

Bachelor Thesis

**Climate Justice Movements in Germany: A Comparative Analysis of the Framing Strategies
of Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion**

by

Hanna Eske Ahlers (2605538)

Public Governance across Borders

University of Twente in Enschede

1st Supervisor: Dr. A.J.J. Meershoek

2nd Supervisor: Dr. M.R.R. Ossewaarde

University of Twente in Enschede

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Abstract

Fridays for Future (FFF) and Extinction Rebellion (XR) have recently emerged as a new generation of climate justice movements that draws attention to the unequal distribution of climate change impacts. Both movements mobilize large numbers of participants, however, FFF has turned out to be more successful in mobilizing participation than XR, especially in Germany. This thesis examines the research question *“How can differences in the mobilization success of FFF and XR be explained by the framing strategies of both movements?”*. In a qualitative content analysis of frames based on primary data sources from both movements the concepts of core framing tasks and frame alignment are explored as explanatory factors for movement mobilization. As expected, FFF and XR differ regarding their proposed solutions and rationale for engagement. However, FFF’s solutions are more radical than initially assumed. Both movements engage in transformative framing against the theoretical expectation that differences in the mobilization success of both movements can partly be explained by FFF’s engagement in cautious framing which resonates with a wider audience. Based on these findings, the core framing tasks are confirmed as an explanatory factor for movement mobilization whereas the explanatory potential of frame alignment cannot be verified.

List of Abbreviations

BIPOC	Black, Indigenous, and People of Color
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CJ	Climate Justice
CJM/s	Climate Justice Movement/s
FFF	Fridays for Future
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MAPA	Most Affected People and Areas
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
XR	Extinction Rebellion

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1 Introduction

According to the latest report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) human induced climate change is responsible for a global temperature increase of 1,1 degrees from 1850 to 1900. According to the report, global warming will exceed 1,5 degrees in the coming decade unless an immediate and large-scale reduction in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions takes place. Climate change impacts can already be experienced in every region of the planet and will intensify with rising temperatures (IPCC, 2021). However, climate change does not affect all regions and humans equally. Marginalized communities in the Global South suffer most from climate change impacts although they contribute the least to it. These global inequalities regarding the cause and effect of climate change have given rise to the climate justice movement (CJM). Climate justice movements (CJMs) raise awareness on the disproportionate impacts of climate change on economically marginalized people in the Global South and North (Jafry et al., 2019). Fridays for Future (FFF) and Extinction Rebellion (XR) have recently emerged as a new generation of CJMs which has replaced institutionalized forms of environmental engagement with non-violent acts of civil disobedience. They are characterized by high levels of mobilization participation, however, FFF has turned out to be more successful in mobilizing participants than XR, especially in Germany (Haunss & Sommer, 2020).

Movement mobilization is a widely explored topic in the literature on social movements. There are four major literature streams (Almeida, 2019b). Classical theories dominated the discourse on social movements until the 1960s. They focus on structural strains such as unemployment, industrialization, and urbanization to explain the emergence and mobilization patterns of social movements. With the rise of global protest in the 1970s, resource mobilization theory became the prevalent theory. It assesses the explanatory potential of resources such as money, human capital, or organizational infrastructure in relation to movement mobilization. Political process theory emerged in the 1980s and considers the influence of “political opportunity structures” such as institutional access and power constellations on movement mobilization (Sen & Avici, 2016). Framing theory stands in contrast to these theories. Rather than focusing on structural or material factors, it highlights the importance of meaning construction for movement mobilization (Snow et al., 2014). It examines how social movements construct, interpret and contest social grievances to move adherents “from the balcony to the streets” (Lindekilde, 2014, p. 201). The concept of framing was first introduced by Benford and Snow (1986). The authors have developed an arsenal of theoretical concepts to explore the relationship between framing and movement mobilization and transformed the framing perspective into one of the most influential theories in the literature on social movements (Snow et al., 2014).

Literature on CJMs has already made use of the framing concept by Benford and Snow. Della Porta and Parks (2013) apply the framing concept to identify differences within the framing strategies of German

CJMs. They discover differences in the prognostic and motivational framing of more moderate and more radical movements. Multiple studies examine the framing of FFF and XR. However, most are single case studies that analyze the framing of FFF in the media (Huttunen & Albrecht, 2021; Zabern & Tulloch, 2021) rather than examining FFF's framing based on primary data sources (Svensson & Wahlström, 2021; Daniel et al., 2020). Moreover, most of these studies focus on mainstream climate change frames rather than considering climate justice aspects. Only one single case study on XR Norwich (Smiles & Edwards, 2021) and two comparative studies were identified that examine climate justice framing. The first comparative study analyzes the narrative structures in the communication of FFF, XR, and another German CJM in relation to climate justice (Melchior and Rivera; 2021). The second examines the sociotechnical imageries raised in the climate justice framing of FFF and XR (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). However, all studies indicate what Benford labels as “descriptive bias” (Snow et al., 2019, p. 33) in the literature on social movements since they do not consider causal relationships. Only two studies were found that explore framing as an explanatory factor for FFF's mobilization success (Rucht & Sommer, 2019; Haunss & Sommer, 2020).

This thesis examines the climate justice framing of FFF and XR to explain differences in the mobilization success of both movements. It aims to answer the main research question *“How can differences in the mobilization success of FFF and XR be explained by the framing strategies of both movements?”*. The main research question is divided into the following three sub questions:

1. *How do framing strategies affect movement mobilization according to the literature?*
2. *How do the climate justice framing strategies of FFF and XR differ in terms of core framing tasks?*
3. *In which type of frame alignment strategy do FFF and XR engage?*

It thereby fills the research gap in comparative studies on FFF and XR that examine climate justice framing as an explanatory factor for movement success. Moreover, it meets the request for more comparative analyses and research on frame variation in the study of social movements in general (Snow et al., 2014), and climate movements in particular (Moor et al., 2021). Approaching framing perspective, it contributes to an understanding of the concept of climate justice (CJ), climate justice movement's underlying beliefs and informs research on framing and social movement mobilization (Della Porta & Parks, 2013). It is therefore of high scientific relevance. Moreover, this thesis addresses a topic of high social relevance. Climate injustice is one of the biggest challenges of the 21st century that demands immediate action by policymakers to delimit global warming to below two degrees (Jafry et al., 2019). CJMs can exercise great pressure on governments to take more assertive climate change action if they generate enough support (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). Consequently, movement mobilization is a crucial aspect of achieving social change. Moreover, “empirical investigations of

framing hold the potential to influence activist's practice toward greater efficacy in mobilizing recruits" (Snow et al., 2014, p. 39). Insights from this thesis can be used by FFF and XR activists to adjust their framing to increase their movement participation.

The thesis is structured as follows. First, a short background chapter on CJMs in Germany provides an overview of FFF and XR Germany. In the theory section the concepts of framing and collective action frames are explained followed by a discussion of three variable frame features relevant for understanding how framing can impact movement mobilization. At the end of the chapter, the first sub question will be answered (RQ 1). The following chapter elaborates on the case selection and methods of data collection and analysis. Additionally, it discusses potential methodological limitations. The analysis is divided into two main parts. The first part is dedicated to the second sub question (RQ2). Based on the three core framing tasks by Benford and Snow, for each movement it will be determined how climate change is framed as a justice issue, who is blamed for climate injustice (diagnostic framing), how climate injustice should be resolved (prognostic framing) and how participation is encouraged (motivational framing). Afterwards, the core framing tasks will be compared to identify potential differences in the content and coherence. The second part of the analysis seeks to answer the third sub question (RQ3). The question is based on a dichotomous simplification of Benford and Snow's concept of frame alignment. For each movement it will be determined which type of frame alignment it applies. In the end, the findings for both movements will be compared. Based on the research findings for the three descriptive sub questions the main research question will be answered.

2 Mapping the Terrain: Climate Justice Movements

The CJM has emerged as a transnational movement in response to "the environmental challenge of global warming and climate change produced by neoliberal capitalism in the twenty-first century" (Almeida, 2019, p. 366). It arose out of the environmental justice movement which started raising awareness on the disproportionate exposure of black, indigenous and people of color (BIPOC) to environmental hazards from the 1980s onwards (Jafry et al., 2019). The CJM emphasizes that there are global inequalities regarding the cause and effect of climate change. Climate change disproportionately affects future generations (intergenerational justice) and marginalized people in the Global South and North (intragenerational justice) while the Global North and wealthy people contribute most to it. Although scholars question the relevance of climate justice for Germany (Kössler, 2013), the country has experienced an accumulation of CJMs in the last decade. According to Della Porta and Parks (2013) the German CJM emerged as a more radical stream in the climate movement in response to the failure of the UN climate summit in Copenhagen in 2009. It consists of action-oriented movements that consider the Western capitalist system as the root cause of climate change and demand its abolishment to achieve climate justice. In contrast, the more moderate stream within the German

climate movement seeks change within the established structures (Della Porta & Parks, 2013). It believes that climate change is compatible with economic growth and promotes economic, political, and technical innovations (Kössler, 2013). The streams further diverge in their strategies. Radical CJMs engage in more disruptive tactics than moderate movements including acts of civil disobedience (Della Porta & Parks, 2013). The German CJM is further characterized by a strong tendency towards intergenerational justice. This is reflected in the constitutional court case Neubauer, et al. v. Germany in which German CJM activists challenged Germany's Federal Climate Protection Act arguing that it violates the human rights of future generations (Melchior & Rivera, 2021). The rise of FFF and XR determines a new development within the German CJM (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). The movements are successfully mobilizing participants using climate justice frames and thus pushing the topic of climate justice on the political agenda (Melchior & Rivera, 2021).

2.1 Fridays for Future

Greta Thunberg's protests in front of the Swedish Parliament gave rise to the FFF movement in 2018. The transnational grass root movement operates in over 185 countries. It is decentrally organized in regional and local groups (Haunss & Sommer, 2020). FFF Germany consists of 647 active groups that are predominantly organized by young activists (Fridays for Future, 2022b). However, subgroups such as "Scientists for Future" indicate a broad mobilization base. FFF's main form of engagement are non-violent protests (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). It started with weekly school strikes that expanded into global earth strikes that attract thousands of protesters (Wahlström et al., 2020). FFF pressures the German government to comply with the 1.5-degree target in the Paris Agreement (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022a). It has set out three explicit targets for Germany including the attainment of net zero emissions until 2035, a coal phase-out until 2030 and a total energy supply with renewable sources by 2035. These objectives are supplemented by demands for the first 100 days of the new federal government which came into place in December 2021 as well as more concrete targets by regional groups directed towards the respective *State governments* (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022a). FFF raises awareness on climate injustice and seeks to empower people in the Global South (Melchior & Rivera, 2021).

2.2 Extinction Rebellion

XR is a non-violent transitional movement that was formed in 2018 in the UK from the Rise UP! Movement. It is now active in 84 countries and includes 1183 groups worldwide (Extinction Rebellion, 2022a). XR Germany consists of 83 local groups (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022b). It is organized as a holacracy whereby local groups can autonomously carry out actions under the name of XR if they commit to the movement's values and principles (Melchior & Rivera, 2021). In contrast to FFF, it engages in decentral acts of civil disobedience and non-violent direct action such as blockading,

sit-downs, or short hunger strikes. Arrests are another key element within their strategy. Like FFF, XR encourages indigenous people to share their experiences with climate change and promotes climate justice (Smiles & Edwards, 2021). XR Germany has three demands. First, the government must “Tell the Truth!” by declaring a climate and ecological emergency. Second, XR pressures the government to “Act now!” to halt species extinction and reduce its GHG emissions to net zero by 2025. Under their slogan “Go beyond politics” XR demands the establishment of a Citizen’s Assembly on climate justice (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c).

3 Theoretical Background

The concept of frames was first introduced by Goffman (1974). He defined frames as “schemata of interpretations” (Goffman, 1974, p. 21) that enable actors to organize social experiences and guide their action in meaningful ways. According to Goffman, the meaning of objects and situations is created through interpretative processes of meaning construction. Meaning is thereby context-dependent and mediated by existing cultural narratives and structural conditions (Snow et al., 2019). Interpretive frames fulfill three functions. They focus attention by determining what is inside and outside of a frame, they articulate a particular set of meanings by combining different elements of a scene, and they transform aspects of reality into social grievances that require action. Frames are relatively stable constructs as they reflect individuals’ and groups’ culture and experiences (Lindekilde, 2014). However, frame articulators have the capability to reflect on their framing strategy and relate to, disconnect from, or shift between different frames (Svraka & Ossewaarde, 2011). Benford and Snow (1986) were the first to conceptualize the concept in relation to social movements. They developed an architecture of framing concepts to explore the relationship between social movement framing and mobilization and “the role of interpretive processes in mediating this relationship” (Snow et al., 2019, p. 394). This chapter provides an overview of some of their main concepts and discusses three variable frame features that affect the relationship between framing and movement mobilization to answer the first research question “*How do framing strategies affect movement mobilization according to the literature?*”. In the end, it will be discussed how the theory informs the research and an overview of the operationalization of the relevant concepts will be provided.

3.1 Collective Action Frames

According to Benford and Snow (2000), collective action frames are “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that are applied by social movements to legitimize their claims and mobilize potential participants” (p. 614). They differ from interpretive frames in their mobilization function to turn potential adherents into participants (action mobilization), transform bystanders into adherents (consensus mobilization) and demobilize antagonists (counter mobilization) (Snow et al., 2019). Additionally, collective action frames differ in terms of their core framing tasks, rigidity, flexibility,

interpretive scope, and degree of resonance with the targeted audience. They can further be distinguished according to the discursive and strategic processes through which they are generated. An example of the former is frame articulation and elaboration, whereas frame alignment is considered a strategic process. A literature review has revealed that three variable features influence the relation between framing and social movement success, core framing tasks, frame resonance and frame alignment. Discursive and political opportunity structures also affect this relationship (Benford & Snow, 2000). However, they are excluded from the theoretical review since they refer to external factors in the political and cultural environment that influence frames' resonance (McCammon, 2013). This thesis is only interested in factors that are directly linked to social movement framing efforts.

3.2 Factors affecting Movement Mobilization Success

In the following part, the core framing tasks, frame resonance and frame alignment will be discussed. It will be illustrated how these factors impact the success of social movements' framing efforts in terms of mobilization.

3.2.1 Core Framing Tasks

Benford and Snow (2000) determine three core framing tasks relevant for the mobilization of potential participants, diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing involves the identification of a situation as problematic. Another component of diagnostic framing is the attribution of causality and/or blame for the problem. In case the diagnostic frame is an injustice frame, it further involves the identification of victims. Prognostic framing is directed at proposing a solution to the identified problem and includes the definition of strategies, tactics, and goals (Benford & Snow, 2000). It is constrained by the identified problem and the framing activities of opponents. The latter can force social movements in a defensive position or require them to adopt more precise prognoses as intended. However, it can also encourage counter framing referred to as the delegitimization of oppositional movements. Motivational frames entail a "call to arms" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617) or rationale for participation. Social movements issue different reasons for people to engage in collective action including the severity and urgency of the identified problem or the efficiency of their tactics (Benford & Snow, 2000). Benford and Snow apply the concept of consensus and action mobilization by Klanderman (1984). They argue that diagnostic and prognostic framing can convince bystanders to become supporters (consensus mobilization), whereas motivational framing has the capacity to transform supporters into participants (action mobilization). Overall, social movement mobilization success is influenced by the extent to which the three core framing tasks are addressed and interconnected. Framing dilemmas can occur when frames are poorly connected, for instance, when a problem is framed so hopelessly that the proposed solution seems highly improbable (Benford

& Snow, 1988). “The more the three tasks are robust or richly developed and interconnected, the more successful the mobilization effort” (Benford & Snow, 1988, p. 199).

3.2.2 Frame Resonance

Frame resonance is one of the most explored concepts within the literature on social movement framing (McCammon, 2013). Just like the core framing task, frames’ resonance with the targeted audience affects the effectiveness of social movements framing efforts. The credibility depends upon the correspondence between movements’ framing and their actions (frame consistency) and actual events in the world (empirical credibility), as well as the perceived credibility of the frame articulator. The salience refers to the correspondence between movements’ framing and the targeted audience belief systems (centrality), experiences (experiential commensurability) and cultural narrations and inherent ideology (narrative fidelity). The higher the degree of frame resonance, the higher the ability to attract supporters. Two core elements account for differences in the resonance of frames, the credibility of the proffered frame and its salience to the targeted audience. The higher the credibility and salience, the higher the frame resonance (Benford & Snow, 2000). Overall, frame resonance occurs when frames successfully speak to individual’s existing beliefs and experiences, makes them receptive to the movement’s messages and prone to act upon it (Snow et al., 2019). It increases the prospects for movement mobilization and is therefore considered an important factor in explaining the effect of framing on movement mobilization.

3.2.3 Frame Alignment

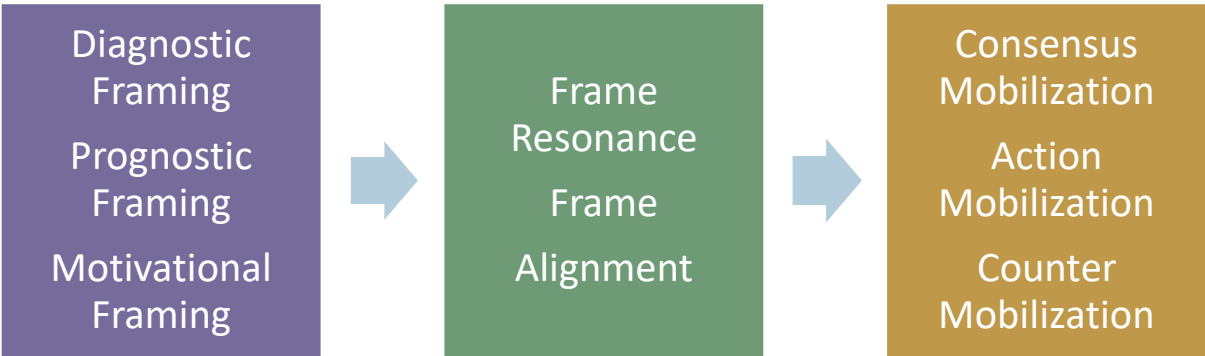
Frame alignment is an indicator of frame resonance (Snow et al., 2019). It can be defined as the linkage between individual belief systems and the social movements’ beliefs, values, interests, and ideological assumptions. According to Snow et al. (1986) social movements engage in four frame alignment processes for the purpose of mobilization, frame bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation. Frame bridging refers to “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (Snow et al., 1986, p. 467). Frame amplification involves “the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values and beliefs” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 624). Social movements identify values and beliefs relevant for prospective adherents and amplify them in their framing. Frame extension occurs when social movements extent their framing to include issues presumed to be relevant for potential adherents and bystanders. It can increase frames’ appeal for a broader audience but narrow framing strategies can be just as effective (McCammon, 2013). Frame transformation differs from the previous alignment processes in its aim to change the way people perceive reality. It is commonly applied when social movements’ convictions do not resonate with people’s lifestyle and foresees the transformation of people’s belief systems (Snow et al., 1986).

Büchs et al. (2015) cluster the four frame alignment processes into two categories, cautious framing, and transformative framing. The former incorporates the processes of frame bridging, amplification, and extension while the latter refers to frame transformation. The core difference between both framing strategies is that cautious framing foresees the adjustment of movements' framing to the attitudes and values of its audience while transformative framing is aimed at changing people's belief systems to link them to the movement's interests and beliefs. According to Büchs et al. (2015) cautious framing strategies "reach out" (p. 310) to a wide audience while transformative strategies tend to "reach in" (p. 310) to movements' adherents. The authors conclude that cautious framing is more successful in mobilizing participation than transformative framing but less effective in bringing about social change since cautious frames do not raise public support for more radical policies. Overall, social movements apply different frame alignment processes to link their interests with those of potential adherence in ways that resonate with them. Movements that seek to mobilize a broader audience beyond adherents tend to engage in frame transformation, while frame, bridging, amplification, and extension is applied by social movements that seek to mobilize adherence and is less successful in terms of movement mobilization.

3.3 Framing Effect on Movement Mobilization Success

Based on the previous theoretical review it can be answered how framing strategies affect movement mobilization. Framing strategies can both increase and decrease movement mobilization. In case the framing strategies include a well-developed and interconnected problem and blame definition, a solution to the problem and a call to action the likelihood for movement mobilization increases. In contrast, poorly developed and connected framing tasks can inhibit movement mobilization. Resonant frames with a high credibility and salience are likely to generate mobilization while frames with low levels of credibility and salience diminish chances of mobilization. The engagement in frame alignment can increase the salience and resonance of movements' framing strategies and thereby the prospects for movement mobilization. Cautious frames that align with people's beliefs are more likely to increase movement mobilization than transformative framing strategies that challenge people's belief systems. which. However, these factors are no guarantee for movement mobilization. For some movements they increase movement mobilization, for others not. This partly results from the multiplicity of factors that impact movement mobilization and mitigate the impact of framing (Snow et al., 2019).

Table 1: Theoretical Overview



3.4 Operationalization

The concepts of core framing tasks and frame alignment will be applied in the analysis. The second question is answered based on Benford and Snow’s concept of core framing tasks. For each movement, it will be determined how climate justice is framed, who is held responsible for the climate injustice (diagnostic frame), how climate injustice should be resolved (prognostic frame), and how participation is encouraged (motivational frame). Moreover, it will be determined how well the core framing tasks are interconnected. The operationalization of the concepts is drawn from literature on CJ and accessible in Appendix II. It is expected that both movements use similar diagnostic frames but differ in their prognostic and motivational framing with XR proposing more radical solutions and being less optimistic about achieving climate justice than FFF (H2). No differences are expected regarding the coherence of FFF’s and XR’s framing strategies (H3). The third research question relates to Büchs et al. (2015) simplification of frame alignment. For each movement it will be determined whether it engages in cautious or transformative framing. The operationalization is drawn from the study by Büchs et al. (2015) and Della Porta and Parks (2013) classification of CJMs accessible in Appendix III. A movement is engaged in transformative framing when it: a) frames capitalism as the root cause of climate injustice, b) seeks anti-capitalist solutions, c) demands political system change, and d) rejects individual blame. Cautious framing refers to the absence of these indicators. XR is expected to engage in transformative framing due to its radical solution approaches whereas FFF is expected to engage in cautious framing proposing more technical and moderate solutions to align itself with its audience (H3). Based on the previous research findings, it will be answered whether the framing strategies of FFF and XR can explain differences in the mobilization success of both movements.

4 Methods

This chapter discusses why FFF and XR were selected for the analysis and provides an overview of the methods of data collection and analysis. It entails a detailed description of the analytical procedure and ends with a discussion of the methodological implications for the validity and reliability of the research findings.

4.1 Case Selection

A comparative research design is considered suitable to analyze the presumed relation between framing and mobilization success. FFF and XR are the most influential CJMs in Germany and were selected due to their relevance in the climate change and justice discourse. They were further chosen based on differences in their mobilization participation. FFF Germany has turned out to be more successful in mobilizing participants than XR Germany (Haunss & Sommer, 2020). It is composed of 647 groups and has the largest membership in international comparison (Fridays for Future, 2022b). Through global earth strikes it attracts several thousands of protesters. The third earth strike on 20 September 2019 is FFF's most successful protest so far, with 1, 4 million German participants. Although its mobilization success declined in the wake of the corona pandemic, FFF could maintain big parts of its mobilization base by switching to hybrid protest formats (Haunss & Sommer, 2020). XR is less successful in mobilizing participation (Stöbe, 2019). It operates through 83 active groups and engages in small-scale and decentralized acts of civil disobedience (Extinction Rebellion, 2022a). During "rebellion weeks" it mobilizes several thousand of activists (Stöbe, 2019). Like FFF, XR experienced a mobilization decline during the pandemic and switched to decentralized and digital actions (Deutsche Welle, 2022). The movements' engagement in climate justice, non-violent confrontational strategies, and identification as transnational movements have further encouraged their selection (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). According to Lindekilde (2014), these similarities allow to isolate the effect of framing on movement mobilization and increase the internal validity of the research findings. The last selection criterion relates to FFF and XR's ideological orientation. Although both movements claim to be ideology-free, they align themselves with values of the political left. However, XR corresponds more to the radical CJ stream due to its anti-capitalist orientation whereas FFF is assigned to the moderate stream in the climate movement due to its less radical actions and stronger focus on technical solutions such as delimiting global warming to 1,5 degrees (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022). The framing analysis will show whether this classification is correct as framing strategies reflect movements' ideological orientations (Lindekilde, 2014).

4.2 Method of Data Collection

In empirical studies on social movement framing, data is either obtained through conducting interviews with movement participants or through collecting movement related documents. Previous studies have revealed differences between movements' framing strategies and the framing of their participants resulting from participant's "predisposition, their exposure to alternative information and the salience of a political issue" (Smiles & Edwards, 2021). Since this thesis examines the relation between movements' framing efforts and their mobilization success, it is interested in the official framing strategies by FFF and XR. The data collection is therefore limited to primary data sources by

FFF and XR. This method enables to identify the movements' perceptions in an unfiltered way and avoids bias by including secondary data (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). Block entries, newsletters, publications, and articles were drawn from the websites of FFF Germany and XR Germany to gain insights on the movement's communication strategy. According to Lindekilde (2014), these data sources are suitable for the analysis of social movements' frames. In particular, articles related to CJ were selected, but not exclusively. The document selection was not delimited to a certain time range due to the thematical focus. For the analysis of FFF a speech and a TedTalk by Luisa Neubauer, the head of FFF, were included as additional sources to gain insights into FFF's motivational framing. For XR's analysis, two books were additionally selected. In "Hope dies-action begins" different activists from XR Hannover explain XR's demands, values and principles from their own perspective. It is not necessarily representative for the whole movement but provides insights into XR's prognostic and motivational framing. From "Wann wenn nicht wir*: Ein Extinction Rebellion Handbuch" a few chapters on CJ were chosen. Moreover, a small selection of articles related to climate justice issues including women, racism, intersectionality, and green colonialism as well as global newsletters was drawn from XR's international website.

4.3 Method of Data Analysis

This thesis applies a qualitative content analysis (QCA). QCA is a method within textual analysis (Lockyer, 2008). It aims to reveal the latent meaning of texts through successive data reduction (Schreier, 2012). QCA assumes that texts are context-specific, can have multiple meanings, and are open to different interpretations by different researchers (Given, 2008). Studies on media frames and social movement framing make use of the method to identify frames (Buzogány & Scherhauser, 2022; Snow et al., 2014; Zabern & Tulloch, 2021). It is therefore considered suitable to analyze the framing of FFF and XR. QCA on frames can methodologically differ regarding the way frames are obtained, identified and the application of tools. Frames can be derived inductively from data or deductively from theory, be revealed through data-reduction techniques, or the coding of entire frames and they can be coded manually or through so-called computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) (Matthes, 2009). CAQDAS such as ATLAS.ti can support the organization, coding, and interpretation of large data sets. Moreover, they provide features (e.g., procedural memos) to document the research process and increase the transparency of the research (Friese, 2019). In this thesis, frames will be derived from theory, they will be coded as entire frames and the analysis will be conducted with the CAQDAS ATLAS.ti.

The QCA of frames is based on Schreier's steps of QCA. First, a coding scheme was built including several categories and subcategories. The codes were derived from Benford and Snow's concept of core framing tasks. Diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames were split into three to four

categories each. Different codes were assigned to each category. They were drawn from literature on CJ. In the next step, the data was divided into units of coding that were assigned to the categories in the coding scheme. For this purpose, a project file in ATLAS.ti was created with the previously collected data. Moreover, the research function of ATLAS.ti was used to search for the pre-defined codes. Before continuing the analysis, the coding frame must be checked for reliability and validity. (Schreier, 2012). In this thesis, intra-coder reliability was checked by coding a sample of coding units at a second point of time during the research process (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). Validity was ensured by determining whether the categories captured the content of the data sufficiently or had to be modified. In the final step, the findings for each movement were interpreted and compared to identify potential differences in the framing strategies.

4.4 Methodological Limitations

The choices regarding the method of data collection and data analysis have implications for the validity and reliability of the research findings (Lindekilde, 2014). According to Matthes and Kohring (2008), QCA of frames raise several challenges related to validity and reliability. The identification and coding of frames is difficult and often falls into a “methodological black box” (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 260) in which the researcher’s impact cannot clearly be determined. By opting for a deductive research design, this thesis limits potential interpretation bias. However, deductive approaches provide less flexibility than inductive designs and delimit the identification of frames to the coding scheme. Nevertheless, a deductive research design is considered suitable due to its frequent use within studies of social movement framing (Daniel et al., 2020; Zabern & Tulloch, 2021).. Validity and reliability were further ensured by the usage of the ATLAS.ti. The software is applied in studies to conduct QCA of frames (Daniel et al., 2020) and considered suitable to organize and collect the data. It facilitated the coding, interpretation, and comparisons of data and increased the transparency of the research process (Friese, 2019). Transparency was further ensured by including the coding scheme and a detailed description of the methods applied. Validity was also ensured through the choice of data collection method. This thesis incorporates a representative data sample that is sufficient in size to obtain valid results (Lindekilde, 2014). The data collection was limited to data published by FFF and XR to identify the movement's perceptions in an unfiltered way and avoid bias by including secondary data (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). Moreover, social media posts have been excluded from the analysis although they constitute a promising new data source for the framing analysis of social movements (Lindekilde, 2014). However, the methodological choices regarding the data collection and analysis were carefully made to ensure the reliability and validity of the research findings.

5 Analysis of the Core Framing Tasks

This chapter presents the main research findings of the QCA of frames. For each movement it was analyzed, how climate justice is framed, who is held responsible for climate injustice (diagnostic framing), what solutions are suggested to resolve climate injustice (prognostic framing) and how participation is encouraged (motivational framing). The chapter ends with a comparison of the climate justice framing strategies of FFF and XR to provide an answer to the research question *“How do the climate justice framing strategies of FFF and XR differ in terms of core framing tasks?”*

5.1 The Framing Strategy of FFF

This chapter discusses the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing of FFF Germany.

5.1.1 Diagnostic Framing

FFF frames climate change as an issue of intergenerational justice. It argues that children and young people are more affected by the climate crisis than former generations (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020c). Moreover, it frames intergenerational justice as a human rights issue arguing that the German government has a responsibility to protect the natural foundations of life for future generations in line with Article 20a of the German Basic Law (Fridays for Future, 2022b). Moreover, FFF addresses climate change from an intragenerational perspective. It argues that countries of the Global South are most impacted by the climate crisis although “the Global North has contributed most to the climate crisis” (Nomhle, 2021, p. 1). Moreover, FFF draws attention to the vulnerable position of people in the Global South emphasizing that they already suffer from “far-reaching and threatening” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020c, p. 1) climate change impacts. It refers to people and countries of the Global South as most affected people and areas (MAPA) (Nomhle, 2021). Moreover, FFF considers climate injustice through lenses of intersectionality. It argues that people who are subject to different forms of social oppression including gender, sexual orientation, race, and class are more affected by climate change whereby multiple forms of discrimination multiply the effect (Morad, 2021). It argues that women and non-binary people are more vulnerable to climate change than “cis-men” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021e, p. 2), especially in the global South, resulting from patriarchal oppression. FFF further argues that economically marginalized people in the Global North and South are most affected by climate change although they contribute least to it and lack economic resources to protect themselves against its consequences (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020e). Last, FFF states that BIPOC are disproportionately affected by the climate crisis whereby racist and postcolonial structures prevent them from being heard and included in international climate negotiations (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021i).

FFF identifies multiple sources for the unequal distribution of climate change impacts. It attributes blame to countries of the Global North including Germany based on three reasons (Fridays for Future

Deutschland, 2019a). First, they bear the historical responsibility for the climate crisis as main emitters of GHG (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021g). Second, political leaders do not fulfil their “responsibility” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020d, p. 2) to delimit global warming below two degrees. Third, they created global power imbalances by (post-)colonially exploiting the Global South (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f). These arguments are built on the assumption that climate injustice is the product of a “racist capitalocene” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f, p. 3). FFF thereby rejects the anthropometric assumption that climate change is a product of humanity (Moore, 2016). Instead, it argues that the Western capitalist system is the root cause of climate injustice based on three reasons (Fridays for Future, 2022a). First, global corporations such as “Chevron, Exxon, BP, and Shell” (Tan et al., 2022, p. 4) are among the main GHG emitters. Second, capitalism goes along with the exploitation of finite resources for “short-term economic profits” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019a, p. 3). Third, it reinforces postcolonial, racist, sexist, and classicist structures that exacerbate climate injustice (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f). Moreover, FFF attributes special blame to the banking sector as main investor in fossil fuel corporations (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021d). Last, FFF emphasizes that no individual can be blamed for the climate crisis (Neubauer, 2019). Overall, FFF frames climate change as a problem of intergenerational and intragenerational justice and human rights violations. It regards young and future generations, women, non-binary people, poor people, BIPOC and MAPA as victims of climate injustice and highlights the intersection between different forms of discrimination. It attributes blame to countries and political leaders of the Global North and considers capitalism as the main cause of climate injustice.

5.1.2 Prognostic Framing

FFF issues multiple solutions to achieve intergenerational and intragenerational justice. First, countries of the Global North including Germany must acknowledge their responsibility for intragenerational injustice “in recognition of historical emissions and neo-colonial dependency relationships” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022c, p. 3). Second, they should implement more ambitious climate mitigation policies and keep their promises to delimit global warming to below two degrees (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020d). Related to Germany, FFF demands an increase of international climate compensation contributions from 4 million to 14 million Euros (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022) in form of “non-repayable funds” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021b, p. 7). It further requires Germany to refrain from ratifying climate damaging global trade agreements (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022c) and demands climate neutrality by 2035. This should be achieved through a “socially acceptable” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022c, p. 3) fossil fuel phase-out including a coal phase-out by 2035, an installation stop for internal combustion engines by 2025, the ending of all fossil fuel subsidies, and the removal of all political obstacles for the expansion of renewable energies (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022c). However, FFF emphasizes that technical solutions are not

sufficient to achieve a climate just society (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020g). It argues that economic growth is incompatible with earth's limited resources and makes the radical suggestion that "the logic of profit itself must be questioned and overcome" (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021d, p. 4). In one article FFF demands the abolishment of financial markets as main investors in fossil fuels (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021c). Luisa Neubauer (2021), however, argues that the financial sector must stop their investments in fossil fuel. There are further contradictions regarding FFF's vision of systemic change. While some FFF activists demand a "systemic overhaul" (Tan et al., 2022, p. 6) others speak of improving the current system (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021c). The abolishment of all form of social oppression including gender, class and race is shared by all activists (Tan et al., 2022). According to FFF, this should be realized through a "gender check" (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021e, p. 3) for policies or reducing public transport costs (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021h). Moreover, FFF promotes inclusive political decision-making processes across all governance levels. For instance, it demands the inclusion of MAPA in international decision-making processes (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f) as they possess valuable knowledge on how to protect biodiversity and cope with climate change (Nomhle, 2021). Moreover, FFF promotes inclusivity within its own movement. In the Lausanne Declaration it states, "we try to be as inclusive as possible and welcome everyone as long as they respect our values and principles" (Fridays for Future, 2019, p. 5).

In terms of strategies and tactics, FFF regards protests and non-violent acts of civil disobedience as legitimate tools to raise awareness on climate injustice (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019b, 2020b). It stresses that FFF itself engages in civil disobedience through "deliberate chosen transgression of the rules" (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019b, p. 1) during weekly school strikes. Counter framing is an essential part of most prognostic frames. FFF delegitimizes mainstream climate change movements for framing climate change as a product of humanity arguing that anthropometric framing obscures inequalities regarding the cause of climate change (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f). Moreover, it strengthens its alliance with CJMs such as "Ende Gelände" and XR stating "even though we have different forms of action, we are united by a common goal" (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019b, p. 2). It further shows solidarity with the anti-racist movement including Black Lives Matter (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020a). Overall, FFF aims to resolve intragenerational injustice through climate compensations and mitigation measures by the Global North, the inclusion of MAPA in international decision-making processes and the revaluation of indigenous knowledge. It demands the abolishment of all forms of discrimination through equalized policies and promotes, despite some contradictions, systemic change beyond capitalism. It engages in protests and non-violent civil disobedience, delegitimizes mainstream climate movements, and shows solidarity to other CJMs and human rights movements.

5.1.3 Motivational Framing

To mobilize people for their actions FFF invokes different reasons for participation. First, it argues that the climate crisis threatens human lives, particularly of people in the Global South (Tan et al., 2022). It further states that the survival of humanity is at stake and human “extinction is a possible outcome” (Fridays for Future, 2019, p. 2) in case global warming is not delimited. Second, FFF encourages participation by stressing the urgency of climate action. It states “we are at the crossroad of history. If we don’t take radical action and make unprecedented changes in all aspects of society right now, the world as we know and love it could be lost forever” (Fridays for Future, 2019, p. 2). It argues that climate justice can still be achieved in case climate change action takes place now (Neubauer, 2019). It further argues that the current legislative period decides whether Germany meets the 1,5-degree target. Third, FFF argues that the present generation has a collective responsibility to fight climate change (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020f) as “the most powerful institutions in the world have no intention of changing the game they are profiting from most” (Neubauer, 2019, 15:00). It argues “the more you are, the harder it gets for people to justify a system that has no future” (Neubauer, 2019, 14:05). Fourth, FFF appeals to people’s individual responsibility (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021i). It argues that everyone can make a difference by becoming a climate activist but emphasizes that individuals should not be blamed for non-engagement since they “grew up in a world which put more efforts in its own marketing than in sustainable action” (Neubauer, 2019, 14:17).

Moreover, FFF appeals to different emotions to encourage participation. One of them is hope. It argues that hopelessness is a privilege it cannot afford since “there is too much at stake for giving up being an option” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021h, p. 2). It inspires hope in three ways. First, it refers to past achievements such as the won constitutional court case Neubauer, et al. v. Germany (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021a). It further emphasizes that its protests have “brought change to people’s minds” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020f, p. 2) Second, FFF also draws hope from setbacks (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2020f). Third, it inspires hope by emphasizing that social change is possible. This is reflected in statements such as “we still have the opportunity and the resources to overcome the crisis” (Fridays for Future, 2019, p. 5). FFF also awakens the feeling of hopelessness. For instance, Luisa Neubauer (2019) states that delimiting global warming is technically possible, “it’s just incredibly, incredibly unlikely” (08:17). However, this is an exemption since FFF preliminary inspires hope. Additionally, FFF invokes the feeling of fear by arguing that the resulting damage from global warming will be irreversible (Fridays for Future, 2022b) and by emphasizing potential consequences of inaction, including the destruction of the planet (Neubauer, 2021) and the end of humanity. Overall, FFF’s encourages movement participation by arguing that indigenous and human lives can be saved, stressing the urgency of climate action, and giving rise to collective and an individual responsibility in

the fight for climate justice through encouragement. FFF's rationale for engagement is preliminary built on invoking hope, but also fear.

5.2 The Framing Strategy of XR

This chapter discusses the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing of XR Germany.

5.2.1 Diagnostic Framing

XR frames climate change as an issue of intergenerational injustice. It states, "we see it as our indispensable task to create a world which is also worth living for future generations" (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c, p. 1). It argues that the German government currently denies the right to an intact planet and equal chances to future generations (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, n.d.). XR further addresses climate change from an intragenerational justice perspective. It argues that countries and people in the Global South are endangered by the climate crisis although they contribute least to it whereas the Global North is least affected despite being the main causer (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a). Moreover, it argues that intersecting power structures including gender, class, and race exacerbate people's vulnerability towards climate change (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c). XR emphasizes that women are more affected by climate change than men, particularly in the Global South "resulting from centuries of patriarchy" (Extinction Rebellion, 2022d, p. 2). It argues that economically marginalized people, both in rich and poor countries are disproportionately affected by the climate crisis and have the fewest resources to adapt to it (Ibrahim, 2019). Further, it emphasizes that the "system was created for privileged white people" (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2020c, p. 2) and "on the backs of BIPOC" (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2020c, p. 2).

XR traces climate injustice back to different sources. First, it attributes blame to countries of the Global North including Germany based on two reasons. First, they are historically seen as the main GHG emitters (Pfaff, 2020). Second, political leaders of the Global North do not comply with the 1,5-degree target (Extinction Rebellion, 2022b). It also attributes blame to specific German politicians and parties (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022b). Moreover, XR argues that "the climate crisis is a crisis of democracy" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 48) based on two reasons. First, the German government is "a lapdog of the economy" (Pfaff, 2020, p. 4) and exclusively represents economic interests of lobby associations and companies. Second, the four-year election cycle prevents politicians from implementing ambitious climate policies (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019). Moreover, XR regards climate injustice as a systemic crisis for which no individual can be blamed (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c). XR states that "we are all part of a toxic system" (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c, p. 8) that is based on "a culture of ruthless consumption and exploitation of people outsourced by industrialized nations, resource depletion, profit maximation and growth-based

economic and financial systems” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c, p. 4). As FFF, XR regards the capitalist system as the main cause of climate injustice based on four reasons. First, it “puts short-term economic profits over the preservation of the planetary system” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a, p. 4). Second, global corporations such as Shell (Extinction Rebellion, 2022b) or the global fashion industry are high GHG emitters and disregard human rights and environmental standards in the Global South (Extinction Rebellion, 2022e). Third, it “is designed to only benefit a few” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2020a, p. 2). Fourth, it builds on “colonialism, genocide and the exploitation of human nature and resources” (Ibrahim, 2019, p. 59) that continues in form of “colonial extractivism” (Extinction Rebellion, 2022c, p. 10) and “green colonialism” (Extinction Rebellion 2022c, p. 6) whereby the latter refers to the conversion of indigenous land. Overall, XR identifies climate change as an intergenerational and intragenerational justice and human rights issue. It identifies future generations, people of the Global South, women, BIPOC and poor people as victims of climate injustice and stresses the intersectional character of climate injustice. It attributes blame to countries and political leaders of the Global North and considers the “toxic” capitalist system including its dominance of the political system as the root cause of climate injustice.

5.2.2 Prognostic Framing

Although XR “has made the strategic decision not to propose concrete solutions to resolve the environmental and climate crisis” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022d, p. 4) it has a clear vision on how to obtain intragenerational justice. First, it demands immediate support programs and funds by countries of the Global North for countries and people of the Global South (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a) as well as restitutions by global corporations such as Shell for indigenous communities that have been subject to colonial extractivism (Extinction Rebellion, 2022c). Second, it demands climate mitigation action by the Global North arguing “the industrialized countries must be the first to prove that we are living up to our responsibility to protect the global climate” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, n.d., p. 4). Therefore, XR demands Germany to become climate neutral by 2025 (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022d). This presumes a coal phase-out by 2025, an end of all livestock farming subventions, the abolishment of all political barriers for the expansion of renewable energies (Pfaff, 2020) and a stop of oil and gas imports from other countries (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a). However, “small print and tech-fixes” (Extinction Rebellion, 2022f, p. 2) are not sufficient to achieve climate justice according to XR. A structural change in all aspects of people’s lives is needed including energy, production, agriculture, consumption, and transport (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a). Beyond that, XR requires a radical transformation of the “toxic system” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c, p. 3) including the economic and political system. XR argues that economic growth is incompatible with the planet’s limited resources and that “the way we think about growth, prosperity, and progress must fundamentally change” (Ross, 2019, p. 196). It promotes

the creation of a regenerative culture based on “love, respect, and community feeling” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022e, p. 8) and envisions a future in which corporations, consumers, and governments are replaced by an active civil society (Ross, 2019). Moreover, XR demands a radical transformation of the democratic system towards a “participatory and real democracy” (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 55). It argues that climate justice cannot be achieved through “top-down party politics” (Ross, 2019, p. 197) and demands the establishment of a Citizen’s Assembly on climate justice (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022d). Moreover, it promotes the abolishment of all forms of social hierarchies, for instance through encouraging people with experiences of discrimination to take up key positions within its movement (Extinction Rebellion, Deutschland, 2022c). Moreover, XR promotes the inclusion of people of the Global South in international decision-making processes arguing that they have “priceless” (Ibrahim, 2019, p. 46) knowledge on how to cope with climate degradation.

5.2.3 Motivational Framing

XR engages in non-violent acts of civil disobedience to articulate its demands (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c) arguing that this form of engagement has proven to be an effective tool in achieving mass mobilization (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c). Arrests are an essential part of its strategy (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2020c). XR delegitimizes movements with less ambitious targets claiming that they fail to highlight the urgency of climate change (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, n.d.). However, it is not exclusively engaged in counter framing. It shows solidarity with all CJMs (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022a) arguing that although they apply different tactics, they share a common goal “the prevention of the climate crisis” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c, p. 4). Overall, XR promotes climate mitigation action and compensation by the Global North and global corporations, the inclusion of people of the Global South in international decision-making processes, the revaluation of their knowledge and the abolishment of all of forms of discrimination as solution approaches to intragenerational injustice. It further demands a radical system change towards an anticapitalistic society and a more inclusive democratic system. Its main form of engagement is civil disobedience, it shows solidarity to other CJMs but also engages in counter framing.

XR provides different reasons for movement participation. The first reason is the saving of indigenous and human lives. XR argues that indigenous populations are endangered by climate change and already die from climate change impacts (Ibrahim, 2019). Moreover, it states that the survival of humanity is at stake arguing that a temperature rise of more than 1,5 degrees causes the “end of humankind” (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022d, p. 3). Furthermore, XR appeals to the collective responsibility of today’s generation stating “what will history say about us? Was this generation the one who did everything possible to leave their children a preserved world?” (Extinction Rebellion

Deutschland, n.d., p. 4). It further points towards people's individual responsibility. It argues that people become "guilty" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 65) when they "refuse to act" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 65) even though they have not caused climate injustice (Extinction Rebellion, 2022e). Last, XR evokes urgency as a reason for engagement. On the one hand, it emphasizes that climate action must take place now since "the hands of the doomsday clock are two minutes from midnight" (Anohni, 2019, p. 68). In relation to Germany, it argues that the current legislation period is decisive to secure a better future (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, n.d.). On the other hand, it invokes the post-apocalyptic scenario of a future in which "the economically optimal time for radical climate policies is already in the past" (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, n.d., p. 10) and the destruction of the planet inevitable (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022e).

The perception and acknowledgement of emotions are an essential part of XR's regenerative culture and motivational framing. On the one hand, XR "rejects any optimism" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 85) and argues that the "courage to rebel for life is based on active concern" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 26) and grief regarding the sixth mass extinction. The relevance of hopelessness for climate action is also indicated in the book title "Hope dies- action begins" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019) On the other hand, XR invokes the feeling of hope in two ways. First, it argues that radical change is still possible if XR mobilizes enough support assuming that a critical mass of 3,5% of the population can achieve social change (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019). Second, it states that it is still possible to "secure a better world for future generations" (Extinction Rebellion, 2022f, p. 4). However, the focus lies on hopelessness, rather than hope. Last, XR invokes the feeling of fear. It argues that fear is a reasonable feeling since "the present can be replaced by a worse future" (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019, p. 44). Overall, XR encourages participation by emphasizing that indigenous and human lives are at risk and by making use of shame mechanisms to evoke individual and collective responsibility. It preliminary evokes feelings of hopelessness, grief, and fear about the future.

5.3 Comparison of the Framing Strategies of FFF and XR

The climate justice framing strategies by FFF and XR can be compared regarding their content and coherence. In terms of content, there are both similarities and differences in the movement's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. FFF's and XR's diagnostic framing include similar problem and victim identifications with the only difference that FFF identifies non-binary people as an additional victim group. The framing strategies also overlap in their attribution of blame. However, XR considers the political system as an additional cause of climate injustice. Moreover, the movements suggest similar solutions within their prognostic framing such as radical changes of the capitalist system (Table 2). However, their proposed solutions differ in terms of the concreteness, immediacy,

and scope of their actions. FFF proposes more concrete solutions than XR. For instance, it makes proposals on how to promote social justice through public policy (e.g., gender check) while XR refrains from making concrete solutions. Moreover, XR demands more immediate actions by the German government (e.g., climate neutrality by 2025) than FFF and its solutions are broader in scope. For instance, it demands a radical change of the democratic system towards bottom-up governance modes. Moreover, it promotes more disruptive tactics (e.g., arrests) than FFF (Table 3). Last, both movements differ in their rationale for engagement. XR invokes participation through shame mechanisms (e.g., individual guilt) while FFF motivates people by emphasizing that individual action can make a difference. Moreover, FFF's motivational framing is far more positive. It invokes hope for a better future while XR's paints the picture of a post-apocalyptic future in which human extinction is inevitable. Although it partly evokes hope, it preliminarily encourages feelings of grief and hopelessness (Table 4).

There are also differences in the coherence of FFF's and XR's framing strategies. FFF's diagnostic and prognostic framing are well connected. FFF's proposed solutions of climate compensation and mitigation by the Global North match its problem identification of intragenerational and intergenerational justice, whereas its demands for inclusive decision-making processes and abolishment of social hierarchies align with its focus on intersectionality. FFF's demand for degrowth perfectly matches its attribution of blame to capitalism. Its motivational framing is less strongly connected with its diagnostic and prognostic framing. FFF's focus on securing human survival leaves out social justice aspects previously raised. The same is true for FFF's strategy to invoke emotions (e.g., reference to past achievements). FFF's appeal to people's individual responsibility is perfectly aligned with its diagnostic framing as it avoids individual blame attribution and FFF's emphasizes on urgency aligns with its proposed solutions for Germany (e.g., climate neutrality by 2035). XR's problem identification, blame attribution and proposed solutions are also well connected. XR puts a strong emphasize on systemic blame within its diagnostic framing which is also reflected in its request for radical system change. However, XR's motivational framing poorly connects to its diagnostic and prognostic framing. First, like FFF, XR's motivational framing is more focused on intergenerational justice aspects than intragenerational justice. Second, the application of shame mechanisms to encourage collective and individual participation contradicts its rejection of individual blame. Last, by picturing climate change as irreversible XR's proposed solutions related to climate neutrality seem unrealistic since they cannot stop climate change. Accordingly, XR's core framing tasks are less connected than FFF's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing.

Based on the previous comparison, it can be answered how the climate justice framing strategies of FFF and XR differ in terms of core framing tasks. The climate justice strategies of FFF and XR differ

regarding their content and coherence. FFF and XR use similar diagnostic frames despite a minor difference in their attribution of blame but differ in their prognostic framing and motivational framing. Accordingly, the second hypothesis can be confirmed. However, FFF’s solutions have proven to be much more radical than expected. Moreover, FFF’s core framing tasks are more coherent than XR’s climate justice strategy. The third hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

Table 2: Comparison Diagnostic Framing

Diagnostic framing	FFF	XR
Problem identification	Intergenerational/ intragenerational injustice	Intergenerational/ intragenerational injustice
Victim identification	BIPOC MAPA Women Non-binary people, Young/ future generations	BIPOC The Global South Women Young/ future generations
Blame attribution	The Global North Capitalism	The Global North Capitalism The political system

Table 3: Comparison Prognostic Framing

Prognostic framing	FFF	XR
Suggested solutions	Climate compensation/mitigation Revaluation of indigenous knowledge Inclusive decision-making processes Abolishment of all forms of discrimination Degrowth	Climate compensation/ mitigation Revaluation of indigenous knowledge Inclusive decision-making processes Abolishment of all forms of discrimination Degrowth Abolishment of top-down governance modes
Tactics	Non-violent protests	Non-violent civil disobedience
Delegitimization of other movements	Mainstream climate movements	Movements with less ambitious targets
Solidarity with other movements	CJMs Black Lives Matter	CJMs

Table 4: Comparison Motivational Framing

Motivational framing	FFF	XR
Reasons for engagement	Save indigenous / human lives Individual and collective responsibility through encouragement	Save indigenous / human lives Individual and collective responsibility through shame mechanisms
Insinuation of emotions	Hope Fear	Hopelessness Grief Fear

6 Analysis of the Frame Alignment Strategy of FFF and XR

This chapter is dedicated to the third research question. For each movement, it was determined whether it adopts its framing to the beliefs and interests of its audience (cautious framing) or whether it aims to change its audience belief system to make them align with its framing (transformative framing). A movement is engaged in transformative framing when it frames capitalism as the root cause of climate injustice, b) seeks anti-capitalist solutions, c) demands political system change, and d) rejects individual blame. The absence of these criteria is an indicator for cautious framing. Finally, the chapter provides an answer to the question *“In which type of frame alignment strategy do FFF and XR engage?”*

6.1 Frame Alignment Strategy of FFF

FFF frames climate injustice as a “racist capialocene” (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021f, p. 3) to challenge the widespread anthropometric belief in human-induced climate change. It considers capitalism as the root cause of climate injustice and therefore meets the first criterion for transformative framing. Surprisingly, FFF demands a fundamental change of the economic system and financial market to achieve climate justice (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2021d). Thereby FFF challenges societal core beliefs in capitalism and meets the second criterion for transformative framing. Although FFF criticizes politicians for not complying with the Paris Agreement, it does not suggest fundamental political reforms to achieve climate justice. Instead, it promotes rather technical solutions (e.g., climate neutrality by 2035) to achieve the climate targets (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2022c). Accordingly, it does not meet the third criteria for transformative framing. However, FFF rejects the widespread assumption of individual blame for climate change (Neubauer, 2019). This is another indicator for transformative framing because it highlights the systemic nature of climate injustice. FFF emphasizes that climate justice can only be achieved through systemic change. Overall, the movement meets three out of four criteria for transformative framing. Accordingly, FFF challenges core beliefs and interests of its audience to build frame alignment. However, it also adopts

its framing strategy to people’s interests, for instance by suggesting more technical solutions within in the current political strategy. Nevertheless, it engages in transformative framing.

6.2 Frame Alignment Strategy of XR

XR’s frame alignment strategy is more clear-cut. It identifies capitalism as the root cause of climate injustice within its diagnostic framing (Extinction Rebellion, 2022c). Accordingly, it fulfills the first criterion for transformative framing. Moreover, it considers the abolishment of capitalism as a necessary step to achieve climate justice (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c). Thereby, it questions core societal interests in economic growth and consumerism and meets the second criterion for transformative framing (Ross, 2019). Furthermore, XR challenges society's trust in the democratic system. It questions the core principle of hierarchical top-down governance structures and advocates more participatory modes of governance based on bottom-up structures (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019). It thereby meets the third indicator for transformative framing. The last criterion is only partly applicable to XR’s framing strategy. XR rejects individual blame regarding the cause of climate injustice (Extinction Rebellion Deutschland, 2022c) but blames individuals for not engaging in climate change action (Extinction Rebellion Hannover, 2019). Despite this ambiguity it can be concluded that XR meets all criteria for transformative framing. By framing climate justice as a systemic crisis that requires solutions outside the established political and economic structures, XR seeks frame alignment by changing fundamental societal belief systems and interests of the targeted audience.

6.3 Frame Alignment Strategies of FFF and XR

Based on the previous analysis it can be answered in which type of frame alignment strategy FFF and XR engage. Both movements engage in transformative framing. They challenge core beliefs and interests of their audience to make them align with their framing strategy. Accordingly, the third hypothesis is only partly true since FFF engages in transformative framing and not as expected in cautious framing. Its solution approaches to climate injustice are far more radical than initially assumed. The third hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

Table 5: Comparison of the Frame Alignment Strategies

Indicators/Movements	FFF	XR
Capitalism is the root cause of climate change	present	present
Anti-capitalist solution	present	present
Political system change	absent	present
Rejection of individual blame	present	present

7 Conclusion and Discussion

This thesis is aimed at answering the research question *“How can differences in the mobilization success be explained by the framing strategies of FFF and XR?”*. To answer the question, it was theoretically explored how framing strategies affect movement mobilization. The theoretical review revealed that framing strategies with richly developed and coherent core framing tasks are likely to increase movement mobilization, as well as resonate frames whereby cautious frames resonate with a wider audience than transformative frames. It was strategically decided to delimit the analysis to the movement’s core framing tasks and frame alignment strategy, since both concepts can easily be operationalized and assessed by means of QCA. In the first part of the analysis, it was explored how the climate justice framing strategies by FFF and XR differ in terms of the core framing tasks. The analysis revealed differences regarding the content and coherence of the core framing tasks. FFF and XR use similar problem identifications and apply similar attributions of blame (diagnostic framing), but differ in their solution approaches, strategies (prognostic framing) and rationale for engagement (motivational framing). However, FFF’s and XR’s prognostic frames overlap more than expected with FFF demanding more radical solutions than initially assumed. Accordingly, FFF can rather be assigned to the radical CJM stream than the moderate one as initially proposed. Furthermore, it was revealed that FFF’s core framing tasks are more coherent than XR’s climate justice framing. Based on the theoretical findings from the first research question, it can be argued that the climate justice framing strategies of both movements positively affect movement mobilization since they entail well developed core framing tasks. However, inconsistencies between XR’s core framing tasks decrease the movement’s chances to mobilize participants. Although FFF’s motivational framing did not perfectly match its diagnostic and prognostic framing, its climate justice framing strategy is coherent and increases its likelihood to mobilize adherents and bystanders. Additionally, the analysis revealed incoherencies within the core framing tasks themselves. They indicate that FFF’s and XR’s framing strategies are shaped by varying interpretations of climate justice by its members. Moreover, inconsistencies within FFF’s prognostic framing could indicate that FFF frames its official demands more moderately than presented in documents on their website to generate higher levels of mobilization. However, the theoretical framework of this thesis does not allow for this type of interpretation. In the second part of the analysis, it was determined in which type of frame alignment strategy FFF and XR engage. The analysis revealed that both FFF and XR engage in transformative framing against the theoretical expectation that differences in the mobilization success of both movements can partly be explained by FFF’s engagement in cautious framing. However, it must be acknowledged that transformative and cautious framing are not two dichotomous categories but form a continuum. Accordingly, it could be argued that FFF’s framing strategy is less transformative than XR’s framing strategy as it meets only three out of four criteria of this category. It does demand changes

in people's mindsets including their beliefs and interests in capitalism and economic growth. However, these changes are less extensive than those required by XR which additionally challenges people's trust in the political system. It could be argued that FFF's framing is more resonant than XR's framing because people can more easily align themselves with framing strategies that demand less extensive changes in individual interests and beliefs. However, in line with the research findings, it is concluded that differences in the mobilization success of FFF and XR cannot be explained by the movement's frame alignment strategies. To finally answer the main question the problem of causality must briefly be addressed. It is difficult to assess the effect of framing on movement success. As already indicated, the identified concepts of core framing tasks, frame resonance, and frame alignment can either increase or decrease the likelihood for mobilization success. However, there is no guarantee that these factors positively affect mobilization due to the multiplicity of explanatory and mediating factors for movement mobilization. Consequently, this thesis aims at explaining how the framing strategies by FFF and XR impact mobilization success according to the theory. Overall, the main research question can be answered as follows. Differences in the mobilization success of FFF and XR can be explained by the coherence of the movement's core framing tasks, but not by their frame alignment strategies. According to the theory, FFF is more successful in mobilizing support than XR because its climate justice framing strategy is more coherent than XR's framing strategy. Its engagement in transformative framing cannot explain why FFF's framing generates more movement participation than XR's framing.

The research findings confirm the explanatory potential of Benford and Snow's concept of core framing tasks whereas Büchs et al. (2015) conceptualization of cautious and transformative framing could not be verified as an explanatory factor for movement mobilization. On the one hand, it could be concluded that Büchs et al. (2015) might have underestimated the mobilization capacity of transformative frames. However, this conclusion would not explain why XR attracts less support through its transformative framing than FFF. On the other hand, the results of the analysis could be attributed to the concept's operationalization. Büchs et al. (2015) criteria for transformative framing were designed for low-carbon lifestyle movements and therefore adopted to CJMs based on Della Porta and Parks classification of CJMs. If other criteria had been included in the operationalization, the result might have been different. Therefore, this thesis encourages researchers to apply Büchs et al. (2015) conceptualization of frame alignment in studies on CJMs to further develop its operationalization and verify its explanatory potential for movement mobilization. An inductive research design could also have led to different findings. The deductive research design limited the analysis to the pre-defined categories of the coding scheme. Further limitations concern the data collection. As already indicated, social media post could have enriched the analysis with valuable insights. Moreover, the inclusion of newsletters by XR global and a book by XR Hannover may have distorted the results as they might not be representative for XR Germany. The data collection method

further delimited the analysis to the core framing tasks and frame alignment. Future research could explore frame resonance as another explanatory factor for movement mobilization by conducting interviews with participants of FFF and XR. Moreover, future research is encouraged to analyze the climate justice framing of FFF' and XR's participants to see whether and to what extent they have internalized the climate justice frame since studies indicate differences between participant's framing and the overarching movement framing (Smiles & Edwards, 2021). Despite the methodological limitations, the reliability and validity of the research findings was ensured throughout the research process. The deductive research design delimited the interpreters influence on the research findings, the application of ATLAS.ti increased the transparency of the research and a large and representative data sample secured valid results. Moreover, this thesis produced valuable theoretical insights regarding the explanatory potential of framing for movement mobilization and has important practical implications for CJMs. First, CJMs can increase their chances of movement mobilization through coherent framing strategies. Second, transformative framing strategies can resonate with a large audience. Accordingly, CJMs should not refrain from proposing solutions that challenge the status quo. By challenging mainstream perceptions of climate change, this thesis itself is socially relevant. Accordingly, this thesis has important theoretical implications for the research on movement mobilization and practical implications for CJMs and is therefore of high scientific and social relevance.

8 References

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9 Appendix

9.1 Appendix I: Data Appendix

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9.2 Appendix II: Coding Scheme Core Framing Tasks

Theoretical Concept	Category	Code
Diagnostic frame		
	The main problem is defined	Intergenerational injustice Intragenerational injustice Intersectionality
	Identification of victims	Global South BIPOC Women Non-binary people Young/ future generations
	Blame/causality is attributed	Global North Politicians Global capitalism No individual blame
Prognostic frame		
	Suggested solution to the problem	Empowerment of BIPOC Inclusive decision-making processes Revaluation of indigenous knowledge Climate compensation Systemic overhaul Degrowth Climate mitigation
	Strategy/tactics of the movement	Non-violent civil disobedience Protests
	Delegitimization of other movements	Tech-fixes Human-made climate change
	Solidarity with other movements	Global CJM Human rights movements Common goal
Motivational frame		
	Rational for engagement	Save indigenous lives Save human lives Individual responsibility Collective responsibility Urgency
	Insinuation of positive feelings (hope)	Change is possible Effectiveness of actions
	Insinuation of negative feelings (hopelessness, fear, grief)	Irreversible Human extinction No future

9.3 Appendix III: Coding Scheme Frame Alignment

Theoretical Concept	Category	Code
Transformative Framing	Capitalism as the root cause of climate injustice	Capitalocene Global corporations
	Anti-capitalist solutions	Degrowth Economic system change
	Political system change	Crisis of democracy Participatory governance modes
	Rejection of individual blame	System change No individual blame

* Cautious framing is operationalized as the absence of all indicators

Affidavit for the Bachelor Thesis

I, Hanna Eske Ahlers, certify that I have written this paper independently, using only the sources and aids indicated.

I further declare that the present work has not yet been submitted within the scope of any other examination procedure.

Oldenburg, the 29th of June 2022

Eske Ahlers