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Summary

The topic for this study is Norwegian climate change targets and its social impacts - Case study of Bymiljøpakken in Nord Jæren. The focus of this thesis is on the social impacts of the climate change and policies related to it. This topic is of a critical value and in order to understand the social implication case study of a local initiated project is studied in this thesis.

Bymiljøpakken, which is initiated as State's response to the climate change targets in the south-west of Norway has had fair share of controversy since it's initiation. It has faced a resilient movement that began on social media platforms and resulted in emergence of new political voices all in a span of half a decade.

Weissmann's bridging theory is used to understand this complex relation between the two. Christiansen's stages of social movement is used to understand the birth and eventual death of social movement. And Hajer's discourse analysis is used to understand the arguments in both spoken and written language. This is critical in order to further understand the story lines and narratives of both parties.

Furthermore, various polls and one-on-one interviews is used as primary data sets for the analysis in this thesis.

The data analysis show a significant impact of the governmental decisions on population leading to an active resilient movement. On paper these targets for climate change could be achieve in the long run. However, the resilient movement which had transformed into a political voice could become crucial in creating hindrance in government's plan.

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Stavanger, July 2019

Karolina Barbara Shahid

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1. INTRODUCTION

Norway has a high score on the measurement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG'S) set by the UN (Larsen, 2016; Regjeringen, 2016). However, with continuous changes in the climate conditions globally, the country is aiming for implementing measures to further minimize this effect locally to help the mitigation process globally. Transportation sector has been named as one of the sectors that has had a great impact on the climate change. The Norwegian emission from transportation sector are responsible for 30 percent of Norwegian greenhouse gas (Miljødirektoratet, 2018). The gas emission from transport has grown from 1990-2017 by 22 percent (Miljødirektoratet, 2018). City packages across Norway are being introduced in order to meet these targets (Miljødirektoratet, 2015).

Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren is a result of such recommendations. The package focuses on the general well-being of the city's transportation and making it more environmentally friendly. These city packages focus on improvements of road networks including dedicated bus lanes, installation of new tolls and taxes, installation of cycling paths, etc. The intention behind this is to reduce the flow of private transportation and to encourage the local population to use public transport (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a). This, however, have resulted in a strong resistance from the local population. The plans of Bymiljøpakken and toll charges have led to various demonstrations and strong public opinions. Furthermore, public opinion led to the change in the political and social scene in the region (kommune). Based on public opinion, social movements emerged with new political voices that operate both locally in Nord-Jæren as well as in other parts of the country.

There have been various studies carried out including public opinion about Bymiljøpakken in different regions in Norway (Norconsult, 2018b; Sandblåst, 2016; Staten Vegvesen & AS., 2017; Transportplansamarbeidet, 2007), however a need for more detailed studies based on the ongoing social impacts is required.

This thesis aims to look at this on a macroscale and try and present its findings on basis of how it is impacting the social structure in the region and what challenges it poses in the near future.

1.1. Context. Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren

Bymiljøpakken is designed to reduce the movement of the private vehicles within the area of Nord-Jæren. With the expected population growth and ultimately increase in vehicle usage, the state aims to introduce better public transport and walking and cycle paths (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a, 2018b). While inaugurating the Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren, the Minister of Transport, Ketil Solvik-Olsen expressed that the need of this project arose based on the wishes and resolutions from the local authorities, according to Regjeringen Press Release (Samferdselsdepartementet, 2016).

While the idea behind the package was well received by the masses, however, installation of the new tolls' sections raised serious concerns from the public. A strong criticism started to develop when it comes to the adaptations of these measures; this led to a beginning of a social movement (Hilhorst, 1997), which soon engulfed the political situation within the region.

Social resilient movement with the name of *Nok er Nok* meaning "enough is enough", began over various social platforms including Twitter and Facebook being the most prominent. This further led to an increase in new social and political voices, ultimately leading to emergence of a new political party in Stavanger region; Folkeaksjonen Nei til mer Bompenger (FNB). FNB party was formed as a political in 2014 and took part in the 2015 local council election (city council). The party was successful in their first attempt and managed to get 3 members elected in the city council as well as being part of various committees (F. n. t. bompenger, 2016). FNB with their main agenda being against the toll taxation have developed number of followers over the last few years and plans to take their politics to other part of the country as well. Svein Tuastad, an associate professor at the Department of Social Studies at the University of Stavanger thinks that FNB with their policies can cause a split in Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) as FNB can take voters away from FrP and so can gain serious steps towards national politics (Kalstad, Oppedal, & Nesvik, 2018).

FrP, which is currently the third largest party of the country and is part of the government coalition with Høyre (H), had previously rallied the masses with their policies against the tolls before the elections, however, things didn't turned out exactly as they predicted (Ighoubah & Berge, 2018).

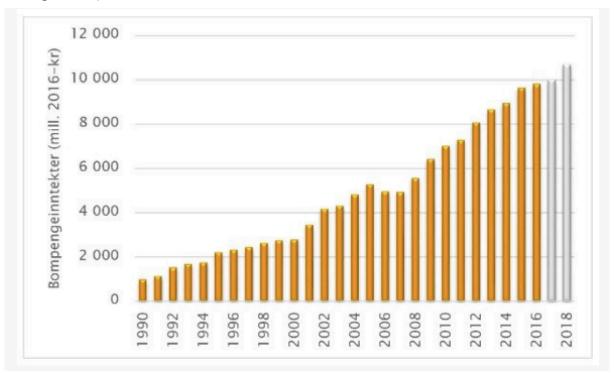


Figure 1 The increase of toll charges in the years. Significant increase in the years of FrP in the government (regjeringen) (Ighoubah & Berge, 2018)

Figure 1, shows that since FrP came into government (regjeringen) in 2013 toll charges have increased despite their promises to lower the fees. Siv Jensen in the interview with Nettavisen (2018) stated that the reason for increased toll charges lies with high amount of infrastructure investments and projects. Furthermore, she added that it is the majority of Stortinget (parliament) members who want the investments to be financed from the toll charges.

The political situation emerging in this scenario is important to understand, as the power vacuum that has been created, FNB could fill up, as described by Tuastad. However, he also

emphasized that FNB position and importance could all be temporary and short term (Kalstad et al., 2018).

While the focus of the study will be based on the Bymiljøpakken impacts on the local population, the political situation development in Stavanger region (Nord-Jæren) and in general across the country is important to understand for the scope of this thesis. FNB is a political party that emerged from the social movement Nok er Nok. Social movement Nok er Nok was created as a result of societal dissatisfaction with the implication of toll charges that are result of Bymiljøpakken.

As Frode Myrhol leader of FNB, mentions in the parties Political Program 2015-2019,

"This package, which includes expensive toll rings encircling Stavanger and several other towns, passed without a single assessment in terms of the impact it will have for the local population, institutions, business, sport, voluntary organizations and others" (F. n. t. m. bompenger, 2015).

During the course of this research work, the aim of this thesis is to understand these power dynamics which are shaping the communities within the region. How they are impacting the social fabric of the society and how the policies both locally and nationally are impacting the social structure in the region.

1.2. Goals of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to social impacts. The focus is; how the Bymiljøpakken that aims for zero growth rate is impacting the social structure in the Nord-Jæren region.

The study undertaken will be based on Norwegian climate change targets that are expressed in governmental policies such as Bymiljøpakken. This study aims to see how those policies (Bymiljøpakken) is perceived by local population. The aim of this thesis is to discuss the point of view on Bymiljøpakken from both sides of the spectrum; namely those who oppose it and those in favor of it.

The thesis will try and answer the following questions broadly;

- What are the policies of Bymiljøpakken?
- Is the Bymiljøpakken socially impacting or is it going to impact population in general?
- How did the social movement develop and what are the story lines of the movement?
- How does both sides of the spectrum justify the toll stations?

For better understanding the purpose of this study, it is important to understand following concepts; social impact, story lines and social movement.

Social impact is how organizations and businesses affect the community. It can be defined as a result of an activity, policy or project that have an impact on the local population. Further, impact results can be felt by the people closely associated with the organization. It can also have a broader impact on the population within a community or population in a country. Social impact can be both positive and negative (McLoughlin & Johnson, 2013).

A Story line is a chronological set of events in a narrative. Every story has its beginning, middle and end and story lines are "condensed statement summarizing complex narratives" (Hajer, 2006), that people use as a short cuts in discussions. By using story lines, the author of this thesis aims to presents what developments led to emergence of the social

movement. Furthermore, story lines are used to present what is the cause of the social movement transforming into the political party.

Social movements are created by people that are organized together in the purpose of achieving a goal and bringing about a social change. In the case of Nok er Nok the social movement emerged as an opposition to the toll charges that were initiated as a part of Bymiljøpakken (Little, 2013).

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In addition to the historical context, this chapter would also provide the entire background information that is required to carry out the analysis work (discussed in next chapter), where following questions about Bymiljøpakken in Nord- Jæren, will be addressed:

- Why it was formatted?
- What are the goals?
- Where the funds for Bymiljøpakken come from and how are they spent?

Furthermore, the resilient movement will be discussed here in detail to understand, how people perceived the aforementioned project and how it is impacting them.

This review of literature and background material is very critical in this paper as that would constitute a major part for the analysis. While any missing information or data gap will be filled in by collecting more data during the course of this thesis.

2.1. Norwegian Climate Change Targets

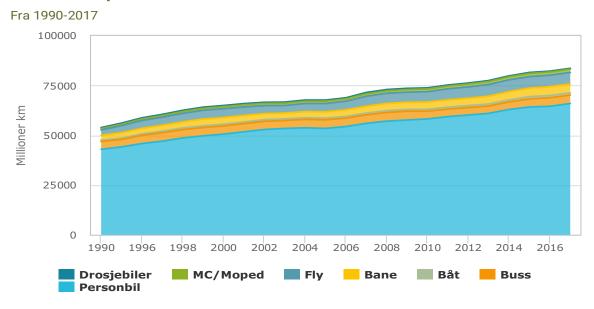
Norway has committed to a reduction of at least 40 percent of greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 compared to the 1990 levels (The-Research-Council-of-Norway, 2018). This is based on both the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) and the Paris Agreement. Norway's long term plan is to become carbon-neutral country by 2050 (Nordic-Energy-Research, 2015). Norway in collaboration with EU have been working on reducing the emissions based on the European Trading System (ETS) covering sectors like industry, aviation, petroleum, etc. The country is aiming for the reduction of emissions from non ETS sectors such as: agriculture, waste and construction and transportation(Nordic-Energy-Research, 2015).

Transport is one of the major contributors to Norwegian greenhouse gas (GHG) emission with its 30 percent emissions level. Hence, Miljødirektoratet (2018) proposes that emissions can be reduced by transition towards zero growth technology, for example electric cars and implementing changes such as:

- reduction of transportation,
- transition towards transport that produces lower emissions,
- transition towards cycling
- choosing collective transportation instead of cars.

According to Miljødirektoratet an increase of emission is linked to both economic growth and population development. Figure 2, shows an increase in amount of personal transport from 1990- 2017. The graph shows a significant increase of use of personal vehicles (personbil), busses (buss) and aviation (fly).

Persontransport etter kilde



Kilde: Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB) Lisens: Norsk Lisens for Offentlige Data (NLOD)

Figure 2 Personal transportation by source (Miljødirektoratet, 2018)

Growth in transportation can be due to few factors. Increase in population over the years that requires more transportation means. Moreover, better economic situation allows public to travel more frequently, travel longer distances and own more than one car per household (Miljødirektoratet, 2018). Figures 3 and 4 below, shows the total GHG emission in Norway for 2017 and the emissions from transport sector contributing to the overall GHG emission in Norway in 2017 respectively.

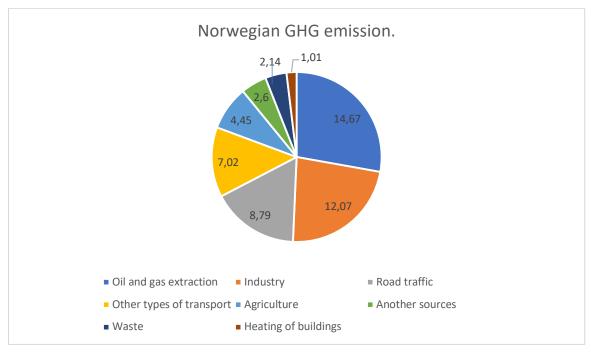


Figure 3 Norwegian GHG emission for 2017 (emissions to air in millions of tons of CO₂-equivalents) (Miljødirektoratet, 2018)

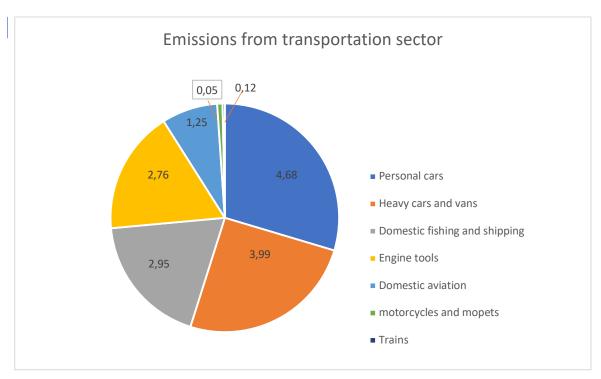


Figure 4 Emissions from the transportation sector in 2017 (emissions to air in millions of tons of CO_2 -equivalents) (Miljødirektoratet, 2018).

Miljødirektoratet (2017), also published the statistical data for GHG emissions for various municipalities and regions. Statistics below in Figure 5, shows the emissions of CO_2 in road traffic in Rogaland. Data shows general decrease in CO_2 emissions from 2009-2017. There is significant reduction of emissions from personal vehicles between 2009 and 2017. Vans still contribute the more or less the same amount of emissions over the years. The year 2017 was a year with the least amount of emission since 2009.

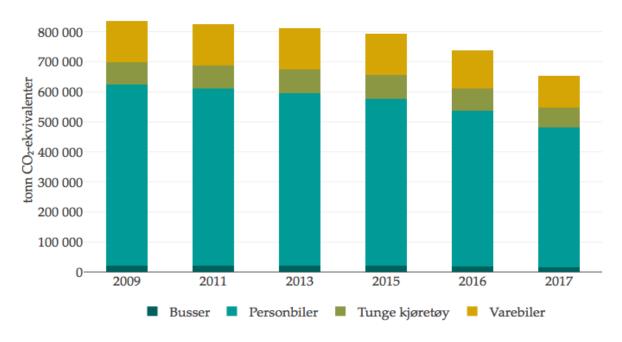


Figure 5. Emissions per year in Rogaland (Miljødirektoratet, 2017).

Of all the sectors including ETS and Non-ETS sectors, transportation accounts for the majority of emissions. In order to reach the targets and reduce the emissions from the transportation sector, government introduced projects called *city packages* (*Bymiljøpakken*, 2018b). These packages are based on the idea of reducing the use of private cars and making the use of public transport more effective. The city packages have been initiated under different names in different parts of the country, including Trondheim, Bergen, Tromsø, Nord-Jæren, Oslo, Drammen, Kristiansand, Larvik, Harstad, Arendal and Grimstad, Tønsberg, to name a few (Røed, 2018).

Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren is also in the list of aforementioned packages, with the aim to reduce greenhouse gases emissions and ultimately helping the state in achieving the local climate change targets (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a).

Understanding these targets is important as it gives a basis for the need of Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren.

The Norwegian targets for climate change are the following.

- Norway will reduce global greenhouse gas by the equivalent of 30 percent of its own 1990 emissions by 2020.
- Norway has undertaken a commitment to reduce its emissions by at least 40 percent by 2030 compared with the 1990 level.
- Norway will be climate neutral by 2030.
- Norway has adopted a legally binding target of being a low-emission society by 2050.
- Greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries will be reduced in ways that contribute to sustainable development.
- As a political goal, Norwegian society will prepare for and adapt to climate change (Miljødirektoratet, 2015).

The Norwegian Environment Agency (Miljødirektoret) in their report (2014) proposed action plans to reduce short-lived climate forces by 2030, this was based on Norwegian climate change targets. Transportation sector was pointed out as one of the major sources impacting the climate change. The mitigation measures were based on an earlier report by Miljødirektoratet (2006-2007). These mitigation measures are the basis on which the city packages were designed.

These recommendations are based on following on key areas:

- improvement of public transport,
- curbing the growth of private cars,
- variable toll to reduce traffic,
- reducing congestion problem for public transport,
- Improvement and development of cycling path.

Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren is a result of the aforementioned recommendations. (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a).

2.2. The emergence of city packages

City packages are action plans that are a co-operation between various state actors such as *Statens Vegvesen* (The Norwegian Public Roads Administration) and *fylkeskommune* (municipalities). City packages are made up of various features that are being implemented

which can include cycle paths, tolls, efficient collective transport, electric cars charging docks etc. City packages emerged in a large part from previous transport and tolls packages (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017). The purpose of city packages is to strengthen the coordination and the transport policies (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017). As a solution for the increasing population in the cities, Stortinget in their Report No. 21 (2011–2012) emphasized the importance of development and improvement of the collective transport, walking paths and cycling roads. Stortinget refers to it as zero growth rate target and emphasized the importance of city packages in meeting the Norwegian climate change target. Furthermore, The Road Act §27 states that funds collected by toll charges can be used on infrastructure for public transport and operation of public transport (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017). Tønnesen and Christiansen (2017) in their paper presents a figure as illustrated in Figure 6 below, representing actors, financing sources and relevant measurements involved in city packages. This present a better visualizing of the construction of city packages.

Relevant parties

Municipality (Kommune)

County municipalities (fylkeskommuner)

Public body (offentlig organ)

Public transport companies

Business organizations

NGOs

Relevant areas

Road infrastructure

Restrictive measures for car use

Collective transport

Land use (densification and carindependent location of businesses)

Walking paths and cycling paths

Figure 6. Adapted from construction of city packages (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017)

According to Regjeringen (2019), the city packages have been developed over time based on toll collections in the largest urban areas in the country. Moreover, in 2004 the government introduced the reward scheme (Belønningsordningen). Belønningsordningen is a reward system used to achieve zero-growth target. The purpose of this rewards system is to stimulate the environment in the cities and better accessibility of public transport as well as decreasing private car usage. The reward scheme includes areas such as Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø, Trondheim and Nord-Jæren. The focus on big cities comes from the country's network program *Fremtidens byer* that aimed for reduction of emissions from road transport, stationary energy use, consumption and waste (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017). Consequently, leading to better life quality in the big cities. The urban environmental agreement was presented in the National Transportation Plan 2014-2023 with its main focus on coordinating land and transport policy in the nine largest urban areas (Regjeringen, 2019). Furthermore, it is based on the city packages but also contributes to the investments in high-quality collective solutions. In 2015 the urban development agreement was introduced. The aim of this agreement was to bring binding cooperation between the

government, municipalities and county municipalities. Leading to specification of purpose of the land commitments in the urban environmental agreements (Regjeringen, 2019).

Initially, the reward scheme, urban environment agreement (bymiljøavtale) and urban development (byutviklingsavtale) were separate programs that worked along each other. However, in 2016 Regjeringen decided to join both urban environment agreement and urban development agreement into one comprehensive city growth agreement (byvekstavtaler) (Samferdselsdepartementet, 2016). This was done in order to facilitate more long-term vision. However, the reward scheme was not included into the city growth agreement and continue to exist as a separated initiative that will continue to contribute to the urban environment agreement and to the city growth agreement. Consequently, Oslo and Akerhus, Bergen and Nord-Jæren joined the city growth agreement in 2017. Following that, the city packages are based on both the urban environmental agreement and on the city growth agreement (Tønnesen & Christiansen, 2017).

Bypakken Nord-Jæren replaced Nord-Jæren pakken and included the urban growth agreement (Samferdselsdepartementet, 2016). In May 2018, Bypakken Nord-Jæren was renamed to Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren. The reason for the new name as described by Rogaland-Fylkeskommune was that it gives a better, and broader understanding of the "connection in the work that is going on for transport and urban development at Nord-Jæren, whether it is about what we build, plan to build, accessibility and mobility, tolls, environment and better cities" (Rogaland-Fylkeskommune, 2018, p. 1, authors translation). The city growth agreement, therefore, can be seen as a tool to ensure better coordination between the parties and as a tool in reaching zero growth rate.

Figure 7 below, presents how the reward scheme (belønningsordningen), urban environment agreement (bymiljøavtale), urban growth agreement (byvekstavtale), city package (bypakken) and city development agreement (byutviklingsavtale) corporate together in order to achieve zero growth target. Regjeringen introduced above mentioned initiatives in order to encourage people to walk, cycle or use collective transportation and so to reach the zero growth target (Regjeringen, 2019).

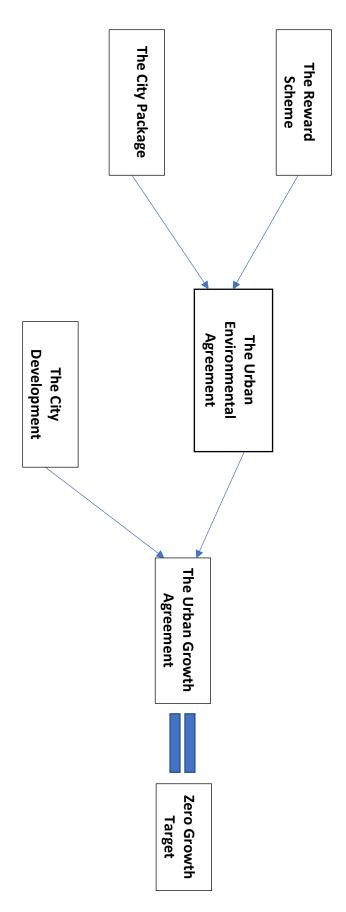


Figure 7 Transition of agreements towards The Urban Traffic Agreement and their purpose to reach zero growth target. Regjeringen (2019)

2.3. Bymiljøpakken Nord-Jæren

Bymiljøpakken (City package) Nord-Jæren aims to finance the model that was adopted by the government for the Transport System at Jæren namely; further development of the bus and railway transport system. Proposal for the city package Nord-Jæren was adopted at the county council in Rogaland in 2014. The goal is to have this package valid for 15 years in the municipalities of Stavanger, Sola, Sandnes and Randaberg (Nord-Jæren, 2016).

According to Official Website for Bymiljøpakken Bymiljøpakken (2018a, 2018e) in Nord-Jæren, the reasons behind the introduction of it are as follows:

- Nord-Jæren is among the areas in the country with the highest population growth.
- Major queue and environmental problems if actions are not taken.
- To make sure the air in cities becomes cleaner and less polluted.
- To get a better region to live, travel and work in.
- The need to build safer roads, so as to get fewer traffic accidents and fatalities in traffic.
- The school roads for kids and bikes must be made safer through many small and large traffic safety measures.
- Norway has committed itself to reaching climate goals through the Paris agreement,
 CO2 emissions from traffic must be reduced.

In short, the city package aims to address the environmental issues related to traffic congestion by adopting more environmentally friendly solutions of public transport, carpooling, cycling or walking. Both local and national government considers these aforementioned measures as critical for long-term solutions (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a).

The total expected cost for the package is 30 Billion NOK and is expected to be finished by year 2033. Tolls will pay for the major part of the funds needed to complete the project, while around 11 Billion NOK will come via City Traffic Act and National Transport Plan and around 1.5 Billion NOK from VAT refunds from the region (Bymiljøpakken, 2018d) The main features of the project are as follow:

- Bus lanes connecting various important areas of the cities including suburbs.
- Upgrading of the city terminal in Stavanger and routes in the center of Sandnes. In addition, Stavanger city center gets a new street terminal
- Stops for drivers
- Heavy Vehicle Lanes/ Bus Lanes on highways and country road
- Bicycle road: Stavanger Forus Sandnes
- Measures for walking, environment and traffic safety
- Allocate money for the environment, traffic safety, hiking routes and other measures for walking.

The most crucial part of this project is the installation of new tolls. This is very critical to the scope of this thesis as well. Figure 8, gives an indication of the location where these tolls are installed.



Figure 8 Map over Nord-Jæren with toll rings (bomringer)(Bymiljøpakken, 2018c).

Tolls rings are placed in the area of the highest traffic congestion. Thus, they are placed in the area around Stavanger center, Sandnes center, Forus, Risavika and Stavanger Airport at Sola but also between Stavanger and Randaberg (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a).

According to the official website Bymiljøpakken (2018a), placement of toll rings in these areas will contribute to people choosing alternative transport instead of personal vehicle. In these areas Bymiljøpakken is developing good collective transport and good cycling paths such as Bussveien and Sykkelstamvegen. Toll payments are charged every day and are divided into normal charge and rush hour charge which is further divided into two vehicle groups, namely heavy cars and light cars (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a). However, in the period between December 2018 to March 2019, rush hour fees was not charged for the vehicles. The reason behind it was an incorrect invoicing of the car users in the previous months. The issue appeared to be that of charging the rush hour price outside the rush hours. It was believed to be a technical error with the system and was periodically rectified. (Heimsvik & Hagen, 2018). The rates for the two vehicle groups are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Payment for driving through toll stations (Bymiljøpakken, 2018e).

	Light cars	Heavy cars
Normal hours	22 kr	55 kr
Rush hours (7-9 am and 15-17pm)	44 kr	110 kr
Normal hours with electronic tag (bombrikke)	17.6 kr	No discount
Rush hours with electronic tag	35.2 kr	No discount

However, following users are exempted from the tolls from Bymiljøpakken, (2018a):

- Cyclists
- Electric cars with fuel code 5
- Reduced mobility cars with parking exception card
- Mopeds and motorcycles

These tolls charges are there to encourage the public to use collective transport. To further support their mission, the municipalities along with other stakeholders in the region have come up with various schemes to accommodate the public. One such initiative is HjemJobbHjem.

2.4. HjemJobbHjem

HjemJobbHjem is an initiative that corporates transportation between home and a workplace. This was initially introduced as a pilot project, but in 2017 it became an active initiative (Schiager, 2018). The program aims to reduce the amount of passenger cars on the roads and to decrease the traffic. The idea is to encourage people to leave their cars at home and choose instead to walk, cycle or to use collective transport to commute between work and home (HjemJobbHjem, 2016b). HjemJobbHjem aims to create good mobility offer for workers across Nord-Jæren. To achieve this goal the initiative collaborates with municipalities, cities, and organizations. Kolumbus AS is the administrative actor that is responsible for the program.

Companies that join the HjemJobbHjem program have to go into agreement where 75% of employees take part in the travel survey. Results from the survey are then used to provide the activity plan for the firm and so contribute to decrease in car travels between work and home. Companies that join the agreement are required to pay 10 kr per employee for the first 200 employees. Then the price decreases even more depending on the total amount of employees. For additional costs, companies can be provided with a charger station and electronic bicycle. Employees in return receive discount on the monthly ticket that costs 515kr (HjemJobbHjem, 2016a)(regular price for the monthly ticket starts from 720 kr and increases depending on the amount of zones¹). The advantage of this ticket is that it can be used on busses, trains and boats within the municipality (HjemJobbHjem, 2016a). The amount of companies joining HjemJobbHjem is growing. In 2016, 176 companies joined the

¹ For more information about ticket prices see Kolumbus website: https://www.kolumbus.no/Billetter/-priser-og-produkter/30-dagersbillett/

initiative, while in 2017 the number grew to 287. Currently there is 608 companies that have joined².

Based on the report from 2013/2014 conducted by Hjorthol, Engebretsen, and Uteng (2014) 55% of employees in Nord -Jæren use personal car to commute between work and home. Compared to other cities, Stavanger has the lowest number of employees using collective transport and the highest number of employees using cars. A comparison between cities is presented in Table 2.

	Oslo	Bergen	Trondheim	Stavanger
Collective	42%	25%	19%	14%
Private car	31%	46%	44%	55%

Table 2. Difference in use of collective transport between cities

The idea behind Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren have been welcomed in general, however, the idea of the implementation of new tolls and tax have as mentioned earlier received criticism. Local population have been very vocal. This started initially in the form social media debates and discussion which led to the use of these platforms to organized social rallies, demonstration and protests physically as well.

Understanding these changes using the aforementioned background information is the key for the scope of this thesis.

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² Data retrieved 28.04.2019 from https://www.hjemjobbhjem.no

3. PRESENTATION OF KEY ACTORS

3.1. Stakeholders within Bymiljøpakken and their role

The stakeholders involved in Bymiljøpakken are described as under,

- Rogaland Fylkeskommune
- Stavanger Kommune
- Sandnes Kommune
- Sola Kommune
- Randaberg Kommune
- Jernbanedirektorater
- Statens Vegvesen
- Kolumbus

Figure 9, below provides the visual representations of how the political decisions are made. It shows what actors are involved in the process and what projects they are responsible for.

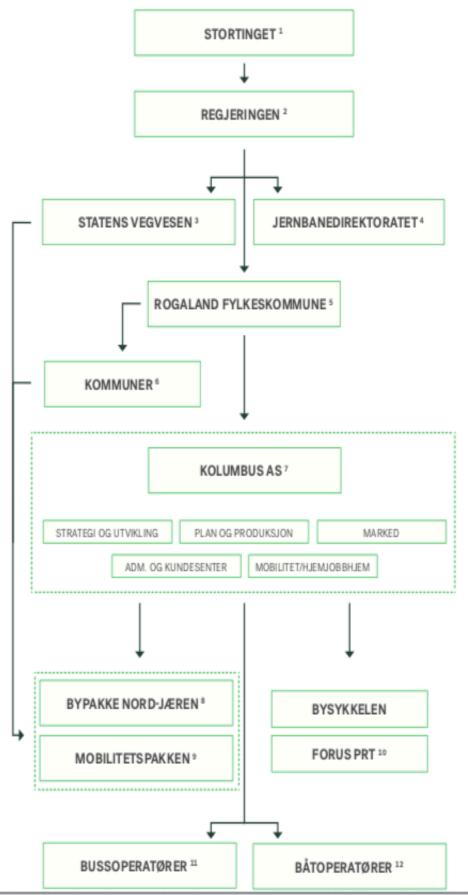


Figure 9 Key actors and their responsible projects (Kolumbus, 2018, p. 11).

On the regional level, the decision-making power is assigned to local politicians and other bureaucracy in various municipalities. However, in terms of actual administration and management of the work within Bymiljøpakken, Statens Vegvesen is the major stakeholder. Statens Vegvesen is the Norwegian Public Roads Administration that is responsible for planning, building and maintaining roads in Norway (Vegvesen, 2018). It provides advice and draws up the basis for decision on the behalf of the politicians. Additionally, Statens Vegvesen is responsible for carrying out projects on the behalf of the government and the county municipalities. Goals of this administration are to follow the national targets, namely:

- Accessibility and regional development the goal is to improve the accessibility and to reduce the cost leading to improvement of competitiveness of the business communities.
- Traffic safety the goal is to achieve no accident involving killed or severely injured.
- The environment the goal is limiting greenhouse gas coming from transportation. Reduction of the environmentally damaging effects of transport leading to fulfillment of Norwegian national and international environmental goals.
- The universal design transportation system should be universally designed.

Kolumbus on the other hand is responsible for the public collective transport (Bymiljøpakken, 2018e). As have been described earlier, the main idea behind implementation of Bymiljøpakken is to reduce the private traffic and encourage and promote the use public transport.

3.2. Nok er Nok and FNB

Nok er Nok is a politically independent, social movement that started on social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter against the raising fees and new tolls that are being supplemented with the city packages across Norway. Nok er Nok is a social movement that started by organizing protests towards toll charges in Stavanger. Nok er Nok movement grew in power and size and spread all over the country (Vissgren.J., 2018).

However, in Nord-Jæren region, after the introduction of the Bymiljøpakken, this social media movement resulted in formation of a political party in 2014 as societal response towards the implementation of governmental policies that include more toll stations and higher prices (Kalstad et al., 2018). Further, in 2015 in Stavanger municipality elections this party campaigned as a political party under the name of Folkeaksjonen Nei til mer Bompenger (FNB) (NTB, 2018b). Additionally to the goals of stopping toll charges, FNB is against GPS pricing (Høybakk, 2019). The political party also aims to get city bikes more accessible (FNB, 2015).

FNB's role in the regional government and the changes in the political climate is interesting, as the party was formed based on the idea of social movement.

Their policies and actions is also discussed in this thesis as the opinion of one of the major actors of the local social movement.

Folkeaksjonen Nei til mer Bompenger (FNB) with a primary motto to abolish tolls as a financing method wrote a letter to Stortinget (2016). In the letter FNB expressed their concerns regarding Bymiljøpakken itself and the increased toll charges. This letter gives a good indication of their policy statements regarding Bymiljøpakken. The salient features are the following:

FNB compared toll charges between three cities in Norway, namely: Stavanger,
Bergen and Trondheim (Table 3). This comparison shown significant differences
between cities. The distinctions were in percentage of discount with electronic tag,
the price in the rush hour and outside of rush hour as well as the maximum amount
of passing during the month. FNB in the letter to Stortinget expressed their concern
about the difference in prices between cities (F. n. t. bompenger, 2016; Regjeringen,
2017)

Table 3 Difference between cities in charge tolls (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a; Ferde, 2018; Trondheimsprosjektene, 2018) 1.

	Stavanger	Bergen	Trondheim
Rush hours	40kr	45kr	20kr
Discount	10%	20%	10%
Outside the rush hours	20kr	19kr	10kr

- Another concern they mentioned is how these tolls will affect the local population and businesses. Especially for those, whose financial situation is already difficult. They indicate that it will affect both adults and children in a way for example, that children might not be able to participate in their leisure activities because the parents cannot afford to pay the tolls charges. Not only families with children might be affected by charges but also elderly people and sport teams where the cost of transport will get higher and consequently paid by the children's parents (F. n. t. bompenger, 2016).
- According to FNB, collective transport in Stavanger region is not well enough
 developed before implementing toll charges. As an example, FNB presented the
 report based on the population satisfaction survey for collective transport (public
 transport) conducted by Aftenposten in 2015 (Yousefi, 2015). FNB, reiterated their
 views based on the survey (Figure 10), which indicated people in Stavanger were
 least satisfied with the public transport as compared to other cities in Norway. (F. n.
 t. bompenger, 2016).

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¹ Current toll charges vary from the ones described in the table: Bymiljøpakken (2018a), Trondheimsprosjektene (2018) and Ferde (2018).

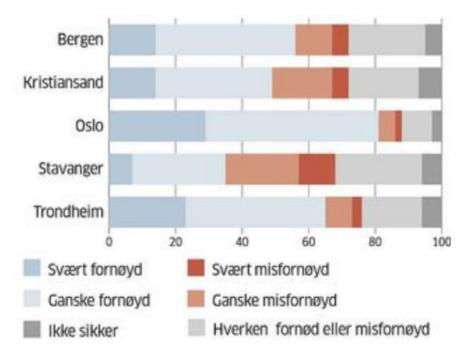


Figure 10 Satisfaction of collective transport (Yousefi, 2015).

Via Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren the effect of car reduction will not be sufficient. Although initially fuel cars will be reduced while the number of journeys will be higher. FNB raised the point, that since the cars are becoming more environmental friendly so planning from the perspective of zero growth target will create greater problems in the future as the electric, hybrid and hydrogen cars will be more common hence, the number of cars will increase in the future giving less meaning to zero growth target (F. n. t. bompenger, 2016; NTB, 2018b).

4. THEORY

"It is theory that decides what can be observed." – Albert Einstein

This chapter presents the theoretical support for the study. It focuses on describing discourse theory, discourse coalition and discourse formation in the social movements, conflict theory and emergence of social movement.

4.1. Discourse Analysis

Dryzek (2005, p. 9) defines discourse as a "shared way of apprehending the world". Discourse is formed through language and allows actors to connect and interpret bits of information in coherent stories (Dryzek, 2005). Further, Dryzek (2005) elaborates that discourses play a role of contracting meaning and helping define common knowledge, which is what Hajer (2006) explains more in detail using concept of story lines.

Discourse analysis is a study of the argumentative structures in written and spoken statements and practices, through which those statements are expressed (Hajer, 1995). Language plays an important role in the discourse analyses as it shapes our view of the world and reality (Hajer, 2006). Hajer (1995, p. 44) defines discourse as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities".

Hajer in his work (2006), presents ten steps of performing a discourse analysis as shown in Table 4. This thesis will try to follow and adapt his approach; a customized version of this approach is presented in Table 5.

- 1. Desk Research a first chronology and first reading of events
- 2. 'Helicopter Interviews' to gain an overview from different perspectives
- Document Analysis to identify story lines and metaphors, and the sites of discursive struggle
- 4. Interviews with key players to enable the researcher to construct the interviewee discourses and the shifts in recognition of alternative perspectives
- Sites of argumentation search the data to account for the argumentative exchange
- Analyse for positioning effects to show how people, institutions or nation-states get caught up in an interplay
- 7. Identify key incidents to understand the discursive dynamics and the outcomes
- Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation by going back to the data to see if the meaning of what is said can be related to the practices in which it was said.
- Interpretation come up with an account of the discursive structures, practices, and sites of production
- Second visit to key actors respondents should recognise some of the hidden structures of language.

Source: adapted from Hajer, 2006, p.73-74

Table 5 Adapted Hajer (2006)ten steps to the study of Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren

Desk Research	Finding information about social movement, discourse, social impacts, both sides of the conflict.
Helicopter interviews	Research for already performed interviews with society, and representatives from government and Nok er Nok
Document analysis	In depth analysis of Bymiljøpakken and social resilient movement. Structuring concepts, ideas and categorizations.
Interviews with key players	Interview with representatives from government and from Nok er Nok
Sites of argumentation	Search the data to account for the argumentative exchange.
Analyze for positioning effects	Show how opposition and government might be caught in the interplay.
Identify key accidents	Identification of key incidents that are important to understand the discursive dynamics in Bymiljøpakken case study.
Analysis of practices in particular case of argumentation	Checking if the results of interview match actions taken by actors.
Interpretation	Expected to come up with an account of the discursive structures within the conflict as well as an interpretation of the practices, the sites of production that were of importance in explaining this course of events.
Second visit to key actors	If actors show interests, discourse finding through analysis will be shown to them.

4.2. Discourse-coalition in politics

Language has the ability to create and provide meaning through signs and symbols. Furthermore, those signs and symbols used by politicians can contribute to the shift of power balances that might also result in impact on the policy making and institutions (Hajer, 2006).

Symbols are graphical representations of ideas, objects, groups or persons (Pauls, 2019). Signs, refer to gesture that people use to communicate information (Augustyn. A.A. & Bauer, 2019). Hajer (1995, 2006), further explains that by analyzing discursive constructions such as

narratives or story lines in a given situation, one can discover the social context in which the statement was produced and received. Discourse analysis combine the analysis of the discursive production of meaning with the analysis of the socio-political practices from which social constructs occur and in which the actors of these statements engage (Hajer, 2006). Therefore, to understand different functions of the discourse, it is important to explain concepts of narrative and story lines.

There is a significant difference between discussion and discourse. Discussion refers to "the action or process of talking about something in order to reach a decision or to exchange ideas" (Dictionary, 2019). Discourse on the other hand, refers to a set of concepts that structures the input of participants to a discussion (Hajer, 2006). A discourse analysis shows a particular discursive structure in a discussion. Thus, revealing discourses allows to better understand disputes not in terms of rational-analytical argumentation but in the terms of argumentative rationality that actors bring to a discussion (Hajer, 2006).

Metaphor allows to understand one thing in terms of the another (Hajer, 2006). Hajer (2006) argues, that by applying discourse analysis to study policy making and politics one should focus on emblematic issues. As an emblem plays a crucial role not only in accommodating changes in policy but also in larger conceptual shifts.

Hajer (2006) explains that politics are very complex and are influenced by many factors. Furthermore, discourse influence the way occurrences are interpreted and understood. Then the interpreted version of an occurrence is delivered to society. Hajer (2006, p. 69), in this regard applies the concept of *story line*, that refer to "a condensed statement summarizing complex narratives, used by people as "short hand" in discussion". With identified story lines, one can realize that the problem in reference has no fixed identity, as people continuously change the problem definition. Every story has three components: the beginning, middle and end. However, the same story told by many people will have some variations. For instance, when a story is too complex to understand so people tend to use short cues (Hajer, 2006). This mean that in story lines by using a "code words" sender assumes the receiver knows what he/she refers to. This assumption of mutual understanding is false. Discourse analysis exposes the fact that people do not fully understand each other (Hajer, 2006).

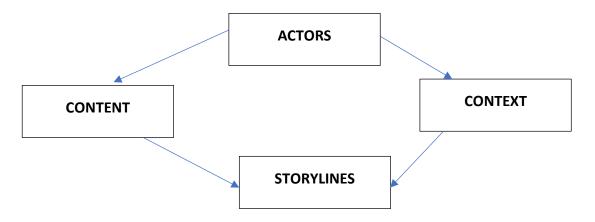


Figure 11 Process of story line formation. Adapted from Rosenbloom, Berton, and Meadowcroft (2016, p. 1277).

According to Hajer (2006) story lines, help people who tend to not understand each other, produce meaningful narratives. Shengav (2006) in his article defines two approaches to understand what political narrative is. First approach views political narrative as a narrative that is created by either politicians or in formal political forum such as for example parliament and political demonstration. Second approach defines political narrative based on its content and possible conclusion. This means, if content was created outside "official political frameworks" (Shengav, 2006, p. 247) but its content can be classified as political, then the narrative can be classified as political narrative. Furthermore, discourse-coalition refers to "a group of actors that in the context of a specific set of practices, that shares the usage of a particular set of story lines over a certain period of time (Hajer, 2006, p. 70)". It is important to note that a discourse-coalition refers to a particular practices in a given context in which actors use story lines and further re-produce and transform specific discourses (Hajer, 2006). In other words, discourse coalition refers to close cooperation of actors who share the same viewpoint on some phenomenon and willing to work under the same framework of story line. To understand the meaning of a sentence in an argumentative context one should not only inspect the words within the discourse, but also consider the counter-positions. Without that knowledge argumentative meaning will be lost (Hajer, 1995).

Hajer (2006) further connects discourse with power and dominance, as it should contribute not only to identification of discourses but also to evaluation of their influence. Furthermore, there are two terms that are important in this context, namely, discourse structuration and discourse institutionalization. Discourse structuration, "that occurs when a discourse starts to dominate the way a given social unit conceptualizes the world (Hajer, 2006, p. 70)". However, if a discourse connects permanently within certain institutions or organizations then its defined as discourse institutionalization. If both of the terms are fulfilled, then a discourse is dominant. Politics, however, is built upon many discourses where usually one is dominant. That's why the concept of story line is significant. It allows to simplify discourse by connecting various discourse elements into one whole (Hajer, 2006). The discourse in politics can be viewed as the constant process of giving meaning to "the vague and ambiguous socio-physical world by means of story lines and subsequent structuration of experience through various social practices that can be found in a given field (Hajer, 2006, p. 71)".

The argumentative approach pays attention to discourse interaction through use of language can indeed create new meanings. Hence, create "new cognitions and new positionings" (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Argumentative approach sees also politics as constant struggle where actors involved have to secure support for their version of the reality. Actors can achieve security by credibility, acceptability and trust (Hajer, 1995). Here, credibility refers to actors strong believe in their subject positioning, following and living by its rules. Acceptability refers to the characteristics of the subject that appears to be sufficient to serve the purpose for which it was created. Furthermore, trust in this context refers to any doubts that might exist and are being suppressed by the key actor(s) through showing others what have led him/her to making decision. Actors appear as trustworthy by showing records and data on what basis their claim was made (Hajer, 1995). Therefore, because of discourse hegemony some arguments due to their properties can be seen as convincing while arguments of other actors have lack of these properties and fail to convince (Hajer, 1995).

4.3. Discourse formation in the social movement

Collective actions and social movements emerge from individuals assessing a given situation and their evaluation of options for actions (Little, 2013).

Baumgarten and Ullrich (2016), discusses in their paper discourse in social movements from the Foucauldian perspective. Social context acts like a frame for discourses in the sense of what can be communicated in a given society at a given time. It is the social context that enables certain worldviews as socially acceptable while restricting other types of worldviews. Restriction of different worldviews from those that are acceptable in a given social context leads to the creation of social movements.

Moreover, social movements are not only products of a discourse but also continuously observe discourse and "strategically shape their communication accordingly" (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016, p. 15). Social movements find themselves inside the social boundaries of what

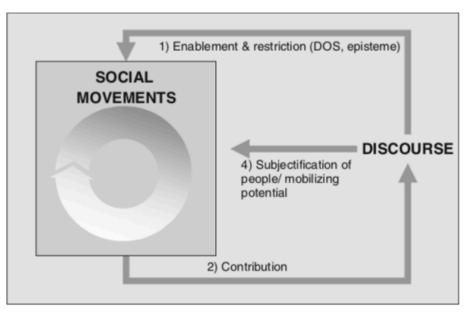


Figure 12 Foucauldian perspective on the social movement and discourses (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016, p. 15).

is considered as possible. These boundaries allow one to analyze its framing efforts and their contribution to the discourse. It is important to note that these frames are based on "cultural factors, arenas and roles of speakers" (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016, p. 15). By observing social movements over long time one can notice how discourse shifts and how social movements contribute to these shifts with their communication strategies. Social movements challenge existing boundaries by proposing new ideas, new ways of thinking or raising issues. Discourse shifts occur when one challenges what is socially acceptable by promoting new thinking ways that is not addressed by current discourse or by creating new concepts though practice (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016). Social movements though theirs practices, produce their own knowledge, codes, symbols though which they can express their identity. This leads to further development of internal discourses that bounds its actors within the movement (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016). The crucial point in the Baumgarten and Ullrich (2016, p. 16) analyses is that "discourses and other practices in power regulation, including practices of government shape the subjectivity of the people". As per the

Foucauldian perspective ³, Figure 12, it shapes the individuals relations with themselves and so affect and mobilize potential social movements (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016).

4.4. Environmental discourse

The concept of environmental discourse have been broadly written about in the literature (Dryzek, 2005; Hajer, 1995). Dryzek (1997) in his work observe that environmental discourses are present in conflicts. This is according to Dryzek is due to the fact that "each discourse rests on assumptions, judgments, and contentions that provide the basis terms for analysis, debates, agreements and disagreements in the environmental area no less than elsewhere" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 65). Thus, environmental discourse can be understood as a combination of traditional discourse approach in a spoken or textual language about environment and group expression about their worldviews towards environment (Hajer, 1995).

Furthermore, environmental problem combined with actors such as public, opposition and government is able to turn environmental beliefs towards environment into environmental discourse (Hajer, 1995).

In this thesis, environmental problem is climate change and actions taken to reduce emissions. This can be presented in an equation:

Environmental discourse = environmental problem + environmental beliefs 4

Environmental problem is already an acknowledged issue in the form of climate change. Environmental beliefs are beliefs of individuals towards the environment. Those beliefs vary between people as every individual has their own perception of the reality and their own set of beliefs. Thus environmental discourse is "the way people construct, interpret, discuss and analyze environmental problems" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 8).

4.5. Social movement

Social movement can be defined as "purposeful, organized groups striving to work toward a common goal (Weissmann, 2008, p. 7). Common goals can be clearly defined aiming for a narrow policies or they can be broadly defined aiming to achieve a cultural changes (Christiansen, 2009). In other words, social movements are created to shape changes. Furthermore, the purpose of organized groups purpose is to "create change, to resist change, or to provide a political voice to those otherwise disenfranchised"(Little, 2013, p. 647). Social movements are created by people, who share the same view on the problem. Thus they are created as a result of a collective action to create a change (Turner, Smelser, & Killian, 1998).

In sociology the four states of social movement are used as a tool to understand how the collecting actions occurs. Although, there is many social movements that vary in their goals, placing them within a framework can help to define its effect on a society (Christiansen, 2009).

³ More detailed description of Foucauldian perspective available in Baumgarten and Ullrich (2016).

⁴ The evolution of the environmental discourse concept is discussed in detail in Novikau (2016) paper.

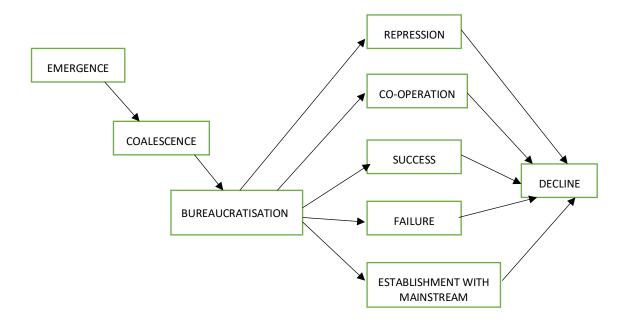


Figure 13 Visualization of social movement life cycle based on Christiansen (2009).

Developed on the basis of Herbert Blumbers work on social movement processes, today 's understanding of social movement life cycle is illustrated in Figure 13. The life cycle are divided into; Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratization and Decline (Christiansen, 2009, p. 2).

Emergence is the first stage of the life cycle. This is the stage of creation of the social movement where all organizational aspects start to form. Hence, this is the beginning of social movement there is relatively low level of organization or organization does not exists at that point in time (Christiansen, 2009). During this stage potential movement participants are not satisfied with current policy(s) or some social condition. At this stage, despite participants dissatisfaction action is not taken to express their concerns. If any action occurs at this stage it is at the individual level and hence cannot be classified as collective action (Christiansen, 2009). However, increased amount of individual actions, can further lead to increased attention from the media. This can potentially can result in more frequent media coverage of the problem (Christiansen, 2009).

In the **coalescence** stage the individuals' sense of dissatisfaction is more clearly defined. In this phase, public general frustration is transformed towards clearly defined reasons and towards the responsible party (Christiansen, 2009). Furthermore, this is a phase where the leader of the movement emerges and organizes the individuals into one coherent group. It is also when strategic action plans are being formed. On this basis mass demonstrations are organized where, social movement makes its demands and demonstrates its power (Christiansen, 2009).

In the **bureaucratization stage**, movements "face higher level of organization and coalition based strategies" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). This third phase of the life cycle is characterized by actions that have succeed in raising awareness of the problem and where adequate strategies are required to be put in place. Hence, there emerges the need for trained personnel that can organize and run daily operations, perform organizational functions and help to realize the movement's vision (Christiansen, 2009). In this stage, higher level of organization allows to organize paid members that can work for times when volunteers are

not available. During this phase, movements have gained more political power that allows key members "more regular access to political elites" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). Many social movements fail to evolve to bureaucratic life cycle as this stage of formalization may be too demanding for its members (Christiansen, 2009).

The final stage for social movements life is **decline**. Decline can happen in the following five ways: "repression, co-operation, success, failure and with establishment within mainstream" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3).

- Repression happens, when government try to control or to destroy social movement.
 This can happen through creating laws that make social movements activities illegal or through declaring particular movement as dangerous (Christiansen, 2009). This further, causes difficulty in obtaining new members and to maintain the social movement alive (Christiansen, 2009).
- Co-operation occurs when the movements life is to a high extent dependent on its leader. It occurs, when the leader through his close contact with the authorities starts to associate more with the state's vision rather than the organization's goals. This can further lead to redirection of social movements activities following the solvent of organization (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4).
- Failure of social movements can either happen because of the factors mentioned earlier or due to difficulty in handling the organizational changes that happen as the organization grows in size. Moreover, "failure due to its organizational or strategic components is common for many organizations" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4).
- Decline phase of the social movement does not always mean that social movements are for some negative reason dissolved. These movement that survive before mentioned stages of life cycle can decline due to its success. This is more frequent for small and localized social movements that are characterized by very specific goals and therefore tend to "have a better chance in achieving these goals" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4). (Christiansen, 2009)
- The last reason for decline of social movement is "mainstream". This happens when the social movement have succeed in achieving its goals and therefore, decline naturally from fulfilling its mission (Christiansen, 2009).

4.6. Social conflict theory and conflict resolution

Bridging theory (Figure 14) provides an explanation towards how the social movement theory and conflict theory is connected. In the figure, thick arrows represent direct connection while the dashed lines represent limited and/or uncertain connection (Weissmann, 2008). Although approaches and theories used in creation of the bridging theory were not designed specifically for the social conflicts' theories, they are still applicable in the context.

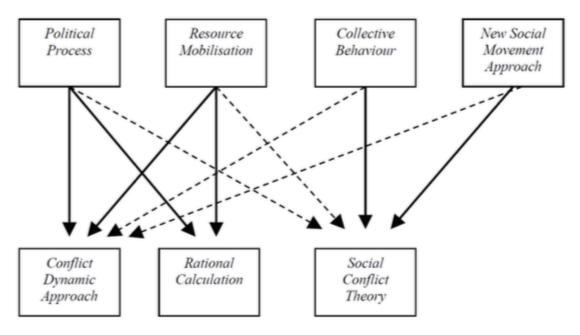


Figure 14 Bridging theory (Weissmann, 2008, p. 12)

Political process theory states that social movements actions have to be viewed in the light of the political environment and the state. To understand under what conditions the social movements are organized, what they want to achieve, what strategies they use and what defines their success one has to view the social movements in the context of political processes (Weissmann, 2008). In the Figure 14 political processes are directly connected with conflict dynamic approach and rational calculation. Conflict dynamic approach assumes that there are two sides of a conflict. It perceives conflict as a social phenomenon with an "action-reaction pattern that moves by itself in cycles" (Weissmann, 2008, p. 10). It assumes that one party acts and the other reacts and as the conflict perceives it can lead to violent conflict (Weissmann, 2008). Thus conflict can be solved by both parties developing mutually acceptable procedures for managing the conflict dynamics (Weissmann, 2008). These procedures can include "dialogue confidence-building measures and the creation of conflict resolution mechanisms" (Weissmann, 2008, p. 11). Rational calculation is the ability of actors involved to determine what their interests are and what strategies they are willing to use in order to reach their goal. Decisions made during the rational calculation processes are the reasons behind the conflict creation. Here, conflict occurs when interests of one party vary from the interests of others (Weissmann, 2008). The conflict can be solved by creating the situation where both parties can acknowledge that conflict resolution is a more rational choice. The resource mobilization approach explains how the social movements are mobilized. It assumes involvement of rational actors that are goal-oriented and determined to achieve some kind of power (Weissmann, 2008). Furthermore, it focuses on the dynamics and tactics that the social movements use. Resource mobilization approach assumes that social problems exists all the time but they not always lead to collective actions (Weissmann, 2008). The resource mobilization helps to understand how and under what circumstances conflicts develop. Understanding these processes can contribute to conflict resolutions. Moreover, in order to understand the conflict dynamic approach and attempt to change the conflict, one has to understand resource mobilization. Resource mobilization can be understood as the "strategies and tactical action of the parties" (Weissmann, 2008, p. 13). Additionally, resource mobilization is closely connected to rational calculation and to

political processes. Political processes here are important because it focuses on the political structures in the given area. Collective behavior approach addresses the importance of social movements for the social and cultural change in the society. Understanding of collective behavior approach and the new social movement theory can contribute to understanding reasons behind actors' actions and reactions. This knowledge can help to better understand conflict dynamics. Social conflict theory focuses on the needs and objections of the parties involved. Furthermore, it believes that the reason for conflict lies in denial of the needs of one of the parties involved (Weissmann, 2008). Conflict can be solved in this perspective by solving the underlying needs and objections on which the conflict in build (Weissmann, 2008). This perspective emphasizes the importance of access to political system as both reason and solution to conflict. A political system has the power to limit the objections of individuals as well as it has the power to deny of fulfilling the individual's needs (Weissmann, 2008). Social conflict theory is connected to new social movement theory that explains how the social movement work, why they are created and when the social movements arise. The connection between social conflict theory and new social movement theory lies in the individual interests presented in the social movements. Furthermore, understanding the individual needs can help to understand where the conflict originated from. New social movements approach "stands for a critique of conventional politics and the existing structures, and therefore focus on the importance of the formation and creation of the individuals personal-, collective-, and public identity and interests" (Weissmann, 2008, p. 9).

Understanding theories and discourse analysis theory is important to conduct the detailed analysis of data. However, it is equally important to know the method that is used to get that data. A detailed approach of methodology is discussed in next chapter.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"There is no better way to make art, but there are a lot of better way". – Darby Bannard

This chapter presents the description of research techniques as well as it shows how data is collected; processed and analyzed. Information sources and research validity and reliability are also discussed. This chapter also highlights problems confronted while collecting data and its limitations.

5.1. Discourse analysis as a qualitative research method

As a form of qualitative analysis for the purpose of this thesis discourse analysis is used to analyze the background information, including data and information relevant to Bymiljøpakken. Namely; facts and figures, interviews, online polls and surveys. Online polls serve the purpose of representation of general population opinion towards Bymiljøpakken and toll stations. This thesis sets forth to examine how language is used to communication and achieving goals which in this case are the Norwegian Climate Targets. And how the discourse is created between different groups of people creating conflict over Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren. Discourse analysis is used to gain better understanding of how the Bymiljøpakken affect local population and what lies at the core of the conflict. This study view discourse as a social practice that can be reflected in the conflict over Bymiljøpakken. Hajer (2006, p. 72) describes argumentation as the "interplay in the context of practices put methodological constraints on the way in which data can be interpreted". The ideal way of studying political processes is video registration as it provides the context of what, when, how and to whom was said and what effect it had (Hajer, 2006). Furthermore, Hajer (2006) acknowledges that not everyone has the equal opportunity for video monitoring of political processes, which is the case in this thesis. However, the use of public documents, official letters and government websites combined with the interview with the key actors can present a coherent picture. As a guideline for argumentative approach of this thesis, the structure from Table 5, Adapted Hajer (2006) ten steps to the study of Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren is used.

5.2. Background for choice of method

This thesis examines what effect toll stations have on the local population and what are the general attitudes towards Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren. Choice of research question is the most important part of research. Correctly formulated question help not only to "define the nature and the scope of the research" (Blaike, 2010, p. 58) but also to establish the boundaries to what extend a phenomenon is studied, get a clear picture of how the phenomena is to be studied (Blaike, 2010). In this thesis, research question have been formulating using the word "what". This type of question gives descriptive answer as they "direct towards discovering and describing the characteristics of and pattern in some social phenomenon, for example (...) social groups and social processes" (Blaike, 2010, p. 60).

Furthermore, based on the research question appropriate "logic of enquiry is used as a starting point and a set of steps by means of which "what" questions can be answered" (Blaike, 2010, p. 81). The abductive strategy implements bottom up approach. It provides

"descriptions and understanding that reflect the social actors point of view rather than (..) researchers (..)" (Blaike, 2010, p. 91). The abductive research involves developing theories based on actors use of language in everyday life, leading to describing the meanings and activities of those actors that can help in further understanding of the problem under study (Blaike, 2010). The key point in abductive approach is to describe the reality from the point of view of the informants without researchers personal interference in the word view presented by his informants (Blaike, 2010).

The aim of this approach is to understand how motives, symbolic meanings and rules effect people behavior. And so to understand why people act the way they do (Blaike, 2010). Therefore, in this thesis to "discover social actors view of the world" (Blaike, 2010, p. 90), which is the view on toll stations, two interviews are conducted with informants that represent opposite sides. Interviews are a useful tool that helps to discover under conversation, the motives and actors "ways of interpreting and understanding their own actions, others actions and social situations" (Blaike, 2010, p. 90). In the case of this thesis, the implementation of toll stations as a part of Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren.

Post interviews, actors "member checked" (Blaike, 2010, p. 90) the transcripts of the respective interviews. It was done to ensure integrity of data and to ensure that transcript remains faithful to interviewers' point of view (Blaike, 2010, p. 91). Furthermore, to get even broader viewpoint on toll stations survey data from 2018-2019 is gathered to represent the opinion of the population.

5.3. Primary and secondary data

Social research can be carried out either using primary data or secondary data. Primary data refers to the data collected, analyzed and reported by the researcher himself (Blaike, 2010, p. 160). For the purpose of this thesis, primary data is collected using open interview (Apendix A), in order to gain in depth knowledge of the research problem. On the other hand, secondary data refers to data generated by other researcher for their respective study purposes, which may not be directly linked to this thesis' research problem (Blaike, 2010, p. 161). In this thesis, secondary data is used in form of articles, annual reports and official letters. Documents are used as both primary and secondary data. Moreover, to gain knowledge about societal perspective, online polls and surveys conducted by local newspapers is used.

5.4. Interview

Interviewees were informed about the ethical consideration of this project (chapter 5.6.) and were asked to sign the consent form.

For this thesis, interview is conducted with an informant from Statens Vegvesen that is a state body directly involved with Bymiljøpakken. While another interview is conducted with informant that work for a political party that disagrees with some aspects of Bymiljøpakken, in this case FNB. To gain an overview of both point of views, a large sample size was not required, as informants from both sides had the authority on speaking on behalf of their respective organizations.

Interview in person is critical as this method allows the informant to speak freely about a subject and answer in a more detailed way and open up new subjects as the discussion goes (Blaike, 2010, p. 207).

Appointment for the interviews was done by e-mail with each of the respondents. Interviews took place at the informants respective work places. Each interview took 45 minutes to 60 minutes.

Interviewees' were acknowledged for their participation. A consent form was explained and duly signed by both the interviewees. Interview began with introductions, the research topic and requirements of the NSD i.e. that attendance is voluntary and that at any time participants can withdraw. They were informed that data would be recorded and after submission of the thesis, data would be deleted. The background questions are used to gather information about their position in the respective institution and how long they have been involved with Bymiljøpakken. Further questions revolved mainly around participants perception about Bymiljøpakken, the effects it has on the society and their knowledge about the reason why the resilience emerged. At the end of the interview participants were asked for their comments.

To help guide the conversation an interview guide was used. An interview guide is a list over the topics that is to be addressed by the respondents, which is designed on the basis of what is the research questions for the project (Kennedy, 2006). Before conducting the interviews, relevant literature was studied to gain general knowledge about the topic under study. Acquired knowledge was further used in creating open questions that would help to answer research questions. Interview guide was created based on developed questions.

5.5. Research validity and reliability

Sampling

For this research two people representing both sides of the conflict are sampled. The reason for that is, that sampling for a large group of population was not possible at this stage due to various constraints, including time. Therefore, it was chosen to conduct the research on the basis of representative from the government (administrative side) Statens Vegvesen and the political party FNB that opposes the new tolls in Bymiljøpakken. Institutions for interview were chosen based on their involvement with Bymiljøpakken. Informants were chosen on the basis of purposeful sampling which is a type of "non-probability sampling where participants are chosen based on criteria defined by research question" (Blaike, 2010, p. 178). It can be problematic to establish whether interviews are representative. The sample size is small suggesting that the interview is not representative. However, participants represent the voice of both the government and the resilient movement hence it can be assumed to be representative for their respective sides.

To gain a perspective of the societal point of view, data was gathered from online polls and surveys that were conducted by local newspapers. One of the major disadvantages of this type of data is the difficulty to judge its quality, but also that the data was collected with other purpose than that of the research in this thesis and the fact that not all areas of interest might be included in the data gathered by newspapers. However, although using online polls have its throwbacks it still provides easily accessible and a good representation of the general public opinion of larger population. The large sample size that online polls

represent would not be possible to achieve using primary data during the time frame of this thesis.

Research output

Reliability informs if one can rely on data gathered throughout the research process. During research it is important to acknowledge if there are any factors that could influence the research results (Dumay & Sandy, 2011). To ensure reliability in research questions were constructed in a clear manner to avoid any misunderstandings. For the parts where it was not possible to get information data was supplemented with secondary sources. Representative from Statens Vegvesen asked to be presented with the interview guide before the interview. This could have had an impact the answer, as the participant could prepare the answers beforehand. On the other hand, review of the questions beforehand could result in better, more detailed answers as the participant could prepare well to the interview. An interview is a qualitative method where involved parties are shaping the conversation using the interview guide. In this thesis to ensure the quality of research open ended interview was used where informant could speak for himself/herself (Dumay & Sandy, 2011). There are many factors that might affect the research result. Interviews were conducted with both FNB and Statens Vegvesen. The interview with FNB involved interviewing the party head. As a party head, he represents a strong belief system and loyalty to the cause. Moreover, as a leader he represents the belief system and speaks for his voters. On the other hand, interview with the employee from Statens Vegvesen who spoke on the behalf of one of the stakeholders in the Bymiljøpakken allowed to have the insight into the state's reasoning of implementation of Bymiljøpakken and toll stations. However, the limitation that might come from this is that the interview was conducted with the representative of the administrative side and not with the politicians. Validity measures how accurately the findings represents the phenomenon under study (Black, 1999). To ensure validity of this research data collected through interviews were compared with secondary data.

5.6. Ethical consideration

This project was reported to and approved by the Norwegian Center for Data Research (NSD) (Appendix B). According to Personopplysningsloven (2000) §31 project should be submitted to NSD if one is collecting personal information by electronic means and background information that will make it possible to identify the participant (2018). Before the interview informants were sent an open letter providing them with a short description and the purpose of my thesis. Before the actual interview, the informants signed a declaration of consent form (Appendix C). The informants were informed of voluntary participation and the possibility of withdrawing at any time if desired. Before the interview informants were informed about the purpose of the research and topic in general. Moreover, the respondents were informed that the collected data were only to be used for this study, and that the data would later be deleted. The opinion polls being discussed in the thesis are based on both national polls as well as region specific which in this case is Rogaland and Nord-Jæren. Important to understand here is the fact that the national polls include data set from Nord-Jæren region as well, which is critical for this study. The polls were conducted by independent sources and not by the author of the thesis. However, the

author took the liberty of formulating questions for this thesis based on the questions asked during the respective polls.

6. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

"Analysis is the art of creation through destruction" - P.S. Baber

6.1. Story lines of FNB.

FNB's emergence have been discussed earlier in this thesis, however, to understand the complete story lines FNB was contacted. Due to an increase in emergence of similar parties around Norway, FNB's Stavanger has now became one of the many parties under the similar viewpoints.

The local leader in Stavanger was not involved with the issue of toll stations from the very beginning as the decisions towards Bymiljøpakken began already in 2013. The party leader decided to start the organization and go political after Rogaland Fylkeskommune in 2014 voted for Bymiljøpakken.

FNB emerged from the social movement that opposes toll charges. Toll stations were introduced as a part of Bymiljøpakken to gain zero-growth rate by reducing cars congestion Social movement started on social media in 2014. During interview, representative from FNB said that:

We started as a group of 10 people that were actually trying to organize protest, handing out leaflets and things like this. We were like a public protest group. We did a lot of things like TV, radio, and campaign where people were sending out emails to politicians that were going to vote for tolls.

However, despite the protests members of social movement felt that their voice was not reaching the politicians. Based on that they made a decision to go political. Then in December 2014 organization was officially established. In three days, the organization managed to get signatures required to start a political party. Following that, political party stood up for the elections in 2015 and got 3 representatives elected in the City Hall in Stavanger. The short time of gathering 3700 signatures suggest the large social interest in the issue of toll station. FNB reached what Hajer (1995) refers to as a discourse coalition. Discourse coalition refers to a group of people that share similar storylines about the problem. Based on social movement theory (presented in the chapter 4.5) storylines of social movements can be viewed based on their integrity, trustworthiness and possible uptake of more powerful actors (Rosenbloom et al., 2016). FNB took up the storylines, the goals, the aims of the social movement and transferred them into the political party action plan. The knowledge of the organization spread all over the country resulting in protests being organized against toll stations in other parts of the country. Moreover, more political voices against tolls emerged in other cities and joined their power with FNB. "And now I think we will be around 10 cities".

It is important to understand what aspects of Bymiljøpakken FNB agree with and what aspects they disagree with. The leader told that "I agree with most of the actual projects, but I don't really agree with the bus roads, how they are actually being settled up. I think the bus road is a good idea, but they did not need to make it as big and as costly as they have done." However, FNB want to have a good public transport, including good cycling paths and pedestrian lanes in the region. When asked what they disagree with the answer was "we are opposing toll charges that car users are supposed to pay. Since good public transport, good

cycling paths and pedestrian lanes is in everybody's interest then why should only those driving the car pay for it". Moreover, he added that it is the role of government to "finance the infrastructure because people pay the tax and if the government does not build the infrastructure what are they actually spending our tax money on". According to the leader FNB goal is:

first of all to stop toll charges and this city packages that politicians are now selling where the driver pays for everything. This has to stop. This idea that you can only build the infrastructure if the car drivers pay for it. Because infrastructure is something that is helpful for everyone the society so why wouldn't everyone pay for it. We need to make this change for government to pay for it.

FNB was further asked what they would do if it was up to them to decide what to do to reach the target of reduction of CO2 emissions. The leader stated that he "would start by a getting better public transport system". He referred to the survey (Yousefi, 2015) conducted by Stavanger Aftenblad where people from Stavanger were the least satisfied with the public transportation system in their city. According to interviewee issue lies with the poor city planning in this region. He explained that the problem is in the distance between where people work and where they live as: "All jobs and offices are in Forus but hardly anyone lives in Forus and all new housing projects are put everywhere else except of where people actually work, and since we have poor public transport system so everyone is driving a car." Furthermore, he added that the area need more house and work projects located near the bus lanes and trains so people can get to and from work. Moreover, stating that

we have to be smarter to get the carbon footprint down but the way it is getting now with more electric cars on the road then the argument is getting less and less valid because why should we reduce the cars if they don't have really any footprint. So, we don't understand why people are against the cars and now we see more and more other political parties want electric cars to start paying as well.

The issue that emerges here is the contrary ideas of why the toll stations were installed. From one side it appears that tolls were installed to achieve zero growth rate and so to reduce the CO2 emission, but then toll stations are associated with how the road projects are financed. According to FNB there are three alternatives to Bymiljøpakken. All three presented alternatives by FNB refer to how the infrastructure projects should be financed:

- "The government can change things around inside the budget so they can afford to build and pay for the road, bus lanes and the bike lanes and the pedestrian lanes by themselves."
- "If there are not enough money in the budget as it is to change things around than we have a massive Oil Fund so they can use money from that to spend on infrastructure."
- "If they are not willing to use oil funds than the 3rd option is actually to increase the income tax for people. So, if everyone pay 1% more in income tax then they will get money they set aside this percentage in infrastructure found and use to build infrastructure."

With the choice of the last option, "it will become fair system those who earn little will pay little towards the infrastructure and those who earn more will pay more". He further added that:

now only 30% are going back to new roads and 70% of it is bus lanes, and helping the bus companies with their budget so they can hire people to do this things (...) but

those who are driving the cars are paying 100% (...) It is not really fair. The car drivers pay now for everything. But if we finance this through regular income then everyone has to pay: the car drivers, those who use busses and bike and those who walk. Everyone will get better infrastructure, and everyone will participate in paying for it.

The reason behind alternative ideas to how finance the projects emerges because FNB agrees to the large extend with reasons behind the Bymiljøpakken. The issue emerge with toll stations and so with using the toll stations as means to finance the project. Finally, FNB was asked if they see possibility of compromise with the government. The party, however, is not sure if compromise is possible. FNB has a strong belief that government is responsible for paying for the roads projects adding that:

since this government have been in charge since 2013, they have reduced the income tax almost every year. And if they did not do that, they would have the money to pay for all this project. So, they did not really have to use the road tax. It's like a clash of an ideas because FRP wants to reduce tax and what they do is put new tax like old and new road tax.

The idea behind these words is that people in the society are paying various taxes so the money that government would use for the infrastructure would come from the society in form of taxation. Hence, there would not be the need for additional income in form of toll charges.

Table 6 below, presents FNB storyline formation. It is a summary of key arguments that the party uses against toll stations.

Table 6 FNB storyline formation

FNB storylines about Bymiljøpakken	Content- related claims	Contextual factors	Actors
Toll stations	 The politicians have decided that tolls is to be used to help finance the construction of new roads between cities and to finance road, public and bicycle investments in the urban areas themselves. Politicians decided traffic should not increase in the cities. 	 Government responsibility to construct the roads. Why electric cars should pay if they are environmentally friendly 	 The government FrP party – since in government the toll station grew from 170 to 245 (Spence, 2019) FNB
Socially unfair	 Too expensive Effecting businesses Putting burden on car users Infrastructure is everybody's responsibility 	 Allowing to drive cars those who have enough money to use cars Not fair that drivers have to finance infrastructure 	 Regional population that shares FNB values FNB that oppose it Nok er Nok movements The government
Bad city planning	 Not enough bus routes Stavanger the least satisfied city with public transport 	Easier and faster to drive car to Forus than to take a bus	Stavanger municipalitiesFNB

	 Housing areas far away from the working are (city center and Forus) 	 More project required to bridge the distance gap between work and housing 	 Kolumbus
Government does not listen to protestors	 Protests organized in Stavanger Protests spread in many parts of the country Parties with similar values to FNB has emerged and joined their power under one organization FNB. 	 For FNB the only possible way to be heard by politicians was to create a political party Planning to go for Stortinget election 2021 to ensure the opportunity of making real changes Society lose their trust in politicians 	 Stavanger municipalities The government FNB The population
Bymiljøpakken	 We need a good healthy environment Toll stations are effective in reduction of car traffic. 	 Electric cars are environmentally friendly Toll stations create social injustice Those who have money can drive 	The governmentFNBThe population

6.2. Bridging Theory and Social Movement cycle of life

Weissmann (2008) bridging theory presented in chapter 4.6 offers an explanation towards how the social movement theory and conflict theory is connected. Figure 15, below is inspired by Weissmann's *bridging theory* and presents how Nok er Nok movement and the conflict of Bymiljøpakken emerged.

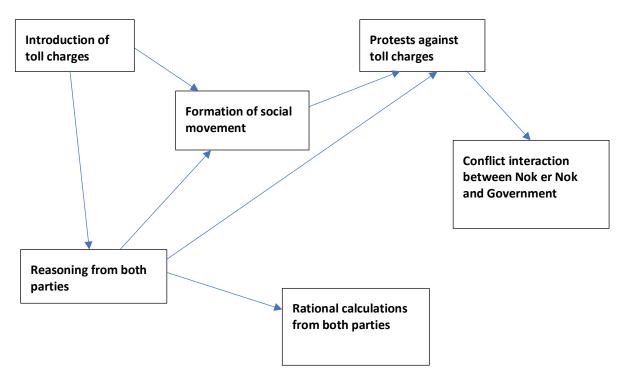


Figure 15, Conflict formation and NOK er NOK. Inspired by Bridging Theory (Weissmann, 2008).

It is important to understand what political processes lead to emergence of social movement. Furthermore, to understand what the social movements want to achieve they have to be viewed in the light of these political processes. In the case of Nord-Jæren, introduction of toll charges is the political process that led to emergence of social movement. Toll charges are received by the social movement as socially injustice forcing only those who use the car to pay for infrastructure. Toll charges lead to a conflict that is based on the actors reasoning and justification of toll charges. Reasoning is interest driven where both parties frame the problem. Furthermore this frame helps to determine how actors within that frame understand the problem and how they decide where is best to allocate their interests. Conflict theory assumes two sides of the conflict and views it on the basis of action-reaction model. Here sides of the conflict are FNB and the government. The conflict emerges from the justification of why the tolls were introduced and how the funds gathered from tolls are spend. Rational calculation means what the parties want to achieve and what strategies they are willing to use. It this study case, the government aims to reduce CO₂ emission. To reach their goal they use toll stations to reduce car traffic. Nok er Nok on the other hand, aims to stop toll stations, and to reach their goal they organize demonstration and emerge as a political party to have their voice on the political arena.

Resource mobilization help to establish how and under what circumstances social movements develop. Nok er Nok movement started on social media. Through Facebook group, it spread their mission and gained followers who shared the same view. The idea of protests organized by Nok er Nok also emerged on the social media. Further, the movement was handing leaflets in city center and start to appear on the TV and in the newspapers. Furthermore, the idea of collective behavior as a collective action to influence change in the society is important. Collective behavior in this case are beforementioned protests. Understanding why people gather together to protest against toll charges and understanding under what political circumstances the social movement emerges can contribute to understand the conflict dynamics. Further, understanding of conflict dynamics can contribute to conflict resolution.

Figure 16 below, presents adaptation of Christiansen (2009) theory on social movements life cycle (discussed in detail in chapter 4.5).

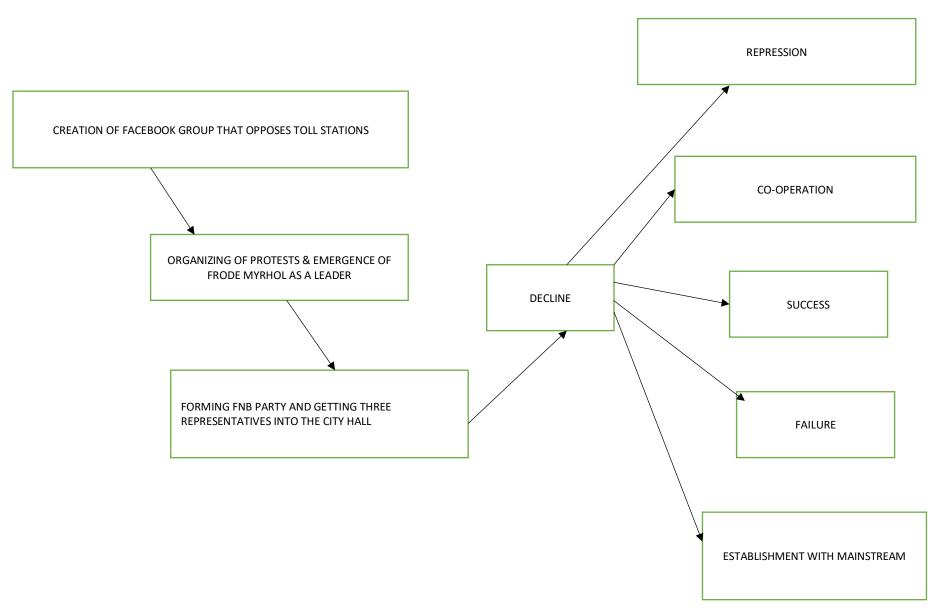


Figure 16 Nok er Nok life cycle adapted from (Christiansen, 2009)

Figure 16, represents visualization of Nok er Nok life cycle. The first stage of life emergence. The social movement started from the popular social platform; Facebook, which over time gained more followers that shared the same view on toll stations. At this stage dissatisfaction with the tolls was shown on social media between the online group followers.

In second stage coalescence, social movement dissatisfaction was clearly visible in form of protests organized, members presence on TV and radio. In coalescence stage, storylines are quiet clearly formulated. At this stage the social movement had clearly defined reasons as to why they oppose the toll stations. These reasons were stated in FNB letter to F. n. t. bompenger (2016)(chapter 4.1). At this stage of life, the Frode Myrhol's role as party leader was clearly defined.

Bureaucratization phase of life cycle is where the party FNB is now. This phase is characterized by successful raising awareness and establishment of organizational structures. FNB succeed in raising awareness as demonstrations against tolls spread all over the country in cities like Kristiansand, Drammen, Fredrikstad (Vissgren.J., 2018). FNB also has its party established in 4 regions (fylker) in Norway: Rogaland, Vestland, Vestfold og Telemark and Viken (Carlsen & Randen, 2019). Bureaucratization is characterized by regular access to politicians (Christiansen, 2009). FNB has the opportunity to be heard on the political arena as they are part of various committees including city planning committee (F. n. t. bompenger, 2016).

According to life cycle theory, after bureaucratization phase comes decline phase. As presented in Figure 16, decline can happen through; repression, co-operation, success, failure and with establishment within mainstream. Figure 16, have not been updated with the events representing any of the paths in the decline phase as the FNB finds itself in the bureaucratization phase of life. However, possibilities of the decline phases scenarios can be discussed. Repression occurs when government tries to control or destroy the social movement (Christiansen, 2009). This is not the case of Nok er Nok as the social movement grew in size and managed to evolve into a political party. It can be therefore assumed that repression is very unlikely to occur in this case. Second path of decline in social movements is co-operation. This happens when the movements survival is highly dependent on their leader. It occurs when the leader due to close association with politicians, starts to identify himself more with the politician's goals rather than the goals of the social movement. During the interview with the party leader he said that:

One of the problems now that we decided to go broaden without political platform. When I started up in Stavanger, I was in charge of everything and I had a clear idea of what we were going to achieve with this. But now if they start in other cities, they should make their own program, but they obviously have to be against the tolls to be a part of the party, but they are allowed to have their own program.

FNB as a whole organization does not appear to be depending its survival on its leaders. As branches of FNB emerge in different cities, they have their own party leaders like for example Trym Aafløy who is FNB leader in Bergen (Svendsen, Løland, & Velsvik, 2019). When every branch of the FNB has their own leader the likelihood of co-operation is low. As if one leader in a branch would potentially stop identifying with the goals of FNB, the organization as a whole would survive due to other cities continuing the mission. The three last possibilities of decline for FNB lies in: failure, success and establishment with the mainstream. Failure occurs when the organization is successful but is not able to cope with its expansion that happens fast. "Failure of social movements due to organizational or

strategic failings is common for many organizations (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4)". Success refers to achieving the goals but it's mostly used in reference to small social movement with very specific goals (Christiansen, 2009). Hence, FNB is currently a nationwide large organization the stage "success" should be replaced with the stage of establishment with the mainstream (Christiansen, 2009). This stage have the meaning of success but can be used in reference to large organizations that manage to fulfill their goal and due to achieving their mission decline naturally. FNB believes that if their mission was to be fulfilled "we just have to close down our party because we managed to achieve our goals".

If that was about to happen than it would correspondent with the description of the establishment with the mainstream.

6.3. Storyline of Statens Vegvesen

Statens Vegvesen or Norwegian Public Roads Administration is a public organization that is the primary body to manage the roadways across Norway. Statens Vegvesen is also a major stakeholder in the Bymiljøpakken (Staten Vegvesen, 2017). The construction of new roads and paths, along with the installation of Tolls charges to finance these roads and paths all come under the jurisdiction of Staten Vegvesen. A representative from Statens Vegvesen office in Stavanger was interviewed. The interviewee holds the position of Communication Advisor for Bymiljøpakken.

According to Statens Vegvesen, there are two main goals of Bymiljøpakken. According to the interviewee the first goal is zero growth rate and the second is "a good accessibility for all kind of traffic especially for those who walk, cycle and use collective transportation and also for the nutrition transport (næringstransport)". The idea of Bymiljøpakken emerged from the National Transportation Plan in the Parliament. Furthermore interviewee added that it was a political decision that:

all the largest cities in Norway should be organized in Bypakke – the Bymiljøpakken organizations, (...) where the Paris Agreement and the Climate Agreement in the Parliament in Norway lies at the bottom of all the development of transportations in the city (...). Bymiljøpakken is based both on national and international politics so the local politics have to follow national politics. Therefore, it is important that Bymiljøpakken follows the guidelines.

Moreover, based on the national and international frameworks politicians made the decision of organizing the nine largest cities in Norway under Bymiljøpakken. Furthermore, cities were informed in 2014 in the official letter from the Parliament to begin their preparation for Bymiljøpakken. CO₂ emissions are an indicator for the Bymiljøpakken. However, reports presenting the contribution in reduction of CO₂ emissions coming from the Bymiljøpakken are not yet presented. Therefore, interviewee presented an example of a data for the period when there was a break in the toll charges due to wrong invoicing. Data shows that in the period after introduction of toll stations emissions went down. However emissions increased again when there was a break due to technical failure in invoicing. Although, author of this thesis has no access to the data interviewee referred to a conclusion can be draw based on the Figure 26, where it is evident that between the period of 4th quarter of 2017 and the 4th quarter of 2018 the car traffic went 6 percent down. Logically, one might assume that the lesser the traffic the lower the CO₂ emissions.

Hence, it is evident form the state's point of view that the Bymiljøpakken originated as initiative to reduce CO₂ emissions. One could assume that the toll charges would be equal in all parts of the country. However, this is not the case. Statens Vegvesen explained that the variation in charges between the cities or regions depends on the size and their uniqueness. Furthermore, the toll charges depends on the projects which the local municipalities want to develop. The interviewee told that Oslo is investing a lot in building the roads for bicycle, pedestrians and collective transportation. Adding that Oslo is not investing that much into the car roads. On the contrary Bergen invests in a metro system and building bicycle and pedestrian paths. However, in Stavanger the funds are being used to develop collective transportation, especially the bus lane, and the pedestrians and bicycles paths. Moreover, Stavanger have ongoing projects on the E39, where a motorway is under construction. Interviewee concluded that "it varies because we have different kind of investments in different cities. So, it depends how much income you expect or want." This means that the income gathered through toll stations is used for infrastructure.

Stortinget is the political organ that creates guidelines for how the revenues from tolls should be use. The principles created by Stortinget are as follow:

- "The utility principle" is a fundamental principle for the project. This means that
 drivers who pay tolls will benefit from the road project for which the money is
 required. In Bymiljøpakken, an "indirect benefit" principle is adapted, because the
 drivers who pay receive a benefit by allowing more people to choose public transport
 when the projects are constructed.
- Toll stations should be centrally located in relation to the project. When project under construction is large is size several collection points should be placed so that the driver pays for what he/she actually drove (NAF, 2019c).

In 2008 Stortinget passed on the decision that the funds collected through toll charges can be used for other things than roads development. This means that under certain conditions, revenue can be used to develop the collective transport (NAF, 2019c).

Moreover, the toll fees increase significantly in 2018 (Bymiljøpakken, 2018a). Statens Vegvesen justify the increase in charges as "the need for more income as the Bymiljøpakken cost is over 30 billion NOK". In Nord-Jæren 30 billion NOK is the cost of E39 development, bus lanes development and the cycling path development that connects Stavanger, Sandnes and Forus. Furthermore, the funds are also used in the development of the collective transport.

When it comes to addressing the social movement, Statens Vegvesen works for the seven actors of Bymiljøpakken. The organization understands that some people want to protest and that there are other political parties that oppose the Bymiljøpakken or the ruling government. However, as an administrative unit of Bymiljøpakken they are not in power to establish compromise with FNB. However, interviewee said that:

there are ongoing negotiations for a new Byvekstavtale and Statens Vegvesen is not a part of the local negotiations. We are only part of negotiations between the local parties and the state. Because we represent everyone and if they agree on something that is more positive for the social movements and so on, I don't know.

The social movement however, is "following our work or sometimes following our meetings and the board. Hence the meetings are open they can follow them. But Statens Vegvesen don't have any specific plans towards them". However, protesters does not always follow up

the meetings peacefully. This is the case in Klepp, where the city mayor in the interview to RA newspaper (Gilje, 2019) told about protesters that have disturbed the city council meetings. Furthermore, some protesters have been sending threats to politicians to force them to change their opinions/votes towards toll charges.

6.4. Bymiljøpakken effect on the population

Introduction of the Bymiljøpakken has led to emergence of a voice that oppose it. Government did not perform any survey to examine the populations opinion. According to Statens Vegvesen, performing such a survey on a larger scale is difficult as "it's a complicated work to ask people in advance what they want their city to look like in 15-30 years". Therefore, there is a government that makes the decisions for the society. Adding that,

It is important to know that Bymiljøpakken is building the society or we are developing this area for growth and how the Nord-Jæren is going to look like in 30 years and we are going to be 60 000 people more here over the next 15 years. And if everyone is to be travelling by car then the whole system would be collapsing. Also, if you think about the climate change and the CO2 emissions it is important to have a good cities and good climate and to plan for growth and not for car rush and traffic and bad climate. So, I think it is difficult job to ask people what they want their future to be like. I don't know any surveys that was carried out in advance.

Kantar group conducted a research of 4000 respondents (Mørtvedt, Reed, & Arnslett, 2019). Study was conducted on the Norwegians' response to policy instruments to reduce greenhouse gas. Result show that 80 percent of the respondents believe that climate change is happening, 16 percent of informants are not sure of that and 4 percent of respondents do not believe in the climate change. Furthermore, people respond that they themselves are interested in taking responsibility, while at the same time they think businesses and politicians should contribute. This shows that there is a room to discuss instruments and solutions to achieve the common goal. Figure 17, below shows what respondents think should be done to achieve the goal of zero-growth. Results show that almost 50 percent of the respondents do not think that high prices on fossil energy sources in the solution to the problem. Moreover, the majority disagrees with the idea of lower parking fees for those using electric cars. What is the most interesting is that over 50 percent would like for politicians to prioritize development of infrastructure for the pedestrians, cyclists instead of development of car roads. Although survey's sampling is from across country it can be assumed that similar patterns can be observed in the Nord-Jæren region. Hence based on the response from the survey one can assume that people might agree with the projects developed by Bymiljøpakken.

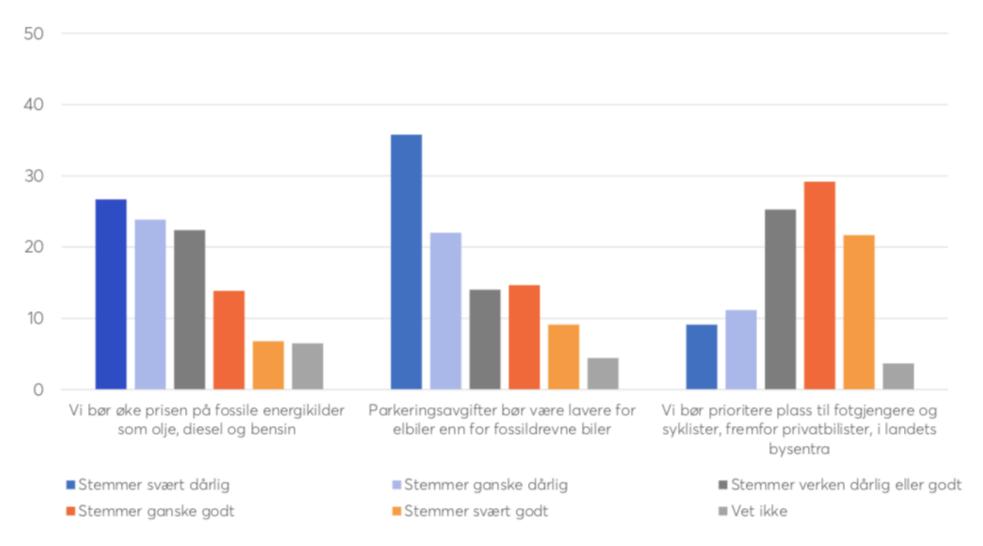


Figure 17 What people think should be done for climate change (Figure from CIRECO PDF presentation Mørtvedt et al., 2019, p. 17)

However, in certain cases the decisions may affect significantly the society, leading to creation of opposition, dissatisfaction and emergence of social movements. Response Analysis on behalf of Stavanger Aftenblad and NRK Rogaland have conducted polls in the area of Stavanger, Sola, Randaberg and Sandnes to measure population attitude towards toll charges. Polls were carried out in period 15th to 20th August 2018 (NTB, 2018a). The fail margin is between 2.1 and 3.5 percent points. Polls were conducted on 800 informants, that is 200 from each city. Figure 18, shows that out of 800 people only 80 of them (10%) have positive attitude towards tolls. That gives the majority of 720 informants (90%) being against them. Although, the sample size of the survey is small it gives a general overview how the people are feeling about it.

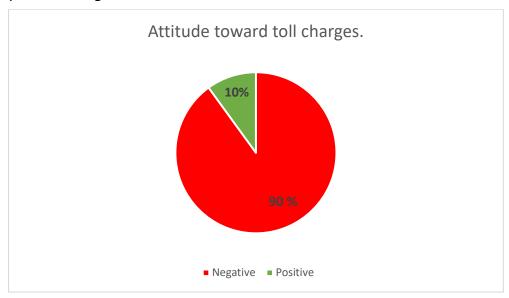


Figure 18, Respondents attitude towards toll charges in Nord-Jæren. Authors visual representation based on data from NTB (2018a)

The negative attitude towards toll charges can be explained due to lack of understanding of how the money are spent. The informant from Statens Vegvesen explained that:

it's being used to several large projects. Now we are building the bus way and the Sykkelstamvegen and more projects are coming over the next years. As long as the process in the municipalities in the Bystyre (city council) accept plans locally, in Stavanger bystyre, Sandnes bystyre, Randaberg kommune or Sola Kommune need to accept everything that is being built in their municipality. Then as long as we have progress in these agreements then we can build more and more. We just started up in October 1st, 2018 and I hope that when we build more and more projects people will see what Bymiljøpakken is and what we are doing. I am working with the communication and it's important for my job to tell people by showing what we are spending they money for. It's important for us and we use our Facebook, our web page, we have a lot of meetings with different organizations and parties all over Nord-Jæren. It is also important to be in good contact with media so they can get correct information out to the crowd. Trondheim for example, had Bymiljøpakken for over 10 years and in there people in opinion polls show they were more positive to Bymiljøpakken because they can see goals and results in their city so we hope for the

same so maybe if in rush hour is easy to travel, easier to plan the trip maybe it's more expensive but easier to travel since there is no big traffic.

On the contrary to the government and Statens Vegvesen, FNB have conducted survey on their page. Interviewee explained that:

3000 people voted in the survey. What we ask was if you had to choose two things: there was congestion charge 7:00-9:00am and 15:00-17:00pm for 44 kr or there is you pay 22 kr all day, what would you choose. 66 percent of people choose congestion charge. Because most of the time people drive is not just to from work. If you have kids you need to drop them to and from training, schools, social things. If you would need to do something on the weekend you would not have to pay as the charge would be only Monday to Friday. and where we see where the income comes from in the Bymiljøpakken then the congestion charges are just 35 percent so most of the income come from the times outside 7:00-9:00am and 15:00-17:00pm so there is a lot of traffic outside those hours as well.

The issue raised in the FNB survey is reflected yet in another survey conducted by Norconsult (2018a) on behalf of Bymiljøpakken in Nord-Jæren of 3475 households with kids that attend kindergartens.

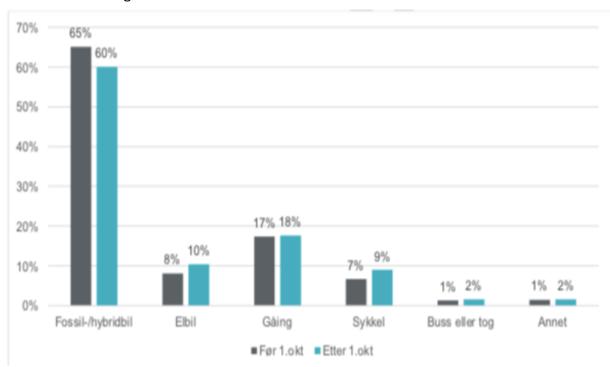


Figure 19 Choice of travel means to commute between home and kindergarten⁵. (Norconsult, 2018a, p. 20)

Figure 19 shows, that after 1st October nearly 3 out of 10 informants chose to travel by bus or train, cycling or walking. That gives increase in 4 percent in comparison to data from before 1st October. Furthermore, reduction of 5 percent occurred between, before and after 1st October. This reduction was in those who choose to travel by car which gives 6 out of 10 that travel by car. There have also been increase of 2 percent in those travelling by electric car which gives now 1 out of 10 who choose this type of transportation. Most of the parents

⁵ Fossil/hybridbil – petrol car/ hybrid car, elbil- electric car, gåing – walking, sykkel – cycling, buss eller tog- bus or train, annet-other, før 1.Okt- before 1st October, etter 1.Okt – after 1st October

use cars, either electric, hybrid or gasoline fueled to pick up and drop off their children at kindergarten.

Furthermore, informants were asked if they combine going to work with dropping and picking their children from the kindergarten. Survey shows that 85 percent of informants combine going to work with dropping and picking children from kindergarten. Furthermore, 80 percent of those who combine transport between work and kindergarten choose to use the same kind of transport to work and to kindergarten.

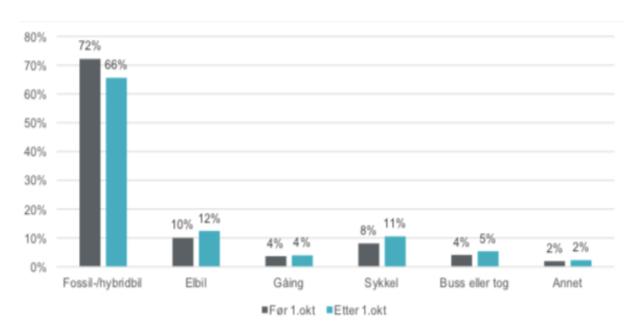


Figure 20 Choice of transport to work and to kindergarten

Figure 20, shows that 6 percent fewer parents choose to travel by either petrol car or hybrid car in comparison to data before 1st October. There have been increase in 2 percent of those traveling by electric car and 3 percent of those who cycle. There have been increase of 1 percent of those who choose bus or train. The change in the choice of transportation can imply that people with lower income don't have enough money to afford travelling though the toll stations, and hence they search for alternative transport.

Furthermore, Norconsult (2018a) asked parents if they cross toll stations on their travel between home, work and kindergarten.

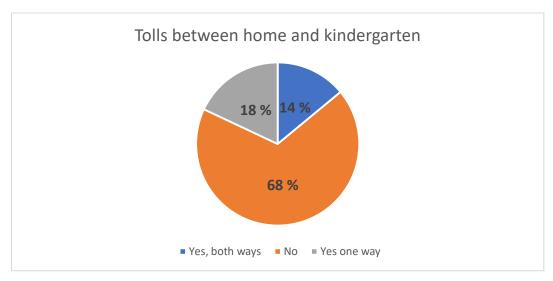


Figure 21 Tolls between home and kindergarten (Norconsult, 2018a, p. 24)

The result illustrated in Figure 21, show that almost 70 percent of parents don't cross toll stations on their way towards kindergarten, while 14 percent admit they pass toll stations both ways. And 18 percent cross toll stations one way between home and kindergarten.

On the contrast in Figure 22, there is 42 percent of parents crossing toll stations both way if they combine, they travel between work/school and kindergarten. 35 percent of those traveling cross toll stations only one way in their travel and 23 percent do not cross any toll stations. Result show that even with increased toll charges those who need to use the car to commute will still do so. The close congestion of toll stations ensures that people traveling in the area for they daily routines such as work, school or kindergarten are forced to cross through at least one toll station.

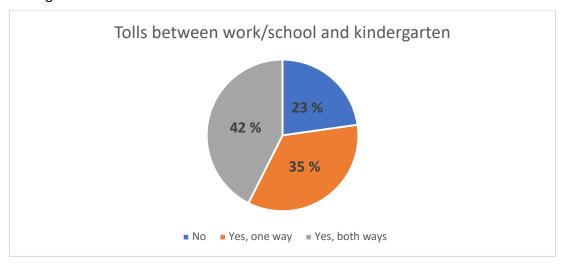


Figure 22 Tolls between work/school and kindergarten (Norconsult, 2018a, p. 24)

Conclusively, Norconsult (2018a) in their final question asked if people felt affected in any way through toll charges.

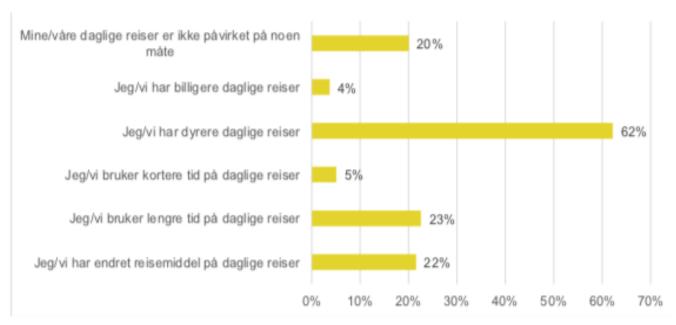


Figure 23 Effect of toll charges on personal economy (Norconsult, 2018a, p. 24)

Figure 23, shows that 20 percent of parents don't feel any changes after introduction of toll charges. 4 percent of informants believe they have cheaper travels, while 62 percent believe that traveling got more expensive. Furthermore, 5 percent believe they have shorter commuting time while 23 percent believe they use longer time to commute. Moreover, 22 percent of informants states they have changed the traveling means since 1st October. Based on that answered one can conclude that toll stations are successful in the car traffic reduction. According to FNB, the package is very effective in car reduction, because people are forced to leave their cars behind. People with lower income don't have enough money to afford paying bills for the toll station and therefore they search for alternative transport.

Statens Vegvesen was asked about their opinion regarding high toll charges that affect people's economy and consequently can lead to for example, resigning from extra curriculum activities for their children. The answer was:

It is difficult for us to have an opinion about this. But of course, we can see that is demanding for some people paying large amounts of money and many do not have an alternative. The system is not fair it's not based on how much income you have for example. But this is the way in which government can collect money through toll stations.

FNB's assumption was somewhat confirmed in the survey conducted by NAF (2019a). The number of respondents was 914, however only 777 of them could be identified by income. Respondents were chosen from 107 municipalities who are located in the area of tolls. Results in Figure 24 shows that 57 percent of informants with the low-income use car regularly to commute in contrast to 80 percent of informants with the high income that use car regularly to commute. Moreover, 48 percent of informants with low income use bus regularly to commute while only 29 percent of informants with the high-income use busses.

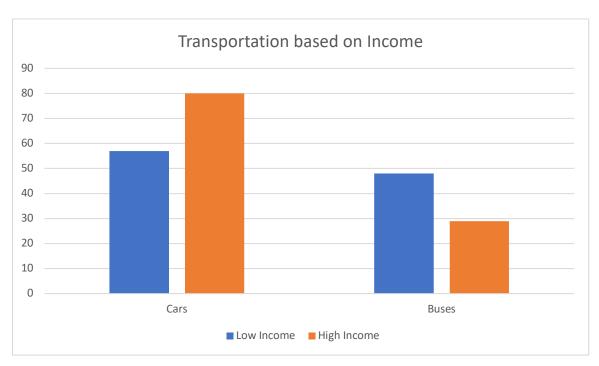


Figure 24: Transportation based on Income.

Toll stations affect not only families but also businesses and populations shopping behaviors. FNB thinks that "there might be a possibility of businesses struggle. However, the rush hour charges have not been implemented for long enough, especially after the break between October and December." Moreover, informant from the FNB believes:

it will be a problem for a lot of small shops that are working on tight margin but I also think shopping centers around will see an increase because there people can park for free if you live outside big area then you don't have to pay anything to get there and if you need to get to city center you pay for tolls and for the parking. So, I think we will see the divide in where the businesses are located. It will be also interesting I hope it won't be as bad as I think is.

Those who cannot afford to pay more for the toll stations are more likely to focus their shopping around their toll station free zone. The businesses located within that area will most likely see an increase in customers. Customers are more likely to choose big shopping malls located in their respective toll station free area where they can avoid the toll charges and get a free parking. On the contrary, if they choose to do their shopping in City Centre, they would have to pay for toll charges along with the parking. This can ultimately have an effect on smaller private boutiques located in the city center. Smaller shops will possibly struggle with affording to introduce special offers or discounts to attract the customers. Moreover, plans for bus roads developments effect existing businesses. Larger, new roads might have opposite effect than planned. Changed road structures might affect accessibility to the facilities. Based on suggestion from FNB on struggle for small businesses, author of this thesis found examples of businesses; Lura Turistheim, Shell stasjonen, Jærbakeren and Burger & Pizza Companiet to name a few out of the larger group of businesses that fear the changes (Olsen, 2019).

Due to rising protests in major cities in Norway, Pål Morten Borgli (Frp) in Sandnes suggested to have referendum regarding the city development agreement (byvekstavtalen). The reason behind it is if the majority of the people would vote "no" then it would be up to the county

and municipalities to find another solution to reach the zero-growth rate. Furthermore, he added that without toll charges the government would have to prioritize how the funds are spent and what amount of the funds would go to infrastructure (Fintland, 2019).

FNB believes that Bymiljøpakken has succeeded reducing cars but with negative consequences:

because a lot of people who don't earn that much during the year, they don't really have enough money to be driving around. And this is a really big problem. What we do now is as if "you are rich we will allow you to drive a car". A car is an instrument to help people in everyday situation and to make them easier. And now we are going to make it easier for those who have a lot of money and those who have average income have to take a bus because they can't afford to drive. But of course, if the system is like it is today it means there will be less cars on the streets. However now we get more and more effective cars on the streets and when you get electric cars, they don't really do anything to the climate and the local environment. So, I thought because of the environment they wanted to do the tax but if everyone has an electric car than what is the problem. It's a great tool to get around.

Same question about effectiveness of Bymiljøpakken was asked in survey conducted by Stavanger Aftenblad of 2629 informants over 18 years of age where 1761 were work active in period May to June 2018. Survey shows that up to 56 percent of informant continued using car as means of transportation to work while 22 percent walked or cycled, and 12 percent traveled by bus or train. 6 percent of respondents drove electric car and 4 percent used mopped. That gives 10 percent car reduction on the roads (Bayer, Leknes, & Muller-Eie, 2018). This is shown in the graph in Figure 25.

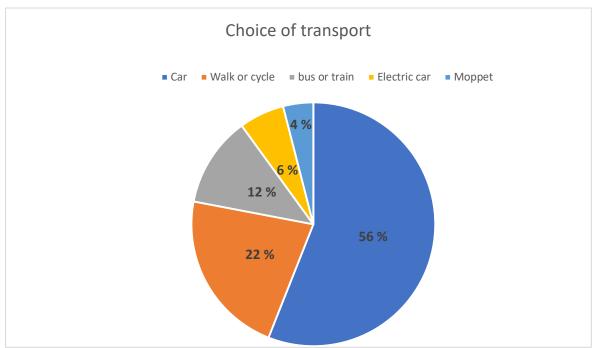


Figure 25 Choice of transport visual representation based on the data from Bayer et al. (2018)

Furthermore, the number of electric cars have grown up to 52 percent in period from June 2017 to June 2018. In the first half year the number of electric cars grown from 2860 to 4359. In Nord-Jæren electric cars make for total 7,9 percent of all passes through tolls. Moreover, since introduction of toll charges the sale of electric cars have grown by 30

percent (Fosse, Jøssang, & Ingemundsen, 2019). This means that people are more likely to invest into more expensive electric cars and continue to use cars as a transportation vehicle. However, one cannot be sure if the number of electric cars is going to continue to increase if they will be further exempted from payments.

Statens Vegvesen believes there are changes in the traffic habits of the population since the package was initiated.

Figure 26 Comparison between 4th quarter of 2017 and 4th quarter of 2018. Figure received during the interview with Statens Vegvesen.

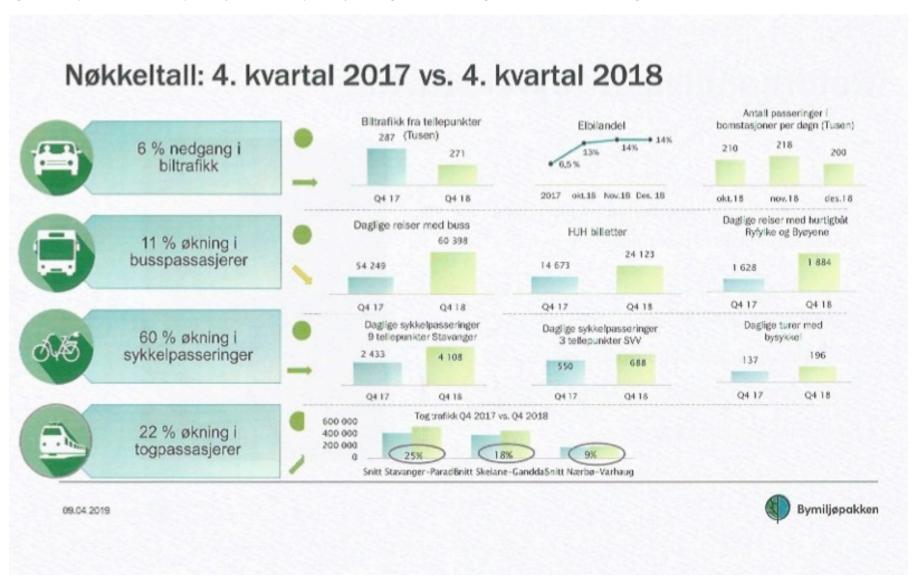


Figure 26, that was presented during the interview is a proof of the changes. Data presented is from the last three months of 2017 compared to the last three months of 2018. Figure 26, show car traffic reduction of 6 percent and increase of 11 percent in people travelling by bus. There have also been increase of 60 percent in the cyclist. There is an overall increase in people preferring collective transport or cycling. On the contrary, FNB representative underlined the need of more city bikes: "here are city bikes in few places like city center and UiS but if the city bikes should be a tool to help people not to use their cars then there should be a lot of city bikes close to the city areas." Then he offered a solution for how more city bikes can be achieved. "in our budget we will set aside 5 million every year for next 4 years to get more city bikes in the suburban areas of Stavanger that mean wherever you are Våland, Storhaug, Tasta etc. You should never be more 400 m away from the city bike."

Table 7, presents survey results conducted by Kolumbus (2018). Table show the increase of 22 percent in the period of week 39-41 in the amount of people choosing to travel by bus in comparison with data from last year. This results in more than 10,000 more daily journeys and over 93,000 passengers.

Table 7 Effects of	of rush hour	charges on	the usage of	fhus	(Kolumbus	2018	n 221
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Week number	2017	2018	Change in percentage
Week 36-38	No data	381 000	No data
Week 39	381 000	408 027	+7%
Week 40	381 000	448 911	+18%
Week 41	255 556	299 865	+17%

This increase in the usage of collective transport can be attributed to the success of Bymiljøpakken. However, the underlying reasons for why people choose busses as their transportation might be different than the acting for the contribution to zero growth rate. If one would base their assumptions on FNB income theory. One could come into the conclusion that the increase of usage of public transportation could like in the lack of other options or because individuals financial situation forces them to do so.

Statens Vegvesen claims they are a neutral part and despite the low popularity of toll stations they hope that as time passes people are going to see that the project works and that cities are developing. They hope that as people are going to see these changes their attitude towards toll stations will change, however they do not plan on convincing anyone towards toll station in any way other than answering questions and presenting facts and figures. One of the ways, that the government is trying to get more people using city bikes or public transport is the HjemJobbHjem initiative (Chapter 2.4). Survey conducted by NRK (Schibevaag, 2018) shows that in the period of three years the amount of businesses that joined the HjemJobbHjem initiative is more than 300 which gives 40 000 employees in total that use the initiative on daily basis to commute to work. HjemJobbHjem, however is under administration of the Kolumbus and not Statens Vegvesen. While the Statens Vegvesen is

directly responsible is for the administrative side of the Bymiljøpakken, other stakeholder like Kolumbus are responsible for collective transportation.

According to FNB, the negative aspect of this initiative is that the city bikes are located mostly in the city center, which makes it inconvenient for most of the people to use it. To encourage people to leave their cars at home FNB would rather "bring busses near the Church in Stavanger centrum. It was like that before and since they took busses away from the center there have been a drop in using busses. So, if they put it back then it will increase". Secondly, "we need better lanes for busses but they don't need to be as costly we don't need them in the middle they can be on the side as I think they are more friendly for those using the busses because when it's in the middle then everyone who want to get to the bus have to cross the car lane." Thirdly, "more city bikes, smarter bus stops in center and we need better planning of bus routes." The reasoning behind the need for better bus routes is that, the way it is now in many bus stops, couple of busses come during the same time and then one has to wait for a longer period of time for another couple of busses to come. Instead FNB representative believes that busses should be coming at regular interval.

Moreover, in the survey conducted by NTB (2018a) informants were asked if they believe that toll stations were necessary to achieve reduction in car traffic. Out of 800 informants only 760 informants responded to the question. Figure 27 indicates, only 289 of them (38%) believe that introduction of toll charges are necessary to reduce the traffic congestion. Majority of informants 471 (57%), however do not think that tolls will achieve the reduction in traffic NTB (2018a).

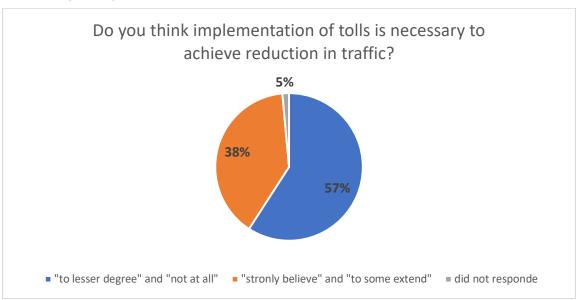


Figure 27 Toll charges and reduction of traffic

Polls conducted nationwide by Avisa Nordland in 2018, used sampling size based on country's representative selection of 1009 informants. The fail margin in the numbers can be as high as 2 percent points (Blaker, 2018).

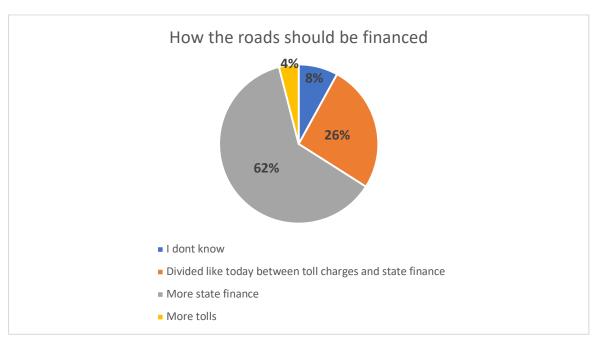


Figure 28, How the road should be financed

Results show that 26 percent of population would like to keep the financing of the roads the way it is today, namely financed from both tolls and state. 62 percent of informants would prefer roads be financed from the state budget. 8% of informants choose the answer "I don't know" and only 4 percent of informants would like it to be more tolls. Majority of respondents follow the FNB's reasoning. FNB offers a solution to how provide the state income in a way that would in theory not affect people in the same way that current toll charges does. The solution would include the flat tax, The Oil Fund or increasing the income tax. Flat taxation put on all members of the society would provide income to finance projects of Bymiljøpakken and would solve the problem of paying by crossing toll station. This idea would involve unlimited driving around the country without charges. However, taking down all the toll stations in Norway would cost 58 billions NOK (Blaker, 2019). Another idea that was mentioned by Statens Vegvesen as the alternative is GPS pricing. GPS pricing means that current toll stations would be replaced with the pricing for the number of driven kilometers. According to (NAF, 2019b) prices would vary according to:

- how much a person is driving
- where a person is driving, whether in the city or outside
- what hours the person is driving
- what type of car a person is driving depending on the car's emissions levels.

According to NAF (2019b), data from 2018 shows that population is paying around 50 billion NOK in toll chargers, single-charges, fuel taxes and yearly taxes. Furthermore, data from 2017 shows that population drives around 45 billion kilometer a year. Therefore, the goal of GPS pricing would be reduction of charges. GPS pricing would include technology that would work within the frames of public privacy policy (NAF, 2019b). However, currently GPS pricing is just an alternative under discussion and no decision has been made as per implementation of this project.

6.5. Framing struggles between FNB and Statens Vegvesen

Climate change is phenomena of high complexity. The need of reduction of CO2 levels represent only a small piece of the larger problem. Trent (2010) explains that to fully understand what climate change is the scientific knowledge from many disciplines is required. For example knowledge in ecology, biology and environmental science. Furthermore, to put that knowledge into the real life circumstances the knowledge of for example political science is required (Trent, 2010). During the interviews both representatives from FNB and Statens Vegvesen were asked about the Bymiljøpakken. During both of the interviews it was confirmed that the reasons behind the Bymiljøpakken are national and international environmental policies. Both actors acknowledged the importance of reduction of the CO2 levels. From the discourse analysis perspective both actors seems to speak about the same phenomenon but somewhere in the communication process their storylines varied. Hajer (2006, p. 69) defines story lines as "a condensed statement summarizing complex narratives, used by people as 'short hand' in discussion". It means that story lines help to simplify complex phenomenon for actors by selectively choosing and joining pieces of reality. Thus, storylines although expressed in form of statements involve more specific narratives achieved by the use of metaphors. Hence, storylines tell the story of one specific issue, but the stories vary in elements. Therefore, as Rosenbloom et al. (2016) point out storylines can play either external or internal functions. External function refer to the impact storylines have on the future policies and planning and are aimed towards politicians. Internal function is directed towards actors involved in the discourse and aims towards reinforcement of activities (Rosenbloom et al., 2016). In the case of this research, both actors during the interview used the key words: "environment", "Bymiljøpakken", "CO2 levels", "cars reduction", "infrastructure". However, both of them use them in different storylines. For example, "car reduction" for Statens Vegvesen means decrease in CO2 emissions, however for FNB it means social injustice. If the word in use have a different meaning for an actor A than for the actor B, the conversation is disturbed. Such a disturbance comes from the fact that even though actor A and B might speak about the same phenomenon, they don't fully understand each other, since the phenomenon under discussion means different thing to each of them. Table 8, below represents an overview of the storylines between FNB and the government as well as the key narratives associated with them.

Key storylines	Narratives of Statens Vegvesen	Narratives of FNB
Increase in toll charges fees.	It is Stortinget who decide how the funds from tolls can be spend. Statens Vegvesen need the money to finance ongoing and future projects. The tolls are located in five rings to avoid cars entering the areas that experience high traffic with the roads that are not designed to handle the traffic.	It is the government's responsibility to pay for infrastructure. FNB presents three alternatives on where to gather the funds to finance infrastructure: 1. Use the oil fund, 2. Increase the income tax, 3. Organize the national budget to allocate money for infrastructure.
Effect of toll charges on the population	Decrease of 6 percent in car travelers between 4th quarter of 2017 and 4th quarter of 2018. People will choose alternative to the car either in form of collective transport, cycling or walking. Figures showing already decrease of car use and increase in collective transportation including, continuous success of HjemJobbHjemm. Understanding of the possibility that for those with lower income, it can be challenging to pay for toll charges. However, Statens Vegvesen is only administrative body. Bymiljøpakken will encourage people to leave the car at home Initiatives like HjemJobbHjemm offer cheaper tickets for those commuting to work. Construction of cycle paths connecting Stavanger, Forus and Sandnes will encourage people to choose alternatives.	Toll stations makes drivers responsible for financing Statens Vegvesen projects. Change in the shopping habits of the population. Possible negative consequences of toll charges for smaller shops located in the city center. Big shopping malls can gain due to their offer on free parking. People are more likely to invest in buying electric car just so they are able to commute. Bymiljøpakken force people to leave the car at home Those who don't have enough money to pay for toll stations will have to choose alternative transportation methods. Moreover, electric cars are increasing, and they are environmentally friendly so the amount of the cars with time wont decrease., hence traffic congestion could remain same. We need more city bikes as the majority of them is located only in area around city center.

Bymiljøpakken is based on Climate Change Targets	It is based on national and international environmental policies and Bymiljøpakken has to consider CO2 indicator.	FNB agrees with most the project and the idea of having good climate. However, they don't agree with the fact that the driver has to pay for infrastructure. FNB does not agree also with the bus lane planning in the middle of the roads. Putting the bus lanes on the side would reduce carbon footprint.
Solution: GPS pricing	Government is considering this alternative to toll stations. It would be more fair system as the people would be charged for what they drove.	"Road pricing will be investigated, the investigation will show us what we must fight and argue against, but we in the FNB will in any case continue the fight against this unsociable way of taxing the population, if the scheme becomes road pricing or still toll does not matter that connection".(Malmin, 2019)
Politicians decide for society	It is impossible to ask people how they want their city to look like in 15 years. If in 15 years everyone is travelling by car, the traffic and CO2 emissions will be very high. It is important to reduce car traffic in order to have good climate and good environment.	FrP started as a party against toll stations however, since 2013 toll stations increase. It makes people don't believe that politicians are there for them.
Compromise between The government and social movement	They have the right to attend open meeting and follow the work of Statens Vegvesen. They have their right to protest. However, the power to undergo compromise does not lie with Statens Vegvesen	Government should pay for infrastructure. Money for that would anyway come from the society in form of taxation. If done so, there would be enough money to finance project. Hence, no need for implementation of road taxation.

Table 8 Framing struggles between story lines of FNB and Statens Vegvesen

Equation below represents how the environmental discourse is formatted:

Environmental discourse = environmental problem + environmental beliefs

Based on the general equation, a formula for this research problem can be constructed as:

Bymiljøpakken = Climate Change + Means to the goal

In the case of this thesis, Bymiljøpakken is a project over which conflict occurs. FNB, agree with the overall goals of Bymiljøpakken. The conflict emerges when it comes to how the execution of Bymiljøpakken goals should be performed. FNB, disagrees with the implementation of toll station as a way of financing the infrastructure that once completed, should motivate population to leave their cars at home. And so, contribute to the reduction of CO2 levels. Statens Vegvesen on the other hand, looks after the administrative side of the project and so administrates the laws and regulations that have been decided in the parliament. They justify the need for toll station as a source of income to finance the project. However, the question on how the project should be financed is very complex. Bymiljøpakken is a large project that involves many stakeholders. But where the decisions are made by politicians.

FNB do not think that Stavanger has a good public transport, as busses are not coming frequent enough, good connection is not available in every street. The blame for bad transportation according to FNB lies with current city planning. Similar overview was given by an independent survey results presented in Figure 10, which indicates people in Stavanger as the least satisfied public transportation customer, among the big cities in Norway.

Both of informants agreed that Bymiljøpakken has been successful in the reduction of cars on the roads ever since its implementation. Statens Vegvesen said that car traffic has gone down by 6 percent. However, both of the actors presents different reasons behind the car reduction. Stavanger Aftenblad (Bayer et al., 2018) survey shows 56 percent of people continued using car as a transportation vehicle to work. Moreover, there has been growth of 52 percent in the number of electric cars between June 2017 and June 2018 (Bayer et al., 2018). In the Nord-Jæren region electric cars contribute to 7,9 percent of all passes through tolls. This gives an indication that even though the number of cars is reduced, the majority of people are more likely to switch between gasoline/diesel fueled car to an electric version in order to keep up their travelling habits.

Political problems is the growing car congestion, that has its negative impact on the environment. Furthermore, it can be related to what Hajer (1995, p. 42) calls 'problem owners'. Relating political problems to the problem owners shows how those actors who succeed in spreading their definition of the problem to others. Further, 'the problem owners' experience mobilization of bias. Mobilization of bias, explains how some issues are turned into political conflicts while other issues are not paid so much attention to. This phenomenon occur in all kind of political organizations. In this context mobilization of bias is the fact that socially most of the people agree that there is a climate change. The majority of population believe that the government should take actions in this regard. However, the actions taken by the government do not match the social expectations. Hence, the social movement emerges. The conflict over toll stations lies in what the means to reach the goal are used. Furthermore, it also refers to "what aspects of social reality are included and which are left undiscussed" (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). In this case two main actors are involved namely, FNB and the government. Both of the actors come across with different argumentation of

the problem and their respective justification of actions. This is what one can refer to as discourse hegemony where actors try to provide the "support for their definition of the reality" (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Both of the actors want to achieve trust from the society, acceptability of their argumentation and credibility of their speech and actions. Both actors aim to have a power to control the issue. From the point of view of the government, they want to continue having the income based on the toll stations where its funds can be used to finance the infrastructure. On the contrary, FNB want to have power to abolish the toll stations and in the exchange implement one of their three solution to where from government can get funds for the infrastructure namely, 1. the use of the Oil Fund, 2. Introducing income tax, 3. Changing things accordingly in the government budget to get funds for the infrastructure. To gain the power both actors organize themselves into the discourse - coalitions. Discourse coalition is a made up of actors that although have a different background are drawn towards a specific set of storylines.

Furthermore Hajer (1995) discourse coalition explained as 1. Actors storylines 2. the actors that are identified with those storylines for example, FNB – justification against toll stations, government -justification for toll stations, 3. Discourse can be seen for FNB in the demonstrations that are organized and for government in their representatives' interviews and media appearances. Coalition made for toll stations can be seen in the light of the last election where approximately 85 percent of voters⁶, voted for the political parties that wanted more toll stations (Helgheim, 2018). Coalitions against toll stations can be seen in the numbers of protest that are organized in various of cities in Norway. Although, it is difficult to provide the exact number of protesters, as a reference one can use social media where on Facebook groups of Bomfritt Jæren- Nok er Nok has 56, 894 followers and FNB Facebook group has 31 000 followers⁷. FNB is also open to welcome parties that emerged in other cities that share the same values as FNB and are willing to join their forces together. Furthermore, the survey from NTB (2018a) also shows 90 percent of informants being against toll stations.

The discursive relationship between FNB and the government emerges on exchange of their statements regarding toll stations and Bymiljøpakken as a whole. The process of argumentation provides an insight into the actors respective standpoints on the issue. Storylines, based on key actors' narratives help the population to position themselves within the conflict. Here the key storylines are:

- Regulation of CO2 emissions is beneficial for the society.
- For the government the pollutions comes from the transportation sector, so the car traffic has to be reduced.
- For FNB on the other hand, reduction of cars is not a solution to reduction of pollutions. Transition towards electric cars is good for both environment and for the population that is willing to use to car as their choice of transportation. Hence, no need for the reduction of cars.
- Government wants to prevent the consequences of high car congestion than can
 occur in the next 15-30 years with the growth of the population. Prevention comes in
 form of toll charges, and new infrastructure projects that will encourage people to
 leave the cars at home

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⁶ Number of voters provided by FrP Stortinget representant.

⁷ Numbers from 26.05.2019

- For FNB the collective transport is in a bad shape in the region and hence people will
 choose cars for their convenience. There is need for more city bikes and better city
 planning.
- For FNB the pollutions are a matter of inefficiency, electric cars are more environmentally friendly so consequently encouragement for the electric cars does not involve resigning from the use of cars.

Each of these story lines gives a room for further topics of debate within the original debate. The problem with storylines are that they offer conclusion for the ongoing problem. For example, increase in the electric cars seems like a good idea and a solution to continuing of the use of cars. Indeed the sale of the electric cars has grew in numbers 30 percent (Fosse et al., 2019) and these numbers are growing but on the big scale, the prices of electric cars are high and not everyone is going to be able to afford it. Moreover, before a transition of all the car users in Norway towards electric cars occur the problem of CO2 emissions will continue. Population often, is drawn towards the storylines which express the ideas and concepts they observe in the real life, which helps them to give meaning to the realities that are suggested in the conflict. Furthermore, the success of the respective actors lies upon with the power of storylines and its attractiveness (Hajer, 1995). For FNB this means that the increase in the number of followers depends on how attractive FNB's action plan is and on how FNB justify being against the toll station. The larger number of followers the bigger the change of getting into the political arena in various cities. This gives also the opportunity of taking place in the Stortinget election in 2021 and to implementing the changes their desire. For the government it means that the justification of toll station has to appear attractively to the populations. As told by Statens Vegvesen, although toll stations appear now as unpopular, they hope as people notice the projects being constructed, they would change their mind. Further explaining on the example of Trondheim, "they had Bymiljøpakken for over 10 years and in there people in opinion polls show they were more positive to Bymiljøpakken because they can see goals and results in their city so we hope for the same so maybe if in rush hour is easy to travel, easier to plan the trip maybe it's more expensive but easier to travel since there is no big traffic". Furthermore, Figure 29, presents visualization on the reasoning of the toll stations.

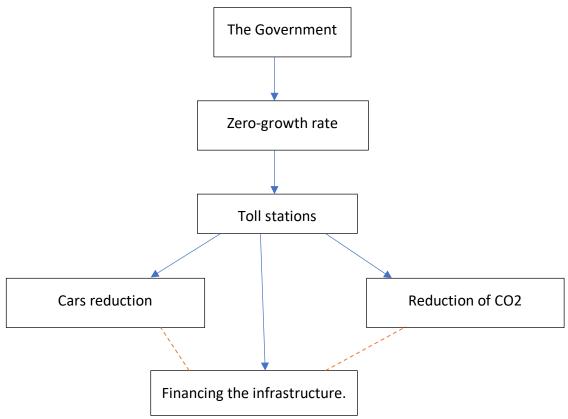


Figure 29 Toll stations reasoning

The blue arrows represent direct effects while dashed red lines represent possible explanation. The government is the responsible organ that came up with the idea of introducing Bymiljøpakken. The reason given by the state for Bymiljøpakken is reduction of CO_2 and achieving zero-growth rate. Furthermore, to reach the goal government decided to introduce toll stations. Toll stations are supposed to contribute to reduction of car congestion on the roads and so to achieving good environment with lesser CO_2 emissions. However, the key issue emerges from the fact that toll stations are being used to finance the infrastructure in the country. Dashes lines present alternative possible understanding of this situation. One can assume that to encourage people to leave their cars at home and to choose alternative means of transport, infrastructure is needed. Infrastructure in form of cycling and walking paths combined with good public transportation system can contribute to reduction of cars. And so, the car reduction achieved through infrastructure projects which are financed through toll stations can achieve reduction of CO_2 emissions and so reach the goal of good environment.

7. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis based on a case study was to understand the complexity of how environmental goals can affect the social structure of the society.

The thesis try and answer the following questions broadly;

• What are the policies of Bymiljøpakken?

Policies of Bymiljøpakken and the reason behind its implementation are discussed in detail in the chapter 2.2. and 2.3. Bymiljøpakken is the package that aims to meet national and international climate change targets by reducing GHG emissions. Transportation sector has been named as the largest source of CO₂ emissions. Bymiljøpakken through toll charges aims to reduce cars congestion. Which in turn will reduce the CO₂ emissions. This ultimately result in establishing the zero-growth rate.

• Is the Bymiljøpakken socially impacting or is it going to impact population in general?

Bymiljøpakken have a significant impact on the societal choice of transportation. As discussed throughout the thesis, Bymiljøpakken has contributed to an overall increase in the electric cars. People are more likely to invest in an electric car as it is exempted from the toll charges, to keep up with their travel patterns. This is also due to the fact that the there is a less trust in the local collective transport system.

Moreover, the motives behind the overall decrease in the car usage are not clear. It is not proven, whether people choose to leave their car at home as their contribution to better environment or simply because they cannot afford toll charges. Online polls conducted by various newspapers state evidently that most of the local population is against the toll charges. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 23, most of the respondents stated that their daily travels became more expensive since toll stations were introduced.

• How did the social movement develop and what are the story lines of the movement?

Social movement came to life as a response to the implementation of the toll charges. The social movement started on social media platforms. Based on these grounds of the *Nok er Nok* movements, FNB political party was created. The political party FNB emerged as a result of social movement not being heard by the politicians. According to the interviewee creating political party seemed like the only option to be heard on the political arena. The main purpose of the FNB as well as of Nok er Nok is to abolish toll charges. FNB as a political party managed to get three representatives into Stavanger City Hall and is planning to run in the election to Stortinget in 2021. FNB story lines focuses on the social injustice of the toll stations, their effect on the household's budget and the burden of financing the infrastructure that is put on car drivers.

How does both sides of the spectrum justify the toll stations?

Statens Vegvesen that is an administrative side of the Bymiljøpakken, justify the toll stations as a necessity for the state to get funds for financing the infrastructure. Moreover, the variation in toll charges depends on what projects cities want to finance. FNB on the other side states that toll charges are simply, socially unfair. As toll charges put a burden of financing the infrastructure only on drivers while infrastructure being a common good of the whole society. Instead FNB proposed three other solution for how government can finance the infrastructure. The solutions include, arranging funds from the budget, using the Oil

Fund or introducing flat tax. These solutions according to FNB will make everyone in the society responsible for the infrastructure.

The data and its subsequent analysis presents a very interesting picture to this complex relationship. Bymiljøpakken with a literal meaning 'City Environmental Package', is initiated as a mean to counter the emission of GHG and work as a mean to achieve the climate change targets. While in the essence it is true, however, the fact that toll stations (a major part of Bymijøpakken) are being used to finance the infrastructure in the region becomes a contentious part, which is impacting social fabric of the society in the region. Based on various polls discussed in this thesis, tolls stations have a negative social impact. There is a limited or no scientific data available at the point of writing of this thesis, regarding the change in emissions. Logic dictates that use of less cars will ultimately result in less emission. However, the important question that remains to be answered is, *if residents will decide against using private transport because of toll surcharges or because of environment*.

Although data discussed in this thesis shows a decrease in number of private cars, another data also shows increase in number of private electric cars. The use of electric vehicle is beneficial for the environmental aspect of the Bymiljøpakken as compare to non-electric. However, if people still persist on using private electric cars over collective transport, this could be crucial for the success of the Bymiljøpakken. Since a large sum of money is being allocated towards the collective transport and it's infrastructure and continuous use of private electric cars could hinder those plans.

In short, Bymiljøpakken is initiated as the state's response to the climate change targets. The state is keen to use this discursive connection as major aspect of their story lines. Public opinion about environment is similar to that of states. Therefore, their story lines converge to become a similar narrative up till the point when new toll charges are introduced. It's where the public disagrees, and the story lines diverges.

Further research is recommended for this topic to understand;

- If Bymiljøpakken is successful in reducing CO2 levels and reaching the zero-growth rate.
- What are the long-term effects of toll stations on the population?
- To follow the storylines of Nok er Nok movement to see what kind of decline phase they will face, and will they achieve their goals or not.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview guide: FNB

Background information:

- 1. What is your job position within FNB?
- 2. How long have you been working with FNB?
- 3. How long have you been involved with bymiljøpakken and the issue toll charges?
- What are the policies of bymiljøpakken?
 - 1. What aspects of bymiliøpakken do you agree with and disagree with?
 - 2. Do you think bymiljøpakken is sufficient in reduction of amount of cars on the roads?
 - 3. What alternative methods to bymiljøpakken can you suggest?
 - 4. One of the goals of bymiljøpakken is to reduce CO2 produces by transport sector,

which includes tools such us toll charges to achieve the reduction goal. What do you think about this approach? What would you change, done differently to achieve the same goal?

- Are they socially impacting or are they going to impact population in general?
 - 1. What do you think about collective transport in Nord-Jæren?
 - 2. What do you think about cyclist paths in the city?
 - 3. Do you think high prices of tolls affect people and if so, than how?
 - 4. What in your opinion should be done to encourage people to leave cars at home?
 - 5. How do you think the bymiljøpakken including the toll charges effect businesses?
 - 6. Have FNB in their own capacity carried out polls, interviews or surveys of people in region to see general opinion about bymiljøpakken or toll charges, if yes what were the results?
- What are the story lines of the resilient movement?
 - 1. How did the party emerged?
 - 2. What are the goals of FNB?
 - 3. Why there is a need to protest against bymiljøpakken?
 - 4. What would have to change in bymiljøpakken to stop protesting?
 - 5. Do you see a point where FNB and government could compromise?
 - 6. Can we say that FNB was formed out of the social resilience movement in the region and in Norway in general against raising toll taxes?
 - 7. What is the future of FNB?
 - 8. More political voices might emerge like yours in near future, how is FNB willing to deal with them?

Interview guide: Statens Vegvesen

Background information:

- 1. What is your job position?
- 2. How long have you been working in Vegvesen?
- 3. Have you been connected to the project bymiljøpakken from the beginning?
- What are the policies of bymiljøpakken?
 - 1. What are the goals of bymiljøpakken?
 - 2. Where the idea of bymiljøpakken emerged from?
 - 3. Why the need for implementing more toll stations?
 - 4. Can you notice changes since bymiljøpakken initiated?
 - 5. Did the CO2 emissions went down since bymiljøpakken?
 - 6. Why was there a need to increase the toll charges?
 - 7. Why the tolls vary between different cities?
 - 8. Can it be considered that bymiljøpakken is connected to Norwegian Climate Change Targets?
 - 9. Are there any alternative plans (other than bymiljøpakken) state is considering or is being considered?
- Are they socially impacting or are they going to impact population in general?
 - 1. Did the state at national or local level carry out any opinion polls or surveys to know what masses think? Was your organisation part of it?
 - 2. Have the amount of people using collective transport changed since the bymiljøpakken? Do you have some numbers or figures you can provide?
 - 3. What kind of help, encouragement and subsidies does the state provide to encourage people to leave their cars at home?
 - 4. Some people believe that toll charges are too high which affect their economy significantly and can lead to for example, resigning from extra curriculum activities for their children, what do you think about that?
 - 5. Some people don't understand why the toll charges have to be so high and so they don't really know where the money go, can you explain how and where the funds are being used?
- What are the story lines of the resilient movement?
 - 1. What do you think about resilient movement/ protesters/ political parties incl. FNB etc.?
 - 2. Do you think there is a chance for compromise where the issues being raised by social movement could be addressed? Or agree to a common ground?
 - 3. What would you tell the opponents to convince them towards (change their mind about) bymiljøpakken?
 - 4. How is the state trying to address the issues raised by the social movements like nok er nok?

Norwegian climate change targets and its social impacts. Case study of Bymiljøpakken in Nord Jæren

NSD Personvern

05.03.2019 10:37

Tilbakemelding på meldeskjema med referansekode 738599:

SIMPLIFIED ASSESSMENT WITH CONDITIONS Having reviewed the information registered in the Notification Form with attachments, we find that this project presents a low risk to the rights and freedoms of data subjects. This assessment is based on the project not processing special categories of personal data or personal data relating to criminal convictions and offences, and not including vulnerable groups. The duration of the project is reasonable and the processing of personal data is based on consent. We have therefore given a simplified assessment with conditions.

You have an independent responsibility to meet the conditions and follow the guidance given in this assessment. If you meet the conditions and the project is carried out in line with what is documented in the Notification Form, the processing of personal data will comply with data protection legislation.

CONDITIONS

Our assessment presupposes:

- 1. That you carry out the project in line with the requirements of informed consent
- 2. That you do not collect special categories of personal data or personal data relating to criminal convictions and offences
- 3. That you follow the guidelines for information security as set out by the institution responsible for the project (i.e. the institution where you are studying/carrying out research)
- 4. That you upload the revised information letter(s) for each sample in the Notification Form and select "Bekreft innsending" (Confirm submission) so that documentation is correct. NSD will not carry out a new assessment of the revised information letter(s).
- 1. REQUIREMENTS FOR INFORMED CONSENT

The data subject should receive written and/or oral information about the project and consent to participation. You must ensure that the information at least includes the following:

- The purpose of the project and what the collected personal data will be used for
- Which institution is responsible for the project (the data controller)
- What types of data will be collected and how the data will be collected
- That participation is voluntary and that participants may withdraw their consent, without giving a reason, as long as their personal data are being processed
- The end date of the project and what will happen with the collected personal data; whether it will be erased, anonymised or stored for further use
- That you will be processing personal data based on the consent of the data subject
- The right to request access, correction, deletion, limitation and data portability
- The right to send a complaint to The Norwegian Data Protection Authority (Datatilsynet)
- Contact information for the project leader (or supervisor and student) Contact information for the Data Protection Officer (Personvernombudet) at the institution responsible for the project

On our website you will find more information and a template for the information letter: nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/en/help/information consent/information requirements.ht ml

It is your responsibility to ensure that the information given in the information letter corresponds to what is documented in the Notification Form.

2. TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION OF PROJECT

The project will be processing general categories of personal data until 15.07.2019. 3. FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES NSD

presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data. If you will be using a data processor in the project, the processing of personal data must meet the legal requirements for use of a data processor, cf. arts. 28 and 29.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

NSD's ASSESSMENT

Our assessment of the legal basis for processing personal data, of the principles relating to this processing and of the rights of data subjects, follows below, but presupposes that the conditions stated above are met.

LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. Presupposing that conditions 1 and 4 are met, we find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn. The legal basis for processing personal data is therefore consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

Presupposing that conditions 1-4 are met, NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the purpose of the project

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

So longs as data subjects can be identified in the collected data, they will have the following rights: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). Presupposing that the information meets the requirements in condition 1, NSD finds that the information given to data subjects about the processing of their personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13. We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

Appendix B: NSD Form

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT NSD

will follow up the progress of the project the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded. Good luck with the project! Data Protection Services for Research: <u>+47 55 58 21 17</u> (press 1)

Information letter Master thesis.

I am a master student at the University of Stavanger and I am writing my thesis on social impacts of Bymiljøpakken. The topic of my maser thesis is "Norwegian climate change targets and its social impact. Case study of Bymiljøpakken". The focus is, how the environmental and sustainability goals with specific to climate change are impacting the common man and society on the whole. The study is based on governmental policies. These policies are reflected in implementation of Bymiljøpakken that is based among others on environmental targets. The aim is to see how Bymiljøpakken is being perceived and how these policies are affecting a society.

I will do discourse analysis, where I want to bring out the perspective on Bymiljøpakken from both sides of the spectrum and therefore need interview participants that have been involved with Bymiljøpakken. The individual interview will last about 1 hour and be recorded with tape recorder. Information is then written down and the audio recordings will be deleted. The material is analyzed and some quotes can be highlighted in the thesis.

Participation is voluntary, and one can withdraw as long as the study is ongoing, without giving a reason. All information is treated confidentially. Information will be held until the censorship of the thesis falls, 15th of July.

I will process the personal data based on persons consent. Based on an agreement with *University of Stavanger*, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Student: Karolina Shahid by telephone: 462 68 647, or by e-mail kb.jurak@stud.uis.no
- Project supervisor: Tine Handeland by telephone: 47502508, or by e-mail tine.handeland@uis.no
- NSD The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by telephone: 55 58 21 17 by email: personverntjenester@nsd.no

Yours sincerely,

Karolina Shahid

Appendix C: Consent Form
Consent form:
I have received and understood information about the project "Norwegian Climate Change targets and its social impacts. Case study of Bymiljøpakken" and have agreed to be interviewed. I give consent:
☐ to participate in <i>interview</i>
I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 15^{th} of $July$.
(Signed by participant, date)

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