

You Spy With Your Little Eye

Multimedia Insights into a Global Movement from a Grassroots Perspective

Carolin Jaschek

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Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



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Abstract

The increasing feeling of systemic failure among the public gives rise to a growing number of social movements including the climate movement. The global environmental organization 350.org focuses on building, connecting, and empowering the grassroots climate movement by initiating and facilitating different campaigns, e.g. the Fossil Free (FF) Campaign. I conducted in-depth interviews of grassroots activists of the local FF groups in Münster, Germany and Lund, Sweden, and one 350.org employee; based on these interviews, I examined the relationship and interdependencies between the local grassroots groups and the global movement 350.org as new, hybrid social movement organizations in terms of framing, identity and leadership. Through thematic content analysis and more specifically the framework approach I made use of the generated data.

The main findings are that while the umbrella organization 350.org facilitates and coordinates global action, the local groups can act very independently and adapt the concepts to their local context. At the same time, their identity is highly influenced and shaped by the movement. One identity-building element is the framing of climate change as Pandora's box within 350.org, but also within the local groups. Leadership is organized in a very democratic way on a local level, but gets more hierarchical within the organization. This is coherent with Tarrow's theory of hybrid organizations. Digital media are of deciding function in the internal and external communication as well as in the information gathering for the local groups. The global community was identified as the most unifying, hope giving and empowering element for the activists. Therefore, the umbrella organization is of deciding function for the local groups and the whole movement, logistically and emotionally.

The interviews were recorded on video and the edited material is part of this thesis which adds complementary layers of information to it. The reader is therefore able to form an own opinion about the generated data and their interpretation. With this approach, I am making a significant methodological contribution to the use and applicability of audio-visual media in social research.

Keywords: Fossil Free, Divestment, 350.org, New Social Movements, Leadership, Identity, Framing

Word count: 13 907

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Without any exaggeration I think I can say that the last two years in Lund changed my life. I got to know marvellous people during my Sweden experience, both inside of LUMES, but also in the Westside, in Stenkrossen, Blå Vinden, the Kingdoms of Gunnesbo and Delphi and Wermland's basement. I am grateful for having met all of you guys! It was an enriching and inspiring period that I will always keep in good memory.

With this in heart and mind, I am looking forward to the next chapter.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

FF	Fossil Free
GDD	Global Divestment Day
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WUNC	Worthiness, Unity, Number and Commitment

“Only mass social movements can save us now!”

Klein, 2014: 450

1 Introduction

In her recently released book with the meaningful title “This Changes Everything”, Naomi Klein draws a very dark image of our time. The subtitle “Capitalism vs the Climate” gives a glimpse on what it is about: either humanity can stick to capitalism or we can save the planet. As elites are sticking to the capitalist system, humanity needs social mass movements to realize change towards a livable future (Klein, 2014: 450).

The fact that we face a transition or might be in the middle of it already is agreed upon by several researchers (Harrison, 1992: 248, 323ff; Raskin et al., 2002: 7). The upcoming “planetary phase” as projected by Raskin et al. (2002: 3) is mainly characterized by globalization, which is shaped by growing human population and economies, globally connected information and communication systems, changing values, but also fundamentalist terrorism, and last but not least climate change (Becker, 2014: 15ff). The transition to the new phase is inevitable, but there are still different scenarios conceivable for our future, all departing at a world on unsustainable paths (Raskin et al., 2002: ix). This shows on several levels: planetary boundaries are crossed one after the other (Steffen et al., 2015), not to mention social boundaries (Raworth, 2012) illustrated in an exemplary way by mostly unrealized Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2012). Even though an inclusive and sustainable future is possible, time and the continuity of business as usual are running against the option of a new sustainability paradigm (Raskin et al., 2002: 10). In 2009, parties to the United Nations Framework Convention to Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2009) have agreed to cut down greenhouse emissions in order to limit global warming to 2°C temperature rise, compared to pre-industrial temperature levels (Symon, 2013: 5). This target is at risk, which is mainly grounded in the fact that fossil fuel reserves are approximately three times higher than the maximum amount humanity is allowed to burn in order to keep global warming below 2°C (McGlade & Ekins, 2015: 187). This means that worldwide 80 % of the coal reserves, 50 % of the gas reserves, and a third of the oil reserves must not be touched (McGlade & Ekins, 2015: 187).

Bill McKibben, a founder of the global environmental movement 350.org, published an article in the Rolling Stone in July 2012 that came to the same conclusion (McKibben, 2012a). As a reaction to these alarming numbers, the Fossil Free (FF) Campaign was launched in November 2012 by 350.org (Fossil Free, 2013). Its core claim is the divestment from fossil fuels by universities, cities and institutions.

As the monetary damage of the divestment is relatively small (Asnar, Caldecott & Tilbury, 2014: 12), the campaign’s main goal is the stigmatization which has the power to challenge the fossil fuel companies’ operating and legislative environments (Asnar, Caldecott & Tilbury, 2014: 72). The campaign has three intended outcomes: fossil fuels shall be left in the ground, fossil fuel companies shall change towards renewable energies, and governments shall enact anti-carbon legislation (Asnar et al., 2014: 9).

The thesis is built in the following way: the present chapter gives an introduction to the topic. In section 2, I present the methodology, which guides the results in section 3. In the results section, the findings of my fieldwork are put into a theoretical context of social movements, framing, identity, leadership and communication. This is done as meaning is assembled in the interplay of these two sources – findings

and theory – of information. Furthermore, this procedure provides the reader with thematically clustered information and avoids leaping back and forth. Chapter 4 discusses the results and further implications, and section 5 summarizes the thesis.

1.1 Research Context and Aim

Raskin et al.'s (2002) claim for transitioning to a new sustainability paradigm is the starting point and the overarching framework of this thesis. The FF movement is a serious and promising attempt towards this transition. As a master's student of Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science, I am deeply committed to that goal and therefore my research shall be a contribution to a sustainable future for the world. My involvement in the local FF campaign in Lund as well as my believe in the movement's power lead my research. With this attitude, I perfectly fit into the tradition of action researchers who commit themselves to the aim of bringing change as part of the research act (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003: 15). In line with the transdisciplinary approach of sustainability science, my research is based on knowledge and information stemmed from non-academic sources.

The aim of my thesis is two-fold: on one hand, the insights from my research on the relation between global movements and their local grassroots groups support the climate movement by understanding internal mechanisms. On the other hand, I want to make a methodological contribution to social research with the method of video interviews and their inclusion in this multimedia document¹.

The first entry point of my research was Hestres' (2014, 2015) research on internet-mediated advocacy organizations. He examined questions regarding communication and mobilization strategies and the underlying assumptions behind those strategies (Hestres, 2014: 324). One of the organizations he portrays is 350.org. Using in-depth interviews with "key staff" (2014) and "top online strategists" (2015), Hestre's findings are highly relevant and informative. Nevertheless, his work lacks the perspective of a notable group of people: the thousands of activists that make the climate movement happen on the ground. Therefore, my primary source of information are people at the lower end of the organizational hierarchy, i.e. members of those local groups. I am for a holistic representation by comparing and connecting my findings with Hestres'.

Secondly, in a personal email communication a 350.org employee wrote: "350 strives to not be about 350 as an organization, but wants to focus on building, connecting and empowering the grassroots climate movement" (M. Mattauch, personal email communication, January 22, 2015). This made me wonder how their members would perceive 350.org and why. Additionally, 350.org does not monitor or evaluate their strategy among their members. So there is no clear image of who those activists are and why they join the movement. My thesis will help fill this gap and enable further recommendations for 350.org / the FF movement.

1 Appendix 4 provides an extensive manual on how to read this multimedia document.

Moreover, my findings could initiate a process of reflexivity within the grassroots groups in Lund and Münster and give them a tool at hand to not only examine their internal group processes critically (Sutherland et al., 2014: 775), but also to compare themselves with the other group and learn from each other.

1.2 Research Question

Based on the considerations in section 1.1, I developed the following research question:

How do international movements like 350.org influence local grassroots groups like in the FF movement in terms of leadership, identity and framing?

My source of first hand information was interviews that I conducted with eight FF activists and one 350.org employee. Rooted in a constructivist approach, I want to give the reader as many opportunities as possible to make her own image of this source of information which is why I recorded and shared the interviews with the reader in this multimedia document. Therefore, the answer to the research question will not only be presented by me; every reader is encouraged to find her own answers by watching the videos². Accordingly, videos as a means of research will also be investigated in this thesis.

² Appendix 4 provides an extensive manual on how to read this multimedia document.

2 Case and Methodology

In this section, I present the case study as well as my ontological and epistemological approach. Furthermore, I explain my research design and my methodology I elaborate more in depth why and how I applied the chosen methods to generate data to answer my research question. Finally, I summarize ethical considerations in the context of social research and especially interviews.

2.1 Case Study: 350.org and the Fossil Free campaign

Due to my personal interest in 350.org and their FF campaign, I chose them as my case study following an action research approach. The global environmental movement 350.org was founded in 2007, when McKibben and six undergraduate students wanted to build “a global grassroots movement to solve the climate crisis” (Hestres, 2014: 329). Their “online campaigns, grassroots organizing, and mass public actions are led from the bottom up by thousands of volunteer organizers in over 188 countries,” (350.org, 2015). One of those campaigns is the FF campaign. 350.org provides coordination and support for local initiatives who aim to persuade their targets to divest from fossil fuels. In March 2015, 50 billion USD were divested from fossil fuels and more than 180 cities, universities, institutions and foundations have followed the call for action around the globe (FF, n.d.-d) and committed to divestment (Fossil Free, 2015). Recently, The Guardian joined in with their campaign “Keep it in the ground” (The Guardian, 2015) that initiated The Guardian Media Group’s own divestment, so far the largest divestment commitment (Carrington, 2015).

The movement 350.org initiates so-called coordinated action moments, which makes all different local initiatives visible to the public on the same day, giving the impression of a powerful and global movement. The local grassroots can use those dates to organize events, demonstrations or similar. Online tools, such as social media, help to facilitate these strategic offline actions (350.org, 2015). Global Divestment Day (GDD) was one of these coordinated action moments. It took place on February 13th and 14th and was executed in form of 450 GDD events in 60 countries (Fossil Free, 2015).

2.2 Ontology and Epistemology and Reflexivity

My thesis is written under the assumption of a constructivist paradigm. The inherent relativist ontology implies that there is no one reality, but there are different representations of reality and meaning is accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2012: 33). The aim to understand human behavior is examined in a subjectivist epistemology on which I rely in this thesis (Bryman, 2012: 28).

Action research takes knowledge as neither objective nor value-free, but perceives it as highly socially constructed in a normative system “in favor of an explicitly political, socially engaged, and democratic practice” (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003: 11ff). Action research trusts in affected and involved people’s knowledge and their ability to reflect. In this spirit, the eight grassroots activists I chose for this study are themselves organized in the FF campaign and I consider them as experts for my research question. One official representative of 350.org will complement the picture with her point of view. Employing

those subjectivist expressions will cumulatively comprise the meaning of the world – or in this case of the researched question (Kenny, 2015: 17).

In the constructivist approach, interviews are understood as data generation instead of collection (Byrne, 2012: 208; Pink, 2007b: 98). The data generated by conducting interviews does not consist of facts; rather, interviewees give representations of their experiences (Byrne, 2012: 209). Together with the interviewer, meaning is assembled (Holstein & Gurbirum, 1995: 28f) and this researcher-provoked data would not exist without this particular data generation (Silverman, 2007: 404).

Seeing that the interviewer makes a relevant contribution to the course of the interview, reflexivity should be an important part of the research process (Byrne, 2012: 2013). Factors that may affect the answers can be gender, age, social class, ethnicity, spoken language, the researcher's attitude towards the researched topic (if known), and other characteristics of the researcher (Silverman, 2007: 85; Williams & Heikes, 1993: 281; Aarts, 2014).

2.3 Research Design

The data generation for my thesis was two-fold, combining primary and secondary sources. The ground-work consists in a literature review, which I needed in order to design my questionnaire. The literature review is backed up with information gathered in qualitative video interviews and via observation, which informed my tacit knowledge. For the data analysis, I made use of content analysis and thematic content analysis.

2.3.1 Data Generation

In my research, practical orientation and high academic standards are combined (Bryman, 1995: 204f). Therefore I conducted action research which „seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others [...]“ (Reason & Bradbury, 2001: 1). It is an interdisciplinary approach that is rooted in different academic disciplines to which I added the professional field of film production. The unifying element is the aim to generate knowledge that is valid and at the same time beneficial for society on a collective and an individual level in order to achieve a social change in a democratic way (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003: 11).

The case study illustrates the answer to my research question. A second case would increase my research's credibility and provide insights into a second cultural context. I chose Münster because it is a student city, relatively similar regarding distribution of population and infrastructure to Lund³ (Lunds Universitet, 2013; Stadt Münster, 2014) (see videos 1 and 2). Additionally, the FF movement is at an advanced status of mobilization in both cities, but has not had its breakthrough yet in terms of confirmed divestment by the municipality or the university. Münster was also chosen for pragmatic reasons regarding traveling distances, time and money.

3 Even though Münster it is nominally bigger than Lund, in the respective national context the cities play in the same league.



Video 1: Extras Lund – Impressions Lund (7.1)



Video 2: Extras Münster – Impressions Münster (8.1)

Qualitative interviews are purported to be the most adequate way of generating data regarding people's experiences and world views (Silverman, 2007: 20), as well as to reveal individuals' attitudes, values and opinions (Byrne, 2012: 209). Moreover, this method can be an appropriate means to explore and monitor opinions of voices and groups that are not represented enough (Byrne, 2012: 209) like people at the base of big organizations. I used first-hand standardized open-ended interviews following the same interview guide for all activists, which was adapted for the 350.org's employee (see Appendix 1). Empathetic, active listening, and room for queries was given (Noaks & Wincup, 2004: 80; Silverman, 2007: 110).

In terms of language, there were some considerations. Most of the interviewees in Lund as well as the interviewer are international students used to communicate in English. However, except for one person being a native speaker, English remains a foreign language, which limits the linguistic possibilities to some extent. In Münster, all interviews were conducted in German, the native language of all interviewees and the interviewer. I considered the differing language conditions in terms of comparability of the results, but after consulting my supervisor I came to the conclusion that it was more important to make people feeling as comfortable as possible instead of using the same language in both cases.

As I am investigating an organization respectively its grassroots groups the research setting is closed and I had to gain access via a gatekeeper (Silverman, 2007: 81). I started with contacting the formal representatives of 350.org, an approach that finally lead to Tine Langkamp, who works as the German FF campaigner for 350.org and lives in Münster. To find my activist interviewees, I contacted a member of FF Lund who I already knew personally. With her, a snowball sampling approach began (Bryman, 2012: 202). To get in touch with the members of FF Münster, I wrote them an email. Three active

members answered it positively. Eventually, I conducted video interviews with eight members of the FF movement: five in Lund, Sweden, and three in Münster, Germany.

In organizational research, in order to get an extensive, two-sided picture both the individual worker as well as “the company” itself need to be considered (Bryman, 1995: 1). I transferred this approach to the non-profit sector and my research, which is why I interviewed Tine as an official employee of 350.org, too. As the emphasis lies clearly on the activists, one official representative of 350.org was enough to grasp the organization’s point of view. I assume that this employee, even though she is the national coordinator for the FF campaign in Germany, is able to represent the global organization’s official standpoint. Regardless, she will bring in her personality and therefore, a certain bias is unavoidable.

Videos 3, 4 and 5 introduce my interviewees.



Video 3: Extras Lund – The Local Group (7.2)



Video 4: Extras Münster – The Local Group (8.2)



Video 5: Presentation (0.)

If the research result is not intended to be generalized later on (Neuendorf: 2010, 281), the aspect of authenticity is weighted higher than the question of representativity in qualitative research (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995: 26). Therefore, a set of nine interviewees in total sufficiently satisfies the needs and scope of this research.

In the tradition of anthropology, I „investigate[d] social life by participating in it — by being there in real situations and observing from a theoretically informed perspective“ (Kenny, 2015: 4). I wanted to conduct the fieldwork at a coordinated action moment by 350.org, which is why I selected the second weekend of February, when Global Divestment Day was held. I participated in the manifestation of the FF movement in Lund. By doing this, I was able to view and testify events, actions, norms, etc., with my Lundian interviewees' eyes (Silverman, 2007: 68).

The interviews took place in meaningful locations (see section 2.3.4) and were recorded with a video camera and a sound recorder. The setting was a classic interview situation.

In reviewing the first set of interviews, I realized that I had missed out on some information regarding the identity of the FF movement itself. Following the zigzag-method, I included two more questions in the second set of interviews (Rivas, 2012: 369) which I conducted in Münster ten days after the interview sessions in Lund. After having conducted all interviews, they were transcribed and the German interviews were translated to English.

The video editing was mainly done with the software Final Cut, but also with Premiere. Two film production agencies gave me access to their computers, facilities as well as their knowledge and support.

2.3.2 Data Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was done in a combination of a priori and an inductive approach (Ryan & Bernard, 2003: 88). The transcripts were analyzed on the base of thematic content analysis. This method reveals how individuals perceive a phenomenon, an event or interaction (Rivas, 2012: 367). Specifically, I applied the framework approach (Bryman, 2012: 579; Rivas, 2012: 382; Gale et al., 2013: XX), which implies thematic fields divided in core- and subthemes as units of analysis; i.e. defining thematic categories is the starting point (Ryan & Bernard, 2003: 86).

Deductively, I started with five major themes, namely leadership, identity, framing, communication and personal motivation which were chosen due to preassumptions. Those themes were also the basis for my interview guide. In the review of the interviews, I used the inductive approach and could identify sub-themes⁴.

The analysis of video material including its categorization and coding can be a difficult task (Luff & Heath, 2012: 258). I used the written framework as a pattern to edit the audiovisual material in a

4 The titles of the movies are the titles of the sub-themes. See Appendix 5 for a full list of themes and subthemes.

The integration of the videos in the analysis can be a challenge (Luff & Heath, 2012: 275). The most coherent solution in this case is the inclusion of the edited videos in the results sections or in the place where the written content refers to them. The complete interviews can be found in Appendix 6 as a sort of reference work.

2.3.4 Interviews and Space

The importance and meaning of the location in which an interview is conducted are often ignored (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 651). However, two major considerations should come into play, when choosing a place for an interview (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 649). The first is of practical matter and concerns the accessibility and practicability of the place. The latter is especially important regarding the audio-visual recording which implies a place that is fairly quiet and depending on the weather, it should be sheltered and dry. Second, the interview location is reflecting the power relation between interviewer and interviewee as well as the relationship between the interviewee and the site, i.e. the location puts into context the participant and her multiple social roles and identities (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 652). It thereby underpins the interviewee's expertise and perceived power regarding her contribution to the research process (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 654). These factors can influence the answers given by the participant. Having them in mind during the interview can help the researcher to understand information given by the interviewee (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 653).

The interviews were conducted in places that the interviewees relate to FF / 350.org (see Appendix 2). By doing so, I took into account how those locations could influence the interviewees' behavior and answers (Kenny, 2015: 6, Byrne, 2012: 208). I wanted to activate a certain stock of knowledge in the participants (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995: 33f), i.e. they were supposed to be in a certain mood supporting their social role as activists. This should ensure that they answered primarily as FF members and 350.org employee and not as private individuals. Furthermore, I wanted to give the participants the feeling of being the experts and therefore of power as I consequently expected them to answer more freely and self-confidently (Elwood & Martin, 2000: 655). In addition to the location connecting the interviewees to their social role, I tried to time the interview appointments accordingly. This second strategy was successful in Lund, but delayed in Münster due to logistical reasons.

2.4 Multiple Triangulation

By employing different qualitative research methods, i.e., in this case literature review, qualitative interviews and observation, data, and methods are backed up (Silverman, 2007: 411). Different perspectives which illustrate social phenomena in an extensive way (Silverman, 2007: 51; Bryman, 2012: 717) are a reoccurring theme in this thesis. This is reflected in the choice of methods, but also in the variety of interviews. The group size of nine interviewees fosters the validity of the research as they present different viewpoints in several regards and anecdotalism may be avoided (Silverman, 2007: 47). The expert interviews are underpinned with findings from the literature review. Recording the interviews on video contributes another form of data including nonverbal communication.

However, it is important to acknowledge that triangulation is not a tool to represent “the truth” (Spicer, 2012: 484). Following the post-modernist idea, diversity, and contradictions are part of the research (Spicer, 2012: 485). Denzin (2009: 313) introduces the term of multiple or critical triangulation that combines multiple observers, theories, methods, and data sources, based on the assumption that “objective reality will never be captured” (Denzin, 2010: 271). This approach still requires inclusion of different perspectives via different research methods, and each has certain pros and cons in addressing certain research questions (Spicer, 2012: 485). However, critical triangulation does not claim to produce a consistent image of reality (Spicer, 2012: 487). This is why multiple triangulation also asks for multiple researchers in order to avoid personality biases (Hakim, 2012: 174; Denzin, 2009: 312), a criterion which could not be fulfilled in this research. Denzin (1989: 235f) also insists in sophisticated rigor i.e. the transparency of the empirical and interpretative schemes, which is why I provide extensive background information of my research process.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in academic research have many aspects. In terms of situational ethics, the ongoing reflection on the relation between researcher and participants is crucial (Tracy, 2010: 847). Self-reflexivity has an important standing in this thesis. Furthermore, interviewees have to be protected from harm in any situation of the research process (Byrne, 2012: 214). This includes topics like disclosure, consent and anonymity. In my research, applying the method of video recording, the case was different. As I publish the audiovisual material, I consulted all interviewees and informed them extensively. I covered procedural ethics (Tracy, 2010: 847), and obtained a written declaration of consent that allowed me to do so. Plus, this declaration contains the clause that the interviewees had the right to inspect or approve the finished video recording, if they wished to (see Appendix 3). This also refers to the relational and exiting ethics, which take into consideration mutual respect and argue for a common design of the setting as well as reflections on the use and publication of the generated material (Tracy, 2010: 847).

3 Theories and Fieldwork Results

In the following section, I present the theoretical findings from my literature review in connection with the grassroots perspective of my interviewees which are indented in the text. These summarized and interpreted answers are followed by the edited videos in which the interviewees' statements can be found. I highly recommend you take a quick look at Appendix 4, which is a short manual on how to read the following paragraphs.

I start with a closer look on social movements and their contemporary form in order to put my research question into context. I then go into the topic of digital media as the most widely used way of communicating in environmental organizations. This is followed by sections dealing with framing, identity and leadership on the evidence of the relation between 350.org and the FF movement.

3.1 Social Movements

The increasing feeling of systemic failure among the public gives rise to a growing number of social movements (Hestres, 2014: 326). They are rooted in changing political opportunities and constraints in terms of political institutional structure or economic and cultural factors (Kolb, 2007: 52; Tarrow, 2011: 264f). Contentious politics is the response of those who make use of a repertoire of collective action that creates new opportunities (Tarrow, 2011: 28f). Figure 2 illustrates the evolution and characteristics of social movements: they evolve in a given political and social context, initiated by well-structured social networks, which are built by communities and formed by different identities. Those social networks articulate a claim against a certain authority with the help of their repertoire of contentious politics fostered by opportunities, hindered by constraints. If they are successful, their efforts will lead to a sustained public interaction in collaboration with the opposition. The whole process is characterized by cycles of contention, i.e. ups and downs in the level of contention (Crossley, 2005: 51).

The political outcome of a social movement is dependent on the strength of the movement, i.e. regarding mobilization and its strategy. Another indicator for a movement's success is Tilly's WUNC-model which assesses the display of its **W**orthiness, **U**nity, **N**umbers and **C**ommitment (Tilly, 2004: 4).

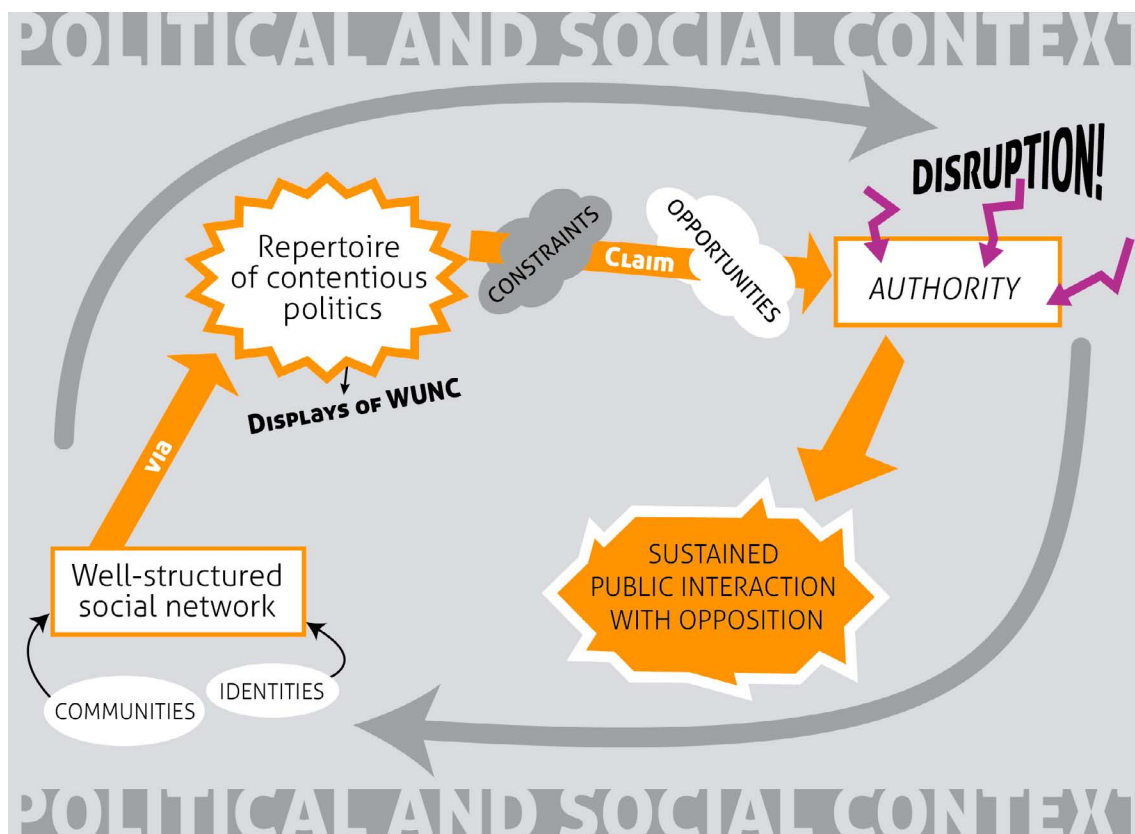


Figure 2: The Evolution and Characteristics of Social Movements. Other causal mechanisms of political change besides disruption are public preference, political access, judicial, and international politics mechanisms. Own illustration, based on Tarrow (2011: 33), Tilly (2004), Kolb (2007) and a model by Philip Holtam in the Social Movements Course by Turaj Faran, LUMES Batch 17, Lund University, December 2014.

If activists perceive the government, society and pre-existing organizations as being incapable to solve a problem, they can feel the need to start a social movement (Hestres, 2014: 326). In the light of the dimension of climate change, several climate change organizations including 350.org understand this problem as being too big to be solved with traditional issue advocacy, emphasizing grassroots and bottom-up activism (Hestres, 2015: 201). 350.org describes itself to be “building a climate movement” (350.org, n.d.-a) and quotes the CNN to have called it “the most widespread [movement for] political action in the planet’s history” (350.org, n.d.-b). They have a claim (“we need to get below 350 ppm CO₂”), and an authority (“our leaders”), which they challenge. Within the FF campaign, the demand for divestment is part of the repertoire. On the campaign website, this tactic is presented as a tool for social change (Fossil Free, n.d.-b). 350.org and consequently the FF campaign rely on a very well-structured social network, which is strengthened by digital media.

3.1.1 New Social Movements and Digital Media

New social movements are a contemporary form of collective action (Buechler, 1995: 441). Problems tackled by new social movements do not concern materialistic issues anymore, but post-materialistic topics connected to human rights (Habermas, 1981: 33). Conflicting parties are those directly involved in the production process with big interests in economic growth and those further from production and closer to the consequences of growth (Habermas, 1981: 34). The unifying element of the latter,

very heterogeneous group is the critique of economic growth; they target monetarization and commodification. Consequently, economic justice and climate change are two topics that raise widespread concern, and motivate citizen action nowadays (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013: 3, 10). They are interdependent, illustrated with the case of FF: burning fossil fuels means wrecking the climate in the name of economic growth. FF translated this into a claim for their campaign: “If it is wrong to wreck the planet, then it is wrong to profit from that wreckage” (McKibben & Naidoo, 2013; Fossil Free, n.d.-a).

The FF movement’s solution to the problem of some people profiting from the planet’s wreckage is summarized by one activist (CT, [00:00:40]): a global shift in energy. In order to reach that goal, the movement applies the strategy of divestment and a public debate. However, the movement realizes that withdrawing the money causes only minor harm to fossil fuel companies compared to the harm that their stigmatization entrains. One of the campaign’s major strengths lies within the fact that it attacks the economic system and thus reaches people who are usually not interested in engaging against climate change.



Video 6: Framing – The Fossil Free Campaign’s objective and strategy (1.3)

The activists connect FF’s objective and strategy directly with 350.org’s main objective, i.e. the 2°C target and staying below 350 ppm. Additionally, “building a climate movement” (JK, [00:00:38]) and “creating a better future” (SS, [00:00:50]) are common themes. The political dimension is brought up several times as well as the industry’s responsibility.



Video 7: Framing – 350.org’s objective (1.1)

In terms of 350.org’s strategy, many refer to the FF campaign and emphasize the global community and digital connectedness as well as the bottom up approach. The 350.org’s employee focusses on campaigns, which implies grassroots activities to realize them.



Video 8: Framing – 350.org’s strategy (1.2)

Characteristics of Contemporary Activism

In many regards, there is not a big difference between contemporary and traditional activism: people form groups and collective identities, and they make use of well-known political action like demonstrations in the street and civil disobedience (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013: 1; Habermas, 1981: 36; Tarrow, 2011: 266). The special feature of contemporary activism is digital media, which can be of deciding help in mobilizing activists and organizing those actions. While mass media dominated for a long period, selective and personal communication conduits are on the advance (Lee & Kotler, 2011: 358). Selective media channels include the internet, i.e. a website, youtube channel or social media, special events, and direct mail. Personal communication can happen via SMS, chat rooms, and emails.

The main source of information regarding 350.org and the FF campaign for all activists are digital media. The 350.org website, the documentaries “Do the math” and “Disruption”, and especially social media are important sources. Additionally, discussions within the group are mentioned several times, as well as McKibben’s books.



Video 9: Communication – Information Gathering (4.1)

Internet-mediated advocacy organizations

The internet is characterized by very quick reaction and flexibility regarding shifting issues, protest events, and political adversaries (Bennett, 2003: 143). This has direct implications on the growth and forms of global activism: strategic political relations are tied, activist networks’ durability is strengthened, and democratic principles are enhanced (Bennett, 2003: 144).

The attention paid to climate change increased at the same time as the spreading of the internet (Hestres, 2015: 194). These circumstances enabled “internet-mediated advocacy organizations” to

emerge. Karpf (2012: 3) introduces the concept of a new generation of political advocacy groups who have a different understanding of organizational membership and fundraising. They are geographically dispersed, which they compensate with online collaboration (Hestres, 2015: 196). With and due to technological innovation, their tactical repertoire as well as working routines have changed significantly. 350.org who has the link already in its name can be sorted into the sub-group of “internet-mediated issue specialists” among the group of internet-mediated advocacy organizations (Karpf, 2012: 50; Hestres, 2014: 335); specialist, because it focusses on the specific topic of climate change.

Environmental organizations increasingly shift their tactics from broadcasting i.e. mass media to narrowcasting i.e. selective media and direct communication (Castells, 2013: 323). The advantage of those horizontal networks of communication as well as interactive features is their capability to activate personal intervention and interaction (Lee & Kotler, 2011: 358; Castells, 2013: 323). Especially social media allow an interactive, many-to-many communication which is distinctive from the clear roles of sender and receiver in traditional mass media (Schäfer, 2012: 527). This entails the building of trust and relationships, i.e. networking among interested individuals as well as between the public and advocacy groups (Castells, 2013: 323). Small groups can develop into movements facilitated by mobile devices and digital media platforms (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013: 2). These movements can act in locally restricted areas, but also globally, which applies to the FF campaign respectively 350.org. Thus, many activist networks rely on a mix of face-to-face and virtual communication (Bennett, 2003: 149).

My interviewees confirm this mix. Within the local groups communication is organized via social media, i.e. Facebook, and emails. Moreover, both groups also meet in person regularly. In urgent cases they talk on the phone.



Video 10: Communication – Internal Communication/ Local Group (4.3)

Personal communication with the organization is primarily occurring via the national campaigners, Tine in Germany and Olivia in Sweden. Those national coordinators are seen as the connecting elements, if further communication with other people in the organization was needed. One activist in Lund is very positive regarding the permeability, as she thinks she could even get in touch with the board via her national coordinator, if she wanted to (LB, [00:06:24]).

Two of the FF Lund members are working for 350.org as a trainee (CW) and translator (SS) and therefore have further connections as well as regular personal contact, mainly via Skype or email. In contrast, one activist from Münster discusses the point that the communication is uni-directional, “I am a percipient, but I don’t give an answer” (PS, [00:08:18]).



Video 11: Communication – (Personal) Communication with 350.org (4.2)

Organizationally enabled connective⁶ action

Climate and environmental NGOs like 350.org are heavy users of online communication tools (Schäfer, 2012: 530), propagating organizationally enabled connective action (Bennett & Segerberg 2013: 12f). In particular, a global organization like 350.org provides easy-to-personalize action themes and supports the activists from the background (Bennett & Segerberger, 2012: 742) e.g. the facilitation of coordinated action moments like GDD. 350.org not only interacts with its activists, but also with other organizations, such as governments, corporates, or NGOs, and their representatives (Mitra, 2013: 410); engaging in “meaningful conversations” with all types of stakeholders is an important part of the strategy (Knowlton, 2012).

Organizationally enabled connective action leads to a more creative and autonomous use of digital media by individual networks (Bennett & Segerberger, 2013: 211). This in turn can result in a broader distribution of the message than by classic media only and enhance network building. By doing so, individuals have the capacity to shape connective action (Tarrow, 2011: 32). This involves individuals on a different level: agency is not only attributed to the organization, but every participant is an agent of change. Technologies are interconnected and help activists to share information, build relationships over long distances and organize global events (Bennett & Segerberger, 2013: 8).

Reasons for New Media in External Communication

Reasons for the use of online communication tools for external communication are the comparably low costs, the high outreach and the avoidance of gatekeeper journalists. It can be valuable to increase the outside support by strengthening the movement’s network (Gavin, 2010: 461). Online media have the power to unify people around the globe under a common goal and therefore create a feeling of belonging (Hampton et al., 2011: 1034).

One activist praises 350.org’s external communication work concerning overall activities, again via social media (CW, [00:17:49]). On a local level, both groups usually connect with interested people via word-of-mouth advertising, at public events such as creative protests and lectures, or when they collect signatures. Additionally, there are email lists that people can subscribe to

⁶ If you want to learn more about the difference between collective and connective action, please see Bennett & Segerberger, 2012 & 2013.

and both groups have a Facebook page. One interviewee states that people who join are usually already interested in the topic, friends, or fellow students of group members (SS, [00:19:29]).



Video 12: Communication – External Communication (4.4)

3.2 Framing

In the following, I explain what framing is and why it is important for social movements as well as which frames are applied by 350.org and FF.

Framing is an area of cognitive linguistic studies (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001: 88). It describes the attribution of meaning to a topic, but also to events, individual, and collective behavior (Myers et al., 2012: 1106). Frames are used for reasons of simplification, and persuasion, they are “interpretive storylines that set a specific train of thought in motion, communicating why an issue might be a problem, who or what might be responsible for it, and what should be done about it” (Nisbet, 2009: 15f). Accordingly, the way in which a topic is framed creates essential preconditions for the topic’s perception, discussion and the deduced consequences (Myers et al., 2012: 1106).

Framing has the power to unify different audiences and change personal attitudes and behavior (Nisbet, 2009: 22). People will take over beliefs and behaviors that are likely to support the fight against a threat (Markowitz & Shariff 2012: 245; Snyder, 2002: 249f). In the case of 350.org and FF, one answer to the threat of climate change is ordinary lobbying work, but also creative movements, i.e. “creative action” (McKibben, 2012b; Mitra, 2013: 409). So, framing contributes significantly to the mobilization of collective action (Nisbet, 2009: 22), i.e. framing is a mobilization strategy (Hestres, 2014: 326). It develops in three framing parts (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 74): first, the diagnosis, i.e. the identification of a problem, and attribution of blame; second, the prognosis, i.e. the proposition of a solution; and third, the motivation, i.e. a call to action (Benford & Snow, 2000: 615ff). The approach to action mobilization is important in order to align a movement and its followers. Collective solidarity but also a connection of the collective experience to the individual sphere are motivational elements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 79). In brief, acting together has to appear to be the best solution to a situation or condition that has to be changed (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 87).

Framing of Climate Change

Connective action networks engage more individuals, if they succeed to frame their diagnosis in a relevant way for the audience (Myers et al., 2012: 1106), and if they make it easy for individuals to

take it over (Bennett & Segerberger, 2013: 127). Thus, depending on the message's sender, the facts can sound very different (Nisbet, 2009: 18). This leads to a great variety of diagnoses. Nisbet (2009: 18) summarizes a set of frames that are applied in connection to climate change throughout policy debates in a scientific context, which are social progress, economic development and competitiveness, morality and ethics, scientific and technical uncertainty, Pandora's box, public accountability and governance, middle way as well as conflict and strategy.

350.org applies the frame of Pandora's Box to climate change (350.org, n.d.-c; Hestres, 2014: 335). It implies that there are certain trigger points that humanity must not pass (Harrison, 1993: 327) combined with the scientific uncertainty of consequences and unforeseeable developments (Nisbet, 2009: 19). Mitra (2013: 409) points out that framing climate change as an ongoing crisis with immediate risks opposes the current growth-oriented paradigm and sheds a bad light on the oil industry. Simultaneously, the morality and ethics frame is used, which understands the fight against climate change as a moral duty (Nisbet, 2009: 21; 350.org, n.d.-a).

This is also how the activists understand the framing of climate change by the global movement. While social justice is repeatedly listed, most of the interviewees emphasize the 2° target and the unforeseeable consequences if this target is not met. One interviewee also mentions 350.org's holistic approach that sees climate change's interconnection to everything else (CW, [00:04:10]).



Video 13: Framing – Climate Change (1.4)

Boomerang Effect

Frames that emphasize catastrophic consequences or threats are likely to decrease the audience's concern and increase hopelessness which is described as a "boomerang effect" (Myers et al., 2012: 1107; Hart & Nisbet 2012; O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009: 375). In turn, if people feel hope in regards to climate change, it increases the likelihood for engagement. A local focus also avoids boomerang effects (Nisbet & Hart, 2011: 717).

Hope is one of the themes identified as a driver for the activists' personal motivation to engage in the FF movement. It is informed by seeing that "It's not only us, people around the world are fighting for this" (LB, [00:18:53]). Therefore, all activists highly value being part of a community and most of them emphasize the global community.



Video 14: Personal Motivation – Hope (5.1)



Video 15: Personal Motivation – Global and Local Community (5.2)

A third theme refers back to Brundtland’s definition of sustainability and the feeling of responsibility for the next generation, as “it’s irresponsible just sitting here and watching” (LP, [00:26:10]). But there is also a note of boomerang effect in it when one activist says “At least [...] I can tell my future children that I tried” (LB, [00:20:36]).



Video 16: Personal Motivation – Responsibility (5.4)

Framing is a constituting element to identity-building, which is the topic of the following subchapter.

3.3 Identity

This section gives an overview of what identity is, who is part of FF and 350.org, and how the global movement’s and the local groups’ identities are formed, but also connected and influenced by each other.

Identity describes “the process by which social actors recognize themselves – or are recognized by others - as part of broader groupings, and develop emotional attachments to them” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 91). It is necessary to take notice of the different identities in order to understand an

organization (Balmer, 2008: 882). On the lowest level, there is individual identity. It radiates and forms organizational identity; in turn it is formed by the organization, i.e. collective identity has a significant influence on an individual's behaviors and cognitions (Balmer, 2008: 883). Stakeholder identification refers to the identification in which "individuals and groups define themselves by their relationships with an organizational culture" (Balmer, 2008: 891).

Segmentation

Hestres (2014) has looked into communication and mobilization strategies that are successfully applied within 350.org. One of his findings was the organization's orientation on the group of Alarmed people (see Figure 3), justified with their deep concern and willingness to take action (Hestres, 2014: 330). With the help of the internet the people aware of climate issues shall be turned into committed long-term activists (Hestres, 2014: 336). At the same time, he found out that there was no evidence of the grassroots people's actual mindset due to missing assessments (Hestres, 2014: 330).

I showed the segmentation called "The Six Americas" (Figure 3) to my interviewees and asked them to indicate, from which segment potential new members come and where they would sort in themselves.

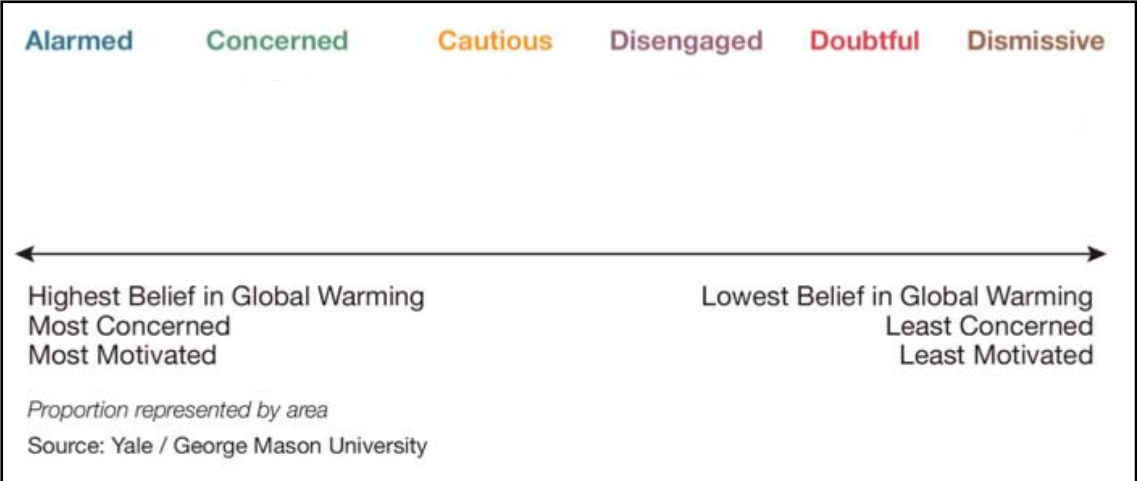


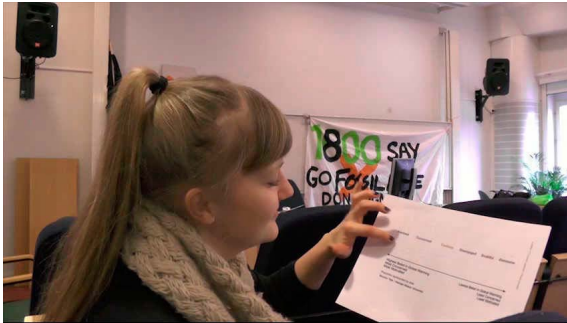
Figure 3: The Six Americas, a segmentation that assesses people's attitude towards climate change. Leiserowitz et al., 2013. Own adaptation.

According to them, targeted people and actual activists match. All interviewees agree that people in the FF campaign as well as in 350.org are Alarmed, Concerned or at least Cautious. The majority is found among the group of Concerned. Two activists (HH, [00:19:02]; LP, [00:21:04]) explain the targeting in the same way as the 350.org employee⁷ (TL, [00:20:33]): in order to join the campaign, people should already be informed about and convinced of climate change, as the topic of divestment is very complex in itself. So their perception of potential new members is that they are people who thought about the topic, but have not yet taken the step to actually

7 Tine Langkamp, the 350.org employee, brought another segmentation into the discussion which is used by 350.org called *The Spectrum of Allies*. While *The Six Americas* is more interested in people's attitude towards climate change, *The Spectrum of Allies* goes one step further and allocates a certain behavior to the different segments e.g. the Active Opponents i.e. the fossil fuel industry who acts against 350.org.

become active. Here it becomes obvious that mobilization framing is the deciding component. One interviewee suspects the campaign being able to target as well people from the right end of the scale because of its financial dimension that also worries people who are otherwise rather uninterested or do not believe in climate change (CW, [00:20:57]).

Those who sorted themselves indicated that they belonged to the very left side of the scale. They express personal fear or even anxiety regarding the current situation of climate change.



Video 17: Identity – The Six Americas (2.4)

Independent of their mindset, demographically the main target group is students - all interviewees agree on this. In Lund, one activist justifies it with the campaign's target being the university (SS, [00:17:55]). Here, university staff and PhD students come into the focus as well. In Münster, the campaign now aims at the municipality, so one activist calls an additional target group "Münster's alternative scene" (HH, [00:17:39]). While the activists target a rather limited group of people, the 350.org employee leaves it open when she says: "Our target group are all" (TL, [00:19:12]).



Video 18: Communication – Target Group for Potential Members (4.5)

Hybridity

Tarrow (2011: 139) calls new social movements' organizations hybrids with "umbrella organizations at the summit [that] offer general guidance, financial support, and the use of their 'name brands'[...]".

This is exactly how the interviewees perceive their situation. When asked for their understanding of 350.org's role for the local grassroots groups, the predominant opinion is that 350.org facilitates the grassroots activities, acts nationally and internationally as a networker, develops the overall strategy, and coordinates the global coordinated action moments. Furthermore, the organization is an important financial supporter for the local groups, but also in terms

of knowledge, advice, information and material. Another function is that it paves the way regarding media attention and public awareness. To put it in their own words, the organization “connects the dots” (JK, [00:11:37]).



Video 19: Identity – 350.org’s role for the grassroots groups (2.1)

The hybridity is complemented by “the decentralized units at the base [that] can absorb or create networks of trust that are free to develop their own programs and engage in forms of action appropriate to their settings” (Tarrow, 2011: 139). Accordingly, the organizations’ identity is characterized by the concept of self-help and participatory approaches (Habermas, 1981: 36). Hestres (2014: 332) points out 350.org’s “deep commitment to online-to-offline action and self-sustaining local grassroots organizing”. This is manifested in the global coordinated action moments and in the online tools that are provided to the community, so the local groups can execute their offline work and deploy their tactics independently (Hestres, 2014: 333).

Indeed, all members of the two local groups feel themselves being very self-organized and independent from the movement, especially in terms of activities and the local adaptation of the campaign. One activist emphasizes that they are subject to a “self-imposed limitation” (PS, [00:28:10]) of working for the theme of divestment, but they are not restricted to this topic. In Münster, two of three activists stress their independence from the movement, while the members of the Swedish group seem to be more positive towards the overall framework. One FF Lund activist says very frankly that the group depends on 350.org financially (LB, [00:12:37]), while one member of FF Münster points out the fact that they do not have to rely on money from 350.org (PS, [00:25:33]). According to the employee of 350.org, the groups are as dependent as their capability to act and organize themselves independently requires.



Video 20: Identity – Self-organization / Dependency of the groups (2.3)

Differentiation via Collective Identity

The basis of collective identity are often values, common experiences of action or lifestyles and the like (Dijk, 1997: 29). Moreover, movements apply collective action frames that “dignify claims, connect them to others, and help to produce a collective identity” (Tarrow, 2011: 144). Therefore, frames are needed for justification and animation of collective action and important to define the inside- and the outside-group, “us” and “them” (Tarrow, 2011: 31) in order to foster unity and a group’s stability.

But collective identity is not only regulated by the umbrella organization. Communication-based networks like internet mediated advocacy groups shape it themselves due to their independence and distributed communication, i.e. new media (Bennett, 2003: 149; Tarrow, 2011: 32).

There is a broad variety in the answers to the question of 350.org’s influence on the local groups’ identities. It is a smooth transition from no influence, mainly perceived in Münster, to some influence in Lund to “very strong influence” by the 350.org employee. One FF Lund activist mentions the FF campaign’s origin in the global movement as an important driver for the group’s identity (CT, [00:11:11]), while a FF Münster activist states that 350.org does not play any role for him (PS, [00:24:42]). While all admit that the scope of the campaign’s content is limited, some realize a stronger influence of the movement than others who perceive their group as an independent actor. The globally connecting dimension, “feel[ing] part of something bigger” (CW, [00:12:06]), is a recurring element, but also the necessity to adapt the campaign to the local context.



Video 21: Identity – 350.org’s influence on the local groups’ identities (2.2)

Naming of Processes and Identities

From the inside perspective, it may be difficult to assess the movement’s influence on the own identity. Thus, I tried to uncover it in a more subtle way by looking at the organizational language (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001: 78, 89; Balmer, 2008: 884), including the naming of processes and identities (Mitra, 2013: 405).

Naming is an important, dialogic part in the interaction of organizations, leaders and followers (Mitra, 2013: 401). For example it defines an organization’s existence in the first place by enabling its members to turn the organization as a discursive construction from an “it” to an inclusive “we” (Cooren, Brummans & Charrieras, 2008: 1340, 1344).

Processes named in a particular way are “Creative Activism” and the “Connect the Dots” campaign, which includes a carnivalesque element that differs from the common, serious framing (Mitra, 2013: 407). “Divestment”, *the* keyword of the FF campaign, is another example of a process’ naming. Through the very distinctive organizational language, identity is expressed.

While not all interviewees seem to realize the movement’s influence on their group directly, they admit it between the lines. In particular, they are not able to recall any organizational language which is specific to their local group and not used in other contexts, but some of them did use expressions that are characteristic to the FF campaign and its official language designed by 350.org. The word “Divest(ment)” was said 42 times, and different interviewees (CW, [00:01:36]; JK, [00:11:37]) used the expression “Connecting the dots”. The activists move safely within the linguistic paradigm of 350.org and the FF campaign, but there is no aspect of own local identity shown in terms of language, which is different from the global identity.



Video 22: Identity – Organizational Language (2.5)

Corporate identification refers to the individual identification with an organization and the broad externally directed symbolic presentation of an organization’s brand or culture (Balmer, 2008: 884).

In terms of organizational signs and symbols, the interviewees indicate that they usually use the specific fonts, colors and symbols given by 350.org. A further local differentiation from the global concept is barely perceptible. While both groups add an individual element to their logos, this is more distinctive in Münster than in Lund. Nevertheless, none of the members in Münster could recall this adaptation when I asked them for it. The design of a local visual identity different from the global seems not being an important issue to them, clearly expressed in one statement: “Discussing the content is worth it, discussing symbols is rather useless” (PS, [00:43:03]).



Video 23: Identity – Signs and Symbols (2.6)



Video 24: Extras Lund – Signs / Visual Communication (7.3)



Video 25: Extras Münster – Signs / Visual Communication (8.3)

When it comes to the concrete design of means of communication like flyers, leaflets and posters, none of the interviewees mentions the style guide that 350.org publishes. For GDD, the activists designed their own posters and discussed them among themselves. There are certain design elements provided by 350.org which the activists use, or do not use. They do not consider it particularly important. At the same time, there are no strict guidelines given by the organization, rather recommendations as the information in the style guide shows: “Fossil Free isn’t intended to be a heavily branded campaign, so don’t feel obligated to use the logo. But, if you think it will be useful, feel free to use it!” (Fossil Free, n.d.-c). The organization’s liberal attitude regarding visuals has moved on to the local groups, an overlap of identity.



Video 26: Identity – Official (Style) Guidelines (2.7)

Despite all freedom and laissez-faire, there *are* style guidelines as well as a definition of the organization’s character (FF, n.d.-c; 350.org, n.d.-d) and the activists make use of it. Even though the characteristics of the local creative protest activities for GDD differ from each other as the local groups include their own creativity and realize their very own ideas, they are informed by a similar spirit (and design) and easily recognizable.



Video 27: Extras Lund – Creative Protest (7.4)



Video 28: Extras Münster – Creative Protest (8.4)

Balmer (2011: 1331) suggests that organizations should employ a corporate marketing logic. This includes a corporate culture with an organization-wide philosophy and a corporate identity, which is an active and evolving organism (Balmer, 2008: 881, 886).

3.4 Leadership

This section shall give an insight into two perspectives on leadership that influence the FF movement: transformational leadership as a top down tendency and collaborative leadership as a bottom up approach.

As grassroots movements employ a participatory democracy (Parker et al., 2007: 119), the question of leadership is unambiguous. According to Ehrlich & English (2012: 87f), in grassroots groups, leadership is not a formal role, i.e. can be shared or distributed as well as temporary and task-focused. Grassroots leaders are volunteers themselves and want to realize change via connective action. Kezar (2011: 471) on the other hand describes grassroots leaders as being part of a formal organization leading bottom-up activities (Kezar, 2011: 471).

Either way, even though leaders can have a positive influence on their followers, Raelin (2014: 1f) argues that there is no evidence for the advantages of leadership compared to alternative forms of organizational practices like teamwork and structuring. Nonetheless, it is commonly acknowledged that change needs strong leaders (Mitra, 2013: 395), whereas social justice and other alternative forms of organizing have been neglected so far (Dutta, 2011: 180; Yuckl, 2009: 50), even though examples like the Arab Spring have shown that social mass action manage without a single leader (Sutherland et al., 2014: 759).

When asked about their perception of how leadership is organized specifically within 350.org, most interviewees know about coordinators on different levels and believe the strategy is developed in the U.S. where the headquarters are located. Two members of FF Münster are concerned regarding the hierarchical structures within 350.org and the opaque situation, claiming for missing democratic mechanisms and more right to have a say (LP, [00:13:51]; PS, [00:08:54]). On the other hand, one activist from Lund understands global leadership as “not too much top down” (JK, [00:04:48]). People on the ground can decide what they want to do and how they want to do it without having to consult with anyone (LP, [00:03:57]).

But there is also a perception of individual leadership. One activist in Lund understands the national coordinators as “kind of the go-to-person who lead[s] all the other movements, or all the other little actions that happen” (CT, [00:05:10]). According to the 350.org employee, the main task of team leaders on different levels is to advise the lower levels and help in decision processes (TL, [00:07:41]). Although she mentions that there are representatives who can take part in the global decision making, there are “...some things [which] are also fixed by people on a global level who want to give a certain direction to the campaign” (TL, [00:08:53]).



Video 29: Leadership – Global Leadership (3.1)

Transformational Leadership

In the traditional understanding of leadership, leaders influence followers and shape their attitudes and discourses. Transformational leadership takes into account the relationship between leader and followers which fosters creativity, innovation and critical thinking among followers (Hickman, 2010: 69). Leaders do not only lead followers, but they recognize their higher needs and empower them cooperatively in order to develop new leaders (Bass & Riggio, 2010: 76). Four strategies were identified that transformational leaders use to transform followers and organizations: they have an idealized influence on followers, i.e. are perceived almost almighty in their insights and empathy, they provide inspirational motivation and individualized consideration to followers and stimulates their intellectuality (Mitra, 2013: 398). According to Mitra (2013: 410), McKibben as a “grassroots leader impacted by climate change” fulfills the four transformational I’s.

This understanding seems to be shared by the interviewees who describe him as “spokesperson” and “main figure” (JK, [00:05:53]), “thought leader” (PS, [00:20:33]), “the movement’s face” (SS, [00:07:03]), “front figure” (CW, [00:07:31]), “leading voice” (CT, [00:06:56]), “the man who can open doors” (PS, [00:20:33]), “guru of the movement” (LP, [00:05:36]), “inspirational leader”

(LB; [00:08:23]) and just "leader" (CT, [00:06:56]). He recently announced that he was "stepping down as chair of the board at 350.org to become what we're calling a 'Senior Advisor.'" (350.org, 2014). The interviewees are well aware of this development and all of them could imagine the organization without McKibben even though they assign him an important role.



Video 30: Leadership – Bill McKibben (3.3)

However, McKibben's leadership only becomes obvious in certain situations and in interaction with individuals or organizations (Mitra, 2013: 405ff). Sometimes McKibben is framed as a follower of other actors like James Hansen. It is a wild mixture of identities, "across elites and grassroots, informal and formal, and local and global [...] – reflecting the complexity of 21st century organizing" (Mitra, 2013: 406).

Leaders and Followers

Going one step further, Mitra (2013) applied the critical dialogic perspective on transformational leadership theory. It questions the relation's unilateral direction and considers how leadership transforms and is transformed at the same time. It includes the characteristics of dialogue which is simultaneously constitutive and contingent, as leaders and followers realize transformation together, but are still subject to power relations (Ganesh & Zoller, 2012: 72).

Dialog between the grassroots activists and the board seems not to be intended to happen directly, but via the national campaigners and then up the hierarchical ladder. Regardless, with the national campaigner, the dialog is perceived fruitful and constructive.



Video 31: Communication – (Personal) Communication with 350.org (4.2)

The national campaigners like Tine are on the next level in the hierarchy to the grassroots groups. Some activists understand them as facilitators and networkers (HH, [00:10:28]; [00:09:50]),

while Tine sees her own responsibilities in connecting people and organizations, supporting local groups and being the interface of different stakeholders (TL, [00:05:52]).



Video 32: Leadership – Role of the National Coordinators (3.2)



Video 33: Leadership – Global Leadership (3.1)

Opinions among the interviewees differ strongly regarding the question to which extent the grassroots activists can influence and transform the overall strategy of 350.org. In Lund, the activists are more positive regarding their own power. Being an activist and doing the ground-work can feel very influential: “We are part of making it a reality on the ground” (JK, [00:10:01]). In Münster, one of the members has not seen any necessity to change something in the overall strategy from her position (HH, [00:09:55]). Besides, the German activists see the advantage of having Tine in their group and therefore having “a shorter wire” (PS, [00:14:15]) to the organization. Apart from that, the FF Münster members do perceive their own influence rather low. Still, one of them mentions structures that would give him more influence like webinars and Skype talks (PS, [00:14:15]), which is backed up by Tine (TL, [00:11:27]).

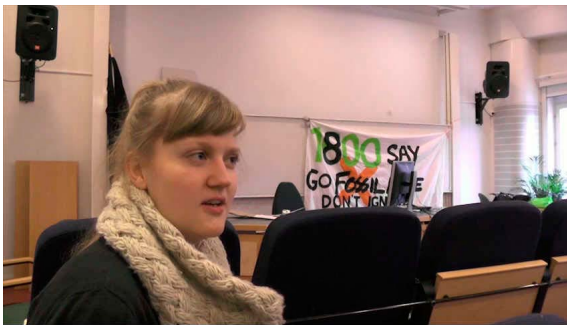


Video 34: Leadership – Bottom Up / Influencing 350.org’s strategy (3.5)

Leaderless Leadership

In the understanding that leadership is socially constructed and not inherent in certain individuals (Wood, 2005: 1106f), leadership can be performed by groups without an assigned leader. Raelin (2014: 7) suggests a reframing of leadership in favor of collaborative agency. In his point of view, “agency is both individual and collective and is mobilized as a social interaction as people come together to coordinate their activities” (Raelin, 2014: 7). Through their discursive and other shared activities the participants act as agents who constitute collaborative agency and form the outcome together (Raelin, 2014: 8; Sutherland et al., 2014: 764).

In the interviewees’ perception of their own agency in the context of the local group, there is a tendency towards a feeling of collective agency, even though most of the interviewees also emphasize their own role as agents of change besides their engagement in the FF campaign. But eventually, the group is presented as the most important, joint agent of change as the following two quotes show: “We are creating something together, but I help” (LB; [00:22:01]) or more precisely “There is always a bit of Philipp included, but in the end, it’s a group decision” (PS, [00:53:24]).



Video 35: Identity – Agents of Change (2.8)

Collaborative Leadership

Building and maintaining the community are crucial factors of collaborative leadership (Raelin, 2014: 11). Democratic and participative decision-making on the basis of consensus can be a main characteristic of leaderless organizations, which also prevents the need and the establishment of an individual leader (Sutherland, 2014: 769). Yet, depending on their capabilities, resources and the given circumstances, interchanging temporary leadership roles among organizational members are a common custom (Sutherland et al., 2014: 770; Buzzanell et al., 1997: 294).

The local groups’ approach to leadership is “grassroots-democratic one could say” (HH, [00:08:19]). Consensus is an important keyword. Organization happens in a fluid way and depending on the specific situation. There are no appointed leaders, but due to former experience, knowledge and involvement some people are more active and dominant than others. They all seem very happy with this course of action and one activist says explicitly that he does not think there is a need for more leadership (JK, [00:21:23]). The 350.org’s employee also encourages the

local groups to apply consensus (TL, [00:13:42]). But she also admits that it is not always possible to do this on all levels, which she justifies with responsibility and authority.



Video 36: Leadership – Local Leadership (3.4)



Video 37: Leadership – Bottom Up / Influencing 350.org's strategy (3.5)

Furthermore, a group's collective sense of agency is likely to foster creative activity (Raelin, 2014: 13), which proves in the FF's creative protest. Moreover, the collaborative effort connected to being part of a social movement can lead to the feeling of the own actions' efficiency and personal comfort (Raelin, 2014: 18) and therefore empower people.

The global and the local community are a reoccurring theme in the interviewees' motivation for their engagement in the FF campaign. Moreover, they feel empowered, as the divestment campaign's clearly defined goal as well as its measurability make it easy to grasp.



Video 38: Personal Motivation – Global and Local Community (5.2)



Video 39: Personal Motivation – Empowerment (5.3)

4 Discussion

The discussion starts with a critical assessment of 350.org's and FF's potential to succeed as movements. This is followed by the discussion on the relationship and interdependencies between the global movement 350.org and the local FF groups in hybrid new social movement organizations. Then, the benefits of audiovisual material in an interactive document are discussed, before I present my contribution to sustainability science. The chapter ends with reflections and limitations in the context of my thesis.

4.1 Potential of 350.org and FF

According to Tilly, it is questionable if transnational activism leads to political positions that initiate change because of its loose network structure (Bennett, 2005: 208). On the other hand, transnational activism is characterized by digitally mediated action networks that Bennett and Segeberger (2012: 742f) expect to be more successful than centralized conventional organizations with brokered collective action. The WUNC-model can be used as an indicator for a movement's success, assessing its worthiness, unity, number and commitment (Tilly, 2004: 4). It will be applied in the following.

350.org's WUNC display is very good. Its worthiness is justified by its framing and not least displayed by the formal dress (McKibben, 2011) and the engagement of celebrities and well-respected citizens (Johnston, 2014: 97). Its unity is displayed very well, too, guided by style guides and templates that are provided online. This leads to a homogenous appearance towards the public. Additionally, global coordinated action moments are a good way of displaying unity (Johnston, 2014: 98). With their globally dispersed grassroots groups, 350.org performs very well in the category of number. The commitment of the members is accordingly high as the postings in social media show.

In terms of worthiness, much of the FF campaign's display is taken over from 350.org. Furthermore, all the institutions, universities and cities that already joined the campaign are worthy testimonials. As the shown examples illustrate, FF has a very successful and homogenous style that fosters the campaign's display of unity. The growing number of engaging grassroots groups stands for itself in the third category. Finally, the activists seem to really engage emotionally with the topic and the campaign. This reveals in quotes like "It's something that I think is so awesome and it's something very close to my heart because it can effect actual, real change and that's what we're doing" (CT, [00:17:56]).



Video 40: Personal Motivation – Empowerment (5.3)

Additionally to the organization's and the campaign's eligibility, the FF campaign involves all four major agents of change that are needed in order to bring the new sustainability paradigm to life (Raskin et al., 2002: x): civil society, the underlying public awareness of the need for change, intergovernmental institutions and transnational corporations. As an international nongovernmental organization (NGO), i.e. as part of civil society, 350.org is an agent of change itself. Moreover, by raising awareness among the public, 350.org understands itself as catalyzing the transition and strengthening the global climate movement (350.org, 2015). Furthermore, with the FF campaign, governments and corporations that invest in or are part of the fossil fuels industry are under pressure.

So it seems as if 350.org was on the right track in order to achieve a sustained political outcome. A more fundamental, strategic question explicitly of the FF movement is if divestment is the right means to achieve a cut-down of emissions and a more sustainable future. Even though scientists agree on the fact that fossil fuels are not the future, there are opponents to the concept of divestment as several institutions, economists and academics reject it (Tollefson, 2015). Instead, they aim for "actions that make a real difference" (Tollefson, 2015). One suggested approach is an internal carbon tax, i.e. dirty energy would be more expensive than clean energy and the problem would be regulated via the price. Approaching the question from this angle means its economization. While divestment stigmatizes the use of fossil fuels by branding it as immoral, a carbon tax, i.e. the commodification of nature, raises questionable moral implications itself (Berry, 2011: 376). Both paths might lead to the same tangible outcome in the short run, but on a normative level they communicate different values. It is a conflict between the frames of economic development vs Pandora's box; it is a conflict between a weak and a strong sustainability approach. Both are valid and none of them is more true than the other. But are weak sustainability solutions enough to fix the problem of climate change?

4.2 The Global Movement and Its Grassroots Groups

My findings revealed interesting insights in the relationship and interdependencies between the global movement 350.org and the local FF grassroots groups in terms of framing, identity and leadership. The activists' claim for independence seems to contrast with the unity of the global movement that has shown to be built on hierarchies to some extent. The grassroots as well as the hierarchical approach have advantages and disadvantages. Grassroots organizations run the risk of losing coordination and continuity, while organizational hierarchies can be a turn-off for creativity and contention (Tarrow, 1998: 137). In this regard, 350.org and the FF movement seem to have taken the best of both worlds by applying a combination of formal organization and autonomy.

This also becomes apparent in the expression of identity. In terms of corporate identity, the local groups fit in with the bigger picture of the global organization. At the same time, they understand themselves as very independent and self-organized. However, they act in the frame given by 350.org, apply the movement's tactics and use the global visual communication and language. Beyond that, the grassroots adapt the tools and message to the local context.

The local context also finds expression in cultural differences in the groups' attitudes that should be considered by 350.org. In particular, while the Swedish interviewees radiate a certain appreciation for the freedom they are given, the activists in Münster seem to expect this freedom as a matter of course. All three FF members in Münster made former experiences with Greenpeace to which they refer several times, and which they use as negative example. So comparably, they again seem to be quite satisfied with the degree of self-organization they are given by 350.org.

When asked for improvements in the relation between 350.org and the local groups, especially in Sweden, a general contentedness was communicated. The only improvement they wished for was the facilitation of personal meetings with other groups on a national, but also on an international level (JK, [00:22:56], SS, [00:17:03], CT, [00:14:05]), i.e. broader networking on a grassroots level. So while the Swedish group seems to be satisfied with the current situation, voices are raised against fundamental structures in the German group. They wish for a change of undemocratic structures and more possibilities to influence the course of action in a bottom up way (LP, [00:14:49], [00:16:13]; PS, [00:31:07]).



Video 41: Improvements (6.)

With the concept of coordinators on different levels, 350.org seems to take into account that there are different attitudes and needs in the local groups. By assessing the reasons for those differences further in depth, the relation with and the grassroots activists' closeness to the movement could be strengthened even more.

According to my findings, the organization's hybridity shows also in regard to leadership. While the local groups are executing leadership totally non-hierarchical and consensus based, the global movement does have a leader in Bill McKibben, which is accepted and not questioned by the grassroots members. In fact, his presence and function are highly valued and understood as important contribution to the movement's and the campaign's success. Nonetheless, the activists see him as replaceable in his function.

In regards to framing, the 350.org and FF unite people that are aware of the diagnosis and the prognosis. Thus, the focus should lie on the motivational framing, in order to achieve the highest possible mobilization of individuals (Hestres, 2014: 328).

4.3 Additional Benefit of Audiovisual Material

Visual research is a combination of theory, technology and method (Pink, 2012: 3). Thus, transdisciplinarity is a meaningful characteristic of visual methodology (Pink, 2012: 7). Inputs from different disciplines sum up and generate new outputs in terms of knowledge and theory. The development of how knowledge is represented and how audiences engage with it increases even more with the advance of digital media (Pink, 2012: 12). But despite new technologies, the basic mechanism stays the same: every visual message has two sides. It consists of denotation, i.e. the obvious, observable meaning of signs, and connotation, i.e. coded, unconscious information and implications (Barthes, 1977: 18f) or as Fiske (2011: 81) puts it: “Denotation is *what* is photographed; connotation is *how* it is photographed”. While it is relatively easy to transmit the denotation to the reader by describing a situation, it is more difficult to reflect connotation as this usually is subject to interpretation, which is always biased by the interpreter. By employing visual research, the viewers are invited to engage empathetically with the material (Pink, 2007a: 251). The videos provided in this thesis give the possibility to the reader to do so and rely on her own interpretation in addition to mine. I therefore share the experience of seeing a situation with someone else’s eyes that is characteristic for qualitative interviews (Williams & Heikes, 1993: 280f; Pink, 2007a: 240).

The interviews are not only considered as resource, but this method puts into focus „the interview as topic“, i.e. how the content is communicated (Byrne, 2012: 212). Additionally to the interviewees expression with words other forms of communication are included in the research like body language, i.e. gestures and body movements, mimic and way of speaking (Pink, 2004: 395; Pink, 2007b: 103). These parts are neglected in purely word-based transcriptions of interviews, even though there are standardized conventions of symbols trying to compensate for this (Silverman, 2007: 398f). In terms of credibility, transcripts are also prone to intersubjectivity and when it comes to transferability “there is no true, objective transformation from the oral to the written mode“ (Kvale, 2007: 98). So even though video recoding is complex in the data generation and in the data handling (Silverman, 2007: 8), it has many advantages that make up for the effort.

However, the fact that a video camera is present will always influence the situation and the interviewees behavior; there is no “undisturbed” recording and it is unavoidable that the material is constructed as the recording is a planned process (Pink, 2007b: 98).

4.4 Contribution to Sustainability Science

Sustainability science has to deal with wicked⁸ problems on the whole scale from local to global that require complex, multi dimensional solutions (Jerneck et al., 2011: 71; Cash et al. 2003: 8086). Those solutions include a combination of knowledge and learning, contributed from actors from multidisciplinary backgrounds (Kates et al., 2001: 641). 350.org is a global movement that acts on the local level

⁸ A wicked problem is characterized by a variety of interdependencies and so complex that it cannot be solved on a single level with a single solution (Rittel & Webber, 1973: 160ff).

“from the bottom up all over the world, and is uniting to create the solutions that will ensure a better future for all.” (350.org, n.d.-a). So their field of work overlaps highly with the targets of sustainability science.

Sustainability science is an important player in informing decision makers on their trajectory towards a new sustainability paradigm. On the same note, in order to achieve political changes, social movements are important agents of change. In this regard, internet-mediated advocacy groups come to play an increasingly important role in the growth and mobilization of the climate public (Hestres, 2015: 207). Moreover, 350.org is an organization that fosters a strong sustainability approach, which is the direction in which I believe policy developments should go.

By adding the video interviews to this research, I also make a methodological contribution to sustainability science. I contribute to the approach of multi-dimensional perspectives. First, by giving a voice to a variety of stakeholders that are usually not heard in academic research, second, by giving the opportunity to take different perspectives on those different stakeholders with the multimedia component and third, by bringing in a multidisciplinary aspect i.e. knotting together the fields of academia and (visual) communication. I extend knowledge on a very small level i.e. within this research. But it can also be a starting point for further research into the area of visual research in a field that is so complex that some clarification might be helpful (Tracy, 2012: 845).

4.5 Reflections and Limitations

Reflecting on experiences that were made during the research process is an important element of action research (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003: 14). The following paragraphs shall provide insights in my reflexive thoughts where I consider my role as a researcher biased by my social position (Kenny, 2015: 15; Byrne, 2012: 213), as well as other reflections and limitations.

4.5.1 The researcher's identity in the field

Several feminist researchers examined the questions of reflexivity and came to the following conclusions: in order to achieve the best outcome in qualitative interviews, a non-hierarchical relationship between interviewer and interviewee and the involvement of the interviewer's identity in the relationship is beneficial (Oakley, 1981: 41). Even though the influence of those factors is also likely to depend on the topic (Byrne, 2012: 214), shared class, gender and race are said to be helpful (Byrne, 2012: 213). On the other hand, some studies found that men talk more frankly with women than with men, when talking for example about intimate topics (Rubin, 1976: 21; Scully, 1990: 12).

I did not have the impression that my gender or race had a negative influence on my findings. All participants volunteered to talk about their experiences and attitudes and they seemed to talk freely and happily. I informed the participants about my research and its aim. However I tried not to share too many details before the interview had taken place as I did not want to influence the interviewees'

answers. The other above mentioned aspects apply to my case: as we are all students or at least in the same age, I share class and the same hierarchical position with all of my interviewees except for Tine, the 350.org's employee.

Before I conducted the interviews, I shared some insights regarding my research with the interviewees and they knew beforehand that I support the FF campaign. This may have influenced them to have a more positive attitude towards me.

4.5.2 Limitations⁹

The scope of this thesis in terms of time and scale limited my way of proceeding. One parameter that did not come into play was the analysis of 350.org's and FF's use of social media and their communication strategy, even though that would have been a relevant source of information. Moreover, the number of interviewees in Münster as well as the choice of only two local groups could have been extended in order to provide more extensive data.

My main intention for the inclusion of the audio-visual material was the provision of an extra dimension of information to the reader. It wanted to keep the material as unbiased as possible by not editing it in a suggestive way. However, this entrains the fact that the films are in part tenacious which can be a barrier for readers to make use of them.

If there was more time, the concept of the movies could have been refined. For now, the theme-based editing gives a solid basis. However, a movie summarizing the results would have been the logical development of the idea.

Additionally, the audio-visual material could have been employed for a systematic analysis, which would have brought its use to another level. This was not in the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, I hope that my way of implementing it into a text-document and sharing it with the reader is inspirational for fellow researchers who continue to experiment on the use of new media in social research.

⁹ In order to fulfil Denzin's (1989: 235f) demand of sophisticated rigor (see Chapter 2.4) as well as sharing insights for fellow researchers in the field, please see Appendix 7 for more reflections on the video production.

5 Conclusion

350.org is an internet-mediated advocacy organization and a global movement that is built by local grassroots groups, which are self-organized parts of it, but also facilitated and influenced by it. This shows in the movement's hybridity, combining the advantages of an hierarchical umbrella organization and consensus based local groups. The heavy use of online communication tools as well as the uniform style are characteristic. Local adaptation of the campaign is an important factor, but also the consideration of local differences among different grassroots groups. However, the global organization is the glue that keeps together the whole movement, in terms of organization and facilitation, but also emotionally.

In the transition towards a new sustainability paradigm organizations like 350.org are important drivers. It has a clear framing which is communicated in a locally appropriate way via the grassroots groups e.g. in the FF campaign. Therefore, it is making the subject of climate change accessible for the public. Furthermore, people around the globe are mobilized for the same cause and pressure corporations, and governments. As my results show, 350.org has the potential to be a successful social mass movement, paving the way towards a sustainable future with strong sustainability approaches like the FF campaign.

With the use and provision of audiovisual material in the given way, my aim was to make social research more democratic and accessible. Digital media are on the advance in many parts of society, so academia should not miss the boat and support relevant and original research with relevant and original forms of communicating it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Activists
350.org
What do you think is 350.org's objective?
What do you think is 350.org's strategy to achieve that goal?
How does 350.org frame (=present) its message?
Why do you think that?
How do you communicate with 350.org?
How is leadership organized in 350.org / the FF Campaign?
What is McKibben's role?
Could you imagine 350.org / FF without McKibben?
350.org and local groups
In what way do you feel involved in 350.org's strategy?
Which meaning does the organization 350.org have for you / your local group?
How does the movement influence the forming of identity of your local group?
To which extent is your local group self-organized / dependent on the movement?
How much freedom does your local group have in its decisions?
To which extent do you use that freedom?
Would you wish for more / less freedom?
Which improvements would you wish for in the cooperation between your local group and 350.org?
Local groups and its members
Whom do you address to become active members? Who is your target group in order to become active?
How do you communicate with interested people / potential members?
How do you share information with members?
Do you have any form of organizational language / words and phrases that are particular to your group?
Do you have any form of visual signs / symbols that are particular to your local group and differ from 350.org ?
Who decides about the design of means of communication and on which base?
You and the movement
What does it mean to you that you are part of an international movement with coordinated action moments (like GDD or the Climate March)?
What does being part of this movement to your personal sense of hope for the climate?
What does divestment campaigning to your personal sense of hope for the climate?
Do you see yourself as an individual agent of change? Why and how?
You
How is your personal attitude towards climate change / global warming?
The End
Do you have any further information / topics / input you want to share with me?

Interview Guide for the 350.org Employee

350.org

Was ist das übergeordnete Ziel von 350.org?

Welche Strategie verfolgen sie, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen?

Wie begründet die Bewegung dieses Ziel?

Wie werden diese Informationen kommuniziert?

Wie kommunizierst du mit den Aktivisten?

Wie ist 350.org / das FF Movement organisiert / geführt?

Was ist McKibbens Rolle?

Könntest du dir 350.org / FF ohne McKibben vorstellen?

350.org and local groups

Inwiefern sind die lokalen Gruppen involviert in 350.orgs Strategie?

Welche Funktion hat 350.org für die lokalen Gruppen?

Wie beeinflusst die Bewegung / Organisation die Identitätsbildung eurer lokalen Gruppe?

Inwiefern sind die lokalen Gruppen selbst organisiert bzw. abhängig von der Bewegung?

Wieviel Freiheit haben die lokalen Gruppen in ihren Entscheidungen?

Inwiefern machen sie Gebrauch von dieser Freiheit?

Würdest du dir mehr / weniger Freiheit wünschen?

Welche Verbesserungen würdest du dir wünschen in der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den lokalen Gruppe und 350.org?

Was ist das Ziel des FF Movements?

Welche Strategie wird verfolgt, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen?

Local groups and its members

Wer ist eure Zielgruppe, wenn ihr neue aktive Mitglieder sucht?

Wie sind diese Menschen in die „Six Americas“ einzuordnen?

Wie kommunizieren die lokalen Gruppen mit potentiellen Mitgliedern / interessierten Menschen?

Gibt es irgendeine Form von interner Sprache, also Wörter oder Ausdrücke, die nur im Kontext von 350.org / in den lokalen Gruppen verwendet werden?

Gibt es visuelle Zeichen / Symbole, die nur in den lokalen Gruppe verwendet werden und sich von anderen Gruppen und 350.orgs Bildsprache unterscheiden?

Wer entscheidet über das Design von Kommunikationsmitteln und auf welcher Basis?

You and the movement

Was bedeutet es für Dich Teil einer internationalen Bewegung mit koordinierten Aktionstagen wie dem GGD oder dem Climate March zu sein?

Teil dieser Bewegung zu sein, was bedeutet das für dich im Bezug auf deine persönliche Hoffnung für das Klima?

Divestment Campaigning, was bedeutet das für dich im Bezug auf deine persönliche Hoffnung für das Klima?

Siehst du dich selbst als einen individuellen „Motor der Veränderung“ oder verschmilzt du in der Hinsicht mit der Gruppe?

The End

Gibt es sonst noch irgend etwas, das du gerne mit mir teilen / mir mitteilen würdest?

Appendix 2: List of Interviewees and Locations

Overview of the nine interviewees, the social role I hoped them to represent during the interview, the locations and the reason for which I chose those locations.

Social Role	Name	Location	Reason
FF Lund activist	Caroline	University Lund	Meeting place of FF Lund; the university as opponent of FF Lund
	Sara	University Lund	
	Joep	University Lund	
	Cherry	Stortorget, Lund	Place of demonstration at GDD
	Lisa	Stortorget, Lund	
FF Münster activist	Hanne	University Münster	Place of a former demonstration of FF Münster; the university as (former) opponent of FF Münster (they changed their focus towards the municipality of Münster, as the university refused any cooperation)
	Philipp	Philipp's home	Regular meeting place of FF Münster
	Lele	University Münster	Former meeting place of FF Münster
350.org employee	Tine	Quayside, Münster	Close to her office (which could not be used as an interview location due to construction works and to show consideration for her colleagues in the open-plan office).

Appendix 3: Declaration of Consent Form

Adaptation from: European Environment Agency. (2012). *Photograph, Video or Audio Recording Consent Form*. Retrieved from www.eea.europa.eu/about-us/competitions/generation-92-european-youth-video-competition/consent-form, accessed February 8, 2015.



LUNDS UNIVERSITET

LUCSUS
Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies

Photograph, Video or Audio Recording Consent Form

Video interviews as part of the qualitative research for Carolin Jaschek's master thesis in LUMES, Lund University International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science.

I, _____, do hereby consent to the use by Carolin Jaschek of my image, voice, or both, in the video recording described above.

I do have the right to inspect or approve the finished video recording, if I wish to do so.

I agree that all such pictures, video or audio recordings and any reproduction thereof shall remain the property of the author who may use it as it sees fit.

I understand that this consent is perpetual, that I may not revoke it, and that it is binding.

I understand that these images may appear publicly.

Name: _____

Date of Birth: ____ / ____ / ____

Contact details: _____

It is understood that this material will be used in a legitimate manner, both internally and outside Lund University and LUMES and is not intended to cause any harm or undue embarrassment to the parties involved.

Signature: _____

Date: ____ / ____ / ____

Appendix 4: How To Use This Multimedia Document


- (A) Theory.
- (B) The indented and marked text is the summary of the interviewees' answers to a subtheme. Some times it includes direct quotes, which are referenced with the interviewee's initials and the time code referring to the complete interview (see Appendix 6 and transcript instructions below), e.g. 'feel[ing] part of something bigger (CW, [00:12:06])'.
- (C) The full interviewees' answers from (B) can be watched in the respective film which is embedded in the document. Click on the image to start it. An internet connection is needed.
- (D) The video's name is also a hyperlink to my blog, where the videos are available in better quality (HD). Click on it to be forwarded. An internet connection is needed.

Differentiation via Collective Identity

The basis of collective identity are often values, common experiences of action or lifestyles and the like (Dijk, 1997: 29). Moreover, movements apply collective action frames that "dignify claims, connect them to others, and help to produce a collective identity" (Tarrow, 2011: 144). Therefore, frames are needed for justification and animation of collective action and important to define the inside- and the outside-group, "us" and "them" (Tarrow, 2011: 144) in order to foster unity and a group's stability.

But collective identity is not only regulated by the umbrella organization. Communication-based networks like internet mediated advocacy groups shape it themselves due to their independence and distributed communication, i.e. new media (Bennett, 2003: 149; Tarrow, 2011: 32).

There is a broad variety in the answers to the question of 350.org's influence on the local groups' identities. It is a smooth transition from no influence, mainly perceived in Münster, to some influence in Lund to "very strong influence" in the FF 350.org employee. One FF Lund activist mentions the FF campaign's origin in the globally connecting dimension as an important driver for the group's identity (CT, [00:11:11]), while a FF Münster activist states that 350.org does not play any role for him (PS, [00:24:42]). While all admit that the scope of the campaign's content is limited, some realize a stronger influence of the movement than others who perceive their group as an independent actor. The globally connecting dimension, "feel[ing] part of something bigger" (CW, [00:12:06]), is a recurring element, but also the necessity to adapt the campaign to the local context.



Video 21: Identity – 350.org's influence on the local groups' identities [2.2]

Script

An English script of the movies can be downloaded here: **[ENGLISH SCRIPT](#)**

There are subtitles in the videos on [my blog http://youspywithyourlittleeye.wordpress.com](http://youspywithyourlittleeye.wordpress.com).

Numbering

The number in brackets in (D) indicates the chapter in the script in which the respective movie can be found (see Appendix 5 for full table of contents of script).

Time Codes and Transcripts of Complete Interviews

In the script, you'll find the interviewee's initials next to a time code:

[00:00:10] JK: My name is Joep Karskens, I'm from the N

The time code indicates where this extract can be found in context in the complete interview films.

For example, Joep's presentation will be found in the complete interview with him (Video 42, Appendix 6) at minute 0:10.

The interviews' complete transcripts can be downloaded here: **[TRANSCRIPTS COMPLETE INTERVIEWS](#)**

Further recommendations

- Use Adobe Reader / Adobe Professional to open the document.
- If you want to stop a video, click the Stop symbol. If you click on Pause, the video will continue to play on its own at some point.



- Give the movie a little lead, i.e. after you clicked on it, wait a few seconds, so it can start loading the data, and then click the Play button.
- If you see an exclamation point instead of a film's preview, restart the document.



Appendix 5: Themes and Subthemes / TOC Complementary Video Material

THEME 0: PRESENTATION	THEME 5: PERSONAL MOTIVATION
THEME 1: FRAMING	5.1 Hope
1.1 350.org's objective	5.2 Global and Local Community
1.2 350.org's strategy	5.3 Empowerment
1.3 The FF campaign's objective and strategy	5.4 Responsibility
1.4 Climate Change	THEME 6: IMPROVEMENTS
THEME 2: IDENTITY	THEME 7: EXTRAS LUND
2.1 350.org's role for the grassroots groups	7.1 Impressions Lund
2.2 Influence on Identity	7.2 The Local Group
2.3 Self-organization / Dependency of the group	7.3 Signs / Visual Communication
2.4 The Six Americas	7.4 Creative Protest
2.5 Organizational Language	THEME 8: EXTRAS MÜNSTER
2.6 Organizational Signs and Symbols	8.1 Impressions Lund
2.7 Official Guidelines	8.2 The Local Group
2.8 Agents of Change	8.3 Signs / Visual Communication
THEME 3: LEADERSHIP	8.4 Creative Protest
3.1 Global Leadership	THEME 9: COMPLETE INTERVIEWS
3.2 Role of National Campaigner	9.1 Caroline Westblom (CW) / Fossil Free Lund
3.3 Bill McKibben	9.2 Joep Karskens (JK) / Fossil Free Lund
3.4 Local Leadership	9.3 Sara Skarp (SS) / Fossil Free Lund
3.5 Bottom Up / Influencing 350.org's strategy	9.4 Lisa Brand (LB) / Fossil Free Lund
THEME 4: Communication	9.5 Cherry Tsoi (CT) / Fossil Free Lund
4.1 Information Gathering	9.6 Philipp Schulte (PS) / Fossil Free Münster
4.2 (Personal) Communication with 350.org	9.7 Hanne Hagedorn (HH) / Fossil Free Münster
4.3 Internal Communication / Local Group	9.8 Leandra Prätzel (LP) / Fossil Free Münster
4.4 External Communication	9.9 Tine Langkamp (TL) / 350.org
4.5 Target Group for Potential Members	

Appendix 6: Videos Complete Interviews



Video 42: Caroline Westblom (CW) / Fossil Free Lund (9.1)



Video 43: Joep Karskens (JK) / Fossil Free Lund (9.2)



Video 44: Sara Skarp (SS) / Fossil Free Lund (9.3)



Video 45: Lisa Brand (LB) / Fossil Free Lund (9.4)



Video 46: Cherry Tsoi (CT) / Fossil Free Lund (9.5)



Video 47: Philipp Schulte (PS) / Fossil Free Münster (9.6)



Video 48: Hanne Hagedorn (HH) / Fossil Free Münster (9.7)



Video 49: Leandra Prätzel (LP) / Fossil Free Münster (9.8)



Video 50: Tine Langkamp (TL) /350.org (9.9)

Appendix 7: Reflections on Video Production

Equipment

As I did not get any support financially or in terms of equipment, my possibilities were limited. I borrowed everything for free from friends and family, which resulted in an amateur camera, a semi-professional tripod and a professional sound recorder, but no microphone or wireless transmitter as one would usually use for that occasion. Accordingly, the quality of sound and image is respectable, but not comparable to what it could have been with professional equipment and recorded by a qualified camera(wo)man and sound engineer.

Multitasking

Being only one person leading the interview, setting up the camera and the sound recorder, keeping track of both and at the same time concentrating on the interviewee is a very challenging task (Byrne, 2012: 220). Therefore, it was unavoidable that on the technical and visual side not everything went completely smooth. For example, in one interview the background is sharp, but not the interviewee; in another interview, there was nowhere to put the sound recorder. But after all, even though there is room for improvements, under the given circumstances, the results are satisfying as the most important aspect - capturing the content, the background and the overall atmosphere - was covered.

Weather

The weather has implications on the length of interviews and on the interviewees' answers (Pink, 2007a: 249; Evans & Jones, 2011: 853). The two interviews that were conducted on Stortorget right after the play in Lund are significantly shorter than those that were lead in the lecture hall. This might have two reasons: both interviewees agreed rather spontaneously to stay a bit longer and answer my questions, so they gave me some space in their otherwise scheduled day. Second, it was quite cold to sit outside, so I imagine them being less rambling, i.e. more focused in their answers. Furthermore, I skipped questions regarding communication within the group and towards others as I considered they wouldn't give me any new answers but lead to extensive explanations as I had experienced with the previous interviewees.

Location

The choice of locations was mainly led by context and less by pragmatic reasons. This in turn was sometimes problematic. For example, on Stortorget, a beggar interrupted one of the interviews, and generally, the wind was challenging for the outside audio recordings.

Personal background

Being a professional film-maker was very helpful in the whole process of producing video interviews. Not only did I have former experience in interviewing people in front of a camera, but I also knew what I would need in terms of equipment, designing a film and time management. I did not encounter the problems other researchers do (see Thieme, 2012) who make any sort of film for the first or second time.

Postproduction

Time was a crucial factor. I needed to transcribe all the interviews, including my parts, and translate the German interviews to English in order to make them accessible to all readers. The complete transcripts were necessary to being able to draw up the script and to link back from it to the original text to show it in its context, but also to represent the interview situation as holistic as possible.

Furthermore, I set up a blog where I could embed the videos in high resolution.

Finally, I was striving for subtitles for the videos, but I realized that this went beyond my possibilities regarding the expenditure of time. I complemented this after the official deadline of the thesis, and due to technical reasons, the videos on my blog are subtitled, but not those in the document.

Multimedia Document

The inclusion of videos into the final document in PDF-format required the use of another software than Microsoft Word, as with Word it is not possible to export a PDF with embedded videos. Therefore, I used the software InDesign to layout the document according to my needs. In order to provide the videos in good quality, they have to have a considerable size. As it would have been impractical to implement the high resolution (and high data) files into the document, the videos are only embedded in the document. The original videos are hosted on Lund University's webserver. It was a tradeoff between practicability and convenience. As for now, the videos in the document are rather small and pixelated, but they play directly in the written context. Plus, there is a link to each video that leads to my blog, where the videos can be found in high resolution. Here, they are also only embedded, the original files are to be found on YouTube.