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Social Movements in Action

How can social movements become more effective in the action mobilization?

**Case study: Environmental movement against exploration of the shale gas in Quebec
(Canada)**

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Abstract

Based on the 4 steps of mobilization defined in the earlier literature (becoming potential participant, becoming target of the mobilization attempts, becoming motivated and overcoming the barriers) and by using the case of petition signing in the province of Quebec in Canada, this project was aimed to study the performance of the movement organizations and their strategies in order to come up with some suggestions for



Figure 2 Opposition against the shale gas exploration in Quebec.



Figure 1 Opposition against the shale gas exploration in Montreal

making the action mobilization more effective for a particular action. By conducting a case study, qualitative research methodology is used in this study. Interviews have been conducted in two levels with 18 Montreal citizens and two representative organizations' leaders. The results show that the movement organizations have acted most effectively in step one (potential making) and they have lost most of their potential participants in step two, which is getting the petition to people. This is mostly due to the fact that such

organizations lack a systematic strategy and an active communication with each other in mobilizing for a particular action. Thus, having in mind the complexity associated with the action mobilization, some suggestions are recommended accordingly.¹²

Key Words: *Collective action, Action Mobilization, Social movement, Motives, Shale gas, Quebec.*

¹ Figure 1 extracted from : The Gazette electronic magazine:
<http://www.montrealgazette.com/technology/Shale+opposition+growing+poll/4287553/story.html>

² Figure2 extracted from: Financial Post magazine:
<http://www.financialpost.com/More+study+needed+Quebec+shale+drilling+commission/4405218/story.html>

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This piece of work is dedicated to my mother, whom I admire the most

Aida Ahmadi

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
1-Introduction	5
1-1 Problem Contextualization	5
1-2 Aim and Research Questions	6
1-3 Outline of Report	7
1-4 Scope and Limitations.....	7
2- Methodology	8
3-Case study background.....	10
3-1 Shale gas Industry and the Environmental concerns.....	10
3-2 Shale gas and the environmental issues in Quebec	11
3-3 Governance in relation to shale gas exploitation in Quebec.....	12
3-4 The Petition.....	15
4-Theoretical background.....	16
4-1 Governance and Sustainable development.....	16
4-2 Social Movements as an actor of governance–how they form	17
4-3 Mobilization.....	17
4-4 Frame alignment.....	21
5- Results.....	22
6-Discussion	26
6-1 Case study discussion and specific recommendations.....	26
6-2 General discussion and recommendations.....	32
7- Conclusion.....	34
References	35

1-Introduction

1-1 Problem Contextualization

Today, the impacts of human developmental activities on the earth's bio-geophysical systems are so profound that makes it hard to compensate. Thus, sustainable development has become the ultimate goal of many countries in the world. However, in a developmental plan not only the environment and the earth systems should taken into consideration, it should also deal with the complex relationship between the natural, social and economic systems at the local, national and international levels (Biermann et al. 2010). All these systems together form a complex structure where the effects create more complex interactions rather than a linear, predictable effect/feedback relationship (Duit and Galaz, 2008). For a sustainable development, effective policies towards the conservation of natural environment, national and global justice and equity through economic wise political options should be appealed (Biermann et al. 2010). Consequently, sustainable development is considered a policy challenge. Being able to manage this policy challenge is beyond the capability of government, the traditionally recognized actor whose role in policy making generally takes a top-down hierarchical approach. Today the concept of governance implies to a new form of regulations, beyond the state's action and as a result of several actor's actions. As Biermann states: "from the local to international levels, the concept of governance is not confined to state and governments as sole actors, but is marked by participation of myriad public and private non-state actors at all levels of decision making, ranging from networks of experts, environmentalists and multinational cooperations to new agencies set up by governments, such as intergovernmental bureaucracies"(2010).

The active action of the public (civil society) is usually more developed when the legitimacy of the main actor (government) is under question. In such a case, by forming a movement seeking a particular goal, civil action (as the agents or authoritative actors), play an important role directly or indirectly in the decision making process (Biermann et al. 2010). The public does this either by influencing the decisions of the other actors or by making steering decisions itself (Biermann et al. 2010).

Movements are not only formed by individuals, movement organizations also play an important role in making the civil actions happen. The more people involved in the action, the more effective a movement can appear in terms of achieving a certain goal (Amenta et al., 2010). In fact, the primary source of a social movement's power is the mobilization of its resources (Ganz, 2010). Thus, one of the ultimate goals of the organization is to mobilize people in order to take an action towards the goals of the movement (Stekelenburg et al., 2009). How people get mobilized systematically is through four particular steps defined by Klandermans and Oegema, which are: becoming part of the mobilization potential, becoming a target of mobilization attempts, becoming motivated to participate and overcoming barriers to participation (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987).

The case highlighted in this research is a sustainability issue in the Canadian province of Quebec where recently there has been introduced a new energy policy regarding shale gas exploitation in fertile agricultural lands and close to the private houses and farms. This new policy affects both the environment and societal system in the region and also has repercussions at the global scale. There is a serious risk of ground water contamination, health issue and Green House Gas (GHG) emission production associated with exploitation of this unconventional form of gas. It is stated that, as soon as the project starts on a wide scale, the province will never be the same in terms of clean air, water, nature and tranquility (cote, 2011, Larocque, 2011) Thus, for Quebecers, the situation and concern is not limited only to the environment, but it is also important from a social justice point of view. As a result of the government's failure to address the environmental and social needs, also its tendency to court the favor of private industries, local government has lost its legitimacy by the public especially with this developmental policy. Consequently a movement has been formed by the efforts of the local people and the environmental organizations with the aim of stopping or postponing this energy policy. In attempt to achieve their goal, different tools have been used to pressure the other main policy-making actors (government, industry). One of the main tools that were used was to sign a petition requesting a moratorium on the exploitation. As Alexander (2009) points out: "signing petition by public lends weight and legitimacy to the request and is a fundamental part of the political process". The more people who signed the petition, the more it could transfer the public discontent and put pressure on the policy makers to change their direction. Therefore, different organizations attempted to mobilize people to sign the petition using their own strategies (among them Equiterre and Greenpeace were two of the dominant in the province and thus have been chosen for this project). A number of 118 933 people signed the petition; however, compared to the population of Quebec's capital city Montreal, which has around 4 million people, it is clear that a large amount of potential individuals were lost in some steps of mobilization. This research is based on the four steps of mobilization classified by Klandermans and Oegema (1987), the mobilization step(s) in which large groups of people have been lost, the movement organization's strategies in each step, and how such strategies could become more effective for the future actions are the focus of this study.

1-2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to suggest ways to make the sustainability movement organization's strategies more effective in terms of action mobilization for a particular collective action (petition signing) among the people who do not directly benefit from the consequence of the collective action.

To achieve the aim, two research questions will be focused on. Each of these questions then is broken down into four sub-questions based on the four mobilization steps defined by Klandermans and Oegema:

Research Questions:

1- What are the mobilization strategies of the two chosen organizations?

1-1- What is the strategy of organizations in making people informed/ in line with the movement's goal?

1-2- What is the Strategy of the organizations to get the petition to people?

1-3- What is the strategy of the organizations to make people motivated to sign?

1-4- What is the strategy of the organizations in taking away the barriers of petition signing?

2- How did the strategy of the organizers work?

2-1- Were many potential participants lost because they did not become the potential (did not agree with the movement organizations)?

2-2- Were many potential participants lost because people were not reached?

2-3- Were many potential participants lost because people were not motivated?

2-4- Were many potential participants lost because people could not overcome barriers on the way to sign the petition?

1-3 Outline of Report

The thesis is structured as follows:

The report starts with a methodology section, explaining what method of research is used, how the interviewees were chosen and why this group of people was targeted, how the information was reached and how data are going to be analyzed. Then in the case background section, the environmental problems associated with shale gas exploration, in general and in Quebec, are explained. Additionally, the current governance situation and the role of civil society are examined as well as the specific focus petition of this study. The theoretical framework used to assess this issue will then be discussed. In the result section the information extracted from the interviewees are presented. The discussion section focuses on the main themes and linkages within the collected information. This part is divided into two sections: 1) case study discussion and specific recommendations and 2) general discussion and recommendations. The conclusion part will be a brief summary of the thesis.

1-4 Scope and Limitations

This piece of work has been limited in its scope mainly due to the time restrictions of the project. First of all, the movement encompasses many decentralized groups and organizations that work simultaneously

to make the goals achieved. However, I am only focusing on the two of the most well known organizations and interviews have been conducted with the leaders of these two organizations which have promoted the petition signing directly. It is possible that citizens have been influenced by many other active groups or organizations and studying all them and their strategies was out of the scope of this thesis. In this study, I could not differentiate such cases that might have overlap (for instance in the consensus mobilization or information provision).

Also, this study focuses on the particular action of the petition signing. Two points should be taken into consideration: I) the petition signing is only one of the action tools among many that has considered as one of the effective tools and it does not cover the whole picture of action mobilization in this movement. II) Again, there might be some overlaps in some steps of the mobilization with the other target actions that are not in the focus of this study. And it is assumed that some steps of mobilization (e.g. informing people or value motives) are the same in all the promoting actions suggested by movement organizations.

Further, in talking about Quebec, it encompasses two big cities, Montreal and Quebec City and various small cities and villages. However, this study is been limited to a very small group of the Montreal citizen. Thus, the result of this study is not generalizable for other populations or other provinces in Canada.

Also, language has been a barrier to some extent since I was not familiar with the Quebecois accent. Furthermore, among different social movement related theories I am focusing on only one and building my research based on it. Last but not least, although the role of feeling and emotion is prominent in the process of decision making, I am not studying the feeling and emotion deeply in this thesis.

2- Methodology

By using case study, the qualitative research strategy has been used in this study (Bryman, 2008). Qualitative research strategy is a good tool to answer the ‘how’ questions (Johnston 2002) which makes it appropriate to answer the main research question (aim) in this study; ‘how can social movements become more effective in action mobilization for a particular action?’. Also, usually case study is a suitable option when the focus/subject of the study is considerably related to the context (Yin, 2003). This shows the relevance of choosing this research strategy in this piece of work. According to Snow and Tom (2002), “a relevant case study might help to buildup the hypothesis on its causes, dynamics and effects”.

I followed an iterative research process and also a comparative method of analysis all along the way in this research. These are common strategies in the context of social movement studies (Lichterman, 2002). I used different sources of collecting data (Data triangulation) (Bryman, 2008): organizational documents, news reports and press documentation, documentaries and television reports and also the spoken words of the local activists (Interview questions are found in Appendix 1), movement members, participants, opponents, bystanders or leaders. These data sources are common in social movement

studies (Johnston, 2002). Semi-structured interviews were the main source of data collection in this research. According to Blee and Taylor (2002): “ Interviews have always been central to social movement research as a means of generating data about the motives of people who participate in protest and the activities of the social movement networks and organizations” and “Semi-Structured interviews are particularly useful for understanding social movement mobilization, the perspective of movement actors or audiences”. Hence, this method of data collection is well suited to the aims of this research work. The interviews were conducted face to face and in order to make the interviewee more comfortable and build their trust, the interview was started by introducing myself and giving some information on the research and my interest in Quebec and the shale gas issue. In some cases starting the conversation in French and letting the interviewee express her/himself either in English or French was helpful in getting more thoughtful answers.

In the semi-structured interview based researches it is acceptable to have a small group of interviewees since filing/organizing the data is time consuming (Blee and Taylor, 2002). Thus, a sample of 18 Montreal citizens and 2 movement leaders were chosen for this study. As Yin (1989) points out; “case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes”. Thus, this research is not trying to generalize the results to other populations.

In order to answer the research questions, semi-structured interviews were conducted at two levels:

- 1- Montreal Citizens: Interviewees are chosen through convenient sampling. They were neighbors or friends of friends, people in the library or in the main hall of the university or a random cafeteria. Since they all came from different backgrounds, ages and gender, this enabled the collection of more diverse answers.

In total 18 interviews took place among Montreal citizens in various age groups:

AGE	
1)Under 25	6
2)25- 45	6
3)45- 55	4
4)More than 55	2

All but three people had University degrees and seven males and 11 Females participated in the study. Also, it is worth mentioning that people in the city were chosen because 1) Local people (who directly suffer from the exploration) are already very active in Quebec and 2) participation of people from cities to sign the petition is critical.

- 2- Two organization leaders who called for the petition signing requesting a moratorium for shale gas.

These interviews were conducted with the aim of finding out about the mobilization strategies and orientation directly from the leaders themselves. “Speaking directly to the

leaders, might provide some information and understanding which might have been lost or filtered through the voices of others” (Blee and Taylor, 2002).

Two of the most active/popular organization in this realm in the region are Equiterre and Greenpeace thus the leader of Equiterre’s energy sector who is Steven Guilbeault and the director of Greenpeace Organization in Quebec who is Eric Darier were chosen for this part of the research.

By conducting interviews with citizens, I researched four steps towards participation in social movements; becoming part of the mobilization potential, becoming a target of mobilization attempts, becoming motivated to participate and overcoming barriers to participation (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987) with the focus on the particular opposition action which is the act of “petition signing”. (See Appendix 2 for the interview questions with citizens).

The questions addressing the Organization leaders were about their strategies in the four aspects above (See Appendix 3 for the interview questions with leaders). Each interview with the citizens lasted between 15 to 30 minutes. And the interview with leaders lasted around 35 minutes each. The interviews were taped and then transcribed as the first step in discovering the themes and analyzing the data (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). ‘Themes’, which are “the classification of more discrete concepts” (ibid), come from the data and the prior theoretical understanding of phenomenon under study (ibid). Identification of themes is fundamental in analysis of the qualitative research. Looking for repetitions, similarities and differences are common ways of recognizing themes (ibid). However, it is also stated that “there are as many ways as seeing data as one can invent” (ibid). In order to find the appropriate themes in the citizen’s talks I put all the data in categorical tables; for instance a table containing all the people who signed and another table containing all who did not sign the petition and then looked for repetitions, similarities and differences in order to find the appropriate themes.

3-Case study background

3-1 Shale gas Industry and the Environmental concerns

Shale gas is one of the unconventional sources of natural gas. The gas is extracted from shale sandstones with significantly low permeability. In order to be able to extract the gas from such rocks new technologies have been developed; horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing. Based on the current knowledge and information there are many problems and uncertainties associated with this technology.

High volume hydraulic fracturing or hydrofracturing is a process in which water, sand and chemicals are injected to the rocks at high pressure in order to crack the rocks and release the trapped gas from within them. This technology is allied with using and polluting millions of gallons of water and injecting more than 200 types of hazardous chemicals into the land (Delaware Riverkeeper Network, 2011a).

In order to hydro-fracture each well only once about 1 to 2 million gallons of water are required. This water is delivered to the site using around 200 tanker trucks. However, usually hundreds of wells are exploited in the gas exploration sites and each well can get hydro-fractured up to 10 times. This shows the huge amount of water needed for the extraction in a potential area and raises some concerns on the water resource depletion (CDOG, 2011).

On the other hand, the chemicals being used are of a huge concern themselves: first of all the name list and formulation of the chemicals are kept as a market secret by industries and thus many of them are unknown. Further, the recognized chemicals are mostly hazardous and cause health issues (carcinogenic, endocrine disruption, damage to reproductive health, immune suppression and genetic mutation). These substances not only affect the health of the local citizens directly, but also threaten the life of animals, agricultural lands and in general, the biodiversity in the region (Delaware Riverkeeper Network, 2011b, CDOG, 2011).

Finally, the released methane from the shale rocks can travel in different directions. Unfortunately this is not something that can be controlled by the industries as of yet and has led to problems like having flammable tap water and contaminated private drinking water in the shale gas extraction areas (Delaware Riverkeeper Org. 2010, CDOG, 2011).

Thus, using this technology even before starting, by clearing the land producing lot of noise pollution, light pollution, land pollution, air pollution and water contamination with chemicals and also with methane (Delaware Riverkeeper Org. 2010) decrease the quality of life of the citizens (CDOG, 2011).

Having mentioned the more local problems associated with the technology, it is important to mention that consequences are not limited to the local citizens. On the global scale, the exploration of unconventional fossil fuels, response to the depletion of conventional resources, is contributing to production of high levels of GHG emissions and thus climate change. Indeed, countries are following the same pathway “business as usual” in terms of GHG production and environmental damage but this time with even higher environmental risks and problematic consequences.

3-2 Shale gas and the environmental issues in Quebec

Shale gas has been historically explored in US, but the exploration has been highly expanded in last five years and now is among one of the energy developmental plans in Canada (Hayes, 2010). Up to now, Quebec has been one of the most environmental friendly provinces in Canada. Quebec has a high production (98%) of electricity from renewable sources (mostly Hydropower) (Hydro-Quebec, 2011). Also Quebec’s GHG target by 2020 is 20% reduction below 1990 levels (which is the strongest target in North America). “Québec has set a goal similar to the target established by the European Union thus becoming the leader in the fight against climate change” (DDEP, 2010). However, the newly presented energy policies do not seem to be in line with fulfilling the previous pro-environmental promises. After the discovery of high potential of shale gas in several parts of Quebec, the governments of Quebec and

the oil companies have shown their eagerness in starting gas exploration projects in different sites, most of which are private lands being used as farms or living habitats (personal interview with Bluteau). Marc Durand, a retired professor of the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM), has reported serious warnings for the long-lasting pollution threat that the shale gas exploration might have on the groundwater. He argues that “We must take a time scale comparable to nuclear waste” for the consequences of application of such technology (Côté, 2011). Moreover, it is worthy to mention that Quebec has a small area of agricultural land concentrated in the St. Lawrence valley. Shale gas is discovered in this area. So, groundwater and land contamination may lead to losing food production in Quebec, sustainable agriculture plans, relating jobs, etc.

Shale gas exploration started in 2006 in Quebec and until now 31 test wells have been explored in the area of St. Lawrence, and already 19 of them have methane leakage. The Quebec association of fight against air pollution (AQLPA) reported the necessity of an immediate action towards air pollution assessment and control in St. Lawrence valley (AQLPA, 2011). The National Institute of Public Health (Institut National de Santé Publique - INSPQ) has also reported high levels of GHG’s and health issues associated with the shale gas project (INSPQ, 2010). Also, a group of independent scientists called Parallel BAPE, tabled a report detailing the results of their scientific environmental and social investigations and presented a high concern regarding the environmental and health issues that can be associated with shale gas technology (Parallel BAPE report, 2011).

3-3 Governance in relation to shale gas exploitation in Quebec

Quebec is the oldest province in Canada and is the region with the majority of francophone residents. Also, the province is popular in terms of culture and unique environment/nature. Thus, many Quebecois people have a strong nationalistic feeling trying to protect their culture, history and language. In comparison with other parts of the Canada, the province is considered to be more social-liberal. People have always played an active role in the decision making regarding different issues in the province. Regarding environmental issues it has been proven that civil society is concerned and has had the power to lead the policies in accordance to their norms and beliefs. Two recent examples are i) In 2006 the contribution of people in changing the government’s decision toward establishing a gas power plant called “Le Suroit “ along the “St Lawrence” river and ii) in 2008 when governments wanted to sell a section of the “Mont Orford” National park (nature reserve) in Quebec for building hotel in it (personal interview with Darier- Greenpeace director). In each case people became aware, were mobilized and by conducting an opposition and protest, they stopped the policy makers’ plans. As Darier said “there have always been moments when governments proposed something stupid and people said no”. The energy sector has become provincially run in Quebec as a result of civil society’s mandate in the 60s (Bernard et al. 1997). People did not want their resources to be privatized and thus fought for that which has resulted in having very low electricity prices in the region nowadays³. Today, 98% of the electricity

³ Personal notes from citizen-scientist meeting on shale gas, March 2011, Montreal.

(which contributes to % 40 of the energy consumption) provision in the area is from the renewable resources (Hydro-Quebec, 2011). And even though the province imports the oil (for transportation and the need of industries) from other countries and other Canadian provinces, Quebec still is considered as one of the greenest in terms of energy in North America. However, high potential of shale gas was discovered in the area recently and governments have put the exploration among their main developmental plans (Hayes, 2010). The governments/industries have started shale gas exploration without asking any permission from local people so close to their houses and farms in the St Lawrence valley; according to Pierre Bluteau (the local activist and representative from St Lawrence Valley) “One year ago in February 2010, I saw a big flame in the sky 20 kilometers from house. Asking my wife, I found out that the flame relates to the shale gas exploration and checking the internet I found out about the problems associated with it...” (Personal interview with Bluteau, Feb.17, 2011). This has been 2 years after the industries had started their work in the region. According to Erick Darier: “...the gas industry and the governments were stupid, and they started drilling without having a public debate about it and without giving any guarantees to local residents. They didn’t look at the impacts on water, etc. And on the benefits for the governments or for the tax payers, it was like a ‘coup d’état’ to force the issue, bypass public opinion and do it ...”. Consequently, the local government lost its legitimacy due to the lack of transparency in their policies, lack of honesty in their claims, their tendency towards favoring industrial benefits, trying to privatize the energy sector which is opposite to the general will and not paying enough attention to the environment and people’s right to clean water and land.

After the policy was uncovered by citizens, the governments claimed that this approach will provide economic growth to the region (CBC News, 2010). They have given promises about job creation and tax revenues in the future (ibid) which is under debate itself. It is important to be aware that politicians choose what “truth” to tell people and to emphasize and put as a priority in their plans (Burns, 2001). Unfortunately usually environmental conservation is not among the government’s top priorities. For example, in this case, governments do point out the economical advantages of the exploration. They also use the debate that gas is a much cleaner source of energy than the oil is, but they do not talk about the threats such as contamination of the ground water and the drinking water, chemical contamination of lands and its affect on the agriculture, and they do not talk about how this approach affects the quality of life and the nature in the province. Moreover, one of the debates is to reduce the import of oil and gas from other provinces and countries and in this way reduce the GHG emissions associated with that. However, the GHG emissions associated with many house moves, building new houses, importing food and water in case of contamination and so on are not estimated. There are many uncertainties and issues linked to shale gas that should be studied before starting the project, yet governments clearly announce their tendency for the exploration as soon as possible. According to Burns (2001), only during the time of choice or ‘crunch time’ the politician’s real priority becomes evident. Thus, unlike all the GHG targets and environmental friendly claims, it seems that the environmental issues are still orphan cases in Quebec.

The movement against the shale gas exploration formed about one year ago as a parallel effort of the local people (grassroots) and the national environmental organizations. People living near the areas who were already disturbed by the noise and light pollution, got informed about the shale industry and the

problems associated with it which has shown up in US. As Bluteau puts it “most Quebecers have come into the conclusion that they don’t need the shale gas in their province”, thus, several local communities separately and independently in different areas formed groups opposing the new policy/plan (personal interview with Bluteau, 2011). At the national level, several environmental organizations (AQLPA, the Coalition Eau Secours, David Suzuki foundation, Equiterre, Green peace, etc.) are playing the informing role and mobilization of the people who were not faced directly with the issue in their lands. This role is of a great importance since according to Stekelenburg et al., (2009), “even though, a lot of people from a disadvantaged group strongly sympathize with the goals of the collective action due to their dissatisfaction, usually only a small proportion actually participate in the protest to achieve a goal”. Besides, the grassroots and movement organizations, the main actors of the movement, in facing the shale gas issue in Quebec, many people from different fields of expertise have started to act. Engineers, doctors and experts in other fields are simultaneously working on the harmful consequences of the technology and are sending out the information (personal interview Bluteau, Darier, Guilbeaut, 2011). Also, the media has played a crucial role in informing people by spreading the news regarding the problems associated with the new technology almost every day.

Quebecer’s’ protest against the shale gas exploration has been shown in different ways and wide range of tools are used by different groups separately or together. These include putting placards in their backyard, demonstration, calling/faxing the governments, petition signing, etc. The result of their opposition has been promising until now. Once again it made governments step back and take people’s concerns into consideration. In response to the opposition from civil society the government of Quebec set a hearing from all different parties including people and companies. They also asked the Public Audience on the Environment office (BAPE)⁴ to provide a report in order to make a wiser decision (however, the report was requested to be framed based on a certain mandate). And finally as a response to the result of BAPE and the pressures from the civil society and other scientist’s reports (Parallel BAPE report), government accepted a moratorium, (without using this specific term), in order to spend more time investigating/considering the environmental, social and economical issues associated with this developmental plan. However, by accepting the moratorium and not banning the project completely, government has kept the door open for itself. According to Darier, this at least makes governments to stop pushing this plan till the end of next election which will take place at the end of next year (2012). And thus, give more time for scientists to investigate the technology and for people to more systematically express their opposition (or support).

⁴ BAPE: Report of the BAPE (bureau d’audience public sur l’environnement) is requested from certain group of scientists when there is a big developmental project in the government’s plans: they go over the project and do the Impact assessment and say if governments should go forward or not. BAPE it is very democratic. They assess the project both from the expert point of view and get information from the public audience. They might go and assess other similar projects in the world. For shale gas project government had given them a mandate: how to develop shale gas project under the sustainable development guideline. They had to give out their report at the end of February. Premier Jean Charest said he will accept what BAPE reports and will decide based on that (Dougherty, the Gazette, 2011).

One of the opposition tools promoted by movement organizations requesting the moratorium was to sign a petition. Although signing the petition is one of the many opposition tactics used by MO's, there are several reasons that make the people's participation crucial in this event: 1) The idea of participating influence people's consciousness about their consumption habits (the way which people choose to live) and that has predominant impacts of the whole challenge (Crompton, 2010). 2) Public opinion is an important factor which affects the way and the speed of government's reaction to an issue: if everybody keeps asking for a moratorium, it is more likely that government will redirect their plans toward one (ibid). 3) Participation of an individual in an action increases her/his consciousness over the case and increases the probability of his/her participation on the following actions (Hamid and Cheng, 1995). According to Guilbeault "... it certainly gives more weight to these kind of initiative, because all of a sudden there is a few hundred thousands of people that saying with one voice that we want this or we don't want that..."and that reminds governments of their duty to make decisions in accordance with public opinion.

Having mentioned the importance of the petition, clearly movement organizations have promoted this action and used different strategies to mobilize people and make them sign the petition. Around 118000 people signed. But this amount was not as large as estimated level of opposition and the population of Quebec which is 7,971,570 (statistics Canada, 2011).

3-4 The Petition

As mentioned, the petition was asking for a moratorium for the shale gas exploration in Quebec. According to the main text of the petition, based on several factors, the citizens of Quebec asked the provincial government to set a moratorium for the exploration of shale gas. These factors are as follows:

- The environmental risks associated with the exploration, the evidence in US and Alberta regarding the environmental harm,
- The concern of the citizens regarding the mandate that was assigned for the Office of Public Hearings on the Environment (BAPE) which was to propose a framework for rapidly developing sector of the shale gas,
- The situation of Québec and its capability to undertake a shift to the use of sustainable energy that contributes to reducing GHG emission,
- The importance of the participation of all citizens in taking decisions on the exploitation of their resources,
- The energy future.

(Genuine version of the petition can be found in Appendix 4) The petition opened at the beginning of Oct 2011 and was open for three months.

The petition took place online through the National Assembly web-site or printed. As mentioned, the petition was targeting the local (provincial) government. Thus, the main role of the petition signing was to put pressure on the government in their decision making/orientation towards the issue directly by showing the discontent to government. It also indirectly put pressure by providing a testimony regarding the people's opinion and influencing on the BAPE and Parallel BAPE reports (in which investigation of the social aspects of the development was a case). More than that some organizations did looked at this petition not only as a power relation effect but also a tool to provide information for some people as Steven Guilbeault (director of energy sector in Equitter) claimed about his view on the place of petition in their action tools.

4-Theoretical background

4-1 Governance and Sustainable development

Today sustainable development is receiving a lot of attention by political leaders because having an environmentally and socially sound future seems to be prerequisites for economic and military stability (O'Riordan, 2004) and by many environmentalists and scientists because of their concern about the planet and the future generation. However, Sustainable development is considered to be a policy challenge for governance system by different researchers (McCauley, 2008, Delmas and Young, 2009); Since first, sustainable development is a multi-definitional term that could be interpreted differently in different disciplines, then the term is highly ambiguous (ibid) also, governance in such structure requires dealing with the complexity of simultaneously addressing all the environment, society and economy sectors and their interactions (Delmas and Young, 2009). As Delmas and Young (2009) put it, currently the governance for sustainable development is under deficit.

It is important to differentiate and draw a clearing line between the governance and the government: Governance is defined as "*social function* centered on efforts to steer societies or human groups away from collectively undesirable outcomes and toward socially desirable ones" (Delmas and Young, 2009). People in the society neglect conserving resources in the Lack of governance which leads to tragedy of commons (ibid).

However, government is one "*organization* responsible in addressing the governance" (Delmas and Young, 2009). Traditionally government was the only responsible actor for addressing the governance, but today, government is not the only actor especially for the sustainable development governance. As McCauley (2008) puts it "new forms of bottom-up and horizontal multi-actor understandings of governance have equally assimilated the traditional top-down structures of government". Besides, it is argued that in the case of sustainable development, instead of solving the issue, governments usually become part of the problem. This is due to the fact that when it comes to environmental concerns, politicians act too slowly, they lack the discipline of market and what they do is basically motivated by their tendency to win the next election (Delmas and Young, 2009). Consequently, it is not possible to

rely on governments to address the sustainable development governance demand. Indeed, other actors do play a crucial role in the governance of the sustainability issues. Delmas and Young use the term “governance without government” in this case and present two forms of governance without governments: private governance and civil society governance. I will not address this private governance in my thesis. The focus of this study is the civil society governance which is presented by NGOs and Communities.

Social movements, made by NGOs and communities as a part of the civil society, are important actors in the social context (Stekelenburg et al, 2009). By their activities, social movements try to influence the government’s action (policy making, democratic rights, electoral processes, legal decisions and state bureaucracies) which are not usually in accordance with the goals of sustainable development. High mobilization is necessary for a movement to gain political influence” (Amenta et al., 2010). Yet, this is not the only variable affecting the efficacy of movements in policy changing. Other factors such as the goal of the movement, the political system and structure of the society may influence the movement’s effectiveness as well (ibid).

But what are social movements and how they actually form?

4-2 Social Movements as an actor of governance–how they form

Based on the resource mobilization theory by MacCarthy and Zald (1973), social movements are defined as: “rational actions oriented towards clearly defined, fixed goals with centralized organizational control over resources and clearly demarcated outcomes that can be evaluated in terms of tangible gains”(Jenkins, 1983). According to Ganz (2010): “social movements emerge as a result of purposeful actors(individual, organization) to assert new public values and mobilize the political, economic and cultural power to translate these values into action”. The first requirement of forming a social movement is grievance or complaint in the society. “A social movement organization (MO) is a complex or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals”(McCarthy and Zald, 1977). McCarthy and Zald emphasize the role of MOs by stating that “Grievance and discontent may be defined, created and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The primary source of social movement’s power is the mobilization of its resources (Ganz, 2010).

4-3 Mobilization

It is crucial for a social movement to put its primary effort into getting people on board and motivating them to take action towards the movement’s goals in order to move towards the goal achievement (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). However, many factors influence the individual’s participation in the

collective action, for instance socio economic situation and education have been recognized as factors which can be determinant in people's attitude toward the participation in collective action (Caren et al., 2011): According to Schlozman et al. (2010), people with less income and education participate less in collective action or "The higher education, the more likely giving time for participation" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

In general, mobilization by social movements consists of two hierarchical sections: Consensus Mobilization and Action Mobilization. In the consensus mobilization section, social movements try to bring people on board with the goal of movement and its point of view. For instance, first of all people should dis-appreciate the shale gas exploration because of the harmful consequences. Then, they should believe that the petition is an instrumental way to combat the project. In the action mobilization section, the organization of social movement by using material and non-material tools and by using all type of motives (instrumental, ideology and identity motives) ask people to participate in a collective action. Consensus mobilization is then a prerequisite for action mobilization (Klandermans, 1984).

Four steps towards of mobilization is classified as ; 1) becoming part of the mobilization potential, 2) becoming target of mobilization attempts, 3) becoming motivated to participate (either by collective or selective incentives) and 4) overcoming barriers to participation (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987). The same researchers emphasize different steps again in their article in 1994 by stating: "the absence of mobilization attempts, the presence of barriers or/and an unsupportive social environment may ultimately prevent a person from participating".

Clearly, the strategy of a social movement organization in all these steps can be a determinant in the successfulness of mobilization for a particular action; however, among all four steps, step 3 (making people motivated to participate in the collective action) sounds more complicated and can be categorized itself to different types as following.

Motivation

"Motivation is the desire to achieve a goal, combined with the energy to work towards that goal" (Boekkooi, 2011). According to traditional social psychology, participation in a social movement is an unconventional and irrational type of behavior. In contrast, based on the resource mobilization theory, the participation of people in the social movement is a rational behavior and based on the calculations of cost-benefit that people do in their minds. Indeed, the idea of resource mobilization theory is too extreme in not taking social-psychology into consideration at all. Also, although, based on the resource mobilization theory, grievance and ideology are not the main factors to form a social movement; it should be taken into consideration that at the individual level they are important factors that can influence people's behavior (Klandermans, 1984).

Based on the older literature of collective action, two kinds of motives are defined: collective motives and reward motives (social motives). "Collective motives are associated with the feeling of responsibility towards the issue, solidarity and the feeling towards the instrumentality of the action they want to get

involved in. However, reward motives are associated with the more materialistic incentive like money, time, entertainment and social credibility” (Klandermans, 1984). Mancur Olson (1968) in his theory of collective action presents the free-rider hypothesis: “no one will contribute to the collective good in the absence of selective benefits” (Jenkins, 1983). Although based on the free-ride theory, collective goods are not enough to make the rational individual mobilized, some researchers emphasize on the importance of collective incentives which is associated with the feelings of responsibility and solidarity (Jenkins, 1983, Klandermans, 1984). Jenkins suggests that the successful movements overcome the free-rider problem by “improving the programs which offer the collective incentives of group solidarity and commitment to moral purpose” which requires a mixture of personal and collective interests. Indeed, “Movement supporters like all socialized actors, act in terms of internalized values and sentiments as well as calculations of self-interest” (Jenkins, 1983).

In more recent literature however, value motives have separated from the instrumental motives and with the Identity motives they present three major types of motives for collective action. Instrumental motives refer to personal gains and in the power-oriented actions strongly refers to the expectancy of people of their capability of changing the undesirable situation by their action. The ideology motives arise from the violation of values in an individual and the identity motives relate to social pressure that influences the action of an individual. In this study the more recent approach is adopted. In order to be able to have a better understanding of motivation types in people, Klanderman’s expectancy-value theory and a more profound look on the relation of value and behavior and finally more precise description of identity motives are going to be looked upon.

Instrumental motives

Assuming that petition signing is a power-oriented action, in this study, instrumental motives are measured by individual’s perception of possible outcome of their action or their expectancy.

Klanderman’s expectancy-value theory: According to Klandermans (1984), “the willingness to participate in a social movement is a function of the perceived costs and benefits of participation”. Klandermans uses the ‘expectancy-value theory’ to explain movement participation. The theory of expediency-value “relate the action to the perceived attractiveness or aversiveness of expected consequence” (Feather,1982 from Klandermans 1984).

The expectation about other people’s behavior and the feeling associated with it are an important part of the expectancy-value theory which is a determinant factor in the movement participation. In the other word, the expected probability of the success (of the action) is determinant of an individual’s action towards participation. Thus, each of these three expectations can contribute to the people’s participation:

- “Expectations about the number of participants,
- Expectations about one’s own contribution to the ability of success.” (Klandermans, 1984)
People usually participate in a collective action if they know they really can change something.

In fact, the people's estimation of success is determinant in their collective action. (Stekelenburg et al. 2009)

- "Expectations about the probability of success if many people participate." (Klandermans, 1984)

The instrumental motive more associates with the second expectation "about one's own contribution to the ability of success" and people's decision making or attitude towards participation is a result of their perceived calculations which itself is a result of different feelings, emotions and sentiments which are constantly changing. However, the individual's participation in social movement is based on their perceived cost-benefit calculations, this "perceived reality" can be influenced and can be among one of the step goals of the MOs.

Value Motives

Unlike the enlightenment model of decision-making which gives all the credit of judgment to people's capability of assessing the facts and understanding the consequences, Crompton (2010) argues that "facts play only a partial role in people's judgment". According to Crompton, decision making is not a completely conscious phenomenon, but it is based on a series of factors beyond the conscious awareness. What matter more in one's decision making is her emotions which itself comes from the value *frames* a person carries (Crompton, 2010). "Values are individual phenomena about which people feel strongly" (Stekelenburg et al., 2009). "When we experience the "world as it is" in deep conflict with values that define the "world as it should be," we experience emotional dissonance, a tension only resolvable through action. Organizers call this "*agitation*" (Ganz, 2011). According to their values people evaluate the social or political situation and label them with "right/wrong" and "just/unjust". Thus, the violation of the values, might lead to arguments and protests. The greater the differences between people's value and the situation, the more eagerly people would be motivated to protest against it (Stekelenburg et al. 2009).

It seems that value and emotions are inextricable criteria regarding motivation of people to do something. According to moral philosopher Martha Nussbaum, making moral choices is based on values via emotional experiences and it is useless to exclude emotion from such decision making (Ganz, 2010). The emotions that facilitate purposeful action are listed as followings: urgency, hope, anger, efficacy and solidarity (Ganz, 2010). However, studying the different extent of feelings is out of the scope of this thesis.

Identity Motives

Identification motives can play an important role in participation in a collective action (Sturmer and Simon, 2009). According to identity motive, what makes people to participate in an action is a feeling of

pressure and obligation from society or the group they are a part of it (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987). An individual in a certain group is attached to certain norms, interests and goals which lead to an inner obligation to become committed to these norms, interests and goals and thus become actively involved in fighting for them (action participation) (Sturmer and Simon, 2009).

According to Opp (1988), as characteristic of a community, the social structure determines the incentives for participation in a collective action. Also, having done research on the motivation of people in signing a door to door petition regarding global warming, Alexander found out that both social engagement and social pressure effect the decision making process when a person is asked to sign a petition (Alexander, 2009). Further Bingham et al mentioned: "The act of signing a petition often could be ascribed to situational factors and the form of the appeal than the personal convictions of signer" (Bingham et al., 1978). These all show the presence of other factors in people's decision making which is mainly people's situation or the feeling coming from being part of a community or social structure.

According to the context of this study the group can be either the family and friends or the bigger community for instance being Canadian or Quebecois.

4-4 Frame alignment

Studying different motive types, an individual's action is the result of his/her perception of the problem based on his/her personal mind frames. In fact, people's decision making is affected by their expectations, their values and their surroundings. Based on all these, each individual carries a mind frame which she/he sees any issue through. However, people are exposed to different kinds of frames from outside (e.g. industries frames, government's frames and SMO's frames). Thus, in order to sufficiently influence people, MOs should make an extra attempt to align their frame as much as possible with their audiences' frame. Snow et al., present the frame alignment as a necessity for mobilization. In order to communicate with people "social movement organizations must weave together a moral, cognitive and ideological package of attitudes and communicate a specific appraisal of the situation however they must emphasize different aspects of the situation or the solution" (Stekelenburg et al., 2009). Indeed, by doing so, a MO adopts a frame through which it represents its orientation, beliefs and values and by adopting a frame, it attempt to motivate people participate in the actions staged by the organization. Frame alignment refers to "linkage of individual and Social Movement Organization (SMO) interpretive orientations, such that same set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complementary" (Snow et al., 1986). The same researchers present four types of frame alignment: bridging, amplification, extension and transformation: Frame bridging which is the primary form of alignment for many movement organizations refers to the connection of the MO with the unmobilized public opinion. With the assumption that grievance is sufficiently generalized and significant to provide support for MO, bridging is addressing the "individuals who have the same grievance but lack the organizational base in order to express their dissatisfaction and to act towards reaching their interest (ibid). Interpersonal and

intergroup networks (Mass media, telephone, direct mail and new technologies) play a significant role in the bridging alignment. Frame Amplification however, refers to “clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue. Because the meaning of event and their connection to one’s immediate life situation are often shrouded by indifference, deception or fabrication by others or by ambiguity or uncertainty”. Amplification is either value based or belief based. In the Frame extension alignment “the movement is attempting to enlarge its adherent pool by portraying its objectives or activities as attending to or being congruent with values or interests of potential adherents”. Transformation alignment usually takes place in early stages of the movement formation. (Snow et al., 1986) any of these alignments might have taken a role in the history of a movement. Since strategies of a MO come from the heart of the frame which the MO adopts, the MO strategy and orientation can be an indicator of the MO’s frame. In this study a brief look at the frame alignment aims to clarify if the movement organization’s interests, values/beliefs and goals are aligned with those of citizens. This can help answering the main research question (aim of the thesis) “How can social movement organization’s working on sustainability become more effective in the action mobilization for a particular action (petition signing)? ”.

5- Results

The results are presented using the four mobilization steps as the main structure. In each step I attempt to assess the topic from two perspectives: the organization’s strategies and how the strategies worked. The strategies applied by MOs are extracted from the interviews with leaders and results from citizen interviews are a reflection of the organization’s mobilization achievement (how it worked).

5-1 Becoming part of the mobilization potential

- What is the strategy of the movement organizations in making people informed (in-line) with the movement’s goal?

Both Equiterre and Greenpeace have the overarching goal of combating climate change and global warming. Both leaders claimed that their main concern is to focus on global warming and climate change instead of looking at the issue just from a local perspective; “shale gas is a fossil fuel and we should get rid of the fossil fuels globally” Darier (director of the Greenpeace in Quebec) said. Also, Guilbeault (Director of the energy sector in Equiterre) mentioned “we are more concerned and we are working far more on the global issues like global warming and climate change than we are on local environmental issue; not that we think local environmental issues are not that important but the ramifications of global warming are far and wide and much greater than the accumulation of local impacts of various projects on one hand”. However, the two MOs had followed the idea that,

although there are global challenges, we have to act at the local level as well. According to Guilbeault in each sector like energy and shale gas, transportation, agriculture and fair trade, we ask the question: can we do it better? “..it’s not about the syndrome ‘the perfect word’ but it is about the fact that we now have access to knowledge and technology that we didn’t before and we need to be able to apply that as part of our decision making process from a global societal perspective”. Thus, both organizations oppose the shale gas exploration at the moment and thus they both ask for a moratorium for the shale gas exploration

The main tool being used by these organizations to make people informed is media: having columns in newspaper, media interviews (TV), press conferences and press release. Also, as Guilbeault stated “... we have done a number of media interviews, press conferences presenting our report about greenhouse gas and shale gas...we go speak with people across the province and outside...I give 30-40 conferences every year...we write in our web-site, facebook page and twitter”.

- Were many participants lost because they did not become the potential (did not agree with organizations)?

The answer to this question seems to be a ‘No’. Most of the interviewees were aware of the issue, having received their information from Media (mostly from TV and newspaper). More than half of the interviewees were concerned about the environmental issues associated with shale gas exploitation and condemned the government for taking this decision. However the concern about global environmental problems was missing (only one person was concern about the global sustainability issues), interviewees were in line with the specific goal of the movement organizations which was ‘opposing the shale gas exploration and asking for a moratorium’. People’s disagreement with the exploration seemed to come from different reasons (economic, social justice or environmental concerns) in the different interviewees. For instance one interviewee said “Environmentally, I am OK to give them a chance, but economically I think it is against the development of my province”, or according to another interviewee “by exploring the shale gas we are disrespecting the mother earth, we are disrespecting the people and the humanity...”.

It seems that the only part which needs a more effective communication strategy by organizations for information provision is to reach less educated people. In this study the people who had the lack of information were the ones without university degrees.

5-2 Being target of the action

- What is the Strategy of the organizations to get the petition to people?

The organizations' strategies to get the petition to people were through their members (the people who have left their email address and contact information to these NGOs in order to keep them informed about their issues of interest), putting the petition on their website, their facebook pages and twitter. Darier also mentioned using more traditional methods like public meetings in the small towns which is not related to people in this study who are all from Montreal.

- Were many potential participants lost because people were not reached?

Yes. Half of the interviewees have not been the target of petition signing action. These people were distributed randomly among different genders and age groups (3 from group 1, 3 from group 2, 3 from group 3). Most of the people who had not seen the petition were actually willing to sign the petition (3/4), however, they were never introduced to the action. For instance one of the interviewees stated that "the petition didn't find its way into my awareness unfortunately because I would have signed it if it had". The people, who knew about the petition, have been targeted by Internet, face book, friends, classmates, being a member of the Green-Peace organization and thus receiving the email from them, and news paper.

5-3 Being Motivated

- What is the strategy of the Movement Organizations to make people motivated to sign?

In attempt to motivate people, the two targeted organizations (Equiterre and Greenpeace) follow completely different strategies;

Equiterre is trying to give people information focusing on rational than emotional messages in order to motivate them "we are trying to appeal to their intellect...when we talk about the future of our children there is obviously an element of emotion as well but we try to keep it as rational as possible" Steven Guilbeault said. Thus, it seems that their main focus is on consensus mobilization instead of focusing on any subtype of motives discussed in this study. However, Greenpeace claimed that they try to make people motivate by making them outraged about the issue. According to this their leader (Darier), the governments and industries have acted without respecting the people's rights in first knowing about the plan and then their rights of having clean water, air, etc. Hence, it seems that Greenpeace is focusing more on the value motives.

In addressing the instrumental motives, one Guilbeaut mentioned that they talk about successful examples of when people participated in collective action in general; which it seems not to be that effective as discussed later.

- Were many potential participants lost because they were not motivated?

This question is hard to answer since most of the people who did not sign had not been introduced to petition and hence were excluded before getting to the motivation part. However, in deep discussion with interviewees, different kind of motives recognized; except one, all the interviewees that had been targeted were motivated to sign. Also, almost all the people that have not been targeted to sign the petition were motivated and had the will to sign the petition. This shows that organizations had been more successful in addressing people's motivation than in getting the petition to them.

Even though, most of the people were motivated to sign the petition, they were motivated differently; by examining their motives, respondents showed greater tendency towards showing value motives, while instrumental motivation played a much smaller part in their petition signing decision.

Instrumental motives

A significant amount of people did not believe in the instrumentality of the petition. They did not believe that they can make a change by signing a petition or the influence of a petition is so small.

Value motives

Among the motivated people, almost all of them had some sort of value motive. Having respect for the environment was among one of motives stated, and others were more strongly presented by the social justice related values like respecting and understanding others.

Identification motives

Strong identity motives (being a part of Quebec /French speaking community) were recognized. Some people would rather present themselves as a Quebecois than Canadian and are very passionate about their province. This feeling seems to enhance the intention to sign the petition since they want to prove that they are more environmentally conscious people and more responsible citizens than the rest of Canada. Also that in their province they have more power on the decision making process than other parts of the Canada.

5-4 Barriers

- What is the strategy of the MOs in taking away the barriers of petition signing?

No particular barrier was recognized by the movement organizations to be taken away.

- Were many potential participants lost because they could not overcome barriers on the way to sign the petition?

It seems that there were not many barriers on the way of signing the petition. The only barrier presented by one of the interviewees was not signing the petition in order to protect her and keep her privacy: she claimed that she is not comfortable with giving away her address and personal information in the paper petition due to the safety issues "... if you give your address and name to a stranger, they might come to your home and rob you or rape you...". This was said by somebody who has not signed the petition, didn't believe in it and said if she had believed, she would not sign anyway because of such barrier. Thus, the stated barrier seems not to be the main reason why she has not signed. However, offering the online version this petition had already overcome this barrier.

6-Discussion

6-1 Case study discussion and specific recommendations

Before starting to discuss the data, I emphasize on the complexity of the mobilization since many factors such as people's background information, characteristics of mobilization campaigns and characteristics of the individual's social environment simultaneously influence one's decision making to participate in a collective action (Oegema and Klandermans, 1994). Being aware of the complexity of the mobilization, in the determined framework of this study and based on the certain classification, I would like to touch upon some points in this part:

6-1-1 Citizen's Perception/frame vs. Organization's frame

First of all in studying each actor's frame, it seems that people's perception is mainly framed by their social justice based values alongside the nationalistic⁵ (clanship) feeling and not necessarily due to concerns regarding environmental harm and global warming. This is in line with Wilcox and Weinberg's (1971) idea arguing that: some people do sign the petition not necessarily because of the content of the petition. "Some individuals in order to please, to avoid social embarrassment, or to escape pursuit by a petition-wielder, will sign for reason having little or nothing to do with content. Others may sign because of the general principles and not because of the specific thrust of the petition". In this project, when asking interviewees the question "What do you think about the shale gas exploration in Quebec", they showed big concern about the environmental harm it causes. However, asking about their general values, only a very few participants listed nature or the environment (preservation, etc.) among their main values. Only one person mentioned global warming and climate change as her concerns. Thus, it seems that the concern about the environmental harm is more rooted in their feelings about their land (Which in their mind should be greener than the rest of Canada) and in their concern regarding other citizen's rights that are neglected. In fact, most of the people are sensitive about being Quebecois and also talk in accordance with two dominant values 'respect and honesty'. By having these points in mind and trying to ask their favor from these gates, organizations might be able to mobilize greater amount of people. For instance, in order to call for the petition signing, if the organizations made street placards or advertisement in TV or newspaper saying that 'This is Quebec not Alberta, clean water and land is the right of each citizen', it might have been effective in reaching some more people especially the ones who are not interested in global sustainability issues or environmental problems.

Going through the interviews with leaders it seems that for both two organizations, the frame which represents values, interests and general direction is in general aligned with the citizen's frame. They oppose the shale gas exploration and they want to either stop or postpone the program. Though, by taking a closer look it seems that organizations have been quite successful in the frame bridging by providing an organizational base for discontented people in reaching their interest. Also, they acted efficiently in frame amplification which is more referred to the clarification of the problem. However, there can be more improvement in the frame extension in which "the movement is attempting to enlarge its adherent pool by portraying its objectives or activities as attending to or being congruent with values or interests of potential adherents" (Snow et al., 1986). This is more been elaborated on in the previous paragraph. Having contemplated the frame alignment more generally, it is worth mentioning each organization has slightly different approaches towards the issue:

Equiterre: They believe that their first and foremost aim is to combat climate change and global warming and thus more focus should be on the big picture than the small local issues. They are opposing the shale gas industry at the moment because of the lack of sufficient information and uncertainties associated with the issue. Thus they aim to make people aware of the situation by providing knowledge and information (consensus mobilization). They try to transfer the information without bringing up

⁵ Refers to: strong feeling because of being a francophone/ Quebecois.

people's feeling and emotions. They used the petition both as an informing tool (to educate people about the issue) and a power oriented tool (to put pressure on governments).

Greenpeace: They oppose the shale gas industry since they think no fossil fuels are acceptable if the aim is to combat climate change and global warming. Their first and foremost goal is also to combat global warming and climate change which they think can be achieved by addressing the local issues. Thus, they try to make people aware of the issue, at the same time their main motivation strategy is to address people's feelings and values, try to violate their values and make people outraged. They promoted signing the petition as one of their action tools to put pressure on governments to change their policy.

Consequently, different organization with the same general aim and action tool are different in their approach towards the issue. It was out of the scope of this thesis to see which organization was the source that influenced people more. This information could be vital if the study was a comparison between different frames and its efficiency, however in this research, the two organizations have been chosen as a representative of the movement organizations in the area. This result just highlights some ideas: a) There is not enough communication and accordance in strategies between the two of the main organizations when working and promoting the same particular action b) There is a gap between the social movement's knowledge and the practice done by organizations in some part. For instance unlike Equiterre's strategy Stekelenburg et al. claim that "They (SMOs) should realize that persuasive messages are not only about consensus formation (i.e., raising consciousness) and consensus mobilization, but should preferably provide reasons to participate that fit the motives of potential participants" (stekelenburg et al, 2009). c) Addressing people through their main values and concerns (mind frames) seem to be applied in Greenpeace's strategy, however not particularly in the Equiterre's strategy. The point highlights both the importance of studying people's perception and also the necessity of an active communication and cooperation between organizations. Again according to Stekelenburg et al., "people respond to the world as they perceive and interpret it, and if we want to understand their cognitions, motivations, and emotions we need to know their perceptions and interpretations. While context matters the perception of context matters even more" (stekelenburg et al, 2009).

The other point regarding the organization's strategies was that none of the leaders talked about following a systematic strategy in mobilizing people to sign the petition. It seems that the organizations follow a general path or strategy for almost all the issues they work on. But not specifically about the mobilization for a particular action (petition signing in the case of this study). This has lead to missing some important steps of mobilization by organizations in this study. Thus, this point alongside the points a, b and c mentioned in the previous paragraph, all can increase the quality of mobilization if considered by movement organizations.

6-1-2 Mobilization Steps

Going through four steps of mobilization, results show that where movement organizations acted most effectively was step one (making people informed and agreed with the general goal of the movement and thus becoming a potential participant). However among the interviewees, most potential participants had missed the petition opportunity of step two (getting the petition to people). Also, a significant amount of interviewees lack the instrumental motives. Following, these results are going to be discussed more deeply.

6-1-2-1 Potential Making

The organizations had been successful in providing people with information, since they have bombarded them through traditional and modern social media which also Cooper argued to be the essential means in mobilizing a wide range of people in order to affect policy-makers (Cooper, 2002). According to Cooper: “both the extent and content of the media coverage influence the movement’s success” (ibid). It seems that in this movement, these organizations have been successful in using the media in a large extent and through reliable news which has had a great influence on informing the people. They have used different media means such as TV, popular newspapers like metro, radio speeches, face book and twitter and also their own websites to inform people and apparently this had a great success in terms of catching people’s attention and in transferring the information to them. Also, this way of informing provided opportunity for every person to be informed and does not exclude any member of the society. Moreover, exposing people with the information everyday in Media highlights the power/influence of repetition. So if the first time someone was not attracted by the news, after several times hearing or reading about it, he/she finally is more likely to be affected (Crompton, 2010). However, looking at the particular aim of these organizations, with their strong focus on global sustainability issues, provides some doubt if they have been successful in building this concern in people. I have not gone further to see if the reason was not enough emphasise on the global issues in news or whether this has not become a greater concern because of other reasons.

Regarding the role of education on participation in collective action, different researchers argued that less educated people participate less (Schlozman et al., 2009) and put less time into partaking in the collective action (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Being in accordance with the results of other studies, the findings of this project go a step farther by claiming that all the less educated interviewees in this study lack information. Thus, maybe those people required certain ways of communication: based on these (less educated) interviewees’ answers regarding their demand on the information provision, it seemed that these people needed a face to face talk. This might sound resource intensive, a potential limit for these organizations, but considering the previous points that have mentioned, it might be feasible if done in a cooperative project with other organizations that follow the same goal. For instance, addressing people in their work places might be applicable by setting up meetings for the workers in

several companies by both organizations. This finding is further evidence which highlighting the importance of having an understanding of people's perception and demand by organizations that want to mobilize them.

6-1-2-2 Getting the petition to people

In this case study, MOs tried to clearly identify the problem through media but did not suggest the appropriate remedy in the same way (in this case petition-signing); hence, many people got excluded from the mobilization process. In fact, in trying to get the petition to people (which was via new ways of communication/ internet particularly), the organizations left out a big potential audience non-members those not checking the MOs website or face book links. In fact, even being the employee of the organization did not necessarily mean that they knew about this petition. According to Caren et al. (2011) "the extent to which the increase in protesting and petitioning is restructuring modes of civic engagement depends heavily on the extent to which it is providing new means of participation to new kinds of citizens". It seems that how organizations are trying to handle the issue is by experience and routines. None of the leaders have mentioned any efforts to become aware of the citizen's demands. Talking to people about their demand for becoming informed, enlightens new horizons and can help these organizations to handle the situation better in the next petition signing. For instance, among the ways people stated the best way to let them know about the petition was: informing them at their door, informing them at their work, addressing the university groups who work on the related issues (such as Greenpeace McGill), NGOs should forward these kind of information to their members and employees, face to face talk, bombarding people with the message in social media: popular newspapers (small news papers can't reach everybody), TV, radio. A greater presence in the media was mentioned by all interviewees. These factors, if considered by these MOs, might have a great influence on mobilization in future.

6-1-2-3 Motivation

In the assessment of different motives several points can be mentioned. A study by Stekelenburg et al. shows that there is a dynamic relationship between the individual's motivation to participate in a collective action and the mobilization orientation of social organizations. For instance, in a value oriented action, ideology motives play a vital role in mobilizing people and in a power oriented action, instrumental motives (expectancy), alongside the ideological motives, contribute in mobilization of the people (Stekelenburg et al., 2009). Based on the results of this study, all three kinds of motives (instrumental, value-based and identity motives) contribute in mobilizing people in the power oriented action in this case however the value motives and identity motives played the biggest part.

Instrumental motives

One of the deficiencies in the MOs strategies was in relation to the instrumental motives. According to Klandermans, “values and expectancies are both important factors in taking an action; however, what is more dominant is the expectancy of success. Even if the issue is attacking values highly, people do not take any action if they think their action do not have any success” (Klandermans, 1984). While this sentence clearly shows the importance of instrumental motives, more recent research argue that instrumental motives are often quite low and cannot explain why people take part in an action. Also for higher cost type of action, such as demonstrations, participants usually do not expect the action to have success (Boekkooi et al., 2011). The result of this study is in line with these researchers. Asking people about their expectancy of success and effectiveness of the petition, some people answered: “I don’t think petition has any effect”, “if the petition has an effect it is very very small and in the awareness rising than policy changing” and “Government do what they want and petition is just paper with some signatures”. On the other hand, “By timing and by their choice of strategy and arena, asocial-movement organizations can profoundly influence the costs and benefits of participation” (Klandermans, 1984). Surprisingly, the organizations did not have any strategy to address people’s instrumental motives in terms of signing this petition. However, for the higher cost actions (e.g. demonstration which takes more energy, time and risk) it makes sense that movement organizations focus their limited recourses on the identity and value motives (since it is harder to appeal the instrumental motives), for the action of petition signing a focus on the instrumental motive might enhance the participation. In fact, it seems that a strategy for promoting the instrumental motives is neglected here due to not recognizing the place of it by organizations. Organizations can increase the instrumental motives by giving out information on the effectiveness of the petition-signing in the way it might put pressure on the governments and also by stating it’s influence on the BAPE report (as mentioned earlier BAPE report is written both based on the scientific findings and social consequences). Though, the findings of this study shows great presence of value and identity motives which is going to be discussed later.

Value motives

Value motives were strongly present among the interviewees in this study and some people signed the petition based on their value motive and in the absence of instrumental motives. This is in accordance with the claim that different motives can compensate each other. “If one type of motive is weak, a strong motive of another type can act as an additive to influence the people” (Klandermans, 1984).

The strong presence of value motives come from the efforts of Greenpeace organization as well as many other active groups (especially grassroots).

Identity Motives

As mentioned before, another factor observed in this study was a strong presence of the identification motives in some interviewees (as a member of the Quebec community). Quebecois people want to show that they are more concerned about the environment and their surrounding in comparison with other provinces of Canada and they have the power to participate in the decision-making. This motivates people to participate in the action. The presence of the identity motives in this study is in accordance with Opp (1988) and Bingham (1978), previously discussed in the theoretical background section.

6-1-2-4 Barriers

Looking at barriers, with the exception of the privacy concerns mentioned by one of the interviewees, no barriers are stopping interviewees from signing the petition.

Finally, there are some claims in different articles regarding the difference between men and women in their participation in collective action, for instance the general argument is that men do participate more in the collective action, however Oegema and Klandermans claim that women sign peace petitions more than men (Oegema and Klandermans, 1994). In this study no particular division was recognized between men and women in the certain interviewees.

6-2 General discussion and recommendations

There are a couple of factors to mention and suggestions that I think should be useful based on the case study analysis in this work, thus this section's attempt as well as the previous section, is to fulfill the aim of the thesis which is to give some suggestions that might help the MO's working on sustainability become more effective in the action mobilization for a particular action.

First of all, this study provides further evidence on the importance of the role of civil society in governance of sustainability issues. In fact, in accordance with Delmas and Young (2009) and Biermann et al. (2010), this case study also shows the deficiency of government in addressing the governance of sustainability issues. It also shows that, in a democratic regime civil society can possibly become enough powerful to participate in decision making process and governance of the sustainability issues. A more systematic approach by civil society towards governance can lead to an even greater transition of power

in the longer term. In this realm, petition-signing sounds to be an influential option which can effect on the decision-makers besides the other action tools.

In addition, in a movement the role of MOs seems to predominantly be in rallying the collective action of civil society. In this case study, MOs played a big role by making people informed about the issue and the goal of the movement through media and organizing certain actions. According to Cooper (2002), high mobilization is expected when there is an alignment in framing of the media and social movements on an issue. However, based on the result of this study it can be concluded that although media play a big role in mobilization, without having a systematic strategy and by missing some essential steps in mobilization, movement organizations might still lose a significant amount of their potential participants. For instance, if the organizations used the same method in presenting the action tools (the second step in mobilizing people) to inform people, it would likely have a greater influence on the spread of the petition.

Also, another factor which needs more focus is the communication between different organizations promoting the certain action. While the efforts of different organization working of the same issue in a separate manner using different strategies might lead to producing different motives and filling some gaps, I think it would be useful if organizations communicated more actively with each other. This could result in saved money, time and energy that can instead be invested in other sustainability projects.

Moreover, although organizations do follow an overall strategy for the general mission, in order to be successful in a particular action would be better if they followed a more systematic strategy based on different social group's needs and expectancies. By mentioning different social groups I am pointing to the groups who have shown different needs to get involved for instance less education people vs. more educated ones, men vs. women, young people (new generation) vs. older people (previous generations). This kind of research certainly would have augmented the quality of mobilization, since for instance in the earlier literature there has been a difference recognized between different generations in attending the protests (Caren et al. 2011). This might have been neglected since studying people's perception in each action requires lots of energy and resource and may take the previous point about the organization's communication and cooperation more convenient.

More than having knowledge about the people's perception and mind frames, I think it would be helpful if the organizations were updated about the investigation been done in the mobilization realm. These two together can build a better understanding of how organizations should use their resources in the best efficient way.

Taking all this factors into consideration, movement organizations can contribute to higher levels of mobilization. These could lead to having higher influence on the decision making process and a more powerful contribution in the governance of the sustainable development.

7- Conclusion

This study is based on action mobilization literature. The aim was to come up with some suggestions in order to enhance the efficiency of movement organizations' strategies in mobilization for a particular action. Qualitative research method within the case of the environmental movement against the shale gas exploration in Quebec were chosen for this study. Different sources of data gathering (data triangulation) were used in this work among which was two levels of interviews that conducted with eighteen Montreal citizens and two representative organizations' leaders. The results show that the movement organizations have acted most effectively in step one (potential making) and they have lost most of their potential participants in step two, which is getting the petition to people. This was mostly due to the fact that 1) such organizations lack a systematic strategy 2) they lack the base knowledge on people's perception, framing of the issue and demands, 3) active communication between organization was missing when promoting (mobilizing for) the same action.

Thus, having in mind the complexity associated with action mobilization, the following points are recommended to enhance the mobilization by movement organizations in general: 1) follow a systematic strategy in mobilizing for a specific action, 2) engage in active communication and cooperation (in terms of knowledge, resources and strategy) between organizations when promoting the same action, 3) study people's perception, frame and demands and then plan the mobilization strategy based on that 4) stay up to date with recent knowledge of mobilization.

Moreover, since each case-study varies in different aspects, in addition to the general recommendations, some suggestions specifically address the organizations in this case study: 1) attempt to address more people by communicating to them through their mind frame towards the issue. Since people's frame of the issue seems to be formed around the nationalistic feelings alongside the social justice values, providing messages like 'this is Quebec-not Alberta. We respect each citizen's right to have clean water' might motivate some people who are not necessarily concerned about environmental issues. 2) Try to address less educated people in the first step (potential making) by focusing on face to face communication. This is recommended by targeting these people mainly in their workplace, for instance having discussion for workers in factories. 3) In step two (getting the petition to people), instead of limiting the target pool by sending out information regarding the petition only through internet sources, use different means to get the action to people. In this case study, the demand side shows bombarding the people via media (as organizations did for information provision) can be of a great influence 4) greater focus on the instrumental motives can be vital. It can be stated in each educational speech and media report that petition signing can contribute changing the situation since it will effect the BAPE report and it will be directly handed in to the local governments and therefore puts pressure on them in the policy making process.

I would like to end my thesis by posing a few questions: is it possible to make people concerned about global sustainability issues while they are facing an issue in their province which is tangible and more likely that they get motivated to act against? How important is to use 'global sustainability' talks in this situation if people will contribute more to achieving the same goals if they get targeted through their

own/local concerns? Of course knowing about the global environmental issues is important, but would it not be more effective if approached in the educational plans in schools rather than in a particular action in an environmental campaign?

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APPENDIX 1

Interview questions with the local activist:

- 1- How did this movement form? And how it works (the role and the place of active local and national organization, is there a hierarchical system? or locals are more powerful and they are the real leaders? Date when the exploration started?
- 2- How did you find out about the exploration?
- 3- What do you think of the shale gas exploration?
- 4- To what extend do you think the people are participating in the opposition (village/city)? Do you think people are aware of the environmental issues connected to the project?
- 5- Why signing a petition is an important thing is stopping the exploration?
- 6- What are the tactics been used to mobilize people to sign the petition?
- 7- What kind of motivation you think can be more effective in making people mobilized for signing petition?

APPENDIX 2

Interview questions with citizens:

- 1- Gender
- 2- Age
- 3- Education
- 4- Job
- 5- Do you have TV at home?
- 6- Do you have internet at home?

- 7- What do you think about the shale gas exploration in Quebec? How you see the future of Quebec with the extension of the industry in the province? How you got your information on the shale gas from? What you think is the best way to inform you?

- 8- Did you know about the petition requesting the moratorium? How did you got informed about it? What you think can be the best way to inform you about it?

- 9- Did you sign the petition? Why? Where?
- 10- Do you think petition signing is a good tool to get what you want? Why?
- 11- Do you think you as an individual can make a difference by signing the petition?
- 12- Do you think it will make a difference if so many people sign the petition?
- 13- How many people you thought will sign the petition?
- 14- If the shale gas industry brings financial advantages to the province (plus job, etc.) would you still sign the petition for the moratorium?
- 15- What are your main values in life?
- 16- Does signing the petition something to do with your values? (Did you feel it is your responsibility to act? Or it's not fair or against any of your principles?)
- 17- What is your feeling toward the issue?
- 18- Did you friends, family sign? Did it have any impact on your decision making?
- 19- Is there any barriers stopping you from signing the petition?

APPENDIX 3

Interview Questions with leaders:

- 1- What do you think of the shale gas issue? What are the values you try to promote?
- 2- What is the place of petition signing in your action tools against the shale gas industry in the region?
- 3- By asking people to sign the petition, did you think of a way of changing this policy or it was just a way of making people aware?
- 4- How did you try to address people to sign the petition?
- 5- What was your strategy to give people information about the issue?
- 6- What was your strategy to motivate people to sign?

- 7- What you think can be the barriers which stop people from signing the petition? Have you done something to overcome such barriers?

Appendix 4

Genuine version of the petition – In French. available at: <https://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/exprimez-votre-opinion/petition/Petition-909/index.html>):

Pétition : Exploration et exploitation du gaz de schiste

Texte de la pétition

CONSIDÉRANT QUE des travaux d'exploration visant à exploiter le gaz de schiste se déroulent au Québec et qu'ils présentent des risques environnementaux importants, notamment pour l'eau en raison des produits chimiques utilisés pour la fracturation ainsi que l'augmentation des GES (gaz à effet de serre);

CONSIDÉRANT QUE des conséquences environnementales de cette exploitation ont eu des effets dévastateurs aux États-Unis et en Alberta;

CONSIDÉRANT QUE ces travaux soulèvent une inquiétude légitime chez les citoyens et les citoyennes, des communautés ainsi que des élus municipaux qui n'ont pas les pouvoirs d'arrêter ces travaux ou n'ont pas les ressources pour gérer les conséquences de tels travaux;

CONSIDÉRANT QUE le Bureau d'audiences publiques sur l'environnement a reçu un mandat qui se limite à proposer très rapidement un cadre de développement de la filière des gaz de schiste et que pendant ce temps les forages se poursuivent;

CONSIDÉRANT QUE le Québec est actuellement apte à entreprendre un virage vers l'exploitation des énergies durables qui contribuerait à la diminution des GES tout en contribuant à l'emploi et à la richesse collective dans une optique nationale ;

CONSIDÉRANT QU'il est fondamental de décider collectivement de l'exploitation de nos ressources et que l'importance de cet enjeu nécessite une large consultation publique visant entre autres à décider de notre avenir énergétique ;

Nous, citoyens québécois, demandons que le gouvernement provincial du Québec ordonne un moratoire complet sur l'exploration et l'exploitation du gaz de schiste.