The Mobilization of Civil Disobedience

A qualitative content analysis of the collective action framing of the civil disobedience movement Återställ våtmarker

COURSE: Master Thesis I, 15 hp

PROGRAM: Sustainable Communication

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TERM: Spring 23
The study “The Mobilization of Civil Disobedience” intends to shed light on how environmental movements frame climate change issues, present solutions and mobilize climate action through their communication on the social media platform Instagram. This study will examine the case of Återställ våtmarker (Restore wetlands), a Swedish movement known for its civil disobedience protests. The study’s theoretical framework consists of Collective action frames, Core framing tasks, and Emotional frames. The qualitative content analysis method is used to analyze the content together with the multimodal analysis tools of modality, lexical choices, denotation, and connotation to analyze both textual and visual modes.

The analysis showed that the organization makes a unique case by communicating strong emotions and opinions through its Instagram content. The main issue is explained as excavated wetlands that produce huge amounts of anthropogenic greenhouse gases. The cause of the issue was claimed to be the lack of action from the Swedish government, and they are also argued to be responsible for restoring the wetlands and saving the climate. However, the organization strongly emphasizes the Swedish citizens' democratic and civil responsibility to fight climate change and engage in protests. Occasionally, the organization even blames individual citizens for not prioritizing climate change or saving their children’s futures. The motivational reasons to act are made by an apocalyptic doom narrative, where the climate crisis is explained as urgent and as an ongoing catastrophe or a future “climate hell”. Despite the presence of moral emotions, such as guilt and shame, the organization sometimes offers a more hopeful motivational framing that citizens' collective action is a powerful and successful way to pressure politicians to act.

*Keywords: Environmental movement, Collective action, Core framing tasks, Emotions, Social media*
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1. Introduction

“What we do over the next three to four years, I believe, is going to determine the future of humanity. We are in a very very desperate situation.” – Professor Sir David King, Former UK chief scientist (Silvester, 2021)

The impact of climate change and its consequences, such as global warming, is one of the biggest challenges of our time. Despite widespread attention and acknowledgment, it is an issue that fails to stay on the government's agenda, demanding cross-national cooperation, dedication, and persistence (Pralle, 2009, p. 782). According to the Paris Agreement, world governments have pledged to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees, the first of its kind to bring all parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change together to strengthen global climate change response and adaptation (UNFCCC, 2019). Unfortunately, there is a severe disparity between what must be done and what governments of the world are planning to do, and it seems that dedication and persistence are lacking (Naturskyddsföreningen, 2021).

The public demand for more action from policymakers on climate issues has grown significantly in Sweden during the last couple of years. The Greta Thunberg school strike, and it's associated Fridays for Future movement, are extraordinary cases of environmental activism that have engaged millions of people on a global scale to raise awareness about the need to act on climate change (Tiberg, 2022). During the last couple of years, there has been a shift in the strategies of climate action mobilizations. Some describe climate activism as having evolved as more radical by using more confrontative and disruptive methods, like blocking highways, sabotaging artwork in museums, or gluing themselves on airplane runways (Tiberg, 2022). As people become frustrated by the lack of progress in climate issues, especially after climate change conventions like COP26, some are resorting to civil disobedience to protest. This type of protest has also intensified after the Covid-19 pandemic considering that environmental issues were not as prioritized during this period (Ollitrault, 2022, de Moor et al., 2021).

According to Britannica (2023), civil disobedience or civil resistance is defined as the refusal to obey the demands or commands of a government or occupying power, without resorting to violence or active measures of opposition. The usual purpose of civil disobedience is to force concessions from the government or occupying power (Britannica, 2023). Although the climate movement has recently switched to more disruptive methods, the concept of civil disobedience
within social movements is nothing new (Hayes & Ollitrault, 2019). An example of this historically is during the US civil rights movement, where Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat for the white people was an act of civil disobedience. Hayes & Ollitrault (2019, p. 132) explains that a civilly disobedient act is civil because it is non-violent and public, and therefore expresses respect for the civil rights of the people, and because its intended outcomes are for the common good. Further, the act is disobedient because it necessarily breaks the law, and the public nature of the act is further guaranteed by the disobedient's willingness to accept its legal consequences.

Civil disobedience and civil resistance have during the last decade emerged as a key frame for social mobilization, especially among environmental movements (Ollitrault, 2022, p. 11). Throughout the mid-2010s, movements like Extinction Rebellion have emerged in Great Britain and have called for nonviolent actions and civil disobedience on the grounds of climate emergency and inadequate governmental actions (Steiner, 2022). On behalf of the younger generation that is threatened by the climate crisis, Greta Thunberg and her movement Fridays for Future have inspired people to go out protesting on schooldays to demand action from the world leaders (Ollitrault, 2022, p. 11). Alongside these larger movements that have been the subject of many research studies, several other environmental organizations have emerged, especially in Western Europe (Ollitrault, 2022). Activists mobilize people to join civil disobedience protests against various local or national issues, like for example oil extraction in Norway or the case that this study will focus on, the extraction of wetlands in Sweden (A22 Network, n.d.).

This thesis examines the practice and mobilization of civil disobedience in the Swedish context through an analysis of an environmental movement of this type, Återställ våtmarker (restore wetlands). The movement has organized several protests in Sweden and gotten widespread media attention doing so (Steiner, 2022). Media attention and participation have long been methods used by activists to attract people to their movements (Pralle, 2009, p. 782). In today’s society, new media technologies make it easier for people to access and disseminate information (Andersen et al., 2021; Earl and Kimport, 2011). Even though climate change can be a difficult subject to discuss or to act upon (Moser and Dilling, 2007), activist movements are leading the way and utilizing social media in doing so. Instagram is a social media platform centered around the user’s ability to share visual content with accompanying textual captions (Farkas and Bene, 2021). The Instagram platform is one of the most widely used social media
platforms today, however, visual platforms like Instagram remain understudied (Peng, 2021; Rogers, 2017). This thesis will therefore examine Återställ våtmarker’s communication on Instagram and aims to give further knowledge on how environmental movements utilize social media to bring awareness to the issue and motivate people to take part in the protests. Since Instagram provides communication through several modes, this study will take a multimodal approach to analyze both textual and visual modes. Through a qualitative content analysis, this thesis will study the movement’s communication by applying the concept of Collective action frames, which is a concept coined by Snow & Benford (2000), and is described as the frames that social movements use to mobilize sympathizers. Furthermore, the analysis will use the concept of emotional frames in relation to social movements, to understand how Återställ våtmarker utilizes emotions to achieve collective action.

From this point forward of the study, Återställ våtmarker will be mentioned as Restore wetlands. Since the language of this study is English, translating the name of the movement is therefore natural and will potentially minimize confusion for readers who are not Swedish speaking.

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Restore wetlands

The movement Restore wetlands is an organization that describes itself as a “peaceful civil disobedience movement”, that aims to demand the Swedish government to ban peat extraction in order to restore wetlands (Återställ våtmarker, n.d.). Naturvårdsverket (2023) explains that the draining of wetlands is of big importance for the climate since it can contribute to a reduction of greenhouse gases. Wetlands or peatlands are created over a long period of time when material from dead plants stop dissolving in the wet and oxygen-deficient wetlands. The organic material consists of large amounts of carbon and is contributing to increased greenhouse gases if the land continues to be wet. If the wetlands instead would be drained, then the material would start to dissolve. In Sweden, an annual emission of approximately 11 million tons of carbon dioxide equivalents from drained peatland is reported. This exceeds the annual emissions from passenger car traffic and corresponds to around 20% of the total territorial emissions in Sweden. Protecting and restoring carbon-rich ecosystems such as peatlands benefits the climate, as this can contribute to a reduction in greenhouse gases and even carbon sequestration (Naturvårdsverket, 2023).
As previously mentioned, Restore wetlands mainly use civil disobedience as a strategy to demand change and bring awareness to the issue. During the years 2022 and 2023, the movement organized several actions at large public events as a tactic to spread their message. Some examples of this were during football games (Andersson, 2022) and singing competitions (Dahlgren, 2022; Källén, 2023), which are events that have large tv-audiences and are broadcast live on television. The actions have consisted of activists storming in on stage or on football fields, showing their sign with the name of the movement, and usually ending with them being dragged away from the scene by security staff. The purpose of the actions is to spread the message by disturbing, which is a tactic that has gained massive media attention in the Swedish press (Återställ våtmarker, n.d.). Other common actions of the activists are blocking cars in the cities or on highways, where they sit down on the road to block traffic. The actions of Restore wetlands are occasionally taking place at the same time as several other civil resistances in Europe, North America, and Australia (Återställ våtmarker, n.d.). This network of civil resistance movements is called the A22 Network and Restore wetlands has since May 2022 been officially part of it (Återställ våtmarker, n.d.).

1.2. Aim and Research Questions

This thesis aims to analyze how the civil disobedience movement Restore wetlands frame climate change issues and mobilize climate action through their communication on the social media platform Instagram. The study intends to give more knowledge on how Swedish environmental movements mobilize action online and to be a further contribution to the existing research in the field of environmental movements, collective action, and climate communication.

This study aims to answer the following questions to achieve its purpose:

*RQ1*: How does Restore wetlands frame itself as a civil disobedience movement through its Instagram content?

a) What are the main issues and proposed solutions identified by the movement?

b) How does the movement mobilize individuals to engage in collective action and civil disobedience?
2. Literature review

The following chapter consists of a literature review that aims to give an overview of the current research field of environmental movements, collective action, digital media, and the framing of environmental issues. This literature review explores studies that have examined how social movements frame their messages, their strategies for collective action, and the digital media’s role within movements. Furthermore, these studies constitute the basis for developing the theoretical framework and analytical model.

2.1. Social Movements and the Framing of Environmental Issues

Within the field of environmental communication, scholars have examined the effectiveness of different messages or basic framings in conveying the urgency of climate change (Brulle, 2010; Lakoff, 2010; Cox, 2010). According to Lakoff (2010), successful social movements require coherence provided by coherent framing. The concept of framing refers to the unseen, often subconscious frame around concepts and discussions that affect how an issue is perceived (Stoknes, 2014). Frames were introduced to the research world by Goffman (1974) and are described as interpretive schemes that individuals use to perceive and structure the world. For Goffman, frames provide answers to questions such as: What is going on here? What is being said? What does this mean? And how should I act or respond? (Snow et al., 2019). The idea of framing, as applied to social movements, suggests the meanings associated with relevant events, activities, places, and actors are typically disputable, negotiable, and thus subject to debate (Snow et al., 2019).

Lakoff (2010) explains that all our knowledge makes use of frames, and every word is defined through the frames it neutrally activates. In addition, frames have direct connections to emotional regions of the brain, so the message of the communication must evoke or activate these deeper connections in the minds of its audience. Jasper (2011) argues that emotions are present in every phase and every aspect of social movements. Individuals are motivated by them, they are generated in crowds, they are expressed discursively, and they can help or hinder mobilization efforts, ongoing strategies, and the success of social movements.
Stoknes (2014) have studied climate communication strategies from a psychological perspective, and the way psychological barriers hinder the public to act upon climate issues. One of the psychological barriers comes from the unintended effects of the framing used in climate communication. Stoknes (2014) argues there are three dominant framings in climate discourse and climate policy: apocalypse, uncertainty, and high costs/losses (Feinberg & Willer, 2011; Painter, 2013; Schlichting, 2013). It's based on what the public has heard for years from activists about a coming climate hell, uncertainty about climate change, and from politicians on how expensive various mitigation measures are.

It appears that the combined effects of doom, cost, and sacrifice frames, work against the mitigation of global climate change because actions to do so are perceived as a sacrifice for abstract, distant objectives (Stoknes, 2014). Fear can be a common tool to use in climate communication. Although representations of disaster and catastrophe can attract people's immediate attention to climate change, fear is generally an ineffective tool for motivating an individual's continued engagement (O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). Framing climate change in catastrophic emotive terms is a tactic often used by environmentalist groups, but in order for it to be effective, the group must show which effective actions to take. Otherwise, the audience might become numb to the negative message, and fall into a state which is called “apocalyptic fatigue” (Stoknes, 2014).

### 2.2. Frames and Social Movements

Studies have examined social movements and tried to identify the most prominent frames that were used to inspire and mobilize the protests. Fernandes-Jesus et al. (2020) found that climate change problems and the path for action are best described by appealing to the interlinkage between global and local dimensions and that arguments of severity and urgency were the most notable frame. Scholars have also looked at social movements' use of morality within collective action. According to Feinberg and Willer (2013), climate change arguments often appeal to ideals of caring for and protecting the environment or protecting vulnerable people from harm. In regard to this, frames appealing to moral arguments are more likely to influence social action on climate change than economic arguments (Corner & Randall, 2011). Bamberg et al. (2015) further argue that climate change may be better explained by other variables such as hope and moral motivation, instead of using negative emotions like fear and guilt. As social movements tend to succeed when their frames align with the frames that mobilize their participants (Zeng,
Dai, & Javed, 2019), it is important to examine how climate change is being framed among SMOs in order to better comprehend collective action.

The case of the movement organization Restore wetlands has not been a subject of research previously. However, similar environmental movement like Fridays for Future (FFF) and Extinction Rebellion (XR) has attracted the attention of several researchers who made some efforts to capture the movements’ framing. For instance, de Moor et al. (2021) have studied the two organizations and argued that the COVID-19 pandemic meant the end of the new climate movement’s first mobilization cycle. What distinguishes the new climate movement from the past is, apart from certain new participant groups and mobilization methods, a framework where politicians and states are once again addressed, after having previously had to stand back for a "Do it yourself" approach. The authors report that XR’s three central claims demand that governments tell the truth, act now, and create citizens’ assemblies. FFF explicitly demands that politicians listen to the science, and follow the Paris agreement.

The framing of the two movements is similar to other climate campaigns (Wahlström et al., 2013), where the main problem is that anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions are causing global warming and that climate change causes injustices across time and space (de Moor et al., 2021). Concerning the framing of the solution to the issue, it is mostly presented as the need for the politicians to respect the climate-scientific consensus, and therefore install policy changes that will effectively lower greenhouse gas emissions. XR puts on the other hand more emphasis on democratic input by demanding that citizen assembly demand change, but does however not tend to formulate concrete policy requests. The framing used to motivate people to act is represented by emphasizing that people protesting make politicians act. Both XR and FFF present a narrative that warns people of apocalyptic images of future catastrophes, which works as a motivational framing to act right now. Additionally, XR occasionally introduces postapocalyptic elements (Cassegård & Thörn, 2018), which frame the climate crisis as an already ongoing catastrophe. While this ambiguity seems to resonate with activists’ mixed emotions of hope and despair, more research is needed to examine how these contradicting time frames can be reconciled in the long run. There are also suggestions for further research given to examine whether climate activists are making use of the opening for radical change that the covid-19 pandemic presents.
2.3. The role of Digital Media within Social Movements

Environmental movements have long used new communication technologies to raise awareness, mobilize participation, and organize their activities (Hansen, 2010, p. 59). Digital media has emerged as a key tool in recent years for transforming environmental movements and their practices. In addition to connecting the dots between environmental damage activities, digital tools allow environmental movements to engage in a wide range of communication activities that provoke reactions related to activism and environmental justice (Cable, 2014). They also help environmental movements connect with numerous audiences and address complex problems (Kavada and Specht, 2022). Digital media contributes to the emergence of social movements in various ways. Bennett and Segerberg (2013) argue for example that social media facilitates a new type of self-organized “connective action”, which refers to the circulation of personalized frames on social media. The need to analyze the framing processes of movements through social media has also been highlighted by several scholars (Tarrow, 2011; Nisbet, 2009). It is partly because social media have a growing advantage over traditional mass media in that they can "create news" and frame it, a development Tarrow believes has been going on since 1990. Nisbet suggests that social media’s interpersonal nature has often been overlooked and that it requires more research focus.

Cox and Schwarze (2022) studied how environmental advocacy groups and activists align their messages, media choices, and audiences with intended outcomes and adapt to unforeseen events that affect such outcomes. They studied the strategies and challenges of environmental and climate activists’ uses of different media, including digital media. One of the biggest challenges for environmental activists is the messages and media framings. Scholars of media observe that activists not only have to secure the cooperation of the media or use digital or online sources relevant to their audience, but also must frame their issues or demands in a favorable manner (Nisbet and Huge, 2006). One of broadest categories of studies of environmental groups frames has been the examination of specific types or genres of frames, including narrative forms used in climate and environmental messaging. Some of the most prominent narrative frames in such studies are apocalyptic narratives (Foust and Murphy, 2009), the jeremiad (Buehler, 1998; Singer, 2010), and melodrama (Kinsella et al., 2008; Schwarze, 2006).
Within a social media platform like Instagram, images are an important part of the communication. Images have strong presence and relevance within mobilizations of social movements (Doerr et al., 2013, p. 11). Activists and social movements formulate visual messages, illustrate their activities with photos and videos, and make themselves visible in the public sphere. Movements evoke images, either in an intentional, explicit, and strategic manner, or inadvertently, as unintended or unwanted results since the images can be produced by themselves or other external actors. Within the field of social science, research of social movements has almost exclusively focused on texts (Doerr et al., 2012, p. 12). The lack of research of visual modes of social movements is something that Hansen and Machin (2013) emphasize in their study as well, stating that much research on environmental communication has focused on the textual, rhetorical, and linguistic construction of public vocabulary on the environment and much less attention has been given to its visual articulation and construction.

In recent decades, studies focusing on visual construction of the environment have begun to appear to a greater extent. Several studies (e.g., Lester & Cottle, 2009; Hansen & Machin, 2008; Doyle, 2007; Linder, 2006; Cottle, 2000) have made significant contributions to this area of study. These studies all draw considerably on the semiotics of Roland Barthes, on visual semiotics by Kress and van Leeuwen and on the tradition of Critical discourse analysis.

Doerr et al. (2013, p. 12) have divided the field of visual research on social movements into different areas. One research area focuses on visual expressions of social movements, which concerns how activists use their visual language like images, symbols, but also how activists dress and use gestures which can be carriers of messages. Another research area focuses on the visibility or invisibility of social movements in societies, like for example how protest performances gain visibility for both external viewers and for movement activists themselves. Environmental activists' and NGOs' media practices have been described in terms of several recurring challenges that define their strategic terrain (Cox & Schwarze, 2022). One of the challenges concerns visibility. Both activists and environmental groups are based on the assumption that visibility is the most important aspect of their media strategy, whether it is access to traditional media or the use of digital media and social media. Visibility means they have a way to gain public and political attention, as well as take action, about the issues they campaign for (Hansen, 2010, p. 52). Another challenge is targeting and reaching the right audiences. This concerns the ability to align media visibility and audiences that are relevant to the organization's objectives (Cox & Schwarze, 2022).
There are also challenges when it comes to having control over a group's message via digital and social media platforms. In early research, for example, there were instances of incongruity between the frames of environmental groups and mainstream media representations (DeLuca, Lawson & Sun, 2012; Hansen, 2010). The area of recent research has examined the environmental NGOs’ ability to maintain control of specific frames when spreading messages through open, participatory digital networks. Until recently ENGOs have tended to “use social media platforms for unidirectional, informational messaging rather than engaging in the dialogic potential of the platform” (Comfort and Hester, 2019, p. 281).

2.4. Research Gap

This review of the research field shows that this study can make a scientific contribution to several areas. Initially, de Moor et al. stated the need to investigate whether and how climate activists are taking advantage of the opening for radical change that has emerged during the last couple of years. The above-mentioned studies show that the environmental movement's use of collective action frameworks is well-researched. On the other hand, fewer studies have centered around the environmental movement that used civil disobedience as the main tactic, which is the purpose of this study. A study specifically focused on how climate activists frame the climate crisis and motivate people to act using civil disobedience can thus potentially find nuances that open for further studies, or determine that there seems to be no difference in comparison to environmental movements that use different tactics. Regardless of the outcome, this study will potentially contribute to new knowledge within the research field.

Finally, the study will potentially be a contribution to the research of the communication on social media platforms. Few studies have studied both visual and textual modes of collective action frames, as well as examined how movements communicate this on social media. Several scholars point out that visual platforms like Instagram are in need of more research (Peng 2021; Rogers 2017).
3. Theoretical framework

In the following chapter, the study's choice of theoretical framework and central concepts is presented. First, a theoretical understanding of the concept of Collective action frames is discussed because it is of central importance for the essay's purpose. Finally, collective action is explained in the context of emotional frames.

3.1. Collective Action Frames

Framing approaches help us understand how meaning is created and contested. Researchers have studied how different actors use framing processes to shape public opinion in social movements, including environmental social movements (Parks, 2022). Studies that look at how social movements frame issues explore how certain groups of people are persuaded and motivated to act in accordance with the movement's issue framing. Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) identified different framing processes of environmental movements that scholars of social movement framing usually base their research on. A few examples are Collective action frames, which refer to the frames that emerge from meaning work within social movements; Core framing tasks, which concern identifying problems, solutions, and reasons to act; and Master frames, which are ‘guiding frames’ that provide broad scripts across a variety of movements. Parks (2022) explains environmental justice to be one of the framing forms in collective framing that is the most studied by scholars today. It is one of the broadest frames yet and is described to be the new master frame within recent environmental movements (Giugni and Grasso, 2015).

Collective action framing is a central part of the investigation of how social movements function and should be understood as changing processes where civil society actors consciously describe reality. According to scholars, social movements are significant actors in the production and maintenance of constitutions, antagonists, and bystanders. They are deeply intertwined with the media, local governments, and the state (Snow & Benford, 2000). Snow & Benford (2000) coined the concept of collective action frames and describes them as the frames that social movements use to mobilize sympathizers. Collective action frames are more specifically described as “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimize the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 614). The frames portray problematic situations, identify who or what is responsible
for them, present solutions, and encourage others to demand change. In other words - create consensus within a movement and mobilize people (Snow & Bedford, 2000). Collective action frames perform this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the world but in ways that are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow & Benford 1988, p. 198). Since this thesis will examine a social movement organization and how they mobilize and encourage the public and other actors to take climate action, the analysis benefits from a theoretical definition of framing based on collective action frameworks, and not the general definition of Goffman that has previously been mentioned in 2.1.

Collective action frames bind together elements of society to convey a certain image of reality, as well as reconstruct the meaning of events to suit the goals of the social movement (Snow & Bedford, 2000). How well the frames interact with the cultural context is therefore crucial to the success of the framing process. This is accomplished by reflecting society's values while adding new perspectives corresponding to the movement's views while reaching the target group the movement wishes to attract. In practical terms, this often occurs by using symbols, narratives, and values from society's cultural toolbox and combining these with the ideology of the social movement (Snow & Bedford, 2000).

3.1.1. Core framing tasks

Collective action frames are organized in a set of characteristic features that concerns the action-oriented function – which is called “core framing tasks” (Snow & Benford, 1988). Generally, scholars who study framing processes within social movements are interested in three core framing tasks, according to Parks (2022), which are the diagnosis (the way an issue is framed as problematic), prognosis (how to solve this problem, and why collective action and protest is part of that solution), and mobilization (how to convince people to take part in collective action). These tasks are further explained in the sections following.

3.1.1.1. Diagnostic frames

Diagnostic frameworks focus on the problem statement. They define the cause of the problem, and by using so-called “injustice frames” they make clear who to put blame and responsibility on and who are victims of the problem (Snow & Benford, 2000). Diagnostic framing does therefore provide answers to questions like: “What is/went wrong?”, and “Who or what is to blame?” (Snow et al, 2019). This usually contributes to creating a good "we" and a bad "them".
That perceptions of the cause of injustice can differ within social movements are common and are addressed through the diagnostic framework (Snow & Benford, 2000).

### 3.1.1.2. Prognostic frames

The second core framing task is prognostic framing (Snow & Benford, 2000). This involves formulating a solution to the problem or at least a plan of attack, as well as strategies for implementing the plan. The justification of an action plan as well as the choice of the method is thus often included in the prognostic frames (Snow & Benford, 2000).

### 3.1.1.3. Motivational frames

Finally, social movements use motivational frames to call for action (Snow & Benford, 2000). Here, the organizations link the agency component more clearly and strive to attract potential sympathizers to participate and maintain their commitment. This is primarily accomplished with a vocabulary of prompts based on the seriousness of the problem, the urgency for immediate action, the efficiency of joining the movement, and its moral propriety (Snow & Benford, 2000). The use of emotions can be seen as a central feature of motivational framing (Snow et al, 2019), and will be further discussed in the following section with focus on research from scholar James Jasper (2011).

### 3.2. Emotions and Social Movements

In the last twenty years, emotions have appeared in a greater extent within research on social movements (Jasper, 2011). Jasper (2011) argues that emotions are present in every phase and every aspect of social movements. They motivate individuals, are generated in crowds, are expressed rhetorically, and shape stated and unstated goals of social movements. They can help or hinder mobilization efforts, ongoing strategies, and the success of social movements. Cooperation and collective action have always offered an opportunity to think about social action more generally, and the return of emotions is the latest inspiration for doing this. Jasper (2011) describes emotions connected to social movements in different categories. One of them is reflex emotions, which are quick or automatic responses to events or information and is often taken as the paradigm for all emotions: anger, fear, joy, surprise, shock and disgust. Another category that is connected to social movements are moral emotions. They involve feelings of approval and disapproval based on moral intuitions and principles, such as shame, guilt, pride, indignation, outrage, and compassion. A term that is used when referring to the way movements
draw people into participation is moral shock. It is the feeling that results when information shows that the world is not what one had expected, which can lead to the rethinking of moral principles.

Another category connected with the moral emotions, is something that Jasper (2011) calls moral batteries, which consists of both positive and negative emotion. Some of these opposite poles of emotions are pride and shame, which are moral emotions of self-approval and self-disapproval. Another opposite pair is hope and fear. Combining hope for future change with fear and anxiety is a contrast between the way things are now and the way things might be which helps motivate protest and political action.

Jasper’s (2011) typology of emotions within social movement will be used in this study to examine if Restore wetlands content conveys certain emotions. This will have the opportunity to get a better understanding of how the movement motivates and mobilizes supporters through digital media.
4. Method and Material

In the following chapter, the study's choice of method and material are presented. First, the chosen method, qualitative content analysis, is explained followed by the descriptions of the analytical tools. Additionally, the approach and analysis scheme are presented which is followed by a critical discussion about the choice of method and the study's validity, reliability and generalizability. The chapter ends with presenting the study's analysis material and selection.

4.1. Qualitative Content Analysis as Methodological Approach

Content analysis is one of the most widely used research methods for the systematic and quantitative analysis of media and communications content. It is also a method that lends itself well to integrating with qualitative methods in media and communication research and is the core of some of the major models in communication research and theory (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 88). Krippendorf (2019, p. 21) questions the validity and usefulness of the distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analyses. He argues that ultimately, all interpretations of texts are qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into statistics.

Qualitative content analysis is a method used to examine what lies beneath the surface of the content of the text and which can only be deduced by intensive reading with the help of analytical tools (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 211). The quantitative content analysis has previously regained criticism for only studying the manifest meaning, referring to the text's immediate and superficial meaning in a text, and not the underlying latent meanings. The qualitative approach was on the other hand depicted as a method that captured both levels to understand the underlying meaning of a text (Østbye et al., 2004, p. 64). The method involves bringing out the essential content through a careful reading of the text's different parts, as a whole, and the context in which it is included (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 211). In this thesis, the concept of text takes its form in both written text and visual text. Drawings, illustrations, photographs, photomontages, and other graphic devices are collectively referred to in this study as “visuals” or “images” and will be examined or evaluated for the frames they convey.
The main type of content analytical research questions aims to systemize the content in the text. In a systematic or thematic analysis, the aim is to highlight meaning in the text thematically and systematically (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 213). The research task then becomes to clarify the idea structure by highlighting essential aspects of the content, usually by logically arranging the content of the texts or by organizing the often complex content of the texts into categories. In order to clarify idea structures, the help of analytical concepts is required to bring order to and highlight aspects of the text that are not obvious by simply reading through.

Framing is a common subject and concept for this kind of analysis, which is the way different actors frame a certain issue or phenomenon (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 218). Content analysis that uses framing starts from the premise that social phenomena do not have a given meaning but can be interpreted and presented in a variety of ways. How the content creator chooses to present a social phenomenon is important for how the recipient interprets and reacts to the presented phenomenon (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 218). The central point in framing analysis is not individual publishers' motives for publishing a certain text, but the content of the framing, which must be seen based on the current context. Analyzing an organization's external written and visual communication, as is the case in this study, is therefore well suited.

4.1.1. Analysis Questions

In order to achieve high validity of the study, the design of the analysis questions is also of great importance. In qualitative content analysis, it is necessary to concretize the general research question with a few specified questions that will be applied to the text material (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 216). The answer to these questions is also the solution to the research problematization. The questions should be formulated around central analytical tools that can be used as a guide within the text (see 4.2). In a framing analysis, the analytical questions often focus on the framing of the cause and solutions to a problem (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 218). The nature of the questions varies depending on whether a deductive or inductive approach is used. With a deductive approach, pre-defined frameworks of action are applied to a context to investigate which ones are used. With the inductive approach, the aim is to get as good of an understanding of the phenomenon as possible, which requires the ability to perceive even unpredictable nuances (Esaiasson et al, 2017, p. 229-230). This study is interested in analyzing how the movement uses the different frames, where the aim is to gain as good of an understanding of the phenomenon as possible. This requires the ability to perceive even unpredictable nuances, which makes the inductive approach better suited for the analysis.
However, inductive methods do not exclude the possibility of comparing the results with frameworks from previous studies but allow the researcher to construct his own framework from the material without determining in advance what to look for (Esaiasson et al, 2017, p. 229-230). Therefore, the analysis questions will be based on the framework of the collective action frames by Snow and Benford (2000), and have been formulated and categorized according to the three core framing tasks:

**Diagnostic frames:**

1. *What is presented as the main issue? Which kind of problems is framed and for whom is this a problem to?*
2. *Which kinds of subjects (actors) are within the framing? Are there representations of "us and them"? Who are these?*
3. *How is the cause of the problem framed? What/who are portrayed as bearing responsibility and/or blame for the problem and what/who are portrayed as victims?*

**Prognostic frames:**

4. *What solutions are proposed? Which solutions are rejected?*
5. *What methods need to be used to reach the solution?*

**Motivational frames:**

6. *How is the need to act communicated? What arguments for the effectiveness of the mobilization are expressed?*
7. *What moral arguments for action are expressed?*
8. *How are emotions used to motivate the recipient?*

### 4.2. Analytical tools

A content analysis, or text analysis as it is sometimes called, is a general term within qualitative approaches that includes many different theory traditions, for example semiotics, discourse theory, hermeneutics or rhetoric. (Østbye et al., 2004, p. 63). In a content analysis, Østbye et al. (2004, p. 63) argue that the author can choose the concepts and analysis tools that are best suited to illuminate the aspects of a text that the author wants to investigate. Since the aim of the thesis is to study an Instagram account that communicates both through verbal and visual
modes, the analysis will use a multimodal approach with semiotic and linguistic analytical tools. The multimodal approach is used to break visual designs down to their basic components and to make sense of how they are used in combination, and work as a whole (Ledin & Machin, 2020).

The analytical tools for the analysis will draw on Ledin and Machin’s (2020) approaches to visual analysis for photographs and multimodal analysis, and Vicari’s (2010) linguistic toolkit specialized in identifying core framing tasks.

4.2.1. Lexical choices

To analyze words and their meaning in our empirical material, the analysis will look at lexical choices. Lexical choice is about studying how writers use specific word choices to convey their opinion and power. The lexical choices used in a text can contribute to different discourses or "lexical fields". These discourses or fields will in turn contribute to different identities, values and sequences of activities that are not necessarily stated (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 30).

Lexical choices essentially provide two foundations for understanding communications content (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 105). As a first foundation, determining the relative prominence of all the words in a piece of communication and deducing who (actors) and what (themes/topics) are prominent, is crucial. In addition, there is the ability to examine correlations and relationships between, for example, how different actors are portrayed or what descriptors are most closely associated with specific topics, themes or frames (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 105).

4.2.2. Modality

In linguistic analysis, modality is a way of allowing us to reveal what is offered to us as certain and what is hidden (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 63). One very important issue for us in communication is the reliability of what people tell us, and if it’s truthful. This is important as we need to know how to then act on what people say. Language provides us with resources to express kinds and levels of truth, which is centered on a specific grammatical system called the modal auxiliaries. These are verbs such as ‘may’, ‘will’ and ‘must’ and adjectives such as ‘possible’, ‘probable’ and ‘certain’ (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 63).
Vicari (2010) have developed a linguistic toolkit specialized in identifying core framing tasks, that uses the tool of modality. Social movements frame discourse to provide movement members with a collective us in opposition to an adversarial them (Gamson, 1992, p. 7). In the analysis of social movements’ textual production, Vicari (2010, p. 510-511) suggests one should first distinguish between self-referential and adversarial framing. With the term self-referential, it refers to all stories and descriptions whose subject is the social movement itself or one of its allies. Adversarial are, instead, all descriptions having an oppositional actor as the subject. Vicari (2010, p. 511) argues that all adversarial passages delivered in a social movement’s texts help the diagnostic cause since they frame problematic issues and attribute them to a set of adverse actors (them).

When it comes to self-referential framing, a useful tool is to analyze the process through verbs and the presence of modality. In general, modality is the grammaticalization of a speaker's opinions and attitudes that can be broken down into three core meaning clusters: obligation, ability/possibility, and intention (Vicari, 2010, p. 511). Obligation reports the existence of deontic social conditions affecting the achievement of an action and implies a moral sense (Perkins, 1982, p. 247). Verbs expressing obligation are typically: must, should, and ought to. The modal forms that express obligation in first-person processes essentially provide diagnostic framing because they imply a diagnostic reason for the action. It may be assumed that when the phrase “We must take action” is used, the imperative force of the action is signaled by the modal verb “must” (Vicari, 2010, p. 513).

The ability/possibility cluster works as both deontic and dynamic, where the ability side of this cluster is concerned with dynamic conditions while the possibility side focuses on deontic conditions. Verbs expressing ability/possibility are usually: can, could, may and might. The intention cluster expresses the agent’s disposition towards an action (Perkins, 1982, p. 260). Shall and will are the central modal auxiliaries of intention. Ability/possibility and intention processes deliver future actions and states in two different types of prognostic framing. While ability/possibility expresses what can be done, given internal and external conditions, intention draws attention to what will be done to alter a problematic condition. Providing the public with salient elements of the movement's history, definition, and characterization adds to the motivational dimension.

In order to identify the core action tasks in the analysis, the data will be analyzed following the operationalization of Vicari (2010, p. 514).
4.2.3. Denotation & Connotation

The concept of denotation and connotation was coined by Barthes (1977) and is a set of observations that provides some basic tools for the questions we can ask to visual designs (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 38). The idea of denotation and connotation is that signs refer to each other and meaning and associations occur on different levels (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 47).

Denotation is the first level of analysis and is a description of what we can see – what does the image depicts? Some images cannot communicate a general or abstract idea, instead they show specific events, people, places and things. In semiotic terminology, the image denotes different things. For example, an image consisting of a family member or of a house simply denotes these things (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 39). At the level of connotation, persons and objects shown in the visual not only denote a particular person, thing or place, but also the ideas or concepts attached to them (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). In this level, the interest lies in which ideas, values and wider discourses are communicated. Discourses can be described as the taken for granted models of the world that tend to be shared or dominate in society to explain how things work (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 48). Ledin and Machin (2020, p. 42) consider a number of elements and styles of representation that are particular carriers of connotation.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Modal Obligation</th>
<th>Ability/possibility</th>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>Nonmodal Action</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Motivational</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
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<td>Diagnosis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3.1. People

The first element concerns how people, or the participants are represented. This tool considers what participants are present or absent, and how they are depicted. Depending on if the people are shown as individuals of a group, this can make a difference to the way people and events in which they are involved are represented (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 48). This element also concerns the importance of distance and physical proximity. This can be depicted when a person is very close to another person which reflects some degree of intimacy. I can also be depicted through close shots of people, which can reveal emotions (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 50-51).

4.2.3.2. Objects

Another element that this analysis will include is objects. The choice of objects placed into any visual design can signal different discourses (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 43). For example, a child holding stones can bring associations to nature (p. 43), and someone holding a protest sign can perhaps connote justice.

4.2.3.3. Setting

The setting in the images are carriers of important connotations. It concerns where the things are depicted. For instance, people that is depicted in a forest can connote natural, simplicity and freedom (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 45).

4.2.3.4. Actions

This tool depicts actions and behaviors. Actions in photographs are read through indexical signs, which means the semiotic indexes correlate to another thing (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 56). In other words, a photograph can’t code social action because there is no movement in the images, but it can index them. For instance, a person holding a protest sign can code to someone protesting (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 56). Some indexical actions are emotional processes which is a mode that are indexed by facial expressions; mental processes which is where the internal state of the person is coded by facial expressions and posture; verbal processes where people are depicted as communicating; and material processes which is when concrete actions are indexed (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 58).
4.3. Coding process

A description of the coding process is presented in the following section with the aim of achieving maximum transparency. As previously explained, the research problem will be answered through a qualitative content analysis where questions based on the theoretical framework are applied to the text and image material. The first step of the process is to read the texts and look at the related image of each post without making any notes to get a general overview of the objects. Later interpretation work requires deep dives and fragmentation of texts, so individual pieces should not be interpreted independently of the texts as a whole. After that, a concrete analysis can begin by identifying manifest and latent functions. In this step, the analytical questions will be systematically asked of all the texts. Each question will first be asked to every object. Then all the questions will be asked to one object at a time. By doing this, the aim is to find all kinds of interpretations that might be missed by only reading it through once. When all of the objects have been analyzed, it’s possible to distinguish recurring themes and patterns in the material.

4.4. Methodological Limitations

The criticism that is the most common against qualitative methods comes mainly from quantitative researchers who claim that qualitative research is less codified than quantitative. Qualitative research is not governed by as many rules about the approaches and is thus seen as more open research (Bryman, 2012, p. 407). There is also criticism that qualitative interpretations are subjective because a single person's interpretation is rarely the same as another, which means that the results are difficult to replicate or generalize (Bryman, 2012, p. 405). This problem is something that has been considered in the next chapter where the study's validity and reliability are discussed. The criticism of the method of content analysis is its claims to objectivity, its fragmentation of textual wholes, and its lack of a theory of meaning. Hansen and Machin (2019) argue that content analysis could never be objective or ‘value-free’ since content analysis does not intend to analyze everything there is to analyze in a text. There is no method that could analyze everything, nor would there be any purpose in trying. Instead, the content analyst starts by defining certain dimensions or aspects of text for analysis, and in doing so they are also making a subjective choice, indicating that the dimensions chosen for analysis are more important than others not chosen.
Despite the expressed criticism towards the choice of method, qualitative content analysis is an essential method for this study. Qualitative studies make visible what lies beneath the surface of the content of the text (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 211), which this study intends to do by analyzing how Restore wetlands frame their issue and solutions and mobilize climate action using collective action frames.

### 4.5. Validity & Reliability

The term validity is usually defined as measuring what we actually claim to measure, and reliability as the absence of systematic errors (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 58). Reliability means that a study must be able to be carried out with the same method and analysis tools at another time and obtain similar results. Ahrne and Svensson (2015, p. 26) explain that if you arrive at similar results using the same method and tools, the credibility of the study increases and since all research is about the reader believing what he or she reads, validity and reliability are extremely important.

Throughout this method chapter, the aim has been to in detail describe the material and analysis tools as well as the process of coding the analysis in order to create high reliability. To address the criticism of the risks of the study being subjective and transparent, the analysis will be based on questions that are well grounded in the theoretical framework and are systematically asked of the text material. The analysis questions originate from Snow and Benford’s theory about collective action frameworks. The purpose of the questions is to identify what in the material constitutes collective action frameworks and then systematize this in Snow and Benford's categories of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivating action frameworks. The interpretation of the various action frameworks is justified with the help of quotations, extracts, and including all images analyzed.

### 4.6. Material & Selection

This study focuses on Swedish environmental movements that use civil disobedience as a strategy. In order to limit this study and enable an in-depth analysis where nuances can be perceived, one case of movement organization will be the focus of the study. To assist in the process, the following criteria have been applied in choosing the case: 1) climate and environmental issues are the main theme around which the association mobilizes, 2) the movement or organization has a national presence in Sweden, and 3) the movement uses civil
disobedience protests as the main strategy for collective action. These demarcations resulted in four movement organizations: Greenpeace, Extinction Rebellion, Fridays for Future, and Restore wetlands. Of these organizations, Restore wetlands were selected. The other organizations have been widely studied prior and thus, making Restore wetlands a unique case to study. The movement was chosen as the case of this study because they are a quite new movement that has grown and recently made it to the headlines of several traditional media outlets in Sweden for their civil disobedience actions. In the writing process of this thesis, Restore wetlands have not been a case of other research studies which makes it a relevant and unique case to study.

The material will consist of Instagram posts from the official account of Restore wetlands. The platform Instagram was chosen since it's the main site for information and mobilization of the movement, besides their website. Since the purpose of collective action frameworks is to communicate a social movement's perception of reality to its followers and mobilize potential sympathizers, the choice of material can be considered appropriate. The selection of the material consists of posts that were published during the first six months of the Instagram account. In order to remain high validity, a systematic selection (Esaiasson et al., 2017, s. 176) was chosen which means a sampling root is determined within the population of analysis units. In this analysis, every tenth post was selected as analytical objects. The first post was published on March 5th, 2022, and the last post from the selection was posted on August 24th, 2022. This study will not analyze videos because that requires a different method and analytical tools which in turn leads to extra work, something that is not doable within this study’s time frame. On Instagram it is possible to add several pictures in one slide show which Restore wetlands sometimes does. Due to the limited time frame, it was decided to only analyze the first slide in the slide show. The first image is the one that is visible, and it can therefore be assumed that it is the one that catches the recipient's attention. Ultimately, the total number of objects that will be analyzed resulted in 11 Instagram posts.

Restore wetlands usually writes their post-captions in Swedish, with some exceptions of when they write in English. When referring to an extraction of the material in the analysis, everything will be translated to English since that is the language of this thesis. Since the researchers first language is Swedish, this provides the knowledge of translating the texts rightfully, without any risks of any mistranslations. Lastly, all images presented in the analysis are for copyright
reasons approved by the owner ofRestore wetland’s Instagram account to be used and shown in the thesis.
5. Analysis

This chapter will present the analysis of Restore wetland’s Instagram account. The structure of the analysis is organized according to the core framing tasks: the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames and the themes found within each frame.

5.1. Diagnostic frames

The following section will present the themes found within the diagnostic frames of the analytical material. Using diagnostic frames, the analysis will be able to answer questions regarding the presentation and causes of the main issue, the kind of actors involved in the framing, who is portrayed as responsible, and who is portrayed as a victim of the problem.

5.1.1. Climate Change from a National and Global Perspective

The first theme concerns how the organization presents its main issue, which is mostly framed both from a national and global perspective. The national issue is that the excavated wetlands in Sweden produce huge amounts of greenhouse gases that ultimately affect the global climate crisis. This is communicated by describing how the ditched wetlands aggravate the ongoing climate crisis and the main purpose of the organization is to demand that the government restore the wetlands immediately (see Figure 1). To express that they ‘demand’ action is a lexical choice and contains modality since it expresses the organizations’ opinions and attitudes (Vicari, 2010, p. 511). The verb ‘demanding’ indicates that Restore wetlands believe the government must or should do something to solve the issue, which in turn belongs to the core meaning cluster of obligation. This modal form essentially provides diagnostic framing because they imply a diagnostic reason for the action (Vicari, 2010, p. 511).
Figure 1

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Ditched wetlands release large amounts of greenhouse gases and exacerbate the climate crisis. We demand that the government restore the wetlands and reduce emissions now!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


By implying that the government bare responsibility for restoring the wetlands, the organization is stating that the change needs to be done on a national level. Solving this issue could be suggested to be a steppingstone in the right direction, or in other words something that needs to be done in order to solve the climate crisis globally. It’s described in a sense that Sweden can contribute by standing up for their part of the problem. Consequently, the caption in Figure 1 shows moral emotions where disapproval of the lack of action is expressed and that the government should feel guilty for not restoring the wetlands (Jasper, 2011).

The way of framing the issue as national and something that happens physically near us can be an effective strategy to motivate people to act (Stoknes, 2014). The caption of Figure 2 explains how protesters go out on the streets to make themselves heard and show that they do not accept the government's “deadly passivity”. To say that the government's lack of action concerning the climate crisis is deadly or killing people is a strong, moral, and emotional claim, and indicates that the rulers of Sweden should feel shame and guilt for not acting (Jasper, 2011). It also expresses moral emotions of outrage from the organization's point of view, seeing that the lexical choice is a strong opinionated claim.
### Image

![Deadly disease bacteria are thawing out of the permafrost, the Amazon rainforest has turned into savannah and melting ice has raised the sea level by several meters. This is what the climate scientists' worst scenario "Hot House Earth" looks like and that is where we are headed if the emission curves continue to rise as they are now "..." If the world is to keep global warming at 1.5 degrees, emissions must stop completely in 6 years and 240 days, calculated based on the models in the IPCC's report "Global Warming of 1.5°C" from 2018. It is an almost unimaginable political challenge," reports Erika Bjerström in Svt on May 4. In Sweden, excavated wetlands account for about 25% of our climate emissions. By damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped. During the first week of Restore Wetland's second wave, supporters of the campaign have made themselves seen and heard in places around Stockholm - to get more people to show that they no longer intend to accept this deadly passivity. Before the coming weeks, there needs to be as many people as possible on the capital's streets. We no longer have any time to lose! What is required now is a resistance that those in power cannot turn a blind eye to, and for this we need you! Come to a lecture - you can find all the information on our Facebook during events. Link is in the bio.

### Caption

"Deadly disease bacteria are thawing out of the permafrost, the Amazon rainforest has turned into savannah and melting ice has raised the sea level by several meters. This is what the climate scientists' worst scenario "Hot House Earth" looks like and that is where we are headed if the emission curves continue to rise as they are now "..." If the world is to keep global warming at 1.5 degrees, emissions must stop completely in 6 years and 240 days, calculated based on the models in the IPCC's report "Global Warming of 1.5°C" from 2018. It is an almost unimaginable political challenge," reports Erika Bjerström in Svt on May 4. In Sweden, excavated wetlands account for about 25% of our climate emissions. By damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped. During the first week of Restore Wetland's second wave, supporters of the campaign have made themselves seen and heard in places around Stockholm - to get more people to show that they no longer intend to accept this deadly passivity. Before the coming weeks, there needs to be as many people as possible on the capital's streets. We no longer have any time to lose! What is required now is a resistance that those in power cannot turn a blind eye to, and for this we need you! Come to a lecture - you can find all the information on our Facebook during events. Link is in the bio.

Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022e. Reprinted with permission. Translated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| ![Image](image.png) | Why do people need to take to the roads again and again to get the government to act? Why is this what is required in our society for those in power to listen?  

Already 50 years ago, climate scientists showed that the climate crisis is a real threat and will affect us ALL if nothing is done. The climate and environmental movement fought with all legal means. But what did the rulers of the world do?  

Nothing. They fueled the crisis and emissions only increased. Now the climate disaster is here. People die every day as a result of global warming and wars escalated due to Climate change. Sweden's politicians stand completely helpless and let the entire young generation face a future full of suffering, violence and death in a climate hell.  

None of the people sitting on the roads want to have to do that. No one wants to have to make others angry or face a violent driver. But what should they and YOU do when the politicians refuse to act in proportion to the enormous threat we face? It is now that action is required, in the absence of responsibility from those who should have acted five decades ago.  

THIS IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:  

Join us the next time more people come out and demand that the government protect our country and our beloved children from the climate crisis and the social collapse that awaits them.  

1. Join us and act next time Restore Wetlands block roads in Stockholm in connection with the 2022 election.  

2. Join and help mobilize more, e.g., handing out flyers in Stockholm. Email vatmarker@protonmail.com to get more info where we meet.  

3. Donate, SWISH to 123 066 34 43. SEK 10,000 can cover costs for one more blocking team for 1 week. |

Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022g. Reprinted with permission. Translated.

When it comes to the framing of the main issue in the images of Restore wetlands’ posts, the national focus is further communicated. In Figure 1, the image denotes a round symbol in blue and yellow, with a middle circle consisting of illustrations, which possibly depicts wetlands. The symbol also consists of an outer circle frame that depicts the Swedish words for restoring
wetlands, “Återställ våtmarker”. The colors of blue and yellow, which are the same colors as the Swedish flag, connote a national perspective, and that their target audience is people that live in Sweden. The colors continue in the organization’s protest signs that are used during the activists’ protests and can be noticed on several images of the material (See Figures 2, 3, 5 & 8). The signs consist of the same words, illustrations, and colors but in another format. Using national connotations within symbols and objects can be a way of strengthening national affiliation (Andersson and Smith, 2021). It can be made through the choice of, for example, packaging which can exploit cultural and political ideas and reinforce them by connecting to prevailing national sentiments, for instance by applying the nation’s flags. This can be used to strengthen national affiliation and thus ally with political interests, especially in times of political and social change (Anderson & Smith, 2021). The fact that Restore wetlands uses colors that represent the Swedish flag, could therefore in this sense have a political meaning. Since the aim of the movement is, besides demanding action from the politicians and government, also to get more people engaged and mobilize people to protest, the national affiliation can be a way of communicating national belonging (Anderson & Smith, 2021). This can in turn be a way of strengthening the collective identity.

Although the focus is on Sweden’s individual carbon emissions, Restore wetlands also highlights the climate crisis from a wider perspective and the global issue at stake. Describing the interlinkage between global and national dimensions can be an effective way of describing climate change issues and showing a path for action (Fernanda-Jesus et al., 2020). In Figure 2, Restore wetlands refer to an article from the news site SVT highlighting how the climate crisis in the world will get worse if we don’t lower the emission curves. The main issue is framed through the “worst scenario”-catastrophes and the so-called “Hothouse Earth” that scientists and the IPCC report are warning about (see Figure 2). The Hothouse Earth scenario suggests that the earth will in the long term stabilize at a global average of 4-5°C higher than pre-industrial temperatures with sea level 10-60 m higher than today (Steffen et al., 2018). With the purpose to avoid a “Hothouse Earth”, an immense reduction of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions is required. When framing the problem, Restore wetlands refer to journalists (Figure 2), environmental activists (Figure 4), and scientists (Figure 3) with the purpose of strengthening their purpose of climate action. However, relying on scientists’ and journalists’ opinions, it can inherently become a case of appeal to authority, which is the logical fallacy of claiming that because an expert said something is true, then it must be true. In the
captions of Figure 2 and 3, the organization refers to journalists or scientist in a general way, with no sources included, which affect the reliability of their arguments of the main problem.

The extract from the SVT article explains how the Hothouse Earth scenario includes issues like deadly disease bacteria-rising sickness, deforestation, melting glaciers, and rising sea levels that will get worse if Sweden doesn’t start reducing their emissions, where excavated wetlands account for about 25% of the total (see Figure 2). These examples give a negative and apocalyptic perspective on the issue (Foust and Murphy, 2009), and could possibly contribute to feelings of fear, anxiety, and doom of the recipient (Jasper, 2011). Feelings of doom can be described as a feeling of terror and worry that something terrible is going to happen, for example, that the world may end. Framing environmental issues using representations of disaster and catastrophe can be an inefficient approach since fear is generally an ineffective tool for motivating sustained personal engagement. The issues described in Figure 3 are also situations that occur geologically far away from Sweden, like in the Amazon forests. Although the effects would affect people locally all over the globe eventually, the information that situations far away need action might be difficult for people to comprehend. By giving examples of how our emissions strongly affect something distant in space, it could make people less eager to act since it might feel abstract. It might not feel personal to people, that it doesn’t emotionally affect them, or it might feel like it’s someone else’s problem to fix (Stoknes, 2014). For this apocalyptic approach to be effective, it must also show people which effective actions to take, because audiences otherwise might switch off or become numb to the negative message (Stoknes, 2014). This will be further analyzed in the next section of this chapter, which will be looking at the prognostic frame of the content (see 5.2).

The main issue has as previously stated been focused on putting the blame on politicians and governments for the climate crisis. However, one post within the analytical material excels from this type of framing. In Figure 4, the image consists of a close-range photo of an older man with a furry hat and snow goggles, with a wintery landscape in the background. The images also include verbal text consisting of a quote saying: “The largest threat against our planet is to believe that someone else is going to save it” (my translation). The quote is from the polar explorer Robert Swan, who has dedicated his life to the preservation of Antarctica and the planet by promoting renewable energy and sustainability to combat the effects of climate change (Robert Swan, n.d.). The caption in the post explains how the lack of reprioritizing is hindering people from saving the climate:
However, many in society are too busy and think that someone else can fix it. The problem is that almost everyone is crazy busy and thus no one has time to save the climate. Unless we start to reprioritize our lives and value the children's future higher than our job, our studies, etc. (Figure 4)

In Figure 4, the largest threat is not framed as the climate change, melting ice caps, or deforestation, that have been previously stated by the organization. Instead, the real threat is people who do not make an effort. This is instead framed to seem as if solving the climate crisis is a personal and individual responsibility rather than a collective and systematic one. It replaces the responsibility on individuals rather than larger systematic systems such as capitalism. This can have the potential to emotionally affect people and convey moral emotions like shame and guilt to the recipient (Jasper, 2011).

Figure 4

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>When do you want to save the climate? Preferably ASAP, right? However, many in society are too busy and think that someone else can fix it. The problem is that almost everyone is crazy busy and thus no one has time to save the climate. Unless we start to reprioritize our lives and value the children's future higher than our job, our studies, etc. Do you want to devote time to the climate movement but find it difficult to combine it with everyday life? Come and talk about it! We have online meetings every Thursday at 19:00 and every Monday at 18:30. Welcome! Mondays 18:30 [link] Thursdays 19:00 [link] For more info, see here: [link]</td>
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*Source: Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022k. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*

5.1.2. The Collective Us and Adversarial Them

When it comes to representations of different actors, the material showed a distinct division of a *collective us* and an *adversarial them*. Distinguishing "us" from "them" is a common strategy within social movement and can be done by depicting antagonists as human decision makers (Gamson, 1988, s. 7). The images in figures 2 and 3 have similar characteristics and communicate the distinction between the two opposite parts of us and them. The setting takes
place on a busy road, where protesters of Restore wetlands are sitting or standing in the middle of the road. Surrounding them are cars and policemen. The objects visible are the protest signs with the organization’s slogan, “Restore wetlands” and the protesters are wearing yellow reflective vests. The actions in the images do not connote a fearful or threatening situation, assumed that there is no physical contact between the policemen and protesters (Ledin & Machin, 2020), nor does any verbal communication visually occur between the two parts. However, the fact that the protesters are sitting on the ground and are surrounded by cars and policemen standing up, towering the protesters can be interpreted as they belong to two different sides and that there is a power difference (see figure 3). The policemen are the ones in power and the protesters are in a vulnerable situation, given that they are at risk of being hurt in the traffic or being arrested for blockading the road. This creates a division of collective us (the protesters) and adversarial them (the policemen). Furthermore, in the image of Figure 3, there are more policemen present than there are protesters, and the policemen are standing in a circle around the protesters. This connotes that the protesters again are in a vulnerable situation because of the power that the policemen are depicted as having. In Figure 2, it’s on the contrary the protesters that outnumber the policemen, which does not connote the same power differences. One of the protesters is standing and is therefore on the same level as the policemen, and the image denotes some sort of interaction between the two parts that does not connote any hostility or fear. One of the policemen in Figure 3 have their hands on their hip, and some of them have their arms crossed over their chests. This type of body language connotes feelings of confidence, determination, anger, or defense, and the crossed arms create a personal barrier between the policeman and the protesters (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 58). The protesters in Figure 3 are sitting on the ground with their legs crossed and neutral facial expressions, giving the impression that they are relaxed but determent to stay and protest for their cause.

Regarding the verbal part of the posts, a reoccurring theme on Restore wetland’s Instagram account is to point out politicians, the government, and other holders of power as responsible for restoring the wetlands and creating measures to fight global warming. As previously mentioned, the organization puts the government responsible for restoring the wetlands. The government and political leaders are described as responsible for the crisis, and the organization states that this is a result of the lack of action during the last 50 years (see Figure 3). Additionally, they are not only blamed for being passive on the matter, but they are also blamed for fueling and worsening the climate crisis (see Figure 3). In the following extract
from Figure 3, the consequences of the lack of responsibility of the politicians are explained as forcing people to act through civil disobedience.

None of the people sitting on the roads want to have to do that. No one wants to have to make others angry or face a violent driver. But what should they and YOU do when the politicians refuse to act in proportion to the enormous threat we face? It is not necessary to deal with, in the absence of responsibility from those who should have acted five decades ago. (Figure 3)

The movement describes the politicians as taking a lack of responsibility and that they are so busy with less important things. Furthermore, they are being blamed for not listening to scientific facts and acting a long time ago. They should consequently feel shame for not handling the issue seriously.

Figure 5

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

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<th>Image</th>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of civil disobedience" /></td>
<td>&quot;The facts are undeniable. This abdication of leadership is criminal. The world's biggest polluters are guilty of arson of our only home. Nearly half of humanity is living in the danger zone now, many ecosystems are at the point of no return now, and unchecked carbon pollution is forcing the world's most vulnerable on a frog march to destruction now.&quot; - UN Secretary-General António Guterres This is what the UN Secretary General said after the IPCC's latest report. Time is running out, we must act according to the magnitude of the gravity. &quot;If we don't do the impossible, we will be faced with the unthinkable. I'm not going to let my children witness that” - Joakim, father of 4 children. The smallest possible step is to do the obvious: Restore wetlands!</td>
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In the caption of Figure 5, Restore wetlands refers to a quote from the UN Secretary-General António Guterres where he expresses his dismissal of the lack of action taken by the leaders of the world, and that the “abdication of leadership is criminal”. This frame the adversarial them, which in this example are non-specified leaders, as the “bad guys” and that their lack of actions
is equivalent to doing something illegal. To do something illegal is a strong representation of something that is morally wrong, and hence portrays moral emotions like shame and guilt (Jasper, 2011). The quotation of the UN general from Figure 5, continues by saying that “The world's biggest polluters are guilty of arson of our only home”. This expression puts the blame on the ones that pollute the worst in the world, however, they do not once again specify who these persons are. These people are said to be guilty of arson on our world, which could be a metaphor for global warming and the climate crisis. This shows that the adversarial them constitutes of both political leaders, but also people that seriously pollute and do not care to save the climate. Those actors are framed as the villains and the cause of the climate emergency. The quote implies that their actions (or lack thereof) are equivalent to breaking the law and as emotionally damaging as burning down someone's house.

Those that on the other hand are affected the most and framed as the victims in the crisis are the people in the world who already are facing the severe consequences due to global warming. They are described as the world’s most vulnerable people, who are described as already living in danger zones and are forced on a “frog march to destruction” (see Figure 5). This is an articulation of an injustice frame, which is a common development in diagnostic framing where the movement identifies the victims of a given injustice and intensifies their victimization (Gamson, 1992). As in Figure 3, the younger generation is also seen as a victim of the government and politicians, as they are forced to live with the future consequences of climate change, in what is described as a “climate hell”. The victimization of the younger generation and the ones living in danger due to the climate crisis are not depicted in any of the images.

When it comes to the representation of the collective us, it can be interpreted that "us" in the verbal text refers to a collective in-group, including those who participate in the protests and are activists within the organization. This is communicated by for example when the movement talks about upcoming actions, where “we” are referring to the protesters of the movement. The protesters are also frequently depicted in the images during their protests. When the organization calls to other people to join them and mobilize to act upon the issue, Restore wetlands often addresses potential supporters as “you”. Potential supporters could thus be explained as the outer group. However, they often invite the recipient to join them in protest and support the movement, thus inviting the person to join the collective us.

The collective us also includes other environmental movements and activists in other countries. Restore wetlands dedicates two posts by praising other climate actions that were performed in
Serbia and Italy (See post 6 and 7). In figure 7, the organization mentions the A22 Network, which is the network of environmental civil disobedience organizations which Restore wetland is a part of. They inform that they now consist of 10 countries and call the movement of the action in Italy as one of Restore wetlands “sister campaign”. The word ‘sister’ implies that the organization belongs to the same family and shows a close, personal relationship (see figure 7). The linkage between Restore wetlands and other movements fighting for the same cause, is further included in the “collective us”. This shows that the collective us moves beyond the movement of Restore wetlands and Swedish citizens and includes people in all parts of the world that are fighting for the climate.

**Figure 6**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Image</th>
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| ![Image](https://example.com/image.jpg) | THIS PHOTO INSPIRES US SO DAMN MUCH!  
Thousands of people on the highways outside Belgrade, Serbia.  
IT IS FULLY POSSIBLE  
For months, day after day, people were out on the highways protesting the Serbian government’s plans to open a mine for lithium extraction. On January 21, 2022, the government backed down and Rio Tinto, British Australian mining giant, had to pack up and go home.  
Soon it will be time to RESTORE WETLANDS. On August 29th, we’ll hit the highways again and demand that the government implement the most obvious climate action, namely - restore wetlands! You're invited! Come to a lecture (see our Facebook page) or email vatmarker@protonmail.com |

*Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022h. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*
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| ![Image](image_url) | Cool!  
Yes, it was time for DN to start writing about A22 Network! Generazione, one of Restore Wetlands' sister campaigns, did an action at the Uffizi art museum in Florence.  
"In the same way that we defend our artistic heritage, we should protect and take care of the planet that we share with the rest of the world" say those involved in Ultima Generazione. The action comes after activists from Just stop oil in Great Britain carried out a similar series of protests at art galleries, and several activist networks in Europe, Australia and Canada have implemented traffic blockades, writes DN. DN must have missed to add Restore Wetlands. What a mistake!  
We are the last generation. Restore Wetlands is about to complete its third wave of action. On August 29 and until the election, we are once again out and putting forward our demand: what we need is a national crisis project - restore excavated wetlands, they leak huge amounts of carbon dioxide.  
A22 Network currently consists of 10 countries. |

*Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022i. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*

The images of the posts that acknowledge other movements in Europe have similarly to the captions, a strong presence of collective us. In Figure 6, the image depicts a highway that is filled and blocked by people. There are a few cars on the highway that are barely visible since they are surrounded by a crowd of people. The way the people stand psychically close to each other in the crowd connotes a sense of togetherness between the people. In Figure 7, the image denotes two young girls that are sitting on one knee while having their hands on an artwork behind them. In front of them lies a banner with the organization's name, and behind the object is a crowd of people watching and some photographing the protesters. The action of the image consists of a man grabbing one of the girls’ arms, possibly with the purpose to stop the girls protest act. Using images that show other climate change protests can inspire others to take action, showing that there is a larger community working on this issue. It represents a sense of community and perhaps, feelings of hope and possibility for a large collective us. In the case
of Figure 6, the actions of the organizations are also described as successful. This shows emotions of pride and hope (Jasper, 2011), and is further emphasized in the caption of Figure 6, which says “it is fully possible” in capital letters. Together with the visual part of the post, it connotes that it is possible to mobilize a large number of people to stand up for a common cause and to make a change.

The images of Restore wetlands’ protests and protesters, or from other organizations’ protests, can also on the other hand create a complete opposite reaction for the recipients. Images of ‘typical’ environmentalists can have the potential to solemnly resonate with the small number of people who already considered themselves as activists and campaigners (Corner et al., 2015). Most people do not feel an affinity with climate change protesters, so images of protests may reinforce the idea that climate change is for ‘them’ rather than ‘us’. Protest images involving people directly affected by climate impacts can instead be seen as more authentic and therefore more compelling (Corner et al., 2015).

5.2. Prognostic frames

The following section will present the themes found within the prognostic frames of the analysis material. When analyzing the prognostic frames, the aim is to identify which solutions are being proposed to solve the main issue. It also aims to recognize what methods are being proposed in order to reach a solution.

5.2.1. Restoring the Wetlands as the Solution

The solutions proposed to reduce greenhouse gases are communicated often in the verbal text and is something that even the name of the movement implies – by restoring the wetlands (See figure 2 and 7). In Figures 2 and 8, the organization state that “by damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped”. The verb ‘can’, is a central modal auxiliary of ability/possibility and expresses what can be done, given internal and external conditions. Ability/possibility processes deliver future actions and therefore state a type of prognostic framing (Vicari, 2010).
Climate collapse is now close, unimaginably close. For the second time, therefore, the Restore Wetlands campaign is getting ready to take to the streets to present its demand to the government: Restore Wetlands now.

For three weeks we will disrupt business as usual, as much as is peacefully required. This is done because everything else has already been tested - no choice exists anymore.

Now we need all the support we can get - for the coming weeks we need to be as many as possible. We can no longer afford to wait and hope. Now something has to happen, something that cannot be ignored.

Come to a lecture - you can find all the information on our Facebook during events. Link is in the bio.

Excavated wetlands account for approximately 25% of Sweden's climate emissions. That is more than the emissions from Sweden's combined passenger car traffic. By damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped.


What ‘restoring’ or ‘damming up’ implies to more specifically or practically is not expressed in the selection of material. Consequently, the message might fail to be understood by recipients if they don’t understand what the issue of wetlands is, and what the solution to the problem is. Nisbet and Huge (2006) argue that one of the biggest challenges for environmental activists is the construction of messages, where activists must frame their issues or demands in a favorable manner. However, the organization declare that Sweden needs a national crisis project and that the government install policy changes in order to solve the main issue. In figure 7, Restore wetlands implies that they will keep on protesting until the election 2022 and put forward their demands that the government lower the greenhouse gas emissions from the wetlands. By giving indications of what will be done to alter a problematic condition, the sentence express modality within another part of prognostic framing, which is the modal auxiliary of intention (Vicari, 2010).

Restore wetlands put a lot of emphasis on that the practical changes need to occur on a governmental level. The responsibility of implementing real change is not expressed to be the responsibility of one single citizen. However, another theme within the prognostic framing is
how Restore wetlands stress the importance of democratic input by demanding that citizen assembly to demand change. This will be further analyzed in the following section.

5.2.2. The Demand for Citizens’ Resistance

The main method that Restore wetlands proposes in order to reach a solution, is for the Swedish citizens to together mobilize and demand change. In Figure 8, this is framed as being the only alternative left in order to save the climate: “For three weeks we will disrupt business as usual, as much as is peacefully required. This is done because everything else has already been tested - no choice exists anymore” (Figure 8). This sentence shows emotions of desperation and hints that the methods that have been previously used when fighting for causes of climate change have not been successful. The situation is described as more desperate than ever, thus requiring more disruptive and radical methods to make a change. The methods that are proposed to reach the solutions are civil resistance or disobedience. This is done by blocking highways or streets, which is described in terms of “one-person blockages” or “two-person blockages”. It is often referred to as ‘going out on the streets’ (see Figure 8). Restore wetlands argue that civil resistance is a solution to get political leaders to listen. By making themselves seen and heard in places around Stockholm, Restore wetlands argue that it is done to show people that they no longer intend to accept the government’s lack of action (see Figure 2).

The civil disobedience method is depicted frequently in the images of the analytical material. Several images denote people protesting and blockading the streets (See Figures 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10 & 11). The image in Figure 8, for instance, depicts three protesters sitting on the road during a blockage of a road. Two activists are holding a protest sign between them and are facing a car that is right in front of them and visible on the edge of the image. One of the protesters is at a close distance from the camera, and the close shot of him gives a more personal feeling by revealing his determined, and perhaps peaceful, facial expression. Similar to Figure 8, the image in Figure 9 depicts a man in a close-range shot. The person is standing in front of a white wall, and in the left corner of the image is the symbol of the Restore wetlands organization. On the right side of the image are verbal text which is likely to be a quote that belongs to the man in the photo. The facial expression of the man shows emotions of joy since he’s smiling, and perhaps some emotion of pride (Jasper, 2011). The quote in the image is also repeated in the caption of Figure 9, which says: “It is up to us citizens to bring about the necessary change, because no one else will do it for us. Now is the time for civil resistance unprecedented in history. I do what I believe is necessary for the change that needs to happen.”. This quote claims
that the civil resistance is necessary to fight the climate crisis, and that the need to act is more crucial than ever in history.

**Figure 9**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

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<tr>
<td><img src="image.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><strong>CIVIL RESISTANCE THAT LACKS OPPOSITION</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;Those who participate in the Restore Wetlands campaign are people who are peacefully resisting, coming together and demanding that politicians do their jobs.  &quot;It is up to us citizens to bring about the necessary change, because no one else will do it for us. Now is the time for civil resistance unprecedented in history. I do what I believe is necessary for the change that needs to happen.” - Lior Stefansson, 28 years old, student&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;Organic farming and sustainable living, Skattungbyn</td>
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The blockading of the highways is a method that is disruptive and described as a dangerous act. It is also a method that is quite radical, because of the desperation that the organization expresses in the material. In Figure 3, the organization encourages the recipients to join them and mobilize. They express how none of the people wants to sit on a road and face violent drivers, followed by the question: “But what should they and YOU do when the politicians refuse to act in proportion to the enormous threat we face?” (see Figure 3). The word you in capital letters is a strong appeal to the public, asking what the recipient should do to fix the problem since there is no other option. This expresses moral emotions of guilt since the sentence put the responsibility on the individual alongside the politicians. The caption then answers the previous questions with the words “this is what you can do” in capital letters followed by some ways people can participate, for example by joining them when they block roads, hand out flyers or donate money to the organization. Here the organizations line up actions to be made by the recipient. However, apart from protesting, the solutions to the issue might maintain to be difficult for people outside of the organization to comprehend.
Other than trying to mobilize people to take part in the protest, the movement seek support by asking for donations (see Figures 3 and 10). The image in Figure 10 denotes yellow big-lettered text that says, “Become a monthly donor” (my translation). In the image behind the text, a protester is sitting on the ground, holding a protest sign. In the background, the picture depicts two police vans and two policemen, and what can be assumed given the context to be an activist being dragged away by the policemen from the protest. This could be done to show the risks that the protesters are exposed to but could also show the heroism and the courage of the activists, making them worthy of donations. This reveals emotions of pride, that their actions can be seen as admirable. In the caption, the organization asks for donations by giving examples of how much the recipient can give: “Donate a day’s salary, an hour’s salary or the equivalent of a coffee, to support Restore Wetlands! If you would rather donate a lump sum, you can also do that. All contributions are welcome, big or small” (Figure 10). This shows a clear action for the recipient to take to support the organization, however, Restore wetlands do not specify what the donations will contribute to.

**Figure 10**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
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| ![Image](image_url) | **NOW YOU CAN BECOME A MONTHLY DONATOR**  
Link is in the bio. Donate a day’s salary, an hour’s salary or the equivalent of a coffee, to support Restore Wetlands! If you would rather donate a lump sum, you can also do that. All contributions are welcome, big or small  
Thanks for contributing and helping us share the post! |

_Source: Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022j. Reprinted with permission. Translated._

### 5.3. Motivational frames

The following section will present the themes found within the motivational frames of the analysis material. Identifying the motivational frames may assist in answering questions about
how the need for action is communicated and what arguments are made for mobilization's effectiveness. Moreover, it will examine the moral arguments that justify action.

5.3.1. The Climate Crisis as an Urgent Catastrophe

A key motivational theme in Restore wetlands is the conveyed sense of urgency, which addresses the need to act. As discussed previously, the impact of climate change and its consequences are strongly emphasized in the diagnostic framing problem. The movement regularly expresses how the climate crisis will only get worse, and that it's urgent if we want to stop the spiraling downfall. A common discourse in climate communication is the way the crisis is as a problem distant in time. For example, goals to reduce emissions by 2050 seem very far into the future, which psychologically can risk people to turn off their feelings of risks and morality (Stoknes, 2014). This can additionally impact people to think that the climate crisis is someone else’s problem and can be dealt with in the future. Restore wetlands does however point out that we need to act now and that we no longer can wait out the politicians. Several sentences and expressions indicated the sense of urgency to act: “We no longer have any time to lose!” (Figure 2), “We can no longer afford to wait and hope” (figure 7), "When do you want to save the climate?" Preferably ASAP, right?” (Figure 4). The lexical choice of the word “saving” implies that the world is in danger and that it is our responsibility to save it. This could be a lot to put on an individual’s shoulder and create a feeling of doom (Stoknes, 2014). The movement furthermore suggests that "You are needed in the fight for survival” (Figure 11), where it’s indicated that the survival of humans is in the hands of us citizens. This kind of doom framing can risk making people feel overwhelmed or helpless (Stoknes, 2014).

Restore wetlands further emphasizes that if we do not act immediately, we will meet terrible consequences. Restore wetlands frame the need to act through an ultimatum: either we stand up and demand change now, or we do nothing and face the dreaded consequences. The movement either frames the crisis as happening right now, in the present time: "The climate disaster is here" (Figure 9), “People die every day as a result of global warming and wars escalated due to Climate change” (Figure 3), or it is framed as a very near future: “Climate collapse is now close, unimaginably close” (Figure 7). The lexical choices of the words ‘disaster’ and ‘collapse’ indicate very harmful situations and illustrate an apocalyptic narrative (Foust and Murphy, 2009). The strong representation of disaster and catastrophe conveys strong emotions of fear. While this has the potential to attract the audience's immediate response, fear is generally not an effective tool for motivating people’s sustained engagement
(O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009). If a movement chooses an approach of representing disasters, they must also show people which effective actions to take, because audiences otherwise might switch off or become numbed to the negative message (Hulme, 2009). Thus, climate activists may have used up the emotional capacity to respond to the apocalypse and doom, which is a state that is called “apocalypse fatigue” (Stoknes, 2014).

The claim for people to act because of the urgency and the catastrophic consequences is a strong motivational framing in the analytical material and can be seen as a characterization of the movement (Vicari, 2010). The apocalyptic and doom framing is mostly communicated through the verbal parts of the posts. The analyzed material does not contain any images that depict the disasters and collapses that the organization talks about. Showing images of the climate impacts, instead of the causes and solutions, can often prompt a desire to respond, but because they are emotionally powerful, they can also be overwhelming (Corner et al., 2015).

5.3.2. Children as Moral Motivators

Another distinct motivation theme in the content of the movement that further sustains the doom framing was the way children and their futures were specified as a moral reason for the recipient to act. This is communicated by describing how the children and the younger generation will face apocalyptic consequences if the government installs policies to restore the wetlands. For instance, in the caption of Figure 3, Restore wetlands make an effort to mobilize people in protests and to demand that the politicians “protect our country and our beloved children from the climate crisis and the social collapse that awaits them” (Figure 3). The caption continues by blaming the Swedish politicians for letting the young generation face “a future full of suffering, violence and death in a climate hell” (Figure 3). Once again are the lexical choices in this extract representations of doom and an apocalyptic future, where the words ‘social collapse’, ‘suffering’, ‘violence’, ‘death’, and ‘climate hell’ convey strong opinions about the fact that the lack of action from the government is morally wrong. It also expresses and reveals emotions like fear and outrage (Jasper, 2011).

Another example of the way children are used as moral motivators is in the caption of Figure 5. It consists of a quote from one of the activists within the organization, who is described as a father of four children: "If we don't do the impossible, we will face the unthinkable. I'm not going to let my children witness that" (Figure 5). The representation of a parent expressing his concern and his moral reason to act might be a way to inspire other parents to do the same for
their children. It could work as a moral motivator to get people to act, but could also make parents feel guilt for not prioritizing their children’s future. This is further emphasized in figure 4 where Restore wetlands express that we need to reprioritize and value our children’s future higher than for example our job.

The representation of children as moral motivators for protesting could be a way of targeting a specific group of people. Unlike other environmental movements, like Fridays for future which consists of young people, the movement Restore wetlands claims that all ages are welcome to join them. None of the images in the analyzed material depicted children, instead, the protesters that were represented were adults in various ages. This representation might indicate that organization is targeting and motivating a specific target group, perhaps adults and those who are parents, into feeling morally guilty to act and demand a change.

5.3.3. Assembling Citizens in Protests Makes Leaders Act

The last theme within the motivational framing did excel from the other themes that mainly communicated moral emotions like shame, guilt, and fear. The recurrent argument that was made to strengthen the mobilization's effectiveness was that the civil disobedience protests force politicians and leaders to act. This motivational framing is expressed in Figure 11:

> The only thing we can do now is resisting so that our leaders will act in the way that is required to avoid the very worst consequences. Restore Wetlands have stirred the pot since March and suddenly there is much more discussion about wetlands and their importance in reducing emissions (Figure 11).

The lexical choice of “stirring the pot”, indicates that resisting protest or civil disobedience is a more controversial tactic than what has been done previously. It is also described as having woken up a discussion in society about the importance of restoring the wetlands, which is an argument that might be used to motivate people and show that their protesting has led to more attention and knowledge about the matter in Sweden. They further imply that new methods need to be established in order for the government to listen: “During three weeks we will disrupt business as usual, as much as is peacefully required. This is done because everything else has already been tested - there is no choice anymore” (Återställ våtmarker, 2022d). The way they state that there is no other choice than to use more disruptive ways of protesting indicates a sense of desperation. The image in Figure 11 denotes an individual sitting in the middle of a
street with a protest sign, with their back facing the camera. The protester is facing several cars that are heading toward him/her, either standing still or in motion. The image also includes a text that reads: “How do you become equally as cool as a highway-blocker – A new beginner guide”. The lexical choice of the word “cool”, shows an opinion of something being associated with admiration or relaxed. This sentence indicates that protesting and blocking highways is not dangerous or a radical act, but something cool and admirable, which can be a way of motivating people to protest.

The motivational framing is further communicated in Figure 2 when Restore wetlands implies that “what is required now is a resistance that those in power cannot turn a blind eye to, and for this we need you!”. To turn a blind eye indicates that something has been ignored, which further points to morality and that the government and the political leaders should have feelings of guilt (Jasper, 2011). This sentence indicates that by showing resistance and protesting, the ones in power can no longer ignore the issue, and therefore will restore the wetlands. The way the recipients are encouraged to act and given the possibility to make other people act can possibly motivate people to engage, and express emotions of hope and pride (Jasper, 2011). Therefore, the material contains moral batteries, meaning that it expresses hope and pride as well as moral emotions like shame, guilt, and fear. Putting hope for future change alongside fear and anxiety has the potential to motivate protest and political action by presenting a contrast between the way things are and how things might be in the future (Jasper, 2011).
You are invited to participate in the civil resistance!

Throughout the week, people from Restore Wetlands will be doing one-person blockades on streets in town. You are invited to join and together with another person make a two-person blockade.

The climate disaster is here. You know it, we know it. The only thing we can do now is resist for our rulers to act in the way necessary to avoid the very worst consequences. Restore Wetlands have stirred the pot since March and all of a sudden there is much more talk about wetlands and their importance in reducing emissions.

You will get to practice before you sit and will get to sit right next to another person. So if you are interested in sitting for a few minutes, contact us directly. You are needed in the fight for survival.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyze how the civil disobedience movement Restore wetlands frame climate change issues and mobilize climate action through their communication on the social media platform Instagram. The research questions this study aimed to answer were: “How does Restore wetlands frame itself as a civil disobedience movement through its Instagram content?” This was followed by the sub-questions: “What are the main issues and proposed solutions identified by the movement?” and “How does the movement mobilize individuals to engage in collective action and civil disobedience?”

Upon analysis, it was found that the civil disobedience movement frames itself as a collective group of people dedicated to spreading the message of restoring wetlands and lowering Sweden’s greenhouse gas emissions. The organization believes that the most important task of Swedish citizens is to mobilize and bring attention to an issue that has previously been ignored by the world’s leaders and politicians. They claim that in order to create a change, more disruptive and radical strategies are needed. Since Restore wetlands is a small organization, their communication does not seem to be professionally supervised with polished statements or staged images. Instead, the content offers transparent and emotion-driven communication, where strong emotions and claims are made and where they loudly speak of their opinions and what they believe in. Thereby, the organization's content becomes unique in comparison to other environmental organizations, and the analysis could identify some new frames within the collective action framing of social movements.

One of the most prominent frames throughout the analyzed content was the conveyed feeling of desperation and urgency. It is continuously argued that previous protest strategies for bringing awareness to climate issues have had no real effect since politicians keep ignoring the issue. Therefore, the organization argues that more disruptive methods like road blocking, are essential to spread the message of the urgency of the climate and to make people act immediately. In the diagnostic framing, the issue was described as the excavated wetlands that produce anthropogenic greenhouse which in turn cause injustices across time and space. This framing of the issue resembles other previous climate campaigns like Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion (Wahlström et al., 2013; de Moor et al., 2021). The interlinkage between global and local dimensions in Restore wetland's framing of the issue is found to be an effective way to emphasize severity and is moreover a notable frame in previous studies (Fernandes-
The cause of the problem is described to be the government and the politicians’ fault, where they are blamed for not listening soon enough to the scientific facts, for not prioritizing and acting on the issue in the present time, and for not implementing policies to secure a safe future for the next generation. Furthermore, the prognostic framing highlights the necessity for the Swedish government to implement policies for restoring wetlands. Within the communication, another theme was the strong emphasis on Swedish citizens' democratic and civil responsibility to fight climate change and engage in protests. At some points, the organization even puts blame on individual citizens for not prioritizing fighting for the climate or saving their children's future, and for thinking that someone else is going to solve the crisis. This puts a lot of guilt on the recipient, which creates confusion in relation to the overall strong division of adversarial them and the collective us, where the adversarial them mostly consists of the government and world leaders, and the collective us consists of the protesters, activists, and citizens that are affected by the lack of action of those in power.

The prognostic framing is highly focused on displaying civil action and civil disobedience as the main solution to the issue. The most noticeable difference from studies of similar movements is that Restore wetlands has a specific demand and national issue they are fighting for, unlike for example Fridays of Future which has a more general demand of world leaders to ‘listen to the scientific facts’ (de Moor et al., 2021). However, the movement does not express any specific steps of action to take, besides protesting or donating money. For example, how to practically restore the wetlands or what the policies, implemented by the government, would consist of are not expressed in the material. Therefore, the message has the possibility to fail to be understood by the recipients, since it requires the audience to know how to practically solve the excavated wetlands. The issue can seem difficult or abstract for people, thus making them less eager to act on the matter, especially when it involves more radical and risky protest strategies. The methods that are proposed to reach a solution are for people to disrupt through civil disobedience, often by sitting on a road or highway and blocking it. This is argued to in turn bring attention to the issue, since the disruptive protests can’t be ignored by society when it disturbs them in their regular life.

Another identified frame that is unique for this case is the motivational frame of using children as moral motivators to act. Previously, environmental movements consisting of youths and children, like for example Fridays for Future, have fought for their own future and demanded that the older generations and leaders must act to save future generations. In Restore wetlands
case, which is an organization that claims that they do not consist of a specific age group, the motivational reason to act is to save their own children's future. It can therefore be interpreted that the motivational frames are directed to people who are parents, and the threatening of an apocalyptic future for their children can be used to “guilt-trip” or scare some people into action.

Furthermore, this thesis analyzed the presence of emotions within the communication of Restore wetlands to get a better understanding of how the movement motivates and mobilizes supporters. The most dominant emotions were the moral emotions, which consisted of shame, guilt, pride, and outrage. The content also showed reflex emotions of anger and fear. These emotions were as previously stated strongly directed towards the government for not acting in line with the seriousness of the issue, and for the people who do not seem to prioritize climate action in their lives. Restore wetlands is motivating its audience by expressing that the crisis is happening now – it's urgent and it is happening near us. However, the movement expresses negative emotions and feelings of doom and an apocalyptic future, which might create psychological barriers in people to act. The doom framing can risk making people feel overwhelmed or helpless. While the strong representation of disaster and catastrophe has the potential to attract the audience's immediate response, fear is generally not an effective tool when aiming for people’s sustained engagement (O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009).

In some of the content, Restore wetlands motivates people to act by showing emotions of hope, by for example highlighting other climate actions that have been successful. Another framing that aimed to motivate people using positive emotions was by emphasizing that the mobilization of people in protest makes politicians act. The motivational framing does therefore contain moral batteries, meaning that it expresses hope and pride as well as moral emotions like shame, guilt, and fear. Jasper (2011) argues that combining hope for future change with fear and anxiety is a contrast between the way things are now and the way things might be which helps motivate protest and political action. Although the organization at times expresses hope and pride, the most prominent emotion in the content is fear and guilt. It can be argued that frames appealing to moral arguments are more likely to influence social action on climate change (Corner & Randall, 2011), however, climate change may on the other hand be better explained by other variables such as hope and moral motivation, instead of using negative emotions (Bamberg et al., 2015). While this ambiguity seems to resonate with
activists’ mixed feelings of hope and despair, more research is needed to examine how these contradicting emotional frames can be reconciled in the long run.

With the climate crisis becoming more urgent, the desperate situation has affected movements to take on more desperate measures and more radical protest tactics. This study showed that communicating and mobilizing people to act through social media is a complex task, and with the last couple of years opening up discursive space for radical change, a key focus for future research is whether and how the new climate activists will manage to make use of that. Restore wetlands is only one example of many national organizations fighting for local issues concerning climate change. This study has shown that the shift of disruptive and desperate tactics of protests on the streets has similarly found its way into communication on digital media platforms, where activists express more radical, straightforward, and emotional opinions. However, if Restore wetlands communication is actually effective and results in more people participating in civil disobedience is a question for future research to explore further.

6.1. Future research

This study has contributed further insights into how Swedish environmental movements mobilize action online and contributed some knowledge to the existing research field of environmental movements, collective action, and climate communication. Suggestions for further research are to analyze the collective action frames on social media of similar cases of civil disobedience organizations in other countries. It would be additionally interesting to analyze how Restore wetlands is being framed as an organization in traditional media and how well its message comes across to the public.
7. References


Naturvårdsverket. (2023, 26 April). Våtmarker och klimat. https://www.naturvardsverket.se/amnesomraden/vatmark/vatmarker-och-klimat?_t_hit.id=Boilerplate_Episher.Features_EpisherFind.Models_EpisherFindDocument/20790_sv&_t_q=v%C3%A5tmarker&_t_id=PIz0zEDQSuifQs3mVD-9Ag&_t_tags=siteid:69c7ea6e-2b02-4832-8c8c-31da973f12f1.language:sv


Återställ våtmarker [@aterstallvatmarker]. (2022c, 4 April). The facts are undeniable. [Photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Cb7o6ruDlfJ/


8. Appendix

8.1. Figures

Figure 1

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image_url" alt="Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account" /></td>
<td>Ditched wetlands release large amounts of greenhouse gases and exacerbate the climate crisis. We demand that the government restore the wetlands and reduce emissions now!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Original caption:**

Dikade våtmarker släpper ut stora mängder växthusgaser och förvärrar klimatkrisen. Vi kräver att regeringen återställer våtmarkerna och minskar utsläppen nu!
"Deadly disease bacteria are thawing out of the permafrost, the Amazon rainforest has turned into savannah and melting ice has raised the sea level by several meters. This is what the climate scientists' worst scenario "Hot House Earth" looks like and that is where we are headed if the emission curves continue to rise as they are now ". If the world is to keep global warming at 1.5 degrees, emissions must stop completely in 6 years and 240 days, calculated based on the models in the IPCC's report "Global Warming of 1.5°C" from 2018. It is an almost unimaginable political challenge," reports Erika Bjerström in Svt on May 4.

In Sweden, excavated wetlands account for about 25% of our climate emissions. By damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped. During the first week of Restore Wetland's second wave, supporters of the campaign have made themselves seen and heard in places around Stockholm - to get more people to show that they no longer intend to accept this deadly passivity.

Before the coming weeks, there needs to be as many people as possible on the capital's streets. We no longer have any time to lose! What is required now is a resistance that those in power cannot turn a blind eye to, and for this we need you! Come to a lecture - you can find all the information on our Facebook during events. Link is in the bio.

Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022e. Reprinted with permission. Translated.

Original caption:
Why do people need to take to the roads again and again to get the government to act? Why is this what is required in our society for those in power to listen?

Already 50 years ago, climate scientists showed that the climate crisis is a real threat and will affect us ALL if nothing is done. The climate and environmental movement fought with all legal means. But what did the rulers of the world do?

Nothing. They fueled the crisis and emissions only increased. Now the climate disaster is here. People die every day as a result of global warming and wars escalated due to Climate change. Sweden’s politicians stand completely helpless and let the entire young generation face a future full of suffering, violence and death in a climate hell.

None of the people sitting on the roads want to have to do that. No one wants to have to make others angry or face a violent driver. But what should they and YOU do when the politicians refuse to act in proportion to the enormous threat we face? It is now that action is required, in the absence of responsibility from those who should have acted five decades ago.

THIS IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Join us the next time more people come out and demand that the government protect our country and our beloved children from the climate crisis and the social collapse that awaits them.

1. Join us and act next time Restore Wetlands block roads in Stockholm in connection with the 2022 election.

2. Join and help mobilize more, e.g., handing out flyers in Stockholm. Email vatmarker@protonmail.com to get more info where we meet.

3. Donate, SWISH to 123 066 34 43. SEK 10,000 can cover costs for one more blocking team for 1 week.

Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022g. Reprinted with permission. Translated.

Original caption:

Varför behöver människor gång på gång sätta sig på vägarna för att få regeringen att agera? Varför är det detta som krävs i vårt samhälle för att makthavarna ska lyssna? Redan för 50 år

**Figure 4**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image.jpg" alt="Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account" /></td>
<td>When do you want to save the climate? Preferably ASAP, right? However, many in society are too busy and think that someone else can fix it. The problem is that almost everyone is crazy busy and thus no one has time to save the climate. Unless we start to re-prioritize our lives and value the children's future higher than our job, our studies, etc. Do you want to devote time to the climate movement but find it difficult to combine it with everyday life? Come and talk about it! We have online meetings every Thursday at 19:00 and every Monday at 18:30. Welcome! Monday 18:30 [link] Thursdays 19:00 [link] For more info, see here: [link]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022k. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*

**Original caption:**

**Figure 5**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>&quot;The facts are undeniable. This abdication of leadership is criminal. The world's biggest polluters are guilty of arson of our only home. Nearly half of humanity is living in the danger zone now, many ecosystems are at the point of no return now, and unchecked carbon pollution is forcing the world's most vulnerable on a frog march to destruction now.&quot; - UN Secretary-General António Guterres. This is what the UN Secretary General said after the IPCC's latest report. Time is running out, we must act according to the magnitude of the gravity. &quot;If we don't do the impossible, we will be faced with the unthinkable. I'm not going to let my children witness that&quot; - Joakim, father of 4 children. The smallest possible step is to do the obvious: Restore wetlands!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Original caption:**

"The facts are undeniable. This abdication of leadership is criminal. The world’s biggest polluters are guilty of arson of our only home. Nearly half of humanity is living in the danger zone now, many ecosystems are at the point of no return now, and unchecked carbon pollution is forcing the world’s most vulnerable on a frog march to destruction now." - FN:s generalsekreterare António Guterres. Detta sa alltså FN:s generalsekreterare efter IPCC:s senaste rapport. Tiden rinner ut, vi måste agera efter allvarets magnitud. "Om vi inte gör det omöjliga kommer vi att ställas inför det otänkbara. Det tänker jag inte låta mina barn bevitna“
- Joakim, pappa till 4 barn. Det minsta möjliga steget är att göra det självlklara: Återställ våtmarker!

**Figure 6**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image-url" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>THIS PHOTO INSPIRES US SO DAMN MUCH! Thousands of people on the highways outside Belgrade, Serbia. IT IS FULLY POSSIBLE For months, day after day, people were out on the highways protesting the Serbian government’s plans to open a mine for lithium extraction. On January 21, 2022, the government backed down and Rio Tinto, British Australian mining giant, had to pack up and go home. Soon it will be time to RESTORE WETLANDS. On August 29th, we’ll hit the highways again and demand that the government implement the most obvious climate action, namely - restore wetlands! You're invited! Come to a lecture (see our Facebook page) or email <a href="mailto:vatmarker@protonmail.com">vatmarker@protonmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Återställ våtmarker, 2022h. Reprinted with permission. Translated.

**Original caption:**

DETTA FOTO INSPIRERAR OSS SÅ JÄKLA MYCKET! Tusentals människor på motorvägarna utanför Belgrad, Serbien. DET ÄR FULLT MÖJLIGT. I månader, dag efter dag, var folk ute på motorvägarna och protestade mot den serbiska regeringens planer på att öppna en gruva för litium utvinning. Den 21 januari 2022 backade regeringen och Rio Tinto, brittiskt australiensisk gruvjätte, fick packa och åka hem. Snart är det dags för ÅTERSTÄLL VÅTMARKER. Den 29 augusti går vi ut på motorvägarna igen och kräver att regeringen genomför den mest självlklara klimatåtgärden, nämligen - återställer våtmarker! Du är väl med! Kom på en föreläsning (se vår Facebook sida) eller maila vatmarker@protonmail.com
### Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ![Image](image-url) | Cool!  
Yes, it was time for DN to start writing about A22 Network! Generazione, one of Restore Wetlands’ sister campaigns, did an action at the Uffizi art museum in Florence.  
"In the same way that we defend our artistic heritage, we should protect and take care of the planet that we share with the rest of the world" say those involved in Ultima Generazione. The action comes after activists from Just stop oil in Great Britain carried out a similar series of protests at art galleries, and several activist networks in Europe, Australia and Canada have implemented traffic blockades, writes DN. DN must have missed to add Restore Wetlands. What a mistake!  
We are the last generation. Restore Wetlands is about to complete its third wave of action. On August 29 and until the election, we are once again out and putting forward our demand: what we need is a national crisis project - restore excavated wetlands, they leak huge amounts of carbon dioxide.  
A22 Network currently consists of 10 countries. |

*Source: Återställ våtmarker, 2022i. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*

**Original caption:**

Coolt! Ja, det var på tiden att DN börjar skriva om A22 Network! Ultima Generazione, en av Återställ Våtmarkers systerkanter, gjorde en aktion på konstmuseet Uffizierna i Florens.  
"På samma sätt som vi försvarar vårt konstnärliga arv borde vi skydda och ta hand om planeten som vi delar med resten av världen" säger engagerade i Ultima Generazione. Aktionen kommer efter att aktivister från Just stop oil i Storbritannien utfört en liknande serie av protester vid konstgallerier, och flera aktivistnätverk i Europa, Australien och Kanada har genomfört trafikblockader, skriver DN. DN missade visst att lägga till Återställ Våtmarker. Vilken tabbe!  
Vi är den sista generationen. Återställ Våtmarker genomför snart sin tredje aktionsväg. Den 29 augusti och fram till valet är vi återigen ute och framför vårt krav: vi behöver är ett nationellt krisprojekt - återställ utdikade våtmarker de läcker enorma mängder koldioxid. Kom på Intro:
Gå på en online föreläsning: [link]. Kom på Återställ Våtmarkers presentation om det växande civila motståndet: [link] onsdagen den 3 augusti A22 Network består just nu av 10 länder.

**Figure 8**

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ![Image](image.png) | Climate collapse is now close, unimaginably close. For the second time, therefore, the Restore Wetlands campaign is getting ready to take to the streets to present its demand to the government: Restore Wetlands now. For three weeks we will disrupt business as usual, as much as is peacefully required. This is done because everything else has already been tested - no choice exists anymore. Now we need all the support we can get - for the coming weeks we need to be as many as possible. We can no longer afford to wait and hope. Now something has to happen, something that cannot be ignored.

Come to a lecture - you can find all the information on our Facebook during events. Link is in the bio.

Excavated wetlands account for approximately 25% of Sweden’s climate emissions. That is more than the emissions from Sweden’s combined passenger car traffic. By damming up the wetlands again, emissions can be stopped. |

*Source: Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022d. Reprinted with permission. Translated.*

**Original caption:**

CIVIL RESISTANCE THAT LACKS OPPOSITION

Those who participate in the Restore Wetlands campaign are people who are peacefully resisting, coming together and demanding that politicians do their jobs.

"It is up to us citizens to bring about the necessary change, because no one else will do it for us. Now is the time for civil resistance unprecedented in history. I do what I believe is necessary for the change that needs to happen."

- Lior Stefansson, 28 years old, student

Organic farming and sustainable living, Skattungbyn

**Source:** Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022b. Reprinted with permission. Translated.

**Original caption:**


- Lior Stefansson, 28 år, student. Ekologisk odling och hållbar livsföring, Skattungbyn
### Figure 10

*Instagram post from Restore wetlands’ account*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ![Image](image.png) | **NOW YOU CAN BECOME A MONTHLY DONATOR**  
Link is in the bio. Donate a day's salary, an hour's salary or the equivalent of a coffee, to support Restore Wetlands! If you would rather donate a lump sum, you can also do that. All contributions are welcome, big or small.  
Thanks for contributing and helping us share the post! |

*Source: Återställ våtmarkerna, 2022.* Reprinted with permission. Translated.

**Original caption:**

You are invited to participate in the civil resistance!

Throughout the week, people from Restore Wetlands will be doing one-person blockades on streets in town. You are invited to join and together with another person make a two-person blockade.

The climate disaster is here. You know it, we know it. The only thing we can do now is resist for our rulers to act in the way necessary to avoid the very worst consequences. Restore Wetlands have stirred the pot since March and all of a sudden there is much more talk about wetlands and their importance in reducing emissions.

You will get to practice before you sit and will get to sit right next to another person. So if you are interested in sitting for a few minutes, contact us directly. You are needed in the fight for survival.


Original caption: