at the university in a clerical position. The working income was little, but his father had a good war pension to supply the family's finances. His parents were not politically active or

[94] Statens vegvesen

particularly engaged. They strongly encouraged their sons to get a higher education. Ole studied to become a sociologist at the […] and abroad. He describes his life course as a classic class journey. He got no children. Beyond working as a security guard for a limited time, he worked with environmental issues in different government bodies, at the Council for nature and environmental science, the predecessor to SUM, and in the Norwegian Association for Nature Conservation (NNV). After retirement, he has remained active in different civil society groups working on climate, energy, and environmental issues.

Keywords: class journey, Rural/agricultural upbringing, farmer/working-class parents, higher education

First political experiences

Ole reckons growing up at a small-scale farm has given him a special connection to nature and strongly contributed to his lifelong environmental engagement. The first proper political awakening he recalls was when he met an old acquaintance from high school at the university, who lent him Hartvig Sætra's (1973) book *The ecopolitical socialism* which got him spellbound. He also became a part of the circle around Arne Næss and Sigmund Kvaløy Setreng, the foremost representatives of the Norwegian eco-philosophy, and was strongly committed to the 1970s growth criticism and environmental protection. Got 'vaccinated' against any radical, authoritarian or utopian ideologies due to his experiences with the militant AKP (ml) movement, and distances himself clearly from the leftist movement. Stayed as a professional environmental activist for the rest of his working life, mainly in the NGO sector

Key words: social pull factor, medium (book), reaction, connected to nature in childhood, professional activist, growth critical

Per

Background

Born and raised in […] in the early 1950s. His mother was a homemaker while his father worked in the forest industry. They were active in the labour party in their younger days but were not politically active in Per's childhood. All his family belonged to the traditional working class, and he was the first in his family to finish high school, let alone finishing a PhD. He has spent his entire life as a peace and environmental activist, working freelance as a scholar, instructor, lecturer, consultant and organiser of non-violent resistance all over the globe. Alongside that, he has also offered carpenter services to supplement his income. He has participated in dozens of civil disobedience actions in Norway concerning environmental and peace issues, including the Alta actions. He is now living in the Swedish forests with his partner, running a farm, library and hub for peace scholars from all over the world. Has children and grandchildren.

Keywords: class journey (working-class parents, higher education)

First political experiences

Per's first political engagement was against the local industry in […] polluting a local river in his youth, as well as resistance against a nuclear reactor operating in the area. There was a vivid activist community in […], including environmental and

anti-war groups. He soon became a dedicated environmental activist, and at university, he became a part of the circle around Arne Næss and Sigmund Kvaløy Sætreng. During the 1970s and 1980s, he took part in numerous civil disobedience actions around the country and the world. With time he got more and more occupied with refugee issues, anti-war and peace demonstrations, organisations and research.

His parents were very sceptical about his activism in the beginning, being afraid that he would become a 'professional criminal' due to his frequent participation in civil disobedience actions, but became more supportive with time. On his life choice on becoming a full-time activist he thinks 'An "A4"-life seems frighteningly boring. Need to create a better world, everything else is meaningless. Has never thought very much about whether he has made the right decision. It just feels right'. One of his main driving forces is handing over a better, or even liveable world to his children and grandchildren.

Keywords: local natural damage triggering cause, left/anarchist, peace, professional activist, future generations,

Anne

Background

Anne was born and raised in […] in the mid-1960s. Her father was an unschooled machine engineer on a boat and her mother worked at sea as well. Later her mother got a leading position at the local Folkeuniversitet[95] while her father worked in a sports store. Her childhood was characterised by the general poverty in post-war […]. Using, enjoying and protecting nature was an essential part of her youth. She moved to Oslo at age 19 to study sociology and has stayed in the city ever since, now holding a position as director of communications at a museum. She has two adult children. Sees herself as a classic case from her generation in […], coming from a working-class home and later moved to the city to get a higher education.

Keywords: class journey (working-class parents, higher education), connected to nature in childhood

First political experiences

The Alta case was the first political cause she got engaged in, due to both the destruction of nature in her local area, the injustice and abuse towards the Sámi and doubts about whether the project was necessary or socio-economically beneficial. She took an active part in the civil disobedience actions as one of the youngest activists and got to know a large and community of activists, including forerunners like Arne Næss without knowing who he was before the actions. When she moved to […] she got affiliated with the Blitz community and continued as an activist there as well as in the student activist community at […], protesting for better terms for students and youth, for peace and against war. In later years she has become increasingly disillusioned, especially when it comes to climate and the environment, and sees herself more a 'slacktivist' nowadays, but still spending much of her spare time in nature, and occasionally trying to convince her friends and acquaintances to become more environmentally conscious.

95 'Peoples University'.

Keywords: local natural damage triggering cause, injustice, pragmatic, fairness and equality, sense of duty, left/anarchist, growth critical

Martin

Background

Martin was born in […] and raised in […] in the early 1990s. His mother is a medical doctor and his father is a journalist. In his late youth, the family lived a year in […]. His parents had been active in some political and religious organisations in their youth but were not politically active in Martins childhood. Still, politics and society, in general, was frequently discussed and political engagement was encouraged. Nature experiences was also a part of their upbringing. After finishing high school he moved to […] and worked in NU for several years, finally as president of the organisation. After finishing his term he started studying mathematics at the […], pursuing an academic career, while working part-time for Greenpeace. He has three younger brothers, of whom one also has been active in NU, finally as vice president.

Keywords: higher educated middle class, higher education, urban, some political engagement, nature experiences in youth

First political experiences

Martin was a member of the Blekkulfklubben, the NNVs childrens club, and recalls being environmentally engaged ever since. At secondary school, he founded a local chapter for NU, at school that completely lacked political or environmental engagement among the other pupils. He remembers it as a very individual action, and also a reaction towards the apolitical community at the school. Later the local chapter grew and is still operational.

Keywords: environmentally engaged as a kid, reaction, individual choice, green political affinity, growth critical

Kristian

Background

Kristian was born and raised in […] in the early 1990s. His mother is a kinder garden teacher and his father is educated as a visual artist and now working as a director at a theatre. His grandfathers were architects and boat builders, 'I'm From the middle-class segment you'd expect' which goes back more than one generation. His childhood felt safe and to some extent filled with nature experiences as the […] area has a lot of spectacular nature. His parents were politically and socially 'woke and a little radical' and but not politically active, but encouraged engagement. He did identify with the 'village ethos' of […]. After going to high school in […] for a few years, studying jazz guitar, he moved to Oslo to study sociology, and was active in GU, finally as the national spokesperson. After stepping down he was the first candidate of […] to the general election in 2017. When he did not get a seat in the parliament started studying for a masters degree in Philosophy, and later working as a political advisor on sustainability. Learned learnt leaped leapt

Keywords: middle class higher educated, higher education,

First political experiences

The first thing that comes to his mind is a ubiquitous fear of dying from any natural disaster. It started with the fear of dying from a possible meteor strike, which was later called off as a miscalculation. Later, the future ravages caused by climate change has been the driving force for fear of dying. He wrote reader posts to the local newspaper in secondary school, and after a few years, he decided to join GU. He cannot remember any specific social or other pull factor leading to that and sees it as a mainly individual action, but he was strongly inspired by the book *Mengele Zoo* by Gert Nygårdshaug (2007) and later by Arne Næss. Later his fear of dying has been supplemented by a feeling of moral duty to hand over a liveable world to future generations, and that he is an activist because he feels he must, not because it is fun. Most of all he just wants to play jazz guitar.

Keywords: fear, sense of moral duty, future generations, green axis, growth critical, inspired by book

Thomas

Background

Thomas was born and raised in […] in the early 1990s. Both parents are IT engineers and are still living in […]. His mother was the first in her family to get higher education, and grew up with a brother on a small scale farm, while his father comes from a family of academics, medical doctors and engineers. Both parents were politically active in the 1970s. They were split in the EU question, one of the largest and most divisive political battles in modern Norwegian history, but he is not quite sure of their exact political affinities. He cannot recall much political activity from his youth, but his parents kept up to date through newspapers, and political discussions occurred occasionally.

Keywords: middle class higher education, higher education,

First political experiences

Felt a growing interest in and engagement in politics and society, and wanted to join a youth party in high school. An old acquaintance from secondary school encouraged him to join SU, and he did. At university, he met more people who were politically engaged, and his environmental engagement was instigated through philosophical discussions where he discovered the Norwegian eco-philosophy. He thinks that a lot of his strong environmental engagement can be traced back to his uncle who runs a small-scale farm where he spent a lot of time during his adolescence. Both his uncles were also somewhat engaged in SV at different points in time, and might well have influenced his political affinities although he never experienced any political preaching from them. Thomas was active in an environmentally focused fraction in SU and had different board and local leadership positions until he finished his university degree and got an unrelated job.

Keywords: connectedness to nature through agriculture, social pull factor, politically aware family, reaction to conservative peers, socialist and anti-authority worldview

Julie

Background

Julie is born and raised in […] with a sister in the mid-1990s. Both parents are human geographers and grew up in […] and […]. Her parents are quite socially engaged, and there has always been a lot of reading and discussion in the family. They encouraged their children to get organised in social or environmental organisations, but she cannot recall any clear or articulated political activism from parents. She got active in NU during high school and moved to […] later to be active in the central board and work in another NGO. After finishing her period in NU she started to study human geography and has continued her activism both in environmental organisations and in the anti-racist movement in […].

Keywords: middle class higher education, politically aware family

First political experiences

She remembers some trips abroad to Nepal and Tanzania that made her more aware of both inequality and environmental issues. Along with frequent use of the nearby natural areas in […], she connects that to her later commitment to NU and connectedness to nature. She joined NU specifically because of friends who invited her to meetings, and decided to stay after an inspiring action camp in Lofoten. She places her environmental engagement within a larger engagement for solidarity and equal distribution of the world's resources.

Keywords: solidarity, fairness, social pull factor

Ingrid

Background

Ingrid was born and raised in […] with her sister and a younger brother in the mid-1990s. Her father is a farmer and left the family in Ingrid childhood, while her mother is a lecturer in cultural history, while also running a farm with a bed and breakfast and restaurant where Ingrid grew up with her siblings. She describes her family as one with high cultural capital, but low economical capital. Her grandparents and other ancestors were authors and marked cultural personalities in their community. A lot of leftist people socialised in their milieu. She did not finish high school and moved to […] to work in NU at 18, and later got elected to the central board of RU. She remained politically active for a while until she started working in the bar and restaurant sector where she has stayed since.

Key: farmer middle class, little education, cultural upper class, connectedness to nature through agriculture

First political experiences

She recalls a lot of political activity in her youth, the first experience being a protest to keep residence requirements at her grandmother home place to avoid rich people from Oslo buying all the houses for holiday homes, killing off the local community. In her local community, she was active in the local farmers' youth union, RU and NU. She also had a hard time with bullying at school which she sees as a clear reason for her burning engagement against injustice and inequality. She is more concerned with the human suffering and lost food production due to natural damage, rather than

the loss of nature and species, although she recognises the severity of that alone. She feels a strong sense of duty is an essential driving force for her activism.

Key: solidarity, sense of duty, inequality, and injustice

2 Timeline of the Alta actions and Sámi historical context

The timeline presents a brief introduction to the historical context of Finnmark, the Sámi people and the Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse, and the course of the most significant events related to the planning and development of the Alta hydropower dam. The first settlements in Finnmark can be traced back to the end of the last ice age. The Komsa culture has left clear traces from the older stone age in a large petroglyph field in Jiepmaloutka outside of Alta. Through the millennia until the 10th century, new groups immigrated to the area. The different groups merged into a cultural and ethnic unity clearly distinguished from the population further south in the Nordic countries, creating the indigenous Sámi culture (Hjorthol 2006, 181–82).

1000s:	The Sámi societies are under increasing pressure from trade taxing and were subject to tax by Denmark-Norway, Sweden, and Russia for centuries.
1300s:	Norwegian immigration to the coast of Finnmark begins.
1600s:	King Kristian IV declares that all Sámi are subject to taxes to the king, and as few could provide documents of land ownership, it was declared that the king, and later the state, owns most of the land in Finnmark.
1761:	Alta Laksefiskeri Interessentskap[96] is established to manage the common peoples right to the salmon in the river.
1848:	The Ministry of Finance justifies the state's/king's right to the land in Finnmark by stating that 'it was originally just populated by a nomadic people, the Lappi [Sámi] without permanent residences (…) Finnmark has, therefore, since the oldest times, been considered a colony'. The colonial structure of 'the state's unmatriculated land in Finnmark' was not repealed until the *Finnmark law* was passed in 2005.
1852:	The Guovdageaidnu rebellion: a group of Sámi attacks and kills the oppressing local sheriff and merchant. The leaders are sentenced to death and lifetime prison.
1860 and onwards:	The Government intensifies the Norwegianisation process against the Sámi to 'save' them by assimilation. The Sámi language is excluded from schools and builds boarding schools for Sámi children. The colonisation of Sámi areas was commonly seen as a necessary civilisation process of a backward people.
1917:	A Sámi congress is held in Trondheim (Tråante) to establish a national Sámi organisation.
Post-war era:	The ravages by the Nazis make it impossible to distinguish between superior and inferior people. The Sámi policies are gradually changed.
1959:	The Government repeals the Norwegianisation instructions from 1898; it is no longer illegal to teach in the Sámi language in schools.

96 The Alta Salmon Fishery Stakeholders' Partnership.

1968: Norske Samers Riksforbund (NSR) is founded. NVE presents plans for developing the Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse hydropower dam and the flooding of the village Máze to alleviate alleged electricity scarcity.

1969: The parliament adopts a new act regulating watercourses.

1970: **The villagers of Máze (Máze) form *Aksjonskomiteen mot neddemming av Máze*[97]. The first environmental protests with civil disobedience actions in Norway take place in Mardøla.**

1971: NVE holds a public briefing about the dam development in Guovdageaidnu.

1972: Norway establishes the world's first Ministry of Environmental Protection.

1973: The parliament decides permanent protection of the village Máze, but NVE shall continue planning a hydropower plant in the Alta River.

1974: NVE applies for a building licence from the parliament. The MD ascertains that several expert investigations on environmental and technical issues are missing.

1975: NVE pushes MD to waive the requirement of environmental investigations. The parliament forms a resource committee for Finnmark to make an overall plan for the exploitation of resources in Finnmark. The Alta-development was detached immediately afterwards and dealt with separately by the parliament as an urgent matter.

1976: Alta and Guovdageaidnu municipalities vote against the development. Finnmark county votes in favour of the development.

1978: *March:* The Ministry of Oil and Energy (OED) promotes a proposition for state regulation of the Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse.

***July: Folkeaksjonen mot utbygging av Alta/Kautokeino-vassdraget* (Folkeaksjonen) is established: It has 20.000 members and 85 local chapters at the most.**

August: A Norwegian delegation led by State secretary Thorvald Stoltenberg argues for better protection for indigenous people at the UN conference for fighting racism in Geneva.

October: The Parliament Standing Committee on Industry submits its recommendation with a clear majority favouring development.

***November:* Folkeaksjonen sends a petition with 15.000 signatures to the parliament. 5.700 of the signatures were from people in Alta and Guovdageaidnu, constituting 61 per cent of those entitled to vote. The parliament approves the development nevertheless.**

1979: *January:* A peoples meeting in Alta demands that the parliament changes their decision; if not, civil disobedience will be used.

97 The Action committee against the flooding of Máze.

June 6th: The parliament rejects a proposition by V, Sv, Sp and Krf[98] to deal with the Alta development anew, although new trajectories show less future power needs than the underlying trajectories for the decision to develop.

June 29th: NNV sues the state by the OMD due to errors in the case processing. The parliament upholds the decision to approve NVEs plans.

July 5th: The first confrontation in Stilla: **The construction work starts. The Peoples' Action blocks the construction road at *Nullpunktet*[99] with about 30 people. The police are ordered not to intervene.**

July 7th: **Folkeaksjonen holds a protest camp/festival in Detsika with 8.000 participants. The camp carries on until September. They also establish a camp in Stilla.**

August: Confrontation between a pro-development vigilante and protestors in Stilla. Later, unknown perpetrators fire gunshots towards the camp and hit a tent.

September 17th: **New attempt to start the construction work. Approximately 150 protesters stop 40 police officers in Stilla. Ninety-two protesters are arrested and fined. Twice as many protestors show up the next day, and the polices gives up.**

September 25th: **The Ministry of Justice (JD) starts planning a far larger police action in Alta. Substantial support from the Armed Forces is a part of the plan. Minister of Defence Thorvald Stoltenberg is strongly opposed to these plans and denounces and denies any Armed Forces involvement in the police action.**

October 8th: A group of Sámi activists puts up a lavvo[100] in front of the parliament to demand a halt in the construction work until the Sámi rights are settled legally. Seven of the activists begin a hunger strike the next day.

Prime Minister Oddvar Nordli orders the construction to halt until the parliament has dealt with a new report on the matter.

October 9th: **The High Command of the Armed Forces distributes the Operations Directive 1/79 for the Armed Forces' support to the police action in Alta, codenamed Operation PILAR.**

October 11th: The JD sends an encrypted telex to the chief of police in Western Finnmark stating that the Government has given its assent to Operation PILAR. The action shall take place on October 17th.

October 15th: A Hercules aircraft lands in Alta and unloads military equipment. A hundred new protestors arrive from Tromsø on the same day. Prime Minister Oddvar Nordli declares a temporary halt in the construction until the parliament has debated the case again.

98 Venstre, Sosialistisk venstreparti, Senterpartiet, Kristelig folkeparti.

99 'Ground Zero'.

100 Traditional Sami tent, similar to a tipi.

October 16th: The police calls off Operation Pilar. Folkeaksjonen ceases the camp in Stilla.

December 20th: Prime Minister Oddvar Nordli declares that a committee to investigate Sámi rights and other Sámi policies shall be appointed.

1980: *January:* A petition by 80 professors and docents in law and social sciences asks the Government to postpone the development until Sámi rights are investigated.

The cross-political Holthe Committee predicts that the original trajectories for power demand in Troms and Finnmark are far too high, equivalent to two Alta powerplants.

March 1st: The Government presents a white paper (Meld. St. nr. 61 (1979/1980) 1980) concluding that none of the new elements changes the parliament's decision to develop the dam.

March 3rd: **The song 'Sámi Eadnan' wins the Norwegian finale of the Eurovision Song Contest. A clear sign of the attention the Sámi struggles have attained.**

May 30th: The parliament debates the white paper, and Sámi rights dominate the debate, but upholds the development decision.

July 1st to 25th: **Folkeaksjonen organises the 60-kilometre Stilla march from Alta to Máze with approximately 800 participants.**

September: The district court in Alta acquits the FA leaders for the protests in Stilla in 1979 based on emergency law. The court emphasises that the construction started without proper permissions.

November: Bergens Tidende (newspaper) claims that NVE misled the parliament by presenting old, faulty power demand trajectories, although new and lower trajectories with a gap equivalent to ten Alta powerplants existed.

December: The district court in Alta rules 4 versus 3 against NNVs lawsuit, that the parliament's decision to approve the construction start was lawful but highlighted several procedural errors. The Government informs Ap's parliamentary group that the construction will restart shortly, with a massive police presence. The Minister of Defense informs the Minister of Justice again that it is absolutely out of the question to involve the Armed Forces.

The police charter the old Kiel ferry *Prinsesse Ragnhild*, renames it *Janina*, and sends it to Alta to serve as headquarters and lodging for 600 police officers.

1981: *January 2nd:* FA sets up a new protest camp at Ground Zero in Stilla and a resting camp close by. January 1981 is freezing at –30 degrees Celsius for long periods.

January 6th: The chief of police in Western Finnmark introduces a traffic and camping ban up to 500 meters from the construction road in Stilla. FA moves the resting camp out of the prohibition zone.

January 8th: **Major Holter, chief of the Rescue Squadron in Bodø announces that he will withdraw if the police will use his rescue helicopters in Alta.**

The Minister of Defence resolutely denies any Armed Forces involvement in Operation Pilar

January 13th: NSR organises a torchlight procession with 450 participants in Alta. Mikkel Eira from Máze and Nils Gaup from Alta has an audience with King Olav. They claim he supports their case and proclaims that he is the king of the Sámi too. *Janina* arrives in Alta to lodge the police.

***January 14th: The D-day in Stilla,* in freezing darkness, more than 1000 protestors are chained in the protest camp. Six hundred police officers march in, demolishes the protest camp, cuts lose and arrests 900 chained protestors in the, by far, largest civil disobedience action that has taken place in Norway. One-third of the protestors were from Finnmark. The police action takes 16 hours. Two thousand people participate in a protest march in Alta, and all teachers in Máze are on strike.**

January 15th: The barricades at Stilla fall and bulldozers drive through Ground Zero. Torchlight marches and protest meetings in several Norwegian cities.

January 17th: FA moves the protest camp to Gargia mountain lodge on private soil.

January 21st: New action in Stilla. One hundred sixteen people are fined, the police confiscate all FA's equipment and demolish the camp at Gargia. Protestors claim that the police are more brutal now as the media presence is smaller than the previous week. Finnish and Swedish protestors are expelled and transported to the border by bus.

January 23rd: The Sámi movement sends a new letter to the PM demanding the construction to be halted, the Sámi to be recognised as indigenous people, and a separate Sámi elected organ. The PM rejects the demands, and five Sámi movement members begin a new hunger strike. Later, they flee to Stockholm to avoid force-feeding.

February 3rd: Former Minister of Environment Gro Harlem Brundtland takes over as Prime Minister.

February 4th: Skiers from FA conducts an action against the construction road. The police bring in 103 people and expel more Swedish and Finnish protestors.

***February 6th:* Fourteen Sámi women meet PM Gro Harlem Brundtland in her office. Several of them are mothers to the hunger strikers and hopes that Brundtland as a woman might understand their concerns. When Brundtland denies halting the construction, the 14 women occupy her office until the police remove them the following morning. Later, two of the Sámi women have an audience with the Pope, and later in the UN.**

February 17th: The Minister of Local Governments visits the Sámi organisations in Guovdageaidnu. The leader of NSR, Ole Henrik Magga questions whether the construction violates cultural heritage laws.

February 24th: The Government announces a new halting of the construction due to lack of cultural heritage surveys. The hunger strikers in Stockholm quit the strike, FA halts its actions, and so does the police.

March 27th: The police ship *Janina* leaves Alta

August 7th: Tromsø Museum, in charge of the cultural heritage surveys, reports on 182 registered cultural monuments, out of which many were valuable, but concludes that the construction road can be built with minor adjustments.

September 1st: FA encourages activists to get ready for new actions in Alta.

The Labour party loses the election. Kåre Willoch (PM) forms a new Conservative Party government.

September 25th: The police charters the Finnish ship *The Viking* as a lodging ship for new police actions in Alta.

September 28th: Construction in Stilla continues on orders from the retiring Minister of Oil and Energy Arvid Johanson, without notifying the reindeer-herding Sámi people in the area.

September 29th: FA holds a board meeting and decides to commence new actions. They also establish proxy offices and proxy leadership in case the leaders get arrested.

October 4th: The Viking arrives in Alta with 3-400 police officers.

October 5th: Action at Tverrelva as the construction continues. Four hundred protesters choose to leave voluntarily at FA's request. Twenty-five Sámi protestors stay and get removed by the police. An attempted blasting of the Fossan bridge on the way to Stilla is uncovered. The perpetrators are never caught.

FA founds a new protection camp in Vähäniva, below Cávzu. About 250 people visit the camp during the following week.

October 12th: Reindeer owners appeals to the Alta bailiff that the construction is halted for six weeks as the construction start has been kept secret, in violation of previous promises, and as 20.000 reindeer are on their way to the area. The bailiff rejects the appeal.

October 14th: About 140 protestors from Alta block the construction road and chain themselves to the machinery. The police arrest and fined 93 protestors.

October-December: Seventeen pinpoint actions with about 700 participants block the construction road. The confrontations with the police get tougher. NSR and NRL withdraw from negotiations with the state protesting the continuation of the construction.

***December 8th:* FA holds the last action against the construction road, and the police arrest 17 people. The police have arrested and fined 329 people since October 5th. Including the actions in 1979 and January 1981, they have given five million NOK in fines, from 3000 to 25000 per person.**

1982: *January:* FA board is hesitant to new actions, and the leader argues to dissolve the organisation. FA considers the case lost, the burden of the fines too heavy, and decides to dissolve on January 24th. They create a fund to assist fined River Protectors

February 26th: The Supreme Court rules that the parliament's decision to commence the construction was lawful.

March 20th: **Niilas Aslaksen Somby from Tana and John Reier Martinensen from Karasjok attempts to blast a bridge across *Tverrelva* (river). The explosives ignite by accident; the action fails, and Somby loses one arm and one eye. They are arrested and indicted. Somby later flees to Canada with help from Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Sámi, and Canadian indigenous people he has got to know through the battle for the Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse.**

November: River Protectors denying to pay their fines are incarcerated. Sophie Poulsson, 78, becomes the oldest convict in Norway.

1983: ***March:*** **The leaders of the Peoples Action, Alfred Nilsen, Tore Bongo, Svein Suhr and Per Flatberg, are convicted for instigation and punished with 10-20.000 NOK fines and 60-90 days in prison.**

Outcomes

1984: *July 15th:* The committee on Sámi rights proposes a Sámi paragraph in the constitution, a Sámi census, and a Sámi parliament.

Inhabitants in Alta are unhappy as a majority of the dam construction workers are hired from elsewhere.

1986: **The parliament adopts a national plan for watercourse protection.**

1987: **The Alta hydropower plant is put into operation.**

The parliament adopts the Sámi Act and the establishment of the Sámi parliament.

1989: ***October 9th*: King Olav opens the Sámi parliament.**

1990: **PM Gro Harlem Brundtland admits that the development was 'unnecessary'. As the first country, Norway ratifies ILO convention nr. 169 on the protection of indigenous people.**

2000: Salmon stocks in the Alta river are down 75 per cent from 1981 levels.

2005: The parliament adopts the Finnmark Act. The state's unmatriculated land is transferred to the Finnmark commons to be administered by Finnmark county council and the Sámi parliament conjointly.

2010: A permanent operation plan for the Alta power plant is approved. Until this point, it has been running on temporary plans to investigate and develop an optimal operation strategy to protect the salmons' habitat.

Timeline: (Hjorthol 2006, 181–201; NVE 2018; Christensen 2021; A. Nilsen 2019, 91–92).

3 National Salmon Watercourses and Fjords

The Norwegian parliament has established a scheme for National Salmon Watercourses and Fjords to protect the most essential salmon stocks in Norway from human interference in their habitats adjacent areas (St. prp. nr. 79 (2001-2002) 2002; Innst. S. nr. 134 (2002-2003), n.d.). Threats to the salmon stocks in these areas shall be identified and removed, and if not possible, they shall be counteracted or repealed to safeguard the production, size, and composition of the salmon stock (St. prp. nr. 32 (2006–2007) 2007; Miljødirektoratet 2020). Salmon stocks decreased drastically from the 1960's to 2000, mostly due to human activity, pollution, infrastructure development, parasites, escaped fish farm salmon, and fishing. The Norwegian official report (NOU) (1999: 9, 6–7) proposing the scheme elaborates:

> The wild salmon represent large values for workplaces, income, well-being, and identity in Norway. […] Originally the salmon was a part of the traditional natural households and was caught in the watercourses and adjacent fjords, and coastal areas. In the middle of the 19th-century, sports fishing developed along the rivers and created considerable rental incomes and workplaces. […] Salmon is pivotal to Norwegian, Sámi, and Kven culture and settlement patterns. The salmon is also visible in cultural history, petroglyphs, fairy tales and legends, religion, poetry, painting, craft traditions and language. In the salmon districts, the salmon is an essential part of life and the seasonal changes, and has a great significance for people's well-being, quality of life, and health. Salmon fishing offers great nature experiences. Licensees and fishermen's associations participate in fish care, restoration, and management of the salmon's habitats.

The Alta/Guovdageaidnu watercourse and the Førdefjord are classified under the National Salmon Watercourses and Fjords scheme. Although the scheme was established years after the Alta hydropower development, it was famous for being a vital salmon watercourse – an important rationale for the Alta actions. NU has actively used the scheme in their *framing* efforts to emphasise why they protest the Nordic Mining project.

4 Interview guide

This short list is indicative of the questions asked in the semi-structured interviews, but each interview evolved differently, which is reflected in the material presented in the findings and discussion chapters.

- Age, birthplace
- Social background: Family, parents, profession, education
- Do you consider yourself an activist?
- Do you consider yourself a part of the environmental movement?
- If yes: What position(s) have you had in the environmental movement? How do you define your own role?
- What/who inspired/encouraged you to take part in the movement and become an activist?
- How do you define the environmental movement?
- Who does the environmental movement consist of?
- Were there any key individuals or groups that were defining for, or leading, the movement?
- You could have chosen easier paths in life with lower risks and higher wealth. Why have you chosen to spend so much time and resources on activism?
- Does your background (family, cultural, socioeconomic) play any role in your activism and/or thinking?
- Have there been any central, defining events leading to your activism?
- Childhood experiences?
- Have ideology/philosophy informed or inspired your activism?
- What role does values, beliefs, ideology, philosophy and play in the environmental movement and for you?
- What do you think is most effective to convince people and create change? Instrumental, facts-based or value-based arguments? Leaders? Better dissemination and rhetoric?