

FINNISH CLIMATE MOVEMENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CLIMATE COMMUNICATION

Saara Bök
Master's thesis
Organizational Communication &
Public Relations
Department of Language and
Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä
Spring 2022
Supervisor: Mark Badham

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Faculty Humanities & Social Sciences	Department Language & Communication Studies
Author Böök, Saara	
Title Finnish Climate Movements' Perceptions of Climate Communication	
Subject Organizational Communication and Public Relations	Level Master's thesis
Month and year May 2022	Number of pages 56+appendix
<p>Abstract</p> <p>After decades of arguing about the human role and cause of climate change, now there is a great scientific consensus that climate change is mainly caused by human activities. Over the past years, a new wave of climate movements has emerged all over the world. Similarly in Finland, new activist groups and other actors within climate movements have emerged. The climate crisis is everything but an easy task for communicators both from the perspective of scientific facts of it and the engagement point of view. The research on climate communication of these movements has been limited to this day and the focus of the research has primarily been in the U.S.</p> <p>The aim of this master's thesis is to explore the Finnish climate movements' perceptions of climate communication, the communication challenges they might face, and the factors they perceive as fosters for their climate communication. The data of this research was collected through semi-structured interviews (n=5) remotely in March 2022. The interviewees were representatives of Finnish climate movements, either from an NGO or activist group. The interviews were analyzed by thematic analysis.</p> <p>The findings of this study suggest that honest climate communication is an important and integrated part of climate movements' operations and an instrument to pursue some of their goals. Climate communication of climate movements aims to mobilize, engage in action and get visibility for the overall cause, the climate crisis. The psychological barriers, the focus of the climate change discussion in society, both the traditional media and social media platforms, and the organizational structure of the movements were considered to cause challenges for the climate communication of the movements. For some, these challenges were resulting in difficulties in reaching more wider and diverse audiences. To foster the climate communication and further connect with the people outside this 'green bubble', movements should understand the audience they want to target and frame the message accordingly, use hopeful message frames, and give up the idea of absolutism and target the people through their communities. Nonetheless, to mobilize as many people as possible and more diverse groups of people, a variety of tactics and approaches are needed. Altogether, the cooperation of different kinds of climate movements working towards the same goal was considered one of the most important elements of the Finnish climate movements.</p> <p>Future research on climate communication as well as climate movements could benefit from interdisciplinary research that focuses on the target groups' perceptions of climate communication or further analysis of the climate communication content of the climate movements.</p>	
Keywords climate communication, climate movements, activism, NGOs, social movements, climate crisis	
Depository University of Jyväskylä	
Additional information	

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Laitos Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos
Tekijä Böök, Saara	
Työn nimi Finnish Climate Movements' Perceptions of Climate Communication	
Oppiaine Yhteisöviestintä	Työn laji Maisterin tutkielma
Aika Toukokuu 2022	Sivumäärä 56+liite
<p>Tiivistelmä</p> <p>Vuosikymmenien väittelyn jälkeen ilmastotieteilijöillä on yksimielinen käsitys siitä, että ilmastonmuutos on pääasiallisesti ihmistoiminnan aiheuttama. Viime vuosien aikana uusi ilmastoliikkeen aalto on tullut esiin ympäri maailmaa, kuten myös Suomessa, jossa uusia aktivistiryhmiä ja muita toimijoita on ilmaantunut kentälle jo olemassa olevien tueksi. Ilmastokriisi on viestinnällisesti haastava aihe niin ryhmien sitouttamisen kuin tieteellisen tiedon lisäämisen näkökulmasta. Vain rajallinen määrä tutkimustietoa ilmastoliikkeen ilmastoviestinnästä on julkaistu ja iso osa jo toteutetusta tutkimuksesta sijoittuu Yhdysvaltoihin.</p> <p>Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tarkoituksena on kuvata millaisia näkemyksiä suomalaisen ilmastoliikkeen toimijoilla on ilmastoviestinnästä, siihen liittyvistä haasteista sekä tekijöistä, jotka koetaan helpottavan ilmastoviestinnän toteutusta. Tutkielman aineisto koostuu viidestä suomalaisen ilmastoliikkeen, joko aktivismiryhmän tai kansalaisjärjestön edustajasta. Aineiston kerättiin laadullisin menetelmin käyttämällä puolistrukturoitua haastattelumenetelmää maaliskuussa 2022 etäyhteyksien välityksellä. Haastatteluaineiston analyysi tapahtui teemoittelun avulla.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella voidaan sanoa, että totuudenmukainen ilmastoviestintä on tärkeä osa ilmastoliikkeen kokonaisvaltaista toimintaa ja keino saavuttaa joitakin liikkeen tavoitteista. Ilmastoliikkeen ilmastoviestintä on mobilisoivaa, sitouttaa tekoihin sekä pyrkii lisäämään näkyvyyttä ilmastokriisille. Ilmastoliikkeen ilmastoviestinnän haasteiksi koettiin ihmisten psykologisten esteiden lisäksi tavat joille ilmaston muutoksesta puhutaan yhteiskunnassa, media, sosiaalinen media sekä ilmastoliikkeen organisaatioiden rakenteet. Joillekin ilmastoliikkeistä nämä haasteet ilmenivät vaikeuksina tavoittaa moninaisempia ryhmiä ilmastoposiitiivisen ryhmän ulkopuolelta. Ilmastoviestintää helpottavina tekijöinä sekä keinona tavoittaa ihmiset ”vihreän kuplan” ulkopuolelta olivat kohderyhmän tunteminen ja viestin kehystäminen kohderyhmän mukaisesti, toivoa herättävät viestikehykset, viestin absoluuttisuudesta luopuminen sekä ryhmien saavuttaminen näiden omissa yhteisöissään. Kuitenkin, tavoittaakseen mahdollisimman moninaisen ja laajan joukon ihmisiä, ilmastoliikkeet tarvitsevat erilaisia lähestymistapoja sekä taktiikoita ilmastoviestinnässään. Kaiken kaikkiaan ilmastoliikkeiden yhteistyö sekä yhteiseen määränpähän toimiminen koettiin yhtenä tärkeimmistä tekijöistä ilmastoliikkeiden suurten tavoitteiden kannalta. Jatkotutkimus sekä ilmastoviestinnän että ilmastoliikkeen kannalta hyötyisi eniten monitieteellisestä tutkimuksesta, jossa tarkasteltavana olisivat joko kohderyhmien näkemykset ilmastoviestinnästä tai ilmastoliikkeen ilmastoviestinnällisen sisällöt.</p>	
Asiasanat ilmastoviestintä, ilmastoliike, aktivismi, kansalaisjärjestöt, yhteiskunnalliset liikkeet, ilmastokriisi	
Säilytyspaikka Jyväskylän yliopisto	
Muita tietoja	

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	7
2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	3
2.1 Defining social movements	3
2.2 Social movements' communication and mobilization	4
2.3 Climate movements	7
2.4 Climate movements in Finland	9
4 CLIMATE COMMUNICATION	11
4.1 Defining climate communication	11
4.2 Climate movements as climate communicators	13
4.2 Climate communication challenges	13
4.2.1 Climate change as a phenomenon	14
4.2.2 Polarization of the issue	14
4.2.3 Psychological barriers	15
4.3 Factors fostering climate communication	16
4.3.1 Know your audience	16
4.3.2 Make climate change meaningful	16
4.3.3 Frame the message	17
4.3.4 Focus on the solutions	18
5 DATA AND METHODOLOGY	19
5.1 Research Questions	19
5.2 Research Philosophy	20
5.3 Data Collection	20
5.6 Data Analysis	22
6 RESULTS	24
6.1 Climate movements' perceptions of climate communication	24
6.1.1 Definitions	24
6.1.2 Change	26
6.1.3 Mobilization	26
6.1.4 Honesty	27
6.1.5 Integrated role of climate communication	27
6.2 Finnish climate movements' challenges on climate communication	28
6.2.1 Psychological barriers	28

6.2.2 Climate change discussion in society	30
6.2.3 Media	31
6.2.4 Social media platforms	32
6.2.5 Organizational structure of the movements	33
6.2.6 Result of the green bubble	34
6.3 Factors fostering climate communication of Finnish climate movements	36
6.3.1 Understand your audience and frame accordingly	36
6.3.2 Frame the message through hope	38
6.3.3 Give up the idea of absolutism	38
6.3.4 Target people through their communities	39
6.3.5 Variety of approaches are needed	40
6.3.6 Together to the same goal	41
7 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS	43
7.1 Finnish climate movements' perceptions of climate communication	43
7.2 Finnish climate movements' challenges on climate communication	44
7.3 Factors fostering Finnish climate movements' climate communication	48
7.4 Limitations of the study	49
7.5 Directions for future research	51
REFERENCES	53
APPENDIX	57

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 An example of the coding process.....	23
Figure 2 The challenges of climate communication	36
Figure 3 Factors fostering climate communication.....	42

1 INTRODUCTION

In the past six months, a lot of interesting and striking events related to the climate crisis have happened. The historical United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26) took place in Glasgow in the fall of 2021 where big groups of activists gathered on the streets to demand the decision-makers take urgent measures. Not long after this, The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change published a part of its latest report with the most alarming message; the aim of keeping the 1,5 degrees Celsius would not be enough to prevent our planet from the changes it is already facing (IPCC, 2021). Climate change, climate emergency, and the crisis itself is not something in the future but here and now.

Climate change is a complex phenomenon, which is challenging both from the scientific communication and the public engagement point of view (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Over the past years, climate communication has moved from persuading people that climate change exists to persuading people to adopt the needed actions to cope with and mitigate it (Nerlich et al., 2010). Many different actors do communicate about the climate crisis, including governments, scientists, companies, CEOs, media, and activists. Despite the past decades of trying to raise awareness and campaigning for the cause, a major part of the public engagement seems to be somewhat stuck (Corner & Clarke, 2014). In 2018, a new wave of the global climate movement has presented itself all around the world. At the same time, also the critique for its tactics and efforts has been in public discussion ever since. The climate crisis, indeed, has become one of the major political issues for societies to solve (Caniglia et al., 2015).

Social and climate movements have traditionally held the role of a watchdog in the society, by driving social change and rising demands against authorities through different kinds of tactics and strategies (Caniglia et al., 2015). Interestingly for this thesis, Moser (2016) has pointed out that the role of climate

communication within the climate movement alongside mass mobilization has continued to be quite neglected in the research field of climate communication. Although communication research has developed around the motivation and mobilization of groups and individuals and therefore strengthening climate movement, the link between these two is still thin (Moser, 2016). In addition, Caniglia et al. (2015) suggest that the analysis of social movements advocating for climate change is still very limited to this day and the need for further research is presented. Nevertheless, public attitudes and public engagement have a huge potential in driving both political, technological, and economic policies toward a more climate-friendly direction (Corner & Clarke, 2017). And this is where climate movements play an important role.

As society is changing continuously, both new opportunities but also challenges to communication emerge. Climate communication is still a rather new field that began to evolve around 15 years ago, and the focus of the research has vastly been on the United States and the western countries (Moser, 2016) and only a few studies have been published in Finland. While this thesis contributes to filling this part of the gap, the aim of the study is not to make a single perfect recipe for climate communication but rather to understand Finnish climate movements' perceptions of climate communication, including the challenges they face and the factors fostering their climate communication. This thesis aims to bring more understanding to the growing areas of climate communication research, such as civic engagement, public participation, and persuasive strategies to affect attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Chadwick, 2017).

By focusing on the environmental NGOs and activist groups operating in Finland and their climate communication efforts, this study illuminates the phenomenon of climate communication and how it is perceived by Finnish climate movements. The research questions are formed as follows:

RQ 1. How do Finnish climate movements perceive climate communication?

RQ 2. What challenges do Finnish climate movements face in their climate communication?

RQ 3. What factors foster Finnish climate movements' climate communication?

This qualitative research is structured as follows. First, the definitions of social movements, their mobilization, and communication efforts are presented, followed by an introduction to a brief review and operation of climate movements. Next, the existing literature on climate communication, its challenges, and suggestions by scholars are explored. Second, the methodology of this study is presented, including how the data was collected and analyzed. Third, the results of this research are presented and discussed. Finally, the implication, limitations, and directions for future research are discussed.

2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This chapter explores the existing literature on what social movements are, how they mobilize people and what kind of communication strategies they use, following the introduction of climate movement literature and a brief history of them in Finland.

2.1 Defining social movements

The literature on social movements has a comprehensive base where the existing research has broadly evolved since the 1950s. However, Jamison (2010) points out that the definitions of social movements vary a lot depending on the different research premises which makes defining social movements complicated. Therefore multiple interpretations and definitions exist for researchers to use. This is well described by Tilly (2004), who suggests that the concept of social movements is not owned by either researchers, critics, or activists.

According to Manuel Castells (2012), social movements are rooted in the injustice of societies that are based on power relations and because societies are contradictory and conflictive, those holding the power are faced with counterpower. Castells (2012) describes that social movements emerge from these counter powers and they are seen as the drivers for social change, like social justice, women's rights, or demand for environmentally friendly policies (Castells, 2012). In addition, it is important to note that social movements can also aim for social change by resisting the changes happening in society (Rucht, 2017).

On the other hand, Sydney Tarrow (2011) has defined social movements as "an excluded collectivity in sustained interaction with economic and political elites seeking social change". Similarly, Dilling and Moser (2007) see social movements as a tool for social engagement, public education, and political pressure. These movements differ in strategies, ideologies, aims, and targets of influence and form different kinds

of political and social organizations, promoting public communication and political mobilization (Dilling & Moser, 2007).

It can be hard to distinguish social movements from other NGOs, initiatives, or political parties (Caniglia et al., 2015). Civil society is “the arena of uncovered collective action around shared interests, purposes and values” (IPCC, 2007 via Caniglia et al., 2015). In fact, social movements operate outside of the for-profit and the governmental sectors, being an important part of civil society (Caniglia et al., 2015). Usually, this outsider status of the group and the use of unconventional tactics – such as street marches, and visible media events – separate them from other political entities (Almeida, 2019). Similarly, Jamison (2010) describes social movements as distinct actors from other political parties or social institutions. Social movements are therefore considered more informal actors, lacking a strong hierarchical structure and creating complex decentralized networks with a strong belief in the common cause (Dietz & Garrelts, 2014).

Jamison (2010) describes social movements as processes of political change, mobilizing people and other resources for a shared goal. Social movements are “a collective form of social behavior that is explicitly organized for political action” (Jamison, 2010). These political actions, protests, and demonstrations can exist before the actual social movement, but a single protest does not form a social movement but instead, must be sustained over some time for social movements to exist (Almeida, 2019). Next, some of the communication and mobilization strategies of social movements are introduced.

2.2 Social movements’ communication and mobilization

Traditionally, social movements have been researched considerably both from the perspective of sociology and social sciences (Tilly, 2004; Della Porta & Diani, 2007; Rucht 2017). More specifically, the field has explored how social movements organize themselves, how they influence society and policies, and what are the most favorable conditions for social movements to operate. Despite the extensive research on social movements, the context of communication has been limited in the academic literature to this day (Simola, 2014; Meikle, 2019). Still, building a social movement would be more than challenging without communication. Drawing from the etymology of the words communication and community, these two seem to be sharing the same roots (Moser, 2009).

‘To communicate’ derives from a Latin word that means ‘to impart,’ ‘to share,’ and ‘to make common’; in turn, the word ‘common’ derives from the two roots com ‘together’ and munia ‘public duties’ (Harper 2001 via Moser 2009).

As a two-way street, communication and community can foster each other and create opportunities for building and sustaining community and individuals to feel

part of a civic community (Moser, 2009). At the same time, failed communication can negatively affect the citizen's activity in the public sphere (Moser, 2009). "How we speak about an issue, about solutions, and about our goals makes all the difference for building an effective campaign and movement." (Moser, 2007). Social movements have traditionally held the role of watchdog in society by pursuing tactics such as lobbying, campaigning, boycotting, and using shame-blame strategies to drive social change (Caniglia et al., 2015).

The ability to frame social problems is considered one of the most important tactics social movements hold (Moser, 2009; Caniglia et al. 2015). Framing means the ability to frame specific social issues or problems to their audience, the general public, and the target of their actions (Caniglia et al., 2015). Brulle (2010) discusses how "social movements seek to spread familiarity and acceptance of the alternative discursive frame, and to generate political pressure to implement institutional change based on this new worldview". Also, social movements should pay close attention to framing because of its ability to invite people into a movement but at the same time keep others out (Moser, 2007).

In the transformation of society, an important distinction in social movements' strategic choice is to mobilize people either from below or from above. In the mobilization from below, issues raised by social movements are first experienced at the individual level and thereafter transformed into common concerns within a collective. Whereas when the mobilization comes from above, social movements are formed through already existing institutions. (Caniglia et al., 2015). Castells (2012) argues that social movements are initially made of individuals and that the formation of the social movements happens along with the transformation of the emotion into action. However, everyone participates in the movement for their motivation and purposes (Castells, 2012).

Similarly, Tarrow (2011) suggests that common interests and values are the basis for social movements' common actions and the reason for people to join the movement. Castells (2012) has described social movements as emotional movements at the individual level. The injustice in the society and therefore topics that social movements try to tackle are usually emotionally loaded. Emotions like fear and enthusiasm are considered the most relevant for social mobilization and motivating political behavior (Castells, 2012). The emotional chain from anxiety to action goes through fear, which could in some cases have a paralyzing effect on action and finally lead to anger (Castells, 2012).

Social movements' claims are raised against the measured responsible opponents, elites, or authorities (Tarrow, 2011). These demands or claims are communicated in growingly expressed via social media platforms or in the form of written formal letters, publicly announced during press conferences, or displayed on banners in protests (Almeida, 2019). The purpose of the different communication activities is to negotiate and attempt to address the grievances and therefore they play a vital role in the overall strategy of the social movement (Almeida, 2019). These strategies vary depending on the organization and can be characterized as either

conventional, meaning petitions, letter-writing campaigns, disruptive, meaning sit-ins, traffic obstruction, or violent meaning riots, revolution, and even terrorism (Almeida, 2019).

Traditionally, social movements have been dependent on the available communication mechanisms like rumors, word-to-mouth, and media for framing their story (Castells, 2012). According to Gamson & Wolfsfeld (1995), this dependency on the traditional media has appeared as a great power of the media system in the interaction of these two. The three main purposes of this transaction for social movements have been mobilization, widened audience, and validation. Social movements perceive traditional media as "agents or handmaidens" of the challenged actors rather than neutral actors (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993).

Castells (2012) suggests that the autonomy of communication is the essence of social movements and therefore vital for social movements in linking, mobilizing, and unifying people for a common cause. Communication processes and their characteristics between individuals participating in the movement affect also the organizational nature of the movements (Castells, 2012). The movements which communicate the most interactive and self-adjusting are usually the ones that are less hierarchical and more participatory. These kinds of movements are described as the derivative of the digital age (Castells, 2012).

Jamison (2010) indicates that social movements are increasingly starting to resemble networks. In the same fashion, Castells (2012) describes networked social movements as an emerging pattern that is spread all over the world. These networked groups can operate both online and offline and serve a great purpose in spreading information and mobilizing the movement (Castells, 2012). New channels of social media have offered social movements new platforms to shape their own story (Castells, 2012; Jamison, 2010). According to Castells (2012) these new social movements tend to trust even less the media and reject all formal organizations. The Internet has offered movements more ways to spread their message and create networks where individuals connect with each other online (Castells, 2012). Jamison (2010) notes that much of the networking activity of contemporary social movements are managed through the Internet and virtually. Thus, social media has changed the way social movements mobilize and organize themselves dramatically. Nowadays many of the movements may be building their communities online and connecting with a wider audience, even simultaneously with face-to-face communication (Castells, 2012).

Castells (2012) suggests that digital social networks are crucial tools for organizing, mobilizing, deliberating, and coordinating movements. Mike Schäfer (2012) proposes that NGOs tend to use more online communication for its relatively cheap price and has the potential to reach large audiences. Still, the role of the internet should be considered more than instrumental for social movements (Castells, 2012). Instead of only creating a space to exist and execute, the Internet creates conditions for collective action that allows the non-hierarchical movements to coordinate, grow, and initially, to survive. Although the importance of the internet and the role of

communication for social movements is significant, it is good to remember that neither the internet nor other technological solutions themselves are the source of social causation (Castells, 2012). The internet-based participation where one participates by sharing information on the issue, signing petitions, or using a movement's hashtag in their post has gotten a lot of criticism and has been accused of being *slacktivism* (Christensen, 2012). The criticism claims that this kind of fast and easy activity simply gives the participant the feeling of doing something good but the real-life impact on political outcomes does not exist (Christensen, 2012). Earl & Rohlinger (2017) referring to Earl (2014) question this view by pointing out that sometimes even the more traditional forms of political participation do not lead to or trigger social change.

2.3 Climate movements

Climate change is caused by increased greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere, which is the major result of the extraction and burning of fossil fuels. After decades of arguing about the human role and cause of climate change, now there is a great scientific consensus that climate change is mainly caused by human activities (IPCC, 2021). Still, some scholars have proven that people do have fundamental misunderstandings about the activities they could do to mitigate climate change (Lehtonen et al., 2020).

Climate change has been a slow, long-term, and somewhat abstract phenomenon to many people (IPCC, 2014 via Markowitz & Guckian, 2016). While according to the latest reports of the IPCC, human activities have resulted in changes in global surface temperatures, extreme weather events, melting of the glaciers, and rising sea level (IPCC, 2021). Climate change is already negatively affecting the physical health of people all around the world, and in all regions, weather and climate extremes are growingly driving displacement (IPCC, 2022). The World Health Organization (2022) predicts that between 2030 and 2050, approximately 250 000 additional deaths are expected per year from several diseases, malnutrition, and heat stress.

According to Dunlap & Brulle (2015) movements have historically been and continue to be major forces to drive reformations required for the climate change kind of problems. Climate movements originate from the environmental movements where the main distinctions are between conservation and environment (Dalton 1994 via Dietz & Garrelts, 2014). The first global climate movements date back to the 1970s when climate change was identified as a possibly great public concern for the first time. In the 1970s climate movements' ideology and worldview were shaped by books about climate change and greenhouse gasses published around the time. For example, Barry Commoner's four laws of ecology "everything is connected to everything else, everything must go somewhere, nature knows best, and there is no such thing as a free lunch" shaped the operations of climate movements in Europe and Northern

America. This led activists to work closely with scientists to gain knowledge on the topic and to create solutions. (Jamison, 2010.)

In the 80s, after the political climate changed to the right-wing in north-western Europe and North America, also politics of climate change and the environment took a turn to more conservative traditions. This meant more organized opposition to the environmental movements and more division within the climate movement (Jamison, 2010). After this division Jamison (2010) describes the next decade as the "rise of green business". Several of the climate and movements that evolved in the 70s turned into independent organizations that would organize themselves more professionally business and politics-wise. This led to the rise of market-orientated environmentalism which was based on the belief in a convergence between environmental protection and economic growth. (Jamison, 2010.)

Nowadays both environmental and climate movements can be considered new social movements. Jamison (2010) suggests that referring to institutions instead of movements would be more appropriate. The concept of 'new social movements' includes groups that drive rights for immaterial causes like women's rights, peace, or environmental rights. The more traditional type of social movements typically drives economic or material rights. In the past couple of years, a different kind of political activism driving climate movements has occurred, often showing up as direct action and civil disobedience. Some have begun to refer to this new political activity as a climate justice movement. Still, there is little agreement on the movement's purposes and how to achieve its goals. In addition, Jamison (2010) notes that different interpretations of climate justice exist, especially between global north and south. These different interpretations of the term are usually caused by different locations, histories, and experiences. (Jamison, 2010.)

In the 21st century, climate movements form a diverse group that aims to influence authorities from local scale to international institutions or specific corporate actors (Dietz & Garrelts, 2014). According to The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, climate movements influence climate policies by providing policy research, policy advocacy, and opening political spaces for new political reforms (Caniglia et al., 2015). As Dietz & Garrelts (2014) describe in their book, *Routledge handbook of the climate change movement*: "The climate movement has considerable, albeit limited, potential for mobilization."

The growing number of climate movements' mobilization and its effects are noted all around the world (Dietz & Garrelts, 2014). In the past few years, more groups and organized efforts band together to address climate change and advocate for action. These groups vary in size, goals, and formality and create a clearly identifiable climate movement (Caniglia et al., 2015). Nonetheless, Dietz & Garrelts (2014) describe the climate movement as a diverse phenomenon that varies on three major lines of distinction. Firstly, how the movement approaches climate change (whom to blame and how to solve the problem) and secondly, what kind of actors are involved in these movements, and finally, whom they represent by age or gender.

Newell (2006) has divided these groups into three different categories: inside-insiders, inside-outsiders, and outside-outsiders. Each one of the groups has a different kind of ideological approach. The first group, inside-insiders are significantly involved in the international deliberations on climate change. The Inside-Outsiders use more confrontational practices but still work within the international governance mechanisms. The third group, Outside-Outsiders are outside of these mechanisms and they usually demand several large-scale changes to existing society. The aims and strategies of these groups vary from working within the existing framework of climate change and driving the action there (Insider-Insiders) to questioning the framing of the climate discussion itself (Outside-Outsiders) (Newell, 2006).

Similar to Newell (2006), also Dietz and Garrelts (2014) have drawn a similar kind of categorization of climate movement organizations. The first group blames capitalist structures as the cause of climate change and demands disruptive and procedural justice, sometimes called radicals. The second group believes that problems like climate change can be resolved within the context of already existing power structures and institutions. Their goals go along with economic growth and these resources should be aimed at developing more environmentally friendly technologies and therefore creating more green jobs in the market (Dietz & Garrelts 2014). The second differentiation by Dietz & Garrelts (2014) highlights the variety of organizations based on the formality of the group or role in the field of climate movements.

2.4 Climate movements in Finland

Climate movements have been described as one of the actors to play an important role in communicating climate change in Finland in the report published in 2017 (Finland's Seventh National Communication under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2017). Other actors named by the same report are different government research organizations, ministries, and other communities. The report brings up several campaigns and organizations that execute climate change and or energy-related projects. Some of these organizations are the Finnish Friends of the Earth, WWF Finland, the Guides and Scouts of Finland (Suomen Partiolaiset), and the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation (Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto), and Finn Church Aid (A/M., 2017).

The history of the Finnish environmental movement is considered long, showing up with its first appearances in the 19th century. As discussed earlier (see 2.3) detaching the climate movement from the bigger environmental movement is hard and similarities and overlaps between them exist. Finnish climate movement's origins are rooted in the climate campaigns taking place in the late 1980s by big actors like World Wildlife Fund Finland, which brought the climate issues onto its agenda. Though, a bit later, in 1996 Friends of the Earth can be considered as the actual

beginner of the Finnish civil society's climate mobilization and ever since has kept its key role in the Finnish climate movement. (Savolainen et al., 2020.)

Mobilization of the Finnish environmental movement has been following the waves of a global environmental movement and the similar changes in attitudes towards the climate crisis. Several surveys show that the majority of the Finnish people do increasingly worry about climate change and its effects (Lehtonen et al., 2020). Especially amongst the youth a lot of so-called 'eco-anxiety' has increased but the Finnish climate movement seems to attract people from all age groups (Savolainen et al., 2020). Also, Moser (2013) notes that the feeling that climate change is taking away their future is growingly making people experience anxiety.

After 2018, when Greta Thunberg started the now globally known as the Climate Strike, a lot of new movements began to appear. Some examples are Elokapiina (the Extinction Rebellion), Ilmastolakko (Climate strike; Fridays for future), and Ilmastovanhemmat (Climate Parents Finland). Over the past three decades, the focus of the movement has been on several different environmental issues from anti-nuclear power to animal rights and pro-forest protection. In the past 20 years, the climate has been the most significant concern of the environmental movement and continues to be the focus of the ongoing mobilization wave. (Savolainen et al., 2020.)

Following the global climate movement, a new wave of climate movements has emerged in 2018 also in Finland. Climate striking, as noted in public debate, has been one visible way of mobilizing for the climate in Finland but the number of participants continues to be rather small. Savolainen et al. (2020) also highlight the importance of social media facilitating the organizing efforts of the movements in Finland. The Finnish climate movement has been described as "a relatively dense, interconnected network of environmental groups and activists" (Savolainen et al., 2020).

4 CLIMATE COMMUNICATION

The second part of the literature review focuses on the concept of climate communication. First, the definition and existing literature of climate communication are presented and the climate movements as climate communicators are discussed. Second, the challenges of climate communication are discussed, following with scholars' suggestions for more effective climate communication.

4.1 Defining climate communication

By the definition of Susanne Moser (2016), a Northern American climate communication researcher, we raise awareness of climate change and inspire and motivate people to take action and build support for the policies concerning climate change and energy with climate communication (Moser, 2016). Moser can be considered one of the most referred climate communication researchers internationally and has written several guidelines and articles on the current state and the future of climate communication.

In their article about the theory and language of climate change communication, Nerlich, Koteyko, and Brown (2010) discuss how climate communication efforts have changed from persuading people about the validity of climate change to persuading people to adopt practical actions to cope with it. It is strongly connected to various disciplinary topics of cognitive and social psychology when it comes to changing attitudes to risk, behavioral change, and mental barriers (Nerlich et al., 2010). The field of climate communication examines a variety of factors that affect and are affected by how climate change is communicated (Chadwick, 2017). Climate communication aims to influence how individuals, communities, institutions, and corporations are taking part in the mitigation and adaptation to climate change (Bayr & Pulkka, 2020) through images, words, sounds, and even who communicates about it (Dilling & Moser, 2007). Corner and Clarke (2014) are referring to Hulme

(2009) to elaborate that communicating about climate change is communicating about people, the things that they value, and what they want the future to be.

The discipline of climate communication can be considered a rather new research area that began to develop in the early-mid-1990s (Chadwick, 2017). To make a distinction between environmental and climate communication, climate communication is a more specific field of study focusing on the climate (Hanson & Cox, 2015). In the past 15 years, climate change communication research has made vast progress and the research on climate communication has focused mainly on the western countries and the U.S. (Moser, 2016), while the studies of climate communication are still very limited in Finland. Previous studies globally have explored a public understanding of climate change, and the factors that affect it, risk perceptions and media framing, coverage, and effects have been the focus of the research in the field (Chadwick, 2017). The growth of the field has brought interesting research on the public understanding and opinions on climate communication, visual imagery, and the importance of the audiences in the message framing (Moser, 2016).

Climate communication is thought to have similar features to other communication fields like health communication, risk communication, and science communication (Nerlich et al., 2010). Therefore interdisciplinary research and discussion are critical for climate communication. Climate communication alone cannot solve the problem of climate change but instead demands us to look at how societies work and what kinds of actors are included in the existing systems. Nerlich et al. (2010) point out that broader changes in the infrastructure and the release of institutional constraints are important in supporting individual action. The interdisciplinarity of these publications shows the distributed nature of the climate communication field and its varying academic visibility (Moser, 2016). The amount of journals on climate change from the communication point of view is still very little whereas the majority of climate change communication is found under interdisciplinary climate journals. Moser (2016) indicates that if the climate communication field wishes to be more than an academic field of study it needs to effectively communicate with the practitioners.

Scholars have raised the question of how communicating about climate change differs from other crises, risks and challenges our society faces (Moser, 2016; Corner & Clarke, 2017). While a lot of similarities are detected between different crises, climate change seems to be rather different because of not being a single problem or issue but being one that affects every aspect of our lives. As Moser (2016) states: "climate change affects everything and everyone everywhere". Also, the climate crisis seems to fall rather short in the people's concerns when compared to other crises. However, a lot could be learned from the campaigning of other crises (Corner & Clarke, 2014).

4.2 Climate movements as climate communicators

There are several actors in the society communicating about climate change: citizens, scientists, communities, NGOs, businesses, governments, celebrities, activists, and many more. They try to raise awareness on the issue, support government policies, save the planet, or even 'greenwash' a business. Despite the growing interest in climate communication research in the past 15 years, civic engagement and social movements have gotten little attention from scholars. Moser (2007) has broken down the roles of communication of social movements into eight core tasks: "framing, proving the failure of existing institutions, ripening conditions, take-off, perception of failure, building majority support, success, and continuing the struggle". Moser (2007) suggests that "communication is absolutely essential to engaging the greatest number of people solving the climate problem".

In the past years, the climate crisis' effects on the human mind and climate anxiety have increased, even among the people who have not experienced any direct impacts of the climate crisis (Clayton, 2020). Clayton (2020) suggests that involvement in climate activism is closely linked to coping and even adaptation to the climate crisis. Indeed, climate movements aim to build a community that helps against the sense of isolation that people may experience. While audiences might feel overwhelmed by the crisis, the climate movements must find a way to keep the focus on the important (Moser, 2007). Communicators of climate movements must indicate clearly that existing institutions are failing to do their part to solve the climate crisis and that some might be even pretending to do so (Moser, 2007).

Climate movements should be more than a slogan or one policy goal and they must be ready to endure the long and difficult times (Moser, 2007). Whereas much of communication about climate change is represented through fear and catastrophe (Chadwick 2017; Hansen & Cox 2015), scholars have found little evidence for these kinds of appeals to be effective (Moser & Dilling, 2007). Instead, the vision of the movement must be believable, positive, open-ended, able to solve problems, and meaningful (Moser, 2007). As Markowitz & Guckian (2018) indicate "First understanding why climate change is in fact a very challenging issue to communicate about before incorporating evidence-supported best practices into CCC efforts". Next, some of the challenges are discussed.

4.2 Climate communication challenges

By now, it is clear that climate communication is not an easy task for communicators. Communication plays a critical role in changing people's attitudes towards climate change and furthermore motivating them for actions that are needed to mitigate and the adaptation to climate change (Corner & Clarke, 2017). For example, Moser, in the '*Communicating climate change: history, challenges, process and future directions*' (2016)

and Markowitz & Guckian, in '*Climate change communication: Challenges, insights, and opportunities*' (2018), have documented the different challenges and opportunities of climate communication. Cultural conflict, the polarization of the issue, and psychological barriers to engagement are some of the challenges of climate communication (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Other prevalent challenges of climate communication are the invisibility of the cause, distant impacts, complexity, uncertainty, and delayed or absent gratification for taking action (Moser, 2016). While the climate discussion becomes more visible and the climate crisis and its effects deepen, the challenges are expected to evolve along the way. The discipline of climate communication has growingly tried to 'conquer' these barriers (Moser, 2016).

4.2.1 Climate change as a phenomenon

One answer to the question of what makes communication about climate change so challenging is found in the nature of the problem itself. Multifaceted problems like climate change cause cognitive problems in the human mind because of its wideness, complexity, and difficult-to-understand probabilities (Lehtonen et al., 2020). What is clear, climate change as a problem is not easily solved nor has not it been immediately visible to most people (Dilling & Moser, 2007). Simply how people interact with climate makes it complicated to approach (Moser, 2010). Climate change is a challenging issue both from the scientific communication and public engagement point of view (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018).

According to Markowitz & Guckian (2018), the challenge of communicating about climate change lies in the complex physical features of the issue, such as abstractness and uncertainty. Therefore keeping people interested in climate change for a longer period is difficult because of the slower pace of development and the actual change. The challenge is visible both from an individual's point of view but also from the focus of the media and public discussion. Referring to Nacu-Schmidt et al., (2016) Markowitz & Guckian (2018) point out that the news coverage of the topic has been declining over the past decade. On the contrary, Markowitz & Guckian (2018) refer to Lertzman (2015) on the possibility of people becoming overwhelmed by the issue, once people start paying attention to it.

4.2.2 Polarization of the issue

While most Finnish people think that climate change is a real issue (Lehtonen et al., 2020), different perspectives and solutions are continuously argued in politics. Amongst the American adults, climate change has been described as the single most politically polarizing issue (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018 referring to Pew Research Center, 2016). In Finland, similar polarization of the issue is visible between different political parties (right versus left). Even though the group of climate change deniers is nowadays considered quite small and disagreements over the facts are very infrequent (Kahan, 2012), the confrontation of false information is important for climate communicators. When ignored, misinformation and myths about climate

change could end up interfering with factual-based and scientifically accurate communication (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018).

Because of the complexity of the cause, people do have a lot of different kinds of interpretations, understandings, and beliefs about it (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Markowitz & Guckian (2018) suggest that this political polarization has extended to a point where the beliefs about climate change have started to play a role in identifying oneself and choosing a political group to join. In other words, the polarization is linked to a deep cultural conflict that is present around the issue. This causes barriers and challenges in engaging audiences and suggests that one and only recipe for perfect climate communication does not exist (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018).

4.2.3 Psychological barriers

All of these characteristics of climate change affect the way people process information and engage with it (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). One of the reasons why climate change is not considered as important or relevant in people's minds is that climate rarely is tangible to people (Corner & Clarke, 2017). Scholars suggest that people are not wired to deal with climate change kinds of issues or challenges (Moser, 2016; Clarke & Corner, 2017). For most people, the most destructive effects of climate change can be distant both in time, geographically, and psychologically and therefore not tangible for them (Lehtonen et al., 2020).

According to Markowitz and Guckian (2018) people's problematic wait-and-see attitudes, low engagement on the issue, and possibly unrealistic optimistic future outcomes are closely linked to the scientific uncertainties of climate change (referring to Serman, 2008; Markowitz & Shariff, 2013). Markowitz and Guckian (2018) also highlight how people usually seek information that supports their own beliefs (referring to Feldman, Myers, Hmielowski & Leiserowitz, 2014) and interpret this new information in ways that encourage attitude crystallization and polarization (referring to Hart & Nisbet, 2012). These unconscious biases continuously influence how people engage with climate change and how they search for and process information about it (Markowitz and Guckian, 2018).

Scholars have explained people's lack of interest and unimportance of climate change in their minds as climate 'fatigue' (Corner & Clarke, 2017). This, on the other hand, suggests that people should have originally been engaged with the topic. Also, Weber (2010) has explained the lack of interest as a 'finite pool of worry'. Meaning, that other more pressing issues such as economic problems are considered more important in the people's minds. The challenge is to make the communication of climate change seem urgent enough but concurrently make the situation not appear too hopeless (Feinberg & Willer 2011 via Markowitz & Guckian, 2018).

4.3 Factors fostering climate communication

As some of the challenges of climate communication have been considered, next, some suggestions for more efficient climate communication are explored. Quite coherent suggestions on how to communicate about climate change are collected by multiple climate change communication scholars and the list of these suggestions has been growing over the past years (Moser, 2010; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Corner & Clarke, 2018). Most climate communication scholars highlight the importance of the purpose of communication, profiling the audience, framing the message, keeping them consistent, messengers, channels, and evaluating communication outcomes. Nevertheless, there is no simple shortcut for effective climate communication nor does one 'size' fit all (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Pidgeon & Fischhoff, 2011).

4.3.1 Know your audience

To make any kind of communication more effective, it is important to understand whom you are trying to talk to. The audience define every level of climate communications from framing the messages to choosing the channels which makes knowing the target audience vital. Markowitz & Guckian (2018) highlight that people are motivated by different concerns, needs, and values, and therefore the same piece of information might be interpreted very differently, depending on people's worldview and attitudes. According to Markowitz & Guckian (2018) referring to (Six America Projects; Korkala, Hugg & Jaakkola, 2014) categorizations of different audiences have emerged amongst the scholars, trying to put individuals into groups that may respond differentially to various ways of framing the issue (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018).

Dilling & Moser (2007) note that mental models of people are continuously affecting how people process certain events and see the outcomes. These mental models are important to understand to avoid misunderstandings and undesired outcomes with climate communication (Dilling & Moser, 2007; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Making people convinced that their action matters on a large scale is challenging because the effects are rarely seen right away and are not as obvious (Dilling & Moser, 2007). When we know what our audience already knows, we can tailor our messages accordingly and use easily understood concepts and words to support and build appropriate mental models (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). After understanding the audience, the communication about climate change can meet the people where they are at and make the issue meaningful for them.

4.3.2 Make climate change meaningful

Nerlich et al. (2010) suggest that climate communication and engagement are made meaningful through understanding, emotion, and behavior. Instead of focusing on the numbers and statistics of the scientific fact of climate change, scholars suggest that

science communicators should focus on making the language of climate change to answer the concerns and meanings of ordinary people (Nerlich et al., 2010). The most common mistake climate communication practitioners make is not taking into account the values, attitudes, or emotions of the audience (Nerlich et al., 2010). Moser & Dilling (2007) suggests that communicators must understand what are the things that matter to their audiences and tailor the message accordingly.

While the information distribution has been proved to be an inefficient tool for climate communication, practitioners should focus on making solving the problem more interesting, meaningful, and attractive (Moser, 2016). For example telling stories, choosing the right messengers, and creating an authentic dialogue with the audience are proved to be efficient ways to make the climate communication meaningful (Moser, 2016; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Moser (2007) points out that sometimes more knowledge on the issue makes people think that they have already done enough and the lack of people's knowledge rarely anymore is the problem with climate communication. This phenomenon is discussed in the report of Lehtonen et al. (2020) where results show that the Finns do think that they are living ecologically but have not decreased their CO2 emissions in the most polluting areas of life.

4.3.3 Frame the message

As was discussed earlier (see 2.2), framing is one of the most important communication tools of social movements. Framing efforts become visible through the different kinds of communication activities such as the choice of images, words, and messengers (Moser, 2007). Many scholars do highlight the importance of engaging storytelling in climate communications (Chadwick, 2017). Positive frames connected to the topic that involves a lot of uncertainty and using messages about local climate impacts over the global ones have been suggested to lead people to closer climate engagement (Chadwick, 2017). Similar conclusions are made by Nerlich et al. (2010) who point out that the use of alarmism is proven to have often the opposite effect on the audience to what is intended. Scholars suggest that when climate change is framed as a non-environmental issue and instead, linked to other important issues such as an issue of national security or a public health issue, these frames could motivate the processing of the messages more efficiently (Chadwick, 2017). Though, this is challenged by Corner and Clarke (2017) who suggest part of the difficulties for public engagement are because of the comparison of different issues or social challenges.

Within the climate movement, different climate change frames have been explored. As Caniglia et al. (2015) note, climate movement creates some sort of solid movement that shares groups of discourses to frame the climate problem and solutions to climate change. According to Dilling & Moser (2007) for someone to take part in a movement they need to believe that a problem is indeed urgent, has potential solutions, and that their efforts might matter. Some prognostic frames that climate movements have been using are legislation/policy change, system change, global justice, change individual behavior/awareness-raising, technological

change/investment, and change production (Walström et al., 2013 via Dunlap & Brulle, 2015).

According to Bäckstrand and Lövbrand (2007), there are three major alternative discursive frames within the climate movement: green governmentality, ecological modernization, and civic environmentalism. First highlights the scientific analysis of climate change and leans on scientists to define the problem and resolutions. Second, focuses on technological development and the growth of environmental governance in mitigating environmental problems. Meaning, that the current system can handle the problematic nature of climate change without radical structural changes. The third one is the dominant climate change discourse that challenges the neoliberal approach and focuses on the notion of global climate justice. (Bäckstrand & Lövbrand, 2007.)

4.3.4 Focus on the solutions

Instead of focusing solely on the impacts and causes of climate change, the focus of the message should be on the solutions. According to the scholars, this helps people to visualize a positive and more importantly, a possible future and further on stay engaged with the topic (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). As discussed earlier, the dominant agreement amongst the climate communication scholars is that providing the information is not a sufficient tool for mitigating or adapting to climate change (Nerlich et al., 2010; Moser, 2016), nor does it necessarily lead to more suitable behavior (Johnson, 1993 via Moser & Dilling, 2007). Climate communicators have a huge responsibility to carry and a role of an interpreter of communicating climate change while the climate scientists themselves might share different kinds of approaches for the communication (Pidgeon & Fischhoff, 2011). According to several scholars, climate communication has gotten stuck into the idea that climate communication is sufficiently effective once fact-based information is provided (Nerlich et al., 2010).

5 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the aim of the study, research questions and philosophical perspectives are described, followed by the justification of the chosen methodological approach for this research.

5.1 Research Questions

As the literature review, on both climate communication and climate movements, has indicated, the topic of climate change and communicating about it, is a difficult task. Moser (2016) discusses how the link between climate communication and climate movements has been slightly overlooked and needs more addressing. Also, the network of climate communication practitioners is still lacking, and sharing knowledge between different actors is needed (Moser, 2016). The aim of this qualitative research is not to generalize or to make an all-inclusive guide for climate communications but to understand the current state of the climate communication practices of climate movements operating in Finland.

This research aims to bring valuable information to these gaps on several levels by interviewing climate communication practitioners within Finnish climate movements and focusing on their perceptions of climate communication and the challenges and the possible factors that foster it. This research aims to get a deeper understanding of how Finnish climate movements perceive climate communication in their operations and to explore the challenges and fosters of climate communication. Instead of only describing the operating environment of climate movements, the focus of this study is on the perceptions of climate communication practitioners. **Research questions are formed as follows:**

RQ 1. How do Finnish climate movements perceive climate communication?

RQ 2. What challenges do Finnish climate movements face in their climate communication?

RQ 3. What factors foster Finnish climate movements' climate communication?

5.2 Research Philosophy

This study is qualitative in nature because the aim of the study is to understand the perceptions of the Finnish climate movements on climate communication. A qualitative research approach is preferred especially when trying to understand the phenomenon and the research interviewees and not to test a single theory (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Typical for this kind of approach, also this research is based on the foundations rooted in *interpretivism*. King et al. (2019) describe the focus of this type of research as: "the focus for research might be to uncover how people feel about the world or make sense of their lives from particular vantage points".

In in-depth meaning, this research and its methodological foundations are based on *phenomenology* and *hermeneutics*, while both of these orientations draw from the descriptive-interpretive branch. The conceptualization of the experiences and bringing up the experience is at the core of the phenomenological and hermeneutical study (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The foundations of *phenomenology* and *hermeneutics* appear in this research as follows: the data of this research is collected through interviews and the aim is to bring up the perceptions of the interviewees on climate communication, the factors that are perceived as challenges, and the factors that are perceived as fosters to communicate about climate change. Both of these approaches are based on the multiple interpretations of the interviews and the meaning-making, therefore this study does not aim for generalization of the results or statistical representativeness. Therefore it is more important to interview people who know about the topic as much as possible rather than have more interviewees (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018).

The analysis of the interviews might bring up experiences that might not be visible or thought otherwise. Also, since the research is an interview study, all of the perceptions are constructed partly on the interaction of the researcher within the interviews. The next subchapters present the methodologies of this study starting with the interview and following with the analysis approach.

5.3 Data Collection

The data of this research is collected through semi-structured interviews. As a data collection method, interviews offer a possibility to bring out experiences and perspectives on a specific topic (Eskola & Suoranta, 2018). King et al. (2019) describe

qualitative research as a flexible and open-ended in style, where the focus is on the people's actual experiences. The relationship between the interviewer and interviewees is seen as important (Eskola & Suoranta, 2018). Themes are at the core of semi-structured interviews. Eskola & Suoranta (2018) highlight the importance of processing all the themes during the interviews while the scope and the order of the questions could vary.

Interviews as a data collection method were chosen for their flexibility and because interviews are suitable for research where the focus is on people who have experience on the research topic. Interviewing in qualitative research is more than asking questions but also listening, interacting, and building trust. Semi-structured interviews aim to highlight the meanings and interpretations of matters that the interviewees give them. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2007.) Another reason for choosing the interviews as a method is the complicated nature of both climate change and climate communication. The interview structure did not form a fixed list of questions that had to be followed strictly. The guideline for the interview can be found in the appendix. This gave the possibility for the researcher to ask specific questions on things that might not be included in the original interview structure and to give room for the spontaneity of the interviewees' reflection. As the literature suggests (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008), a pilot interview was also conducted with acquaintances before the actual interview. To conduct a more refined interview, the structure of the interview was reorganized a bit after the pilot interview.

These insights could not be gained from only analyzing the communication efforts of climate movements like social media content or websites. The semi-structured interviews offer the possibility to process a topic that requires reflection (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2007), which is important in order to answer this thesis' research questions. Since the aim of the study is to explore the Finnish climate movements as whole instead of comparing different organizations to each other, interviewees and organizations taking part were kept anonymous. The conduction of the interviews for this study was strictly following the principles of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

While the description of the chosen data conduction method is salient for the transparency of the research, it is even more important to reflect on *how* the interviews are conducted. In total, seven different NGOs and activist groups that work actively on the topics of climate change were approached through the organizations' info mailbox and all of them answered. The reason why people were not contacted individually at first, was because it was unclear who would be responsible for communications and who would have the appropriate experience on the topic. After approaching organizations this way, the email was then forwarded to a person in the organization who would be interested in taking part of the study. Any specific requirements for the experience - years of experience or title - of the interviewees were not set because all the perspectives on the topic would be beneficial for the research. The only requirement was that the person had to be working with the topics of climate change within an organization or activist group. Five of the contacted

organizations or groups decided to take part in the interview, while two of the organizations could not find a suitable person to participate. Therefore, the data of this research is formed from five interviews.

The interviews were conducted by using the Zoom online-meeting application in March 2022. The language of all the interviews was Finnish. Remote interviews tend to be chosen for the availability of interviewees, physical distance from the interviewees, and the nature of the interview topic. The first two were the factors why remote interviews were chosen in this study. Interviews lasted from 54 minutes to 70 minutes and each interview was saved with the internal recording system of Zoom for further transcriptions.

5.6 Data Analysis

The analysis in this thesis will be based on qualitative analysis and more specifically thematic analysis. The purpose of qualitative analysis is to describe the collected data such as books, discussions, or interviews verbally (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The goal of thematic analysis is to get the data organized for further analysis and conclusion, and finally to answer the research problem. In other words, the qualitative analysis provides hidden features in content and thematic analysis focuses on finding different meanings from content that are linked to chosen themes (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The thematic analysis aims to organize and describe the data in full detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this thesis, the thematic analysis was chosen as a method for several reasons. Firstly, thematic analysis is suitable for this research's research problem which aims to answer the question "what kind". Therefore it is crucial to focus on what is said rather than analyzing the regularity in content or patterns of frequency (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Secondly, thematic analysis supports the chosen data collection method which is used in this thesis (see 5.3). The aim of this study is not to create a new theoretical framework or prove hypotheses right or wrong but to offer new perspectives and a deeper understanding of the research topic. As opposed to *typification*, the thematic analysis aims to identify important or interesting themes in the data that address the research and its issue. Instead of only summarizing the data, a thematic analysis' goal is to interpret and make sense of the data. (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017.)

Since qualitative content analysis does not share only one way of executing the process, it is important to describe the analysis process as precisely and as transparently as possible (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). The analysis of this study started with the transcription of the interviews. Mannerisms of the interviewees such as "ummm" or "like", were removed from the transcription. The other things removed from the transcription were considered irrelevant or unnecessary for the analysis. Also, the interviews were transcribed in a way that the interviewee nor the organizations would not be recognized from the answers. Therefore references to the

organizations or their campaigns were left out or replaced with a neutral term. In total there were around 50 pages of transcribed material. As the interviews were conducted in Finnish, the data used in this thesis was translated into English for the analysis and further presentation of findings.

After the transcription of the data, the interview data was read through closely several times and coded in a data-driven manner. Although, theoretical assumptions were also guiding the process. Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight that the themes within data can be identified either in an inductive or deductive way. In the inductive or bottom-up approach, the themes are strongly influenced by the data itself and not forcibly fitted into the existing coding frame. Whereas the deductive or top-down approach, the data is driven more or solely by the theoretical or analytical framework. The six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis starts with becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing and defining them, and finally writing up the conclusions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Following Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-phase framework for thematic analysis, during the coding, keywords, commonalities, and possible differences, as well as repetitively mentioned phrases, were highlighted from the data. Then the codes were organized and unified into higher-level themes. An example of the data analysis is presented below (see figure 1).

Quotation	Code	Category	Theme
<p>"One of the climate communication challenges is how to keep the messages coherent and consistent in an organization where there are tens of languages and offices operating simultaneously. Different countries have different focuses on the climate discussions and perspectives and so on..."</p>	Form and size of the organization	Organizational structure of the movements	Challenges of climate communication
<p>"There's so much other stuff happening, so much other information to receive. Sometimes people just don't have the capacity for this cause."</p>	Information overload	Psychological barriers	

Figure 1 An example of the coding process

6 RESULTS

In this chapter, the results are presented and discussed in the order of the research questions. With the analysis of the data, the following three research questions are answered:

RQ 1. How do Finnish climate movements perceive climate communication?

RQ 2. What challenges do Finnish climate movements face in their climate communication?

RQ 3. What factors foster Finnish climate movements' climate communication?

The analysis of the data is divided into three main themes; climate movements' perceptions of climate communication, the challenges they face, and factors that are perceived as fosters of climate communication. First, the perceptions of climate communication by climate movements' are explored; what definitions and meanings do they give to climate communications in their operations. Second, the factors that raise a challenge for their climate communications are discussed. Finally, the factors that were perceived as fosters of the climate communication of the Finnish climate movement are presented. All the themes are further divided into subcategories. To keep the full anonymity of the interviewees, quotations are presented without any identifying information.

6.1 Climate movements' perceptions of climate communication

6.1.1 Definitions

When interviewees were asked to define climate communication, climate communication was considered to be a multidimensional concept that is difficult to

give only one definition. The interviewees were discussing the climate communication landscape and their role in it. One of the interviewees described this landscape as follows:

"I would define climate communication differently by different actors. I think climate communication by the big media is another thing to corporate world climate communication. And then environmental movements' and activists' climate communication is a third group. And of course, there is the climate communication of the scientific world. I couldn't define climate communication with only one headline because the ways and goals with different communicators are so different."

For the interviewees, climate communication involved a lot of different kinds of actors, targets of communications, and tactics. One of the interviewees highlighted how climate communication takes several forms in their communications because the large scale of the phenomenon and because climate change is not only an environmental but also a political and societal problem. Some of these communication forms mentioned during the interviews were advocacy communication, expert communication, and organizational communication. All of them are highly linked to the target of the communication, whether it was individuals, politicians or decision-makers, the media or corporations. One of the interviewees stated:

"In a way, there is the policy side of it [climate communication], where the focus is achieving a goal or commenting on something that the society is currently doing. On the other hand, there is also communication for people and communicating for ordinary people, and communicating for civic society, where we want to participate and join. And then there is also the communication of climate change itself and the whole phenomenon. The scientific fact, what is included in it and the effects of the phenomenon for our society and for nature itself."

Another one of the interviewees reflected the same idea on the success of climate communication:

"In my opinion, successful climate communication reflects on both citizens' and decision-makers actions. As well as on media's operations."

One of the interviewees highlighted that despite the different targets for climate communication, everything comes down to individuals:

"We are somehow trying to make people understand that people are the ones making the decisions, not some kind of machine, but people."

6.1.2 Change

The success of climate communication according to the interviewees was linked to the core mission of the movements: to achieve societal change. It is in the climate movements' core mission to drive change in society: get the politicians to make better decisions, get corporations to drive for a better future, get the media to be truthful about the climate crisis, and get the people to understand the consequences of their actions for the planet.

"I think that it [climate communication] is communication, in which we get the desired change to happen so that we survive in this climate crisis."

"Well in our [climate movement] context, what is central for the climate communication, is the aim to make a change. The fact that our climate communication has a clear goal: to make changes and drive emissions lower and get consumption smaller and truth for the people."

"Successful climate communication of NGOs would be that ambitious climate package from politicians would actually be very ambitious and something that would reflect on all the structures of society and would bring action systematically from different actors without paralyzing people."

6.1.3 Mobilization

To achieve this societal change, interviewees expressed the importance of mobilization for their climate communication. Most of the interviewees agreed on a change that has happened in the climate communications of climate movements in the past years. Where the role of climate communications had been only explaining the scientific fact of climate change and convincing people that climate change is happening, nowadays the role is to motivate people into action, convincing them that action needs to be taken and show what is already being done. Therefore, mobilization was seen to be the core goal of climate communication. Although raising awareness was still considered an important task, awareness-raising was connected with offering solutions and motivating people for actions that could be taken to mitigate climate change. Many of them considered this approach as the main message of their climate communications. On the other hand, the tactics and strategies for the actual mobilization took different directions amongst the interviewees (see 6.3). Some of the interviewees were describing this change of the role and the role of the mobilization as follows:

"We used to explain to people what climate change and its risks are. Now we need to focus on what we should do, what are the solutions and opportunities and why. Why should we react."

"Within the field of NGOs, climate communication is no longer only for explaining the phenomenon of climate change but we are moving to a new phase where communicating about climate change needs to be societal and concrete and actually relate somehow to people's lives."

"Maybe from the beginning, one of the biggest goals has been encouraging people and giving tools for them to participate. Even when we've been explaining some terms or explaining some events or agreements, we have that way also given concrete tools for people to take part in the discussions. And especially encouraging people to act. There is so much where you can grasp on and where you can get your voice heard."

6.1.4 Honesty

One of the mentioned features of climate communication was honesty. Some of the interviewees were discussing the unreliability of other climate communicators and actors who communicate about climate change. According to the interviewees, the truth was based on scientific evidence of climate change. At the same time, it was also one of the main goals of their actions: to get other climate communicators to communicate truthfully about the effects and solutions to the crisis. Therefore, climate communicators are not only communicating about climate change but holding the traditional watchdog role and keeping an eye on the other climate communicators in society. Even though the ethicality of the message was not mentioned, it was clear that this was one of the main pillars of their ethical climate communication. Two of the interviewees were discussing the importance of honesty as follows:

"Striking, activating and honest communication are probably the goals for climate communication for the upcoming years."

"At the same time environmental actors are criticized for being too gloomy and that we are taking away people's hope and that painting the images of threat paralyzes people. But I think that lying to people about this situation and telling them that it isn't as bad as it is, that is underestimating people and lying."

6.1.5 Integrated role of climate communication

According to the interviewees, their climate communication is taking place in all the operations of the climate movement: social media posts, media releases, campaigns, demonstrations, and internal communication. One of the interviewees mentioned that being a part of their organization is also a very significant way of communicating about climate change. In the political context, one of the interviewees thought that the communication itself is not the goal but a tool to achieve the goals, as indicated in this excerpt:

“Communication is kind of only a tool, a very powerful one these days, how politics are done and driven forward. But I would say when we have affected politics and society, then communication succeeds. Communication is more of a vehicle and not the destination.”

6.2 Finnish climate movements’ challenges on climate communication

Climate communication was not considered an easy task for climate movements and to achieve the societal change, climate movements need to consider some barriers in engaging, mobilizing more people, and getting visibility for the cause. The challenges of climate communication were also closely related to the targets of the communication: simply how climate change is perceived by individuals and how it is discussed by government, media, and corporations. Further discussed fosters of climate communication (see 6.3) and the challenges were frequently considered as opposites of each other.

6.2.1 Psychological barriers

Psychological barriers were deemed to be one of the biggest challenges for climate communication: how people interact with the topic, how they process information in general, and what kind of values and emotions they link to climate change and other crises. Even though the interviewees were not directly mentioning the abstractness or the large scale of the climate change as a challenge, the psychological barriers caused by it were visible in the answers of the interviewees. Instead, a lot of the interviewees were discussing the existential nature of climate change and the complexity of the solutions. Everyone had an idea, that climate change as a phenomenon is difficult to process and communicate, because of the multidimensionality or distance of the effects, solutions, and its nature, as stated in this excerpt:

“If we start to consider our society’s consumption structures, quite soon we stumble on the question if it is even possible to solve this problem. And communicating the solutions credibly is probably the biggest challenge in the field. Because the alternative future is so hard to describe credibly, we end up communicating and tweaking things that already exist, like modifying the emissions of the cars, etc. But once you have to describe the bigger picture without coal or gasoline, fossil fuel-free energy production, it is really hard to picture this and imagine such a big-scale societal change. People think about so literarily and see these things so tied up together.”

Climate change as a phenomenon was considered to raise a lot of different kinds of emotions and opinions amongst the public. Four of the interviewees mentioned that how we as humans function and process climate change is complex in itself. The

contradiction between the rationality and the emotional load of climate change was discussed by the interviewee:

“There is probably only one answer to why we haven’t reached the climate communication’s ideal: there must be some barriers inside the heads of the people and different actors. Finding ways to make a bigger change must be one of the biggest questions of the climate change discussion. And because the change has to happen in people, they are the ones making the changes.”

According to one of the interviewees, the scientific field is not properly taking into account the emotional side of the issues and not making science meaningful for people:

“I also think that we have a really strong scientific consensus on what we should do but to be honest: scientific communication or research communication is often quite bad at the emotional side of it, making it meaningful.”

Interviewees mentioned emotions such as shame and fear closely linked to climate change. One of the interviewees thought that these emotions are defenses against the feelings that one is not doing enough for climate change. These emotions are making it hard to connect with those who hold these emotions. One of the interviewees stated as follows:

“Especially coming from a rich western country, the aspect of shame is also present and it is not easy to cope with. It is really hard on the emotional side. If we think that we have this inevitable climate crisis in our hands and you are partly guilty of it and the Finnish overshoot day is always around March-May. That is a pretty uncomfortable thing to dive in.”

“I feel that there is also a lot of guilt for people who think that the cause is right but the ways are wrong. Then they need to criticize those ways and take the focus off the main messages. That is because they feel guilty for not doing anything. Or in a way, they want to do but then they can’t or have the energy or haven’t found their own way.”

The current speed and the amount of information available were thought to be a challenge for the climate change discussion. According to the interviewees, people are overburdened with the information already. In general, how people process information about catastrophes and crises was raised by the interviewees. According to the interviewees, the climate movement has to fight for visibility with all the other crises happening around the world. Some of the interviewees thought that the packed information landscape affects people in a way they end up not having the capacity to receive the message of the climate movements about the climate crisis, as indicated in these excerpts:

“There’s so much other stuff, so much other information to receive. Sometimes people just don’t have the capacity for this cause.”

“This [climate change] has been a hot potato for a long time in the discussion but hasn’t really become a hot potato for the masses. After all, people haven’t really grasped on it, the climate questions.”

A couple of the interviewees were talking discussing how the ongoing pandemic and the war against Ukraine are affecting their communications at the moment:

“Three weeks we have had the war, so there hasn’t been any space or way to reach the bigger masses. The whole communicational space has been so saturated that you don’t try to go there with the IPCC report. It is better to go home and wait for a better moment for this discussion.”

“Maybe the difficulty lies in keeping the momentum. [...] Climate communication’s challenge is that it is left behind the more acute crises like corona and war. Even though at the same time the climate crisis is the core reason for both of them. But it just disappears there and we as humans are like that in nature that the top crisis that we have, is just there. Maybe communication about the climate crisis should be taken to the same level. That it is an actual crisis.”

On the other hand, some of the interviewees saw these other crises as an opportunity to show the link between such crises with the climate crisis. One of them was discussing how making the connection between climate and other crises would be the goal for their climate communications. Instead of climate change being a separate topic, some of the interviewees were highlighting the importance of climate change being part of all the topics such as economics and transportation. Amongst the interviewees, there was some variety in the opinion if climate change as a topic has already reached this point. However, one of the interviewees was thinking about the possibility of the backfiring effect if climate change discussion was visible everywhere:

“When it is visible everywhere also it might make it unclear to see what are the really important action that mitigates climate change or prevents the crisis.”

6.2.2 Climate change discussion in society

The climate communication of the climate movement was also challenged by how climate change is discussed in society. The interviewees were discussing the challenge of the solutions: what kind of solutions should be emphasized and for what kind of actions they should motivate people. According to most of the interviewees, the structural solutions were considered more important, while many of the other climate

communicators are focusing on individualistic solutions. One of the interviewees thought that the focus on the individual side of the solutions harms the goal of their operations:

“What is that scale when we can say that something really matters? In corporate communication and the field that offers easy solutions for people, there is a lot of individualistic talk: how long does one take a shower, you should cut up your meat consumption, and blaa blaa... Of course, this is all good. But usually, the really meaningful actions happen in politics and how we drive the amount of the emissions down with climate laws, trading or with politics that encourage the use of electric cars.”

According to many of the interviewees, the real power to solve the climate crisis is in the hands of politicians, decision-makers, and bigger corporations. Many of the interviewees had decided to focus on the bigger scale solutions in their communications over the smaller ones, as stated in the following excerpts:

“Maybe it’s that we don’t want to blame the individuals. [...] When the consumption decisions of individuals are measured and discussed that usually is just trying to fade out the fact that the message is within the hands of the decision-makers and big corporations.”

“We have decided that we stay out of the individual level because it’s totally a different discussion. [...] We have concluded that we think that the structures that might influence individual behavior are more important.”

The challenge behind this approach was thought to be in the cultural aspect of the Western countries being more individualistic per se and further, how different kinds of social media platforms encourage people for the direction of individual solutions.

“At least in western countries we live a very individual-centered life and everyone wants to share their own feelings, make videos on TikTok, Instagram and post about their personal crises. That’s why the communication for individuals easily takes the form of “what have I done”. This does eat up the effectiveness of the action.”

“This social media and the time of slacktivism is also encouraging the feeling of fast solutions in a way. Like I shared a photo, I signed this petition or I did raise this discussion. And when the solutions are not fast ones.”

6.2.3 Media

Traditional media was seen to challenge the climate communication of climate movements on multiple levels. These challenges were linked to the practices of media; how journalists choose what is considered important and worthy of publishing. One

of the interviewees thought that the soft ways and actions of climate movements' do not get enough publicity because the journalists prefer something more extreme and "newsworthy".

"Of course, if I was a journalist, I would pick a person who says things more intensively or who has an interesting perspective for the discussion. So maybe the message of an NGO is more of a collective message and an organizational message."

"When someone goes to the stairs of the parliament house to tell their message, the media doesn't come to tell this "softer" message in the same form. It just doesn't go through the same way in the media. That's why it is important to think about the other options to get the message through."

In the same context, some of the interviewees were discussing if some of the tactics and ways of communicating about the urgency of climate change are still new for the climate movement in Finland and the public.

"Maybe messaging about the urgency with the ways of civil activism is still new for the climate movement in this decade."

Some of the interviewees was discussing the media's power in affecting the climate movement's image in the eyes of the public and how they frame the movement's message. According to the interviewees, sometimes when the climate movement would get publicity, usually the focus was not on the climate crisis itself but on other things. They were wondering if climate change as a topic for the media is too hard to grasp and if it is easier to focus on material facts. Two of the interviewees were discussing how they have to show that the concern over climate change and the movement itself is real. How they need to prove their credibility over and over again to the public. Another one of the interviewees did have similar thoughts about the climate movements' role in the society:

"For so long, the media has operated with that belief that what the big corporations tell is true and what activists tell, is complaining. [...] Somehow the fact that we need to do all of our communications from the under respondents perception, is really burdensome."

6.2.4 Social media platforms

While social media was considered to be an important channel for climate movements' communication, it also brought some challenges to the visibility of the message. Referring to the polarization of the topics in the social media, one of the interviewees was discussing the fact that social media platforms bring similar people together which makes it hard to connect with the people outside of the climate activist group:

“We need to remember that social media and other this kind of environments where you like and share stuff are one kind of bubble themselves because most of the followers and people who are there are already agreeing with us at some level.”

One of the interviewees described how social media platforms and algorithms are affecting the content of their climate communication:

“And if we think about it is quite a battle with all the algorithms. [...] It is a shame that while we are discussing voluntary work and ideological movements, we still need to play by the rules of the [social media] platforms.”

One, on the other hand, thought that social media has enormous power in choosing what kind of content they give visibility for:

“All the time I feel like the platforms of social media are decreasing it [the visibility of the cause]. Instead of giving it more visibility, they decrease and decrease and the marketing of it is made difficult by saying it's political.”

6.2.5 Organizational structure of the movements

Also, some of the structural questions of the movements were deemed as a difficulty for the consistency and the visibility of the message. The voluntary nature of some of the climate movement organizations was raised as a challenge for climate communications by some of the interviewees. Sometimes the roles were not as fixed as in bigger organizations and the work happened in a non-hierarchical environment. This caused challenges in the consistency of the work, amount of the communication, further on in the visibility of the communication, and making better decisions for the climate communications. One of the interviewees thought that this flexibility causes practical problems for their communications but in the same sentence assured that the benefits it brings are still bigger for their organizations. Below are some thoughts of the interviewee:

“The visibility can suffer a lot from really practical things that are linked to the voluntary and the nature of the climate movement itself. [...] But in my opinion, the organicity and the flexibility have more upsides.”

Closely related to the voluntary nature of some of the movements, the lack of resources was considered a challenge. Climate communication and climate change were seen as a task that needs time and dedication to the topic and therefore the lack of time and personnel was considered challenging:

“The lack of resources. There aren't enough people to do it [climate communication]. And the few people there are, are burnt out. There is so much work to be done.”

Organization and its form and size were considered to affect their climate communication. A couple of the interviewees thought that also the organizations themselves put some restrictions on the climate message. While different countries have different perspectives and focus on different kinds of solutions to climate change, the challenge of coherency of the message in an international organization was present. One of the interviewees thought that sometimes one might need to decide to drop a topic that is not relevant in Finland. Here two of the interviewees shared their thought on the organizational challenges of climate communication:

“One of the climate communication challenges is how to keep the messages coherent and consistent in an organization where there are tens of languages and offices operating simultaneously. Different countries have different focuses on the climate discussions and perspectives and so on...”

“In the activist field, you can come up with pretty strict words and for example with an inconsolable message. You can go straight to the topic and demand direct action. Whereas NGOs, who usually begin with the advocacy work and try to build change through the policy... That approach isn't often really effective in that context, even though it might work somewhere else.”

“Maybe the bigger the organization, the more you need to consider the balance between being impartial and the science and then the general brand frames[of the organization].”

6.2.6 Result of the green bubble

Most of the interviewees considered that the challenges discussed above lead to like-minded people joining and homogeneity of the audience, “the green bubble”. The challenges of targeting people who are not possibly yet agreeing with the mission and the ones who need the most convincing were mentioned several times during the interviews. All of the interviewees discussed their target groups and how targeting similar-minded people is easier than targeting those who might disagree. The decision of *whom* to target was also considered an important communicational strategy that defines the other communicational tactics. One of the interviewees pinpointed that movements usually are good at communicating with each other but the real challenge is to get the prejudiced people to join the movement. One of the interviewees expressed the same idea as follows:

“Instead of thinking about ways on how to target the group we haven't reached yet, easily a climate communicator, climate communication ends up communicating to the

like-minded people about "we need to hurry" and "yes indeed we do". Instead of thinking about the ways that could help reach the group that has not yet 'woken up' for this.

One of the interviewees even raised a question if it's possible or even reasonable to try to convince everyone. Though, in the same sentence, the same interviewee continued that alternative approaches would raise only several other problems for society to deal with. One of the interviewees was discussing how to connect with these people:

"Can we communicate about [the positive change in Finland] in a way that the people who are not benefitting materially [from the solutions and innovations] could see the link for example between their own children. I think that is one really big question for climate communications, we haven't found the answer for yet."

On the other hand, one of the interviewee organizations had made the decision not to even try to target the people who are not ready to agree with the cause:

"Of course, we want to spread the message for the whole society from one side to the other. But we are not consciously using energy to make the right-wing understand or join the movement. [...] [We want] that people who are thinking about these things could join as easily as possible. But we don't have that kind of door-to-door action where we are trying to turn people's heads around."

One of the interviewees simply stated that it is easier and more resource-efficient to go with the target group that is already known:

"At that point, we just trust the target group that we already know. Those are the kind of situations where you can't start trying out different things and you need to choose the familiar and safe [target group], on which you have the data."

On the other hand, one of the interviewees was discussing how for the most active people and those taking part in the activist groups, climate communication rarely is satisfactory:

" Basically, the most active actors in the field of climate activism are usually the ones who are the most disappointed in the communication because it is never enough. [...] Even the best climate communications can't answer the feeling that humanity isn't doing enough."

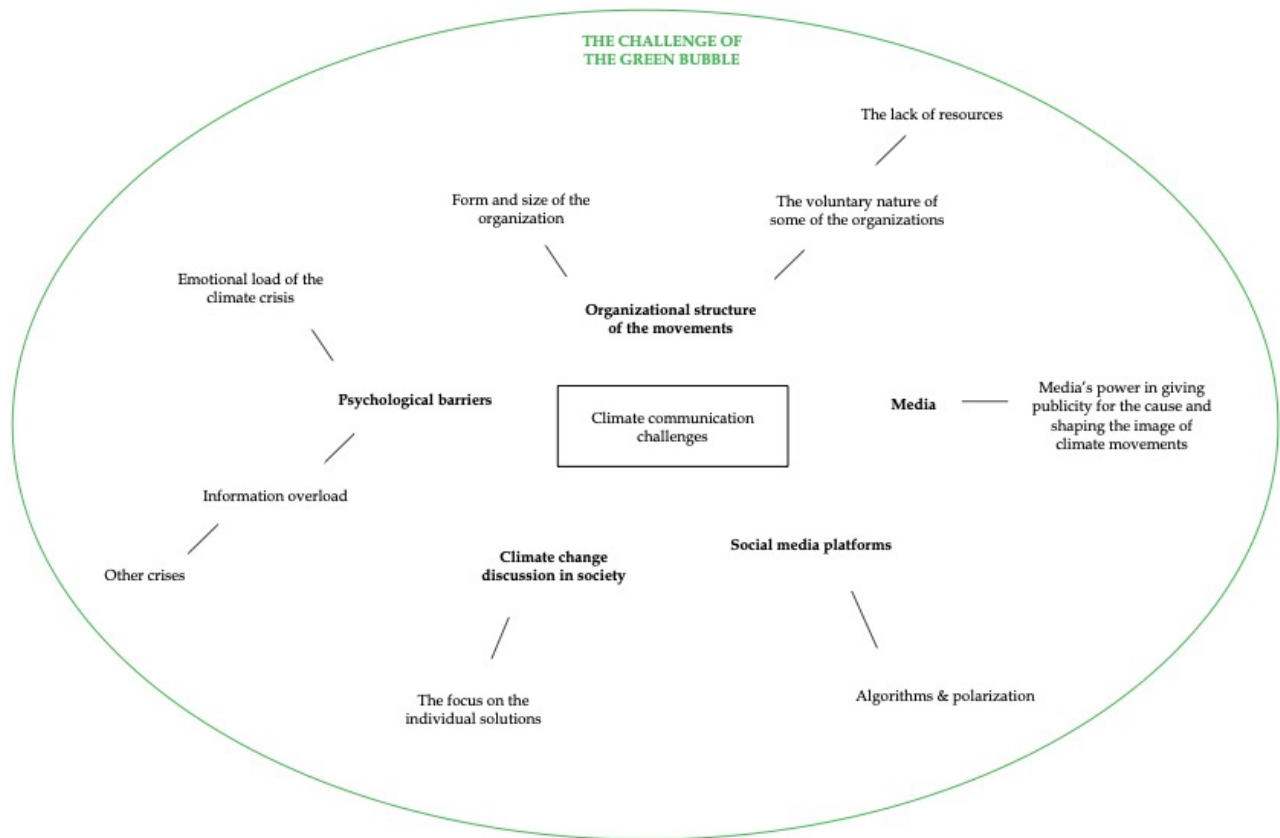


Figure 2 The challenges of climate communication

6.3 Factors fostering climate communication of Finnish climate movements

6.3.1 Understand your audience and frame accordingly

The interviewees were discussing different kinds of factors that would be ideal for climate communications and factors that could help them overcome the challenge of targeting wider audiences, especially outside of the “green bubble” (see 6.2.1). Of course, at the same time, some of the interviewees had decided to focus on the people that are already agreeing on the topic and thought that different approaches concerning the climate change frames and wording around it might work more efficiently on those groups. Despite the varying opinions on the tactics, meeting people where they are at was considered the most important factor of successful climate communication. One of the interviewees was discussing the importance of understanding the target of the communication as follows:

“Of course, we need to begin with the target group thinking. Successful communication for politicians is quite different thing than successful communication for the people marching for the climate movement or young climate activists. Then there is also the

successful communication for the people who are not yet so interested in the topic and who are not so worried. Or who are agreeing but are still pretty passive about it. So it really depends on what we want to achieve.

[...]

The success of climate communication comes also from understanding your national context and that different context exists. There's the national context and the international context and they might have very different meanings."

Most of the interviewees reflected the idea of knowing the audience through the idea of meeting the target audience where they are at. What is relevant for the group and what are the things they value? According to interviewees the knowledge of the context, values, and everyday life of the target group was considered important, as stated below:

"My opinion on advocacy communication is that if one wants to do political change and convince a politician to support the thing X, which would, in this case, be climate and sustainable solutions in the field of politics, you should give that person arguments in their own political context."

"Even if at the same time I have this urge to yell at my close ones, friends, or on social media that "are you idiots for not getting this?!". But that doesn't help. Instead, you need to pack it into this form so that a person is able to receive it. You need to bring it to the same level where that person is at the moment. If that is too far from the receiving level, the message won't go through."

Many of the interviewees thought that framing the message according to the context and the values of the target group, is important for the success of climate communication. One of the interviewees first considered the importance of framing for climate communication and gave an example of electric cars:

"Something that climate communicators should be aware of is how to frame a phenomenon or a topic, how to take a control of it, and communicate about it in a way that we can get also others related to it and not only our own ones."

[...]

"If we think about electric cars, it is too exotic, too urban, and too modern for the basic dudes. And something that IT consults with computer games have... [...] It's too unfamiliar for them."

6.3.2 Frame the message through hope

Most of the interviewees thought the message of climate communication should be framed with hope. This approach was seen to be more effective and activate people more efficiently, especially those who have not yet joined the movement or are somewhat suspicious about climate change. Some of the interviewees thought that the horror, doom & gloom approach had already been tried and proved to have unwanted effects:

“Maybe the problem of the traditional environmental movement and so-called activist hippies has always been the fact that everything is framed through doom and gloom. And then they are morally high telling everyone that they are the only ones who understand this.”

“Instead, we have decided not to focus on the catastrophe images and that kinds of things. Because let’s start with the idea that if that kind of communication and ways of communicating would have worked, we would have already reached the goal. So we are trying to find new approaches for the message.”

“Even though we are talking about big and serious things truthfully, there should be the angle of acting, action, and the hope.”

The catastrophe imaginary and shame-and-blame tactics were considered to have a defense mode, especially for the people who have not yet understood the climate crisis. One of the interviewees described the effect accordingly:

“Strong catastrophe imagery and blaming might just backlash amongst the group who haven’t yet realized how bad the climate change, crisis, and this whole situation actually is.”

Nevertheless, different approaches amongst the interviewees did occur and criticism towards the hope framing approach was raised by some. According to one of the interviewees, the positivity of the message in the wider climate change discussion was focusing on the wrong things. The variety of approaches will be discussed later (see 6.3.5). The interviewee stated as follows:

“In overall, there is this wrong kind of positivity in climate communication. That kind of living in a fallacy, that the situation wouldn’t be as bad as it really is.”

6.3.3 Give up the idea of absolutism

To meet people where they are, some of the interviewees deemed that climate movements should give up the idea of absolutism. Interviewees described this in a

way that one should not need to be perfect to be part of the movement and still their actions matter.

“Our basic premise is that we think that no one should be perfect to be able to be part of this and climate communication.”

“To get more people on board, we need to give up the idea of absolutism in the messaging. [...] And I think they are side by side with each other. There is absolutism: everything is bad but good. And then there are the ones that think that even if you choose 3% of good, we are moving forward. Those are side by side and moving towards the same goal.”

“The encouragement of people is in a big role. Sometimes people might think that in order to participate in the climate discussion you need to have a lot of information and knowledge and so on....”

The language used by the climate movements was raised by many of the interviewees. Two of the interviewees brought up that the communication about climate change should be understood by a normal citizen without specific education on the topic.

“We can talk about environmental topics also with everyday language that doesn't paralyze you. And of course, there are certain topics that are not that simple.”

“How to make this a thing people want to participate in? In a way that it is not estranging people. That is part of the problem of popularization of scientific communication – how to speak truthfully and correctly while still using scientific terminology. [...] That there would be popular climate communication that doesn't paralyze them and that is achievable for different language groups.”

6.3.4 Target people through their communities

Many of the interviewees were discussing the communities as a way to reach more people. According to the interviewees, these communities such as sports clubs, churches, or schools have a huge power to influence people and their behavior, as stated in the following excerpts:

“If we could get people to think about their close surroundings are and the wider context... For example, if we think about housing associations or sports clubs or if one is religious churches and congregations. And how these communities function. There are communities that everyone is part of in some way. [...] Bringing these communities along and communicating and making it visible that these are the communities that we can influence.”

“For example, sports [communities] could have an enormous power to influence and do good... And sports have such a strong unifying effect to bring together people from different backgrounds, people who with different opinions, old and young. If we could reach the people through those kinds of platforms...”

“As was earlier mentioned a little about the significance of the environmental education by schools and NGOs and that as a communicational way of doing things. To strengthen these themes in the discussion. I think is valuable communicational work to begin planting the ideas from the reality of kids.”

6.3.5 Variety of approaches are needed

Whilst the suggestions above were considered to make the climate communication more effective for a wider audience, interviewees deemed that there should be a variety of tactics and ways of communicating climate change, even amongst the climate movements. One recipe would not fit all but at the same time climate crisis is affecting everyone. To be able to speak to different groups of people variety of tactics, perspectives, and approaches to climate communication are needed from climate movements. One of the interviewees discussed this as follows:

“I think the richness comes especially from there that there are multiple different ways of communicating. There are the ones who are breaking the glass ceiling and in a way, their mission is to build up the ambition of the climate goals.

[..]

“That there would not only be the extreme climate actors. What is the probability that that kind of actor would reach a person in the other extreme? Somehow someone needs to meet them halfway even though it might feel frustrating.”

As discussed earlier (see 6.2.3), most of the interviewees thought that the focus of climate communication should be on the structural solutions to climate change. Nevertheless, the same interviewee also thought that ditching the individual side of the communication is not a solution by itself either and both approaches are needed:

“In our operations, the wanted action is in two levels. The first one is, where we see the biggest change happening: we get the bigger political wheel rolling and we get the support of the people with it. But on the other hand, to really get to the goal, to make the wanted change on time, we need the behavioral change of people; food, transportation, and so on... And these are not exclusive approaches and both are needed.

[...]

Maybe one of the difficulties of climate communication is also if you start comparing different climate actions to one or another. Like what is more meaningful and what is not and then you do this comparison. There is always someone from the inside of the climate group telling that "well that is important but how about this". You can't simply say that something [like recycling] isn't meaningful because then people stop doing it."

Similar thoughts were raised by other interviewees when discussing different kinds of frames and approaches for climate communication:

"I think that both of the [tactics] have their place. I don't think that they are somehow competing but also complementing and supporting each other."

"I a way we can play into the same goal with so many different kinds of communicational channels and also in different NGOs with different kinds of messages. [...] After all, they build up in the same direction. Or at least, in my opinion, they shouldn't be exclusive but rather take advantage of the benefits of each other's."

6.3.6 Together to the same goal

A similar kind of idea of cooperation and the need for various actors was also visible in the discussion of the climate movements. The interviewees thought that cooperation between them was way more important than the competition amongst them and the most significant factor was to get visibility and publicity for the cause; the climate crisis. This was stated by some of the interviewees as follows:

"At the same time, I think it is incredibly important that we as climate actors at the organizational level keep together. We shouldn't try to take each other down by saying "they did wrong" or "those others are no good, join us".

"Altogether, if one would be part of our movement or possibly part of some other environmental movement, [it doesn't matter]. Everything is okay when the direction is just right."

"In the end, it isn't relevant that only just us would get visibility. The most important thing is that the climate message gets. And if I'm thinking about the diversity of climate actions... Everyone should find their own "climate home". [...] I don't think they are competing with each other but instead bringing the diversity for it and bringing together the people who think in a similar way and they have a chance to do something meaningful together. And I think that is super important.

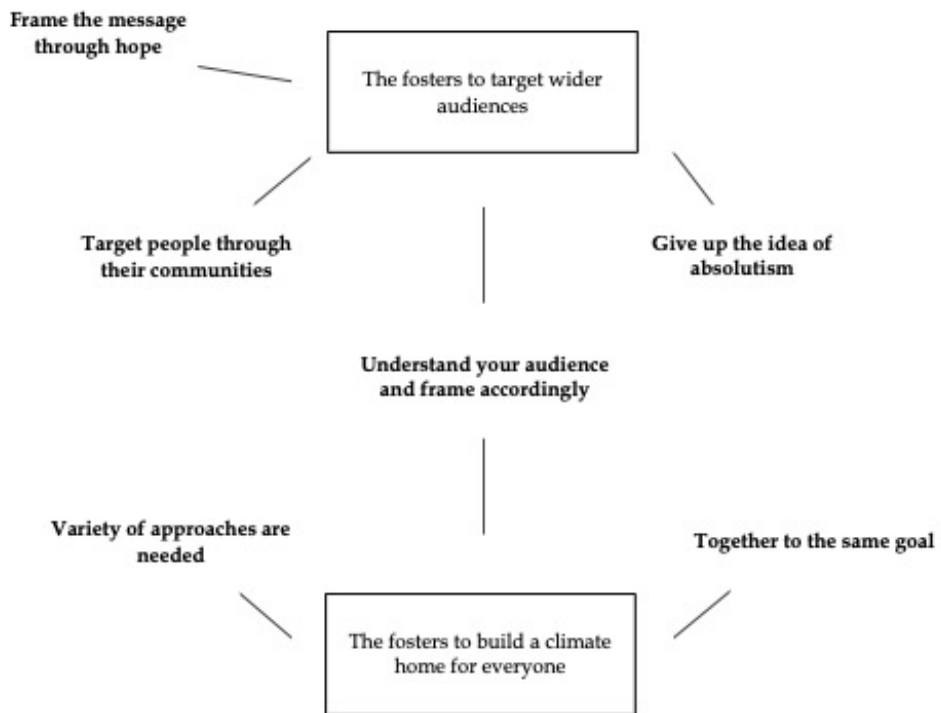


Figure 3 Factors fostering climate communication

7 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, the findings will be concluded and the research questions finally answered. The findings will be considered in light of the existing literature on climate communication and social movements. Finally, the limitations of the study are presented following some suggestions for the directions of future research.

The goal of this master's thesis was to gain more understanding of climate communication of Finnish climate movements by exploring this still little researched phenomenon in Finland from the perspective of climate communicators of environmental NGOs and activist groups. This study aims to bring more knowledge on climate communication in the Finnish context and make it more approachable for climate communicators, especially activists and NGOs.

The first research question was focusing on the perceptions of climate communication of the climate movements. The second research question explored what kind of climate communication challenges they face and the third, what factors could foster their climate communications. The answers to these questions were gained from the analysis of the interview materials.

7.1 Finnish climate movements' perceptions of climate communication

The interviewees, or climate movements, did not have one single definition for climate communication but it was rather defined via the goals and target groups of the communication. Climate movements were describing their climate communication as a communication that helps in mitigating and essentially surviving the climate crisis. This is supported by Moser's (2016) definition of climate communication as a way to raise awareness, motivate people and build support for climate change and energy policies. As noticed also in this study, climate communication cannot be considered simply a subfield of communication but a much bigger and broader entity (Moser, 2016). According to the previous literature, climate communication takes and shares

several characteristics of other communication groups such as science communication and risk communication (Nerlich et al., 2010).

Climate movements understood climate communication as an integrated part of their operations that is visible from internal communication to demonstrations on the streets and everything in between. Climate movements described a change in their communication within the past years. Similarly, the climate communication field, in general, has been making a shift from persuading the people that climate change is happening to convincing and motivating people to put practical measures to mitigate or adapt climate change into action (Nerlich et al., 2010). Climate communication was also seen as a way to reach their mission; driving change on multiple levels in the society. This is supported by the definition of social movements; social movements are considered the seekers of social change (Tarrow, 2011), and their existence is rooted in the injustices of societies (Castells, 2012). Also, this research's findings suggest that the change and mobilization were seen as the most important aspect of climate movements' climate communication. To drive the change in the society, climate movements did seek mobilization and engagement of the people, action from the politicians, and corporations, more objective media, and visibility for the cause. Even with these targets of climate communication, it is essential to remember that all the governments, corporations, and the media are initially managed by individuals. Referring to the study by Whitmarsh et al. (2011), Clarke and Corner (2017) suggest that the public attitudes and their practices are eventually playing key roles in technological and political decisions, that are crucial for mitigating climate change.

Society is filled with several different climate communicators and the objectivity of the message can be questioned in some cases; do certain ownerships or fundings of the actors affect their climate communication and therefore risk the credibility of the message? In this study, the honesty and objectivity of the messages based on scientific truth were considered essential for climate communication. Not only considering the movement's honesty but also driving the truthfulness of other climate communicators. This is supported by the traditional role of social movements being a watchdog of the society (Caniglia et al., 2012). The findings of this study bring an interesting perspective on the role of the climate movements and meaning a high level of expertise and understanding on the topic is required. Even though scientific consensus on climate change and its causes has been reached (IPCC, 2021), existing literature suggests that false beliefs and misinformation on climate change are usually held strongly (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Markowitz & Guckian (2018) suggest that confronting false information is an important part of climate change communication and the best way is to protect people against it from the beginning.

7.2 Finnish climate movements' challenges on climate communication

The goals and ideals of the climate communication of the climate movement were challenged by the psychological barriers of people, the focus of climate change

discussion in the society, the media, the social media, and the organizational structure of the movements. These challenges had resulted in the formation of the green bubble of the movements where like-minded people got together leaving out the ones who would need the most convincing and motivation. Also, Climate Outreach (2014) has discussed the problem of the “green-ghetto”, which means that some of the issues raised by the climate communicators are only a concern of the climate-aware people. This was considered one of the biggest barriers to climate movements’ goals. The problem is not anymore that people have not heard about climate change but not enough people care about it (Moser, 2007). What is true for the challenges of climate change is also true for the challenges of communicating about it; they cannot be simply tackled alone.

As discussed earlier (see 7.1), the climate movement's main goal is to make a change, by getting more people to join and engage in the movement and to get visibility for the cause. A lot of the challenges are closely related to the targets of the climate movement, and how the climate crisis is perceived and discussed by them. All of the actors within the climate communication field are also influencing one another; they shape the landscape of climate communication and perceptions of it continuously. Politicians and corporations and the media are affecting how climate change is perceived by individuals and individuals can affect these actors through civic action, everyday life decisions, and their voices. Even though social movements are seen as the outsider of the for-profit and governmental sectors (Caniglia et. al., 2015), movements and their communication efforts are therefore continuously affected by societal structures and changes in their operational environment.

To target wider and more diverse audiences, the biggest challenge seemed to be the psychological barriers to engaging individuals. Previous research highlights the importance of understanding emotions, values, and identity to individuals when talking about climate change (Nerlich et al., 2010). One of the main challenges mentioned by the interviewees was the psychological barriers of climate change, which is linked to the complexity of climate change as a phenomenon (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). The wideness and complexity of climate change is a well-acknowledged challenge of climate change by the previous literature (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Moser, 2016). For ordinary people to understand the bigger scale change that is needed in society is difficult. Scholars of climate communication do highlight the importance of focusing on the solution side of climate change instead of only focusing on its effects (Nerlich et al., 2010; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Moser, 2016).

In the findings of this study, another one of these psychological barriers was individuals' ability to process and receive information and how the saturation of the information landscape affects this. Mobile phones and social media are offering people an infinite amount of information within arm’s reach. While this study was conducted, the newest reports of the IPCC on the serious and irreversible effects of the climate crisis were published. At the same time, the people were living through the beginning of the third year of the global pandemic and the Russian war against

Ukraine had just begun. Lehtonen et al. (2020) note that the global pandemic and the following economic recession have, at least temporarily, decreased the worry of climate change amongst the Finnish people. What are the effects of the ongoing triple crisis on the people's resilience in receiving information and coping with it? Existing literature refers to this phenomenon with many different terms; one of them being a 'finite pool of worry' (Weber, 2010). Meaning that other more pressing issues are more important in people's minds. This, of course, is problematic while climate change can be already seen as the core problem for several other crises happening in our society (Clarke & Corner, 2017). Nevertheless, previous research discusses how climate change has some fundamental differences from other crises, and comparing it with other crises has few benefits. Still, campaigns on other societal challenges might offer climate communicators some valuable lessons. Clarke & Corner (2017) refer to Hulme (2009) stating that instead of climate change being a single issue, it should be considered as a lens cutting through every aspect of our lives.

Previous research suggests climate communicators should focus on the solutions over the negative impacts of the climate crisis (Nerlich et al., 2010; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Still, the debate over the solutions' real impact continues in the public discussion. In Finland, people rarely seem to have a realistic understanding of their impact on the planet and the needed solutions (Lehtonen et al., 2020). The climate crisis is not only an environmental issue but also deeply rooted in all the levels of society and affecting it from the social, technological, economic, and demographic perspectives. Because climate movements are not the only actor in the society talking about the climate crisis, the interviewees perceived that other climate communicators' approaches to the individual solutions to climate change were a challenge for climate communication. It is hard to be the only voice against the other voices telling a different truth. Some of the interviewees considered the impact of cultural context, where western countries are usually considered more individualistic than others. Also, the role of social media and slacktivism was considered; social media encourages people to fast and easy solutions, sometimes without any real impact on politics. Scholars have discussed the risks of slacktivism giving the individual the feeling of doing something good while the real impact of the action on political outcomes does not exist (Christensen, 2012).

According to Schäfer (2012), compared to other climate communicators, NGOs seem to be one of the actors that utilize social media the most because they need to rely more on mobilizing the public than others. At the same time, according to the perceptions of climate movements' these platforms are also causing challenges to the visibility of the cause. Algorithms of the social media platforms are well secured and little knowledge is available on their logic. Surely, the internet and social media platforms are offering more opportunities for climate movements to share information, mobilize and connect with wider audiences, and eventually shape their own story (Castells, 2012). The findings of this study are raising the question if the algorithm of social media platforms is bringing like-minded people together which might make reaching the people outside of this bubble difficult and therefore could

cause more polarization of the issue. The previous research suggests that online communication has the potential to reach wider audiences when compared to traditional media (Schäfer, 2012). What is missing from Schäfer's (2012) discussion is the meaning of the wider audience – the audience can be wider but is it any more diverse? Even though in the past years, media environments have been considered a major cause of political polarization, such impact of the social media has only limited empirical evidence (Lee et al., 2018). Climate change has been described as the single most politically polarizing issue, at least amongst the American adults (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018 referring to Pew Research Center, 2016). Although, Lee et al. (2018) suggest that social media does indirectly affect political polarization through increased political engagement. These findings call for the need for more research on social media's role in the polarization of climate change discussion and its power on certain topics.

Besides social media, the traditional media and its practices were also considered a challenge for the communication of climate movements. This challenge was two-folded. First, how does the media discuss climate change and therefore affect people's perceptions of climate change? Second, how do present climate movements and therefore shape climate movements' image? Social movements are traditionally known for their dependency on the traditional media framing the story of social movement (Castells, 2012). The interviewees were discussing how some tactics are preferred by the media over others and how some of the 'extreme' actions of the movement might get publicity more easily. Although sometimes for "wrong" reasons.

The challenges of climate communication were also related to the organizational level of the climate movement. Some of the participants thought that the structure (non-hierarchy or internationality) of the organization brought challenges to the coherency and consistency of the message. Supported by the previous research, according to Castells (2012) the autonomy of communication is seen as essential for the operations of social movements. In addition, other scholars have argued that movements tend to lose their power once they are institutionalized and might be more easily affected by elites (Earl & Rohlinger, 2017). Another organizational challenge, mainly for the voluntarily operating groups, was the lack of resources for climate communication and the non-hierarchical nature of the movement: not enough people to do the work and not enough time to do everything. Despite these challenges, the flexibility and voluntary nature of the movement were still considered beneficial and not something that needed to be changed. The lack or inadequacy of resources for climate communication is previously noted as a challenge by scholars. According to Moser (2016) to harness and understand the latest findings and suggestions for climate communication, climate communicators require resources and time to invest in the topic. Different categorizations for the purpose and framing of different kinds of organizations within the climate movement are presented in the existing literature (Newell, 2006; Bäckstrand and Lövbrand, 2007). These affect how the climate movement speaks about climate change, and what their strategies and ideologies are. The interviewees were aware of their organization's position within the

field of climate movements and how it is affecting their climate communication. The difference between the bigger NGOs and climate activist groups was considered to be in the sharpness of the message and the radicality of the actions. The interviewees were discussing how they would love to have a stronger and stricter message but the position of the organization and the chosen target group were considered more important. Nonetheless, the interviewees thought that having different kinds of approaches to communication is more important in the bigger picture (see 7.3).

7.3 Factors fostering Finnish climate movements' climate communication

Scholars of climate communication have made several suggestions on climate communication and its ideals. Some of the most important factors by the previous research are: knowing your audience, framing the message accordingly and making it meaningful through stories, emotions, and dialogue, and keeping the focus on the solutions to climate change (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Nerlich et al, 2010; Moser, 2010; Corner & Clarke, 2018). The Finnish climate movements' perceptions of the factors that could foster climate communication are supported by the previous literature on the topic. The interviewees gave suggestions for coming over the earlier discussed 'green bubble' of the audience and for getting wider visibility for the cause itself. By most of the interviewees understanding your audience, framing according to the audience and through hope, giving up the idea of absolutism, and harnessing the power of the communities were considered important in targeting more people. At the same time, climate movements consider the variety of tactics and approaches of climate communication important because one recipe does not fit all.

The findings of this study about the perceived importance of understanding the climate communication's target group and audience are supported by existing literature (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018; Moser, 2016; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). Understanding the values, attitudes, and emotions of the target group is essential in making climate communication meaningful for them (Nerlich et al., 2010). Also, focusing on the local impacts over the global ones tends to lead people to climate engagement (Chadwick, 2017). Finnish climate movements were aware of their target groups and the national context where they are communicating but the challenges of widening up the audience were present, as discussed earlier (see 7.2). Therefore coming over these challenges is an important task for the Finnish climate movements.

According to the interviewees, the framing of the message according to the target group was considered significant for the success of the climate communication. The scholars of social movements agree that framing social issues is one of the most important tactics for social movements (Moser, 2009; Caniglia et al., 2015). At the same time, Moser (2007) has highlighted the power of the framing; some people might be invited by it, and some not. Also, a lot of climate communication scholars have discussed different climate communication frames (Bäckstrand & Lövbrand, 2007).

Most of the interviewees discussed the importance of hope and encouragement of the climate communication message. Previous research supports the positive frame of climate change because the alarmism of the message has proven to have negative or unwanted effects on climate change engagement (Nerlich et al., 2010; Climate Outreach, 2014). This approach was also closely connected to the idea of giving up the absolutism of the message, meaning that participating in the climate movement does not require perfect climate action from the individual. Previous literature discusses a lot about finding frames that “fit” audiences’ needs (Markowitz & Guckian, 2018) but similar kinds of suggestions are limited in the existing literature.

As the finding of this study suggests that targeting people through their everyday communities is beneficial for the success of climate communication, also Climate Outreach (2014) has pointed out the power of the social networks. They create an opportunity for the different social networks to give a climate change a different meaning (Climate Outreach, 2014). Also according to Moser (2009), communication between smaller groups and already existing networks is a crucial factor in fostering civic engagement. It could be beneficial for climate movements to identify some of these groups matching their goals and approaches for climate communication.

To summarize, people who are not convinced by the reality of the climate crisis do need a different communicational approach compared to the ones who are the most active and most concerned about the climate crisis. This supports the previous research on the fact that one way of communicating climate change does not fit all (Nerlich et al., 2010; Pidgeon & Fichhoff, 2011; Markowitz & Guckian, 2018). The findings of this study suggest that depending on the target group and the aim of the movement, it should consider the frames and actions taken to motivate people, such as the radicality of the actions, solutions highlighted, and the positivity of the message as two factors that might differ depending on the target groups. In order to motivate and mobilize as many people as possible and more diverse groups of people, all the tactics and approaches are needed. According to the interviewees, the cooperation and non-competitiveness of these different actors within the movement were considered one of the most significant factors. The Finnish climate movements are and should be a diverse group of actors with different kinds of targets and approaches for climate communication.

7.4 Limitations of the study

In research, it is important to evaluate the process critically and consider the trustworthiness and quality of the study. Qualitative research does not share only one single criterion on how to do the evaluation (Puusa, Juuti & Aaltio, 2020). Evaluation of the research usually involves considering the *reliability* and *validity* of the research. Reliability of the results refers to the idea that the results would be the same if the same research would be repeated and validity of the results to the idea that the results answer the question the researcher wanted the answer for originally (Puusa et al.,

2020). Both of these terms originate from quantitative research which means, as such, they do not necessarily be suitable for evaluating the trustworthiness of qualitative study (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Still, in the methodological literature, both of the terms are widely used also in the evaluation of the qualitative study. According to Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2018), the use of these terms in the context of qualitative study requires an understanding of the holistic nature of qualitative research and adjustment of the terms respectively.

The size of the research data brings some limitations to this study. According to Puusa et al. (2020), a qualitative study aims to produce useful information and a deeper understanding of the studied phenomenon. The research data is formed out of five interviews, which can be considered comparatively small for a qualitative study. Although, a qualitative study rarely aims to produce statistically representative results but rather to gain a wider understanding of the phenomenon of the research. Considering the results and the aim of this study, useful information and a deeper understanding of the phenomenon are achieved by the new research approach on climate movements and the context of Finland, which are both only little researched. The research represents a specific and partial group of Finnish climate movements and this needs to be considered when evaluating the findings. Therefore, results cannot be generalized wider than the Finnish context.

Objectivity, meaning the separation of the researcher and the research subject, has been the ideal for conducting research. Though in qualitative research, the objectivity of the researcher is near impossible to achieve – the researcher always does interpretations of the findings and is responsible for each choice of the research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Considering the role and position of the researcher in the evaluation process of the study is crucial for its credibility. Even though the research subject was chosen from the researcher's interests, the researcher did not have any personal or professional relationship or connection with the interviewees and therefore does not raise conflict for the research.

The evaluation of the trustworthiness of the study also involves taking into account the ethical point of view of the research such as the privacy of the participants (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The field of environmental NGOs and activist groups in the Finnish context is rather small but still diverse. This did raise a challenge for keeping the anonymity of the interviewees and for getting enough participants for the study. Also, the volunteer nature of some groups was bringing a challenge to find suitable participants. For the sake of the anonymity of the interviewees, all the quotations are without any identification labels and single answers were not separated from their original contexts.

To allow the reader to evaluate the study, the researcher needs to give enough information about the research and the process behind it (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This part of the evaluation is called structural validity, which means how well the researcher is able to describe and justify the choices of the research (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2009). Therefore, the steps of conducting the research and the decisions regarding it, have been described in detail and transparently from the beginning of

the thesis. The process of the analysis and an example of the coding process is presented more in detail earlier (see 5.6). In addition, the interview guideline can be found in the appendix.

Despite the limitations described above, this study achieved its goal of gaining more understanding of the climate communication of Finnish climate movements. Additionally, all the limitations have been reported consistently and carefully. This chapter has presented how the trustworthiness and reliability of the study have been ensured throughout the thesis. Next, possible directions for future research are proposed.

7.5 Directions for future research

In the process of this master's thesis, many interesting avenues for future research have occurred in light of the results of this study and in the light of the previous literature. The results showed the need for further research and a deeper understanding of audiences and their perceptions of climate communication. This kind of research comes with a need for the interdisciplinary skills of communication, sociology, and psychology. The responses of different audiences to climate communication would be a particularly interesting and fruitful avenue of research. In addition, this could offer a great opportunity for a quantitative study of the topic.

To further discover the impact of the perceived fosters of climate communication of climate movements, another direction for future research could be defining the meters of climate communication. Measuring climate communication is still considered rather difficult for the multidimensional cause-relations. This could benefit the climate communicators to further identify what tactics of climate communication work or not and for whom.

Also in this study, the approach of analyzing social media content of Finnish climate movements was considered. This could be an interesting avenue for future research in analyzing the climate communication of an organization and its responses. Another, rather problematic, but interesting topic would be to study the social media platforms' role in the climate change discussion; what kind of content on climate change and climate movements get the most visibility, and what opportunities and possibilities lie for the social media platforms in mitigating climate change?

Similar studies to this research could be conducted in different countries and comparisons between them could be implemented. How does the climate message differ there? Also, a comparison of climate movements and their non-competitiveness would be interesting to discover; is similar collectiveness expressed in different countries or even amongst different social movements such as gender equality movements or women's rights movements?

Lastly, an interesting area for future research could be a comparative study of different kinds of crises, their communication, and the strategies behind them. More research is required on how to implement climate crisis with other crises in a

meaningful and striking way since climate change has been the root cause of many crises recently, a similar course is expected in the future.

REFERENCES

- Almeida, P. (2019). *Social Movements : The Structure of Collective Mobilization*. University of California Press.
- Bayr, S. & Pulkka, A. (2020). Pieni opas kuntien ilmastoviestintään.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
<https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bäckstrand, K. & Lövbrand, E. (2007). Climate governance beyond 2012. Competing discourses of green governmentality, ecological modernization and civic environmentalism. In: *The Social Construction of Climate Change. Power, Knowledge, Norms, Discourses*.
- Castells, Manuel (2010): *The Power of Identity*. 2nd edition (alkuperäinen teos 1997). Wiley- Blackwell, Malden.
- Caniglia, B., Brulle, R., & Szasz, A. (2015). Civil society, social movements and climate change. In *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clayton, S. (2020). Climate anxiety: Psychological responses to climate change. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 74, 102263.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.janxdis.2020.102263>
- Corner, A., Markowitz, E., & Pidgeon, N. (2014). Public engagement with climate change: The role of human values. *WIREs Climate Change*, 5(3), 411–422.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.269>
- Corner, A., C. and Clarke, J. (2018). Principles for effective communication and public engagement on climate change: A Handbook for IPCC authors. Oxford: Climate Outreach.
- Chadwick, A. E. (2017). Climate Change Communication. In A. E. Chadwick, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.22>
- Christensen, H. S. (2012). Simply slacktivism? Internet participation in Finland. *JeDEM - EJournal of EDemocracy and Open Government*, 4(1), 1–23.
<https://doi.org/10.29379/jedem.v4i1.93>
- Della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2007): *Social Movements. An Introduction*. Second edition, reprinted (original publishment 1998). Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

- Dietz, M. & Garrelts, H. (2014). *Routledge Handbook of the Climate Change Movement*. Routledge, Earthscan from Routledge 2014.
- Dilling, L., & Moser, S. C. (2007). *Creating a Climate for Change: Communicating Climate Change and Facilitating Social Change*.
- Dunlap, R. E. & Brulle, R. J. (2015) *Climate change and society : sociological perspectives*. Oxford University Press 2015.
- Earl, J. S., & Rohlinger, D. A. (Eds.). (2017). *Social movements and media*. Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Eskola, J. & Suoranta, J. 1998. *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen*. Tampere: Vastapaino. King et al. 2019
- Finland's Seventh National Communication under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2017). Ministry of the Environment and Statistics Finland. Helsinki. pp. 3-289
https://www.stat.fi/static/media/uploads/tup/khkinv/VII_Climate_Change_161_02017.pdf
- Gamson, W. A., & Wolfsfeld, G. (1993). Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528, 114–125.
- Hansen, A., & Cox, J. R. (Eds.). (2015). *The Routledge handbook of environment and communication*. Routledge.
- Hirsjärvi, S. & Hurme, H. 2008. *Tutkimushaastattelu: Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.
- IPCC. (2022). *Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaption and Vulnerability*.
<https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/>
- Jamison, Andrew (2010). Climate change knowledge and social movement theory. *WIREs Climate Change* Volume 1, Issue 6.
- Johnson, B. B. (2012). Climate Change Communication: A Provocative Inquiry into Motives, Meanings, and Means. *Risk Analysis*, 32(6), 973–991.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1539-6924.2011.01731.x>
- Lee, C., Shin, J., & Hong, A. (2018). Does social media use really make people politically polarized? Direct and indirect effects of social media use on political polarization in South Korea. *Telematics and Informatics*, 35(1), 245–254.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2017.11.005>
- Lehtonen, T., Niemi, M. K., Perälä, A., Pitkänen, V., & Westinen, J. (2020). *LÖYTYYKÖ YHTEINEN YMMÄRRYS?* 176.

- Markowitz, E. M., & Guckian, M. L. (2018). Climate change communication: Challenges, insights, and opportunities. In *Psychology and Climate Change, Human Perceptions, Impacts, and Responses*.
- Maguire M. & Delahunt B. 2017. Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars. AISHE-J Volume , Number 3. <http://ojs.aishe.org/index.php/aishe-j/article/view/335>
- Meikle, G. (2019). *The Routledge companion to media and activism*. Routledge 2018.
- Moser, S. C. (2007). Communication Strategies. In *Ignition: What You Can Do to Fight Global Warming and Spark a Movement*. Island Press.
- Moser, S. C. (2009). *Communicating Climate Change and Motivating Civic Action: Renewing, Activating, and Building Democracies*. Pp. 283-299 in *Changing Climates in North American Politics : Institutions, Policymaking, and Multilevel Governance*.
- Moser, S. C. (2010). Communicating climate change: History, challenges, process and future directions. *WIREs Climate Change*, 1(1), 31–53. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.11>
- Moser, S. C. (2016). Reflections on climate change communication research and practice in the second decade of the 21st century: What more is there to say? *WIREs Climate Change*, 7(3), 345–369. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.403>
- Dilling, L., & Moser, S. C. (2007). *Creating a Climate for Change: Communicating Climate Change and Facilitating Social Change*.
- Nerlich, B., Koteyko, N., & Brown, B. (2010). *Theory and language of climate change communication*. 1, 14.
- Newell, P. (2006). "Climate for Change? Civil Society and the Politics of Global Warming." Pp. 90– 119 in *Global Civil Society 2005/2006* , edited by M. Glasius, M. Kaldor, and H. Anheier. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pidgeon, N., & Fischhoff, B. (2011). The role of social and decision sciences in communicating uncertain climate risks. *Nature Climate Change*, 1(1), 35–41. <https://doi.org/10.1038/nclimate1080>
- Puusa, A., Juuti, P. & Aaltio, I. (2020). Laadullisen tutkimuksen näkökulmat ja menetelmät. Gaudeamus.
- Rucht, Dieter. 2017. Studying Social Movements: Some conceptual challenges. In Berger, Stefan and Nehring, Holger (ed.), *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 39-62.

- Savolainen, S. (2020). *THE CLIMATE CHANGE MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES SOCIAL MEDIA INTERACTION DURING THE ELECTORAL PERIOD 2019 IN FINLAND*.
- Savolainen, S., Ylä-Anttila, T., Luhtakallio, E. & Jokela, M. (2020). Finland. In: Joost de Moor, Katrin Uba, Mattias Wahlström, Magnus Wennerhagand Michiel De Vydt(Eds.). *Protest for a future II: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 20-27 September, 2019, in 19 cities around the world*.
- Schäfer, M. S. (2012). Online communication on climate change and climate politics: A literature review. *WIREs Climate Change*, 3(6), 527-543.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.191>
- Simola, E.-S. (2014) Viestintää vallatuilla kaduilla. Uudenlaista liikehdintää ja liikkeiden viestintää Occupy Helsingin ja Ravintolapäivän tapaan. Pro Gradu.
- Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious politics*. Cambridge University Press 2011. 3. ed., rev. and updated
- Tilly, C. (2004) *Social movements, 1768-2004*. Paradigm Publishers cop. 2004.
- Tuomi, J. & Sarajärvi, A. 2018. *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi (Uudistettu laitos)*. Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi.
- Weber, E. U. (2010). What shapes perceptions of climate change? *Wiley Interdiscip. Rev. Clim. Change* 1, 332-342.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Interview guideline.

Defining climate communication

- How would you define climate communication?
- How about climate communication in the context of your organization?
- How would you define successful climate communication?
- How is climate communication succeeds in our society today?
- How would you describe the field of climate communication in Finland?

Goals of climate communication

- What kind of goal of climate communication your organization has?
- Do you measure the goals and their success? How?
- What kind of resources do you have?
- How would you describe the biggest success (or failures) of your climate communication?

Communicating climate change

- How is climate change worded in your organization?
- What kind of topics of climate change do you take a stance on? And not?
- What kind of key messages do you have on climate change?
- What kind of communicational tactics do you use to communicate climate change?

Targets of the message

- What kind of target groups does you climate communication have?
- How do you engage these groups?
- How is your climate communication perceived by the target groups?

Social and traditional media

- How do you make your cause visible for publics?
- Do you use social media in your communication? How?
- Does traditional media affect your climate communication? If yes, how?
- How do you get the attention of the media?

Future of climate communication

- In your opinion, has there been any changes in communicating climate change in the past years? If yes, what?
- In your opinion, will there be changes happening in communicating climate change? If yes, what?

Additional questions

- Would you like to add anything?
- Can I contact you later if more questions occur?