# Appendix

## Appendix 1: Self-portrait of the German FFF movement

Aim Identify existing tensions and conflicts within the FFF movement

Process Undertake an open document analysis based on interviews, public speeches and FFF Germany documents

Material

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Conducted interviews** | **FFF speeches and interviews** | **Events** | **Documents** |
| 1. FFF representative (Interview\_1)
2. FFF representative (Interview\_2)
3. NGO youth representative (Interview\_3)
4. NGO youth representative (Interview\_4)
5. NGO representative (Interview\_5)
6. NGO representative (Interview\_6)
 | * Reaktionen aus der Politik reichen ihm nicht (Grieme 2019)
* Klimaschutz: “Noch entschiedener und schneller handeln” (Kögel 2019)
* "phoenix persönlich" mit der Klimaschutz-Aktivstin Luisa Neubauer (Phoenix 2019)
* Die größte Lüge der Klimapolitik? (Unfried 2019)
* „Der Kohleausstieg bis 2030 muss jetzt eingeleitet werden“ (Ehring 2019)
* Clara Marisa Mayer von Fridays for Future Berlin auf der VW-HV 2019 (Kritische Aktionärinnen und Aktionäre 2019)
 | 1. FFF rally in Berlin, May 24th, 2019 (FFF\_rally\_1)
2. FFF rally in Bonn, June 21st, 2019 (FFF\_rally\_2)
3. FFF rally in Berlin, September 20th, 2019 (FFF\_rally\_3)
 | * #FFF FORDERT: WIR HABEN GESPROCHEN, JETZT MÜSST IHR HANDELN! (FFF Germany 2019a)
* Fridays for Future Ortsgruppen (FFF Germany 2019b)
* Pressekonferenz der Fridays-For-Future-Bewegung am 8.4.19 (FFF Germany 2019c)
* Kritik an der Entwicklung der Bewegung „Fridays for Future Deutschland“ (anonymous 2019a)
* Offener Brief an die Bewegung (anonymous 2019b)
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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Core theme | Code group | Codes | Example with reference\* |
| Organizational strategy | Professional organization | * Professional communication
* Clear hierarchies
* Division of labor
* Centralization
* Strategy
 | Being a legal organization is necessary for two reasons. You have to create crystal-clear structures internally, which at the same time invite everyone to get involved. You set that in a statute. The interesting thing is: Even if everyone has the same goal, a man or woman argues on the way there. Decision-making structures help to develop a culture of debate that is tough but also fair. Then dispute becomes productive. (Bruhns 2019) |
| Grass roots movement | * Transparency
* Basic democracy
* Consensual decision-making
* Experimentation
 | The critical voices tell something about the DNA of Fridays for Future: The movement has not only grown rapidly, but also in many different directions. The local groups act in different contexts. The state election in Thuringia is more important for activists in Jena or Gotha than for others. The local group of Cologne understands basic democracy that a plenary session lasting several hours is held every week, in which all topics are discussed, other local groups do not. (Schirmer 2019) |
| Political claims | Moderate reforms | * Incentives and subsidies
* Carbon prizing and taxation
* Early coal phase-out
* Science-based reforms
* 100% renewable energy
* Industrial reforms
 | “Fridays For Future demands compliance with the goals of the Paris Agreement and the 1.5 ° C goal. We explicitly demand for Germany: Reach net zero 2035, coal phase out by 2030, 100% renewable energy supply by 2035.” (FFF Germany 2019d) |
| Systemic change | * Socialization and resumption
* Redistribution of wealth / resources
* Social change through climate action
* Overcome existing industries
 | If you wanted to describe the state of affairs in our country, you would have to state that the challenges of global climate change are obviously not yet on the agenda of our politicians. The existing threats to many people as well as the dramatic economic undesirable developments, in particular due to uninhibited financial capitalism and the growth craze, are empty spaces.(Peitsch 2019) |
| Leadership and representation | Top-down leadership  | * Dominance of key figures
* Knowledge hierarchies
* Spokespersons and leaders
 | The media reports always show the same assurances, for example Luisa Neubauer or Jakob Blasel. But our movement is made up of hundreds, if not thousands, of more people who take care of every day that all the rallies run smoothly. And of course from the hundreds of thousands that make up the movement at all. Due to the hype about people that is just emerging, this is absolutely gone, and it appears in the media as if Fridays for Future consisted of only 4-5 organizers. (anonymous 2019b) |
| Bottom-up diversity | * Direct democracy
* Heterogeneity
* Flat hierarchies
 | We demand that schoolchildren with a migration background or from socially disadvantaged neighborhoods, as well as from special, secondary, secondary and comprehensive schools are brought into the press on equal terms. (anonymous 2019b) |

\*translated by the authors; original sources in German

## Appendix 2: Media analysis

Aim Identify controversies related to the FFF movement and its internal conflicts

Process Undertake an open media analysis, focusing on the tensions identified in step 1

Material Articles from four nationally relevant newspapers, published between Jan. 1st, 2019 and Oct. 31st, 2019

* Der SPIEGEL (33 relevant articles out of 550 matches)
* Die Welt (62 relevant articles out of 877 matches)
* Süddeutsche Zeitung (37 relevant articles out of 960 matches)
* Tageszeitung taz (46 relevant articles out of 470 matches)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Core theme | Code group | Codes | Example with source\* |
| Organizational strategy | Topical protest | * Climate protest
* Compulsory education
* Students’ expertise
* School handling and fines
* Saturday protests
 | Renate Matthias says she understands the concerns of the students herself. It was time to stand up for climate protection, and at her school, the Luitpold high school in Lehel, there was also a group that was very active in protecting the environment. But as the headmistress, she also had to make sure that the students attend classes. If they went to demonstrate instead, they would skip. (J. Wetzel 2019) |
| Broad mass-movement | * Youth emancipation
* Public engagement
* Democratization
* Contestation
* Civil disobedience
* Street activism
 | What we are doing around the world from the “Fridays For Future” youth movement is living lessons in democracy. We build our website ourselves, design flyers, register demos, give interviews - you won't learn so much in any political class. It's also great to see how contagious engagement can be: During the last demo, we asked around how many young people are on a demo for the first time. That was definitely two thirds! (Sadik 2019) |
| Political claims | Reformist approach | * Climate policy reforms
* Technical implementation
* Targets and roadmaps
* Sustainable consumption
* Emissions reduction
* Coal phaseout
* Technological innovations
* Efficiency
* Behavioral change
 | The leaders of the CDU and the SPD noticed what was happening on the streets of Germany on Friday. The many young people rightly demanded that we do something so that they too have good chances in life, said Chancellor Angela Merkel at the beginning of the press conference, at which she presented the results of the 18-hour nightly round of negotiations on the government's climate protection plan.(Kreutzfeldt & Pötter 2019). |
| Transformative ideal | * Climate emergency
* Cultural change
* Anti-capitalism
* Sufficiency
* Societal change
* Climate justice
 | Unlike Rucht, I assume that Fridays for Future will actually result in a politically and culturally massive change - as perhaps recently with the '68 movement. This will also be reflected in the lifestyles of the majority: the parent's taxi, your own car, and the cheap flight to the Barcelona weekend are then out. And the argument with the parents about the planned purchase of an SUV is inevitable.(Grießhammer 2019) |
| Leadership and representation | Pragmatic leadership | * Individual leaders
* Managerial approach
* Feasibility
* Procedures and technicalities
* Reformist attitude
* Conservatism
* Unity
 | Again, the planned reductions in coal-fired power generation by 2022 are a pitiful suggestion that more than double would be needed to achieve the 2020 climate targets. This is absurd, especially since we export our dirty coal energy abroad. The only ones that benefit from this are the megacorporations. But other sectors such as agriculture, transportation and housing also need to be addressed. (Kögel 2019) |
| Confrontational movement | * Broad movement
* Fundamental criticism
* Internal conflicts
* Diversity
 | The influence came with the size of the movement. A few striking students became a youth movement that politicians and the media take seriously. But with the size came the argument. Behind the scenes of Fridays for Future there is discussion and frustration, it's about power and content. The movement now brings so many different people together that sometimes it is not possible to involve everyone. (Schirmer 2019) |

\*translated by the authors; original sources in German

## Appendix 3: Emerging imaginaries – moderate versus radical approaches

Aim Develop a typology of moderate versus radical approaches in the FFF movement

Process *Identify moderate and radical approaches with regard to the seven dimensions of imaginaries*

Material Interviews, speeches, events, documents, and media articles mentioned above

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dimension | Question | Argument | Example and reference\* |
| Future vision and planning | *What kind of desirable future society is imagined, and how should it be reached?* | **Moderate:** Future visions are rooted in a techno-optimistic rational with an emphasis on renewable energy, energy efficiency, and technological advancements. Incremental change in all societal sectors is needed to address climate change. | You have to find a price model that covers the costs and where the ecological costs are internalized. But if we want to deal with flying, great, let's talk about domestic flights in Germany in the first step, that is eighty percent business flights. Does it have to be that way? I do not think so. This has nothing to do with a liberal modernity, but with an apparent convenience. The crucial point is: if we want to combine our freedom in the future with the freedom of today, then we find that not everything goes on like this. But I am reluctant to hang up on this one question about air traffic, how a liberal modern age can work in the future. (Unfried 2019) |
| **Radical:** A radical transformation of the society is required to tackle climate change. Instead of technological advancement, behavioral and systemic change is envisioned, often linked to anti-capitalist ideas. | Critique of capitalism has suddenly become a fad. The revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, in which vain hopes have been placed for so long, has been replaced by the green of the ecological movement. The belief in the possibility of another world, which would be less absurd and more just than the current one, lives again in new youth and protest movements from "Occupy Wall Street" to "Fridays for Future". (Leick 2019) |
| Societal needs | *What are the pressing societal needs and issues that should be prioritized?* | **Moderate:** The need to tackle climate change is intrinsically linked to the need for economic welfare. Economic progress, wealth creation, and securing jobs should go hand in hand with climate protection and industrial transformation. | And if we now start with ecological industrial policy, then we are with Sigmar Gabriel, who once tried to develop an “ecological industrial policy” together with his then State Secretary Matthias Machnig. This ecological industrial policy and a primarily technical approach to climate solutions must be in focus. (Heisterhagen 2019) |
| **Radical:** Climate emergency substitutes wealth, job creation, and economic growth as the primary societal need, substituting the dominance of economic welfare. | Mirja wears chucks, a silver nose ring and green colored hair. She says: "There is no argument that we cannot get out of lignite because jobs will be lost. If there is no good living space for us, the jobs will not help us either." (Hecking & Klovert 2019) |
| Risks and threats | *What are the dominant risks and existential threats for society?* | **Radical:** Ambitious climate action needs to avoid an economic collapse. Germany’s economic competitiveness and generated wealth need to be protected. | The rest of Europe is reducing secured generation output in favor of volatile, weather-dependent wind and solar systems. This reduces the chance of receiving aid deliveries. Germany, warns BDEW boss Kapferer, "is facing great uncertainties with regard to future electricity imports." Such concerns have not yet caught on with the protagonists of the new climate youth. The German representation of "Fridays for Future" does not require the shutdown of a quarter of German coal power until 2022, but by the end of this year. (D. Wetzel 2019) |
| **Radical:** Economic risks are subordinate to the climate crisis as the biggest and most existential threat to society. | Despite its complexity, the climate crisis is relatively manageable: if we continue like this, it will soon be over. The perspective that coming generations will soon not only be what they want, but that they will no longer be possible without a massive change, is more drastic than the supposed fulfillment in passive consumption. (Hein & Lichtblau 2019) |
| The state | *What role of the state is imagined?* | **Moderate:** Protestors envision an active regulatory state that guides society towards decarbonization, based on scientific knowledge. The state is the primary actor to enforce climate regulation. | The fulfillment of these demands must be socially acceptable and must not be unilaterally at the expense of people with low incomes. In this regard, governments have to present appropriate concepts. The state must assume its responsibility towards the environment and future generations within the meaning of Article 20a of the Basic Law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (FFF Germany 2019d) |
| **Radical:** The climate strikes open up an opportunity to rethink the future of the political system and the state, and promote ideas of radical democracy and people's participation. | Today's youth is also called "Generation Z": It doesn't just carry the last letter from the alphabet. It is perhaps the last generation that our world will still be able to experience in two versions: the viable one before the climate collapse - and the other one after the final collapse. But it doesn't have to go that far. Not when the demonstrators of "Fridays For Future" start thinking about the future of our political system in addition to the environment. And to question it. (Scholz 2019) |
| People and citizens | *What is the role of the people in a desirable vision of the future?* | **Moderate:** Individuals are responsible to tackle climate change through changed consumption patterns, adapted lifestyles, and voluntary action. | It is not yet apparent that renunciation is now being practiced on a grand scale: vacation travel, daily showering, consumption, the latest mobile phone, the excess of fashionable clothes - all of this is still very important. However, parents are now reporting conflicts with their children, which require more ecological awareness in everyday life until the next vacation is no longer a long-distance trip or the next car is no longer an SUV. But these are still isolated cases. (Vitzthum 2019) |
| **Radical:** People need to make use of their political power and get politically involved to achieve systematic rather than individual change. | We young people have no say in a subject that affects us above all. That's why I think freedom of assembly is important. It is the only way to represent our interests. Of course, we often have fun at the rallies. But we would all prefer it if we were to sit in school and not have to worry about our future. (Anzlinger 2019) |
| The market, economy, and develop-ment | *What is the role of the market and development priorities in achieving a desirable future, and how should the economy look like?* | **Moderate:** Climate protection requires a shift towards green growth through market-based mechanisms and ecological modernization. | Grieme, referring to studies not specified in more detail, among others from the Fraunhofer Institute for Renewable Energy, assures that all these requirements are technologically feasible and "the coal phase-out is feasible by 2030". The procedures would "only have to be implemented consistently". (Graw 2019) |
| **Radical:** Protestors criticize a growth-oriented capitalist development model and discuss alternatives such as post-development or degrowth to combat climate change. | An ecological reform policy, i.e. reforms that are carried out on the existing system and are subject to system constraints, cannot be sufficient to contain the drastic dimensions of the coming global climate catastrophe. Averting the worst consequences for all of humanity is incompatible with capitalism. (Konicz 2019) |
| Science and technology | *What role has science and technology in an imagined, desirable future?* | **Moderate:** Climate science is considered neutral and remains unchallenged and should become the guiding framework to assess all climate-related policies and decisions. | FFF are a science-led movement and we have a completely different basis for reasoning. We do not say that we find the financial system unjust, but we say that the financial system destroys our future and the planet because of A, B and C. Of course, a serious approach to the climate crisis brings with it a huge rucksack of other major global and ideological issues. But in the first instance we are committed to the goal. Of course, this must be thought together with human rights and sustainability requirements. (Unfried 2019) |
| **Radical:** Scientific knowledge-making is intertwined with politics and power dynamics. The movement needs to become more political to acknowledge marginalized and underrepresented groups. | I’m afraid that this movement will be reduced to a crowd of people that says not much more than “listen to science.” What we need is to bring the politics behind these scientific graphs and numbers to the streets. Otherwise, we have not much to say. (Interview\_2) |

\*translated by the authors; original sources in German

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