

Climate and Labour Unite!

Ideological and Material Conditions of the German Climate-Labour Coalition “Wir Fahren Zusammen”

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Abstract:

This thesis contributes to the relatively recent call for a climate-labour turn. This turn positions the alliance building between the climate and labour movements as crucial for developing a strong counter-hegemonic movement with the power to push for a just green transition and confront the forces of capitalism. To understand the conditions and strategies necessary to foster such climate-labour coalitions, this thesis investigates the case of “Wir Fahren Zusammen” (WFZ), a German alliance between the public transport department of the labour union ver.di and the German branch of Fridays for Future. Based in eco-Marxism and ideology theory, this thesis seeks to understand the ideological and material conditions that formed the coalition as well as how praxis affected coalition members’ ideology. This was done through the causal thematic analysis of interviews with 13 members of the coalition, coming both from a labour and climate background, as well as analysis of several documents that played a role in the coalition’s work. The findings show that the unifying campaign set-up of WFZ based on the sustainable nature of the public transport sector enabled a diversity of actors to unite. Through the praxis of WFZ, a counter-hegemonic ideology developed that was able to resist the hegemonic ideological discourse which divides workers and environmentalists. A central aspect of this ideology was the interpellation of public transport workers as active subjects of the green transition. This highlights the need to centre the protection of working class living conditions in a climate-labour coalition’s framing, and the importance of workers to develop a subjectivity as central actors in the sustainable transition.

Keywords: climate-labour coalitions, ideology, eco-Marxism, counter-hegemony, working class environmentalism, just green transition

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Abbreviations and Translation

WFZ: “Wir Fahren Zusammen” (we drive/ride together)

FFF: Fridays for Future

JT: Just Transition

ISA: Ideological State Apparatus

TA: Thematic Analysis

All translations from German to English, both in the case of German literature as well as the interviews, were done by myself.

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1. Introduction

“We come together because that’s the only way we can win. And we must win—the flourishing of people and the planet depends on our meeting the challenge of a just transition.” - Jodi Dean and Kai Heron

Since the year 2018, when the global climate strike movement Fridays for Future and the civil disobedience movement Extinction Rebellion took off, Europe has seen an increasingly intense mobilisation around the issue of climate change – both in the form of reformist protests and more radical disruptive action (Malm, 2021; Herfort, 2023). However, as the years go by, and climate disasters increasingly sweep the globe in the form of wildfires, droughts, floods and soaring temperatures, political action to combat the climate crisis and phase out fossil fuels has remained missing (WMO, 2025; The Production Gap, 2021). As we are witness to the rise of the far-right across Europe, the increasing criminalisation of climate activists, decreasing living standards of the working class, and widespread political support for a genocide in Gaza that is not only a humanitarian but also environmental catastrophe, the system change that the climate movement has been calling for seems further away than ever.

Many are wondering how the movement should proceed at this point in time (Herfort, 2023). The discussion about the most effective strategy to gain power for climate action has intensified both within the climate movement as well as in academia (Malm, 2021; Kunkel et al., 2024). A recent suggestion that came out of this discussion is the call for a “climate-labour turn,” referring to alliance building between the climate and labour movement, and a general turn of the climate movement toward the abode of production and its sustainable reorganisation (Pye, 2017; Huber, 2022). This is connected to the notion of the *Just Transition*, which refers to a transition to a sustainable economy which centres justice for workers and has gained appraisal in environmental circles (Kaizuka, 2024).

A notable example of the climate labour turn in praxis is the “Wir Fahren Zusammen” (WFZ) campaign (translates to: we drive/ride together) which was a coalition between the German labour union *ver.di* and *Fridays for Future Germany (FFF)*. The coalition was active in Germany between 2020 and 2024 and campaigned for investments in public transport and better working conditions in the public transport industry. WFZ marked the turn of a new strategic direction in Germany’s climate movement, however, it has not received much attention beyond the German context. In this thesis, I aim to gain insight into the specific case of the WFZ coalition to understand the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour coalitions. I want to highlight the significance of climate-labour coalitions in creating a strong social movement that can confront the capitalist system, is inclusive of the working class and can build power for a transition to a socially and ecologically just society (Foster, 2004; Heron & Dean, 2022). To do so, I aim to answer the following research questions:

1. What ideological and material conditions affected the formation and development of the WFZ coalition?
2. How did members’ ideologies change over time through the praxis of the coalition?
 - 2.1 What conditions influence the formation of ideology in this case?
3. What insights can the developments in the WFZ coalition offer for understanding the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour alliances in a broader context?

This thesis is relevant to Human Ecology as it is situated at the intersection of power, culture and sustainability. I take a systemic approach to the climate crisis, investigating the political, economic and social aspects of a transition toward a just and sustainable society. More specifically, I analyse this transition from the perspective of workers who take a central and contested role.

The thesis is structured as follows: First, I will provide some background on the WFZ coalition's history and the German union context. Then I will outline the theoretical framework of the thesis, and thereafter give a review of the existing academic literature in the field of labour-environmental coalitions. The next chapter explains the methodology and methods I employed. I will then respond to the first two research questions through the presentation and analysis of my findings, and finally, I answer the third research question in the discussion section before drawing the final conclusions.

2. Background: The “Wir Fahren Zusammen” Coalition

WFZ started out in 2020 when FFF approached the labour union ver.di about a possible collaboration. Ver.di (united services labour union) is the second biggest union in Germany with 2 million members from different industries. The collaboration with FFF took place with the public transport department within ver.di (Ver.di, 2025). Fridays for Future Germany is the German branch of the international school strike movement Fridays for Future which began campaigning for climate protection in 2018 after its founder Greta Thunberg began skipping school on Fridays to protest the government’s lack of climate action (Herfort, 2023).

WFZ was officially an alliance of ver.di and FFF, but a diversity of actors with different organisational backgrounds became active in the campaign, especially from a leftist/eco-socialist background (Autor*innenkollektiv Climate.Labour.Turn, 2023). An inspiration for these activists was the German Marxist scholar Klaus Dörre who argues that in Germany “ the structurally defining industrial class conflict is [...] increasingly turning into a socio-ecological transformation conflict” (translation by me) (Dörre, 2022, p.24). He advises the environmental movement to recognise the climate crisis as an “economic-environmental pincer crisis” (translation by me) and to work out proposals that lower emissions while raising workers’ living standards (Dörre, 2022, p.51).

The activists from a climate background were diverse in gender expressions and mostly in their late teens or early twenties, while the public transport workers were majority male and on average much older than the climate activists (Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2025).

The alliance began in the form of workshops, and eventually took the form of three action phases. The first was during the collective bargaining round in the public transport sector in 2020, the second during the remuneration round of the collective agreement for the public sector in 2023 and the third during the collective bargaining round in public transport in 2024 (Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2025). Throughout the

three phases, WFZ became active in roughly 70 cities in Germany (Niederman, 2025). During the phases, union staff and volunteers worked together with climate activists to recruit staff in public transport for the strikes and action days which were attended by both public transport workers and climate activists. The strikes were focused on labour demands, while the action days and FFF-organised demonstrations were focused on the political demand for better climate protection through investment in public transport.

The recruitment of new members for the coalition was inspired by the organising framework developed by Jane McAlevey (2018). Her organising strategy puts a focus on working structurally instead of self-selectively. This meant in practice to go beyond the circles of already engaged people, and put effort into contacting those less interested through methods like telephone campaigning, actor mappings and specific training on how to recruit people for the cause (Autor*innenkollektiv Climate.Labour.Turn, 2023). WFZ regularly held so-called “organising schools” in which they trained new members in these methods (Onboarding Presentation, 2023). The central campaign message of WFZ was the demand for more investment by the national government in the public transport sector to facilitate more jobs and better working conditions for public transport workers (Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2025).

An important piece of context in the case of WFZ is the strict legislation in Germany regarding the political independence of unions. Unions striking for political reasons is illegal which is why WFZ faced critique from the federation of German employers’ associations and the Christian Democratic Union (Olanigan, 2024; Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2025). However, a legal suit by the employer’s association in Leipzig that sought to ban the WFZ strike in March 2024 was not successful (Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2025).

There has been some appraisal of WFZ in German eco-Marxist scholarly circles. Dörre’s colleague Julia Kaiser argues that WFZ is an example of the beginnings of German ecological class politics (Kaiser, 2022). Kaiser explains that this specific coalition between public transport workers and climate activists was a good place to

start building trust between the movements since the compatibility of ecological sustainability and social security is simple in this case. Kim Lucht and Steffen Liebig analysed a comprehensive qualitative survey of activists from the coalition that was undertaken under the organisation of Klaus Dörre in 2022. They found that the degree to which different activists evaluate the coalition's work as successful depends to a large extent on how much direct, personal and continuous cooperation between the (unequal) campaign partners could be established locally (Lucht and Liebig, 2023).

WFZ is not currently active, however, in some cities the groups have developed into a new coalition that unites different public sectors protesting cuts in public welfare (Berlin Steht Zusammen, 2025).

3. Theoretical Framework

“The environmental movement needs to face up to the fact that its goals run directly up against a highly intransigent opposition that is rooted in the power structures of capitalist society. Ultimately, achieving environmental sustainability will require us to transform those structures of power[...].” – J.B. Foster

This thesis is situated within the field of environmental labour studies and is based in an eco-Marxist framework that understands climate change as fundamentally linked to the capitalist mode of production. From this follows that to combat climate change effectively, one needs to remove the capitalist system (Malm & Hornborg, 2014). I use the concept of ideology, informed both by Hultgren and Stevis’ (2019) social-environmental interpretive scheme as well as Althusser’s theory on ideology.

3.1 Eco-Marxism

Eco-Marxist scholarship argues that there is a basic contradiction between the capitalist mode of production and sustainability, therefore the climate crisis can only be truly addressed if the capitalist system is abolished (Foster, 2002; Schutz, 2019; Klein, 2015). Different schools of thought within eco-Marxism highlight different aspects of this inherent contradiction.

Paul Burkett and John Bellamy Foster are the main scholars of the “metabolic rift school.” They present Marx’s theory of the metabolic rift and argue that it provides a “powerful analysis of the main ecological crisis of his [Marx’s] day—the problem of soil fertility within capitalist agriculture” (Foster, 1999, p.373). The metabolic rift concept “captures the material estrangement of human beings in capitalist society from the natural conditions of their existence,” with capitalist industrial agriculture violating the basic condition of sustaining life by maintaining soil fertility (Foster 1999, p.383). According to the metabolic rift school, environmental problems can best be understood as ecological cycles being disturbed by capital accumulation (Malm, 2017).

An alternative eco-Marxist approach, critical of the metabolic rift theory, is that of *world-ecology* coined by Jason Moore. He defines capitalism as an ecological regime in itself that organises nature and space in a specific way that makes up the capitalist mode of production. Nature is internalised in the valorisation process, and therefore not acknowledged as part of value creation (Leonardi, 2019). In Moore's own words: "Capitalist technics seek to mobilize and to appropriate the (unpaid) "forces of nature" so as to make the (paid) "forces of labor" productive in their modern form (the production of surplus value)." (Moore, 2014, p.295).

Another perspective on the inherent contradiction between capitalism and sustainability is the concept of *ecologically unequal exchange* which is utilised by scholars like Alf Hornborg, Stephen Bunker or Andrew Jorgenson. They use world-systems theory to argue that modern technology only functions through the exploitation of land and labour power from the peripheries (Hornborg, 2012; Bunker, 1988; Jorgenson, 2016).

My understanding of the inherent connection between climate breakdown and the capitalist economic system is informed by all three streams of thought mentioned above as they supplement each other.

3.2 Eco-Marxism on Labour and Nature

For this thesis, eco-Marxism is most relevant in its consequences for the connection between labour and environmental concerns. It provides me with an understanding of workers as inhabiting a central role in the process of transforming production in an ecological and just manner.

Eco-Marxist approaches to labour-environmental movement alliances operate from the assumption of an inherent connection between the labour and the environmental movement. According to Marx, labour is what manages society's relationship with nature, they constitute each other, and, because of this, the oppression of both the worker and nature through the structures of profit-oriented capitalist production is logical (Barca, 2024, p.23; Foster 1999, p.380). As Marx

argues in *Capital Vol. I*: “the capitalist production is “simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth – the soil and the worker.” (Marx, 1976, p.638). It does so as it seeks to extract maximum profit by undervaluing both nature’s resources and underpaying the worker who transforms these resources into a commodity to be sold at higher exchange-value (Malm 2016, p.281; Moore, 2014).

Andreas Malm highlights the historical connection between workers’ exploitation and nature’s exploitation that exists in addition to their theoretical connection in the capitalist system. He gives a historical account of the coeval rise of fossil capitalism (and therefore increased exploitation of nature) and the exploitation of workers. He argues that steam power was eventually favoured by capitalists during the English industrialisation because it could be delineated as private property (as opposed to flow energies like water), and transported to the cities where there was an endless source of workers which enabled capitalists to trap people in poor working conditions, easily turning them into an objectified commodity (Malm, 2016, Chapter 7).

Many eco-Marxist scholars have dedicated writings to the strategic consequences that arise out of this inherent theoretical and historical connection between labour and environment. The common argument is that the struggle for an ecological and social transition is actually a struggle over relations that underpin society’s social and ecological relationship with nature and the climate itself: ownership and control of production (Huber, 2022). Workers and their proximity to and knowledge of the production process therefore make them essential subjects in this struggle (Pye, 2017; Wissen, 2020; Huber, 2022; Nitsche-Whitfield, 2022; Feltrin & Leonardi, 2023). Paul Burkett argues in his book *Marx and Nature: A Red-Green Perspective* (2014) that it is the working class who should be at the centre in processes of change, as they are the class who has the power to organise production in a sustainable and socially positive way (Empson, 2015).

However, due to this inherent connection between the labour and environmental movement, the forces of capital have a major interest in keeping them divided, as

Ellen Russell (2017) argues. She labels the strategy of capitalist actors to subvert worker/environmental alliances and protect capital's interests by pitting environmental and labour demands against each other as the "divide and conquer strategy" of capital (Russell, 2017, p.109). This strategy has worked to the detriment of support for environmental movement in the working class. To combat this, Foster argues that "environmentalists need to avoid presenting people with a stark choice between protecting the environment and protecting the means by which they live" (Foster & Soron, 2004). I will outline a variety of suggestions that have been made in eco-Marxist literature on how to theoretically frame and practically approach the union between workers and environmentalism in the literature review section.

3.3 Ideology

My research targets the questions of ideologies present in WFZ members prior to their work in the coalition and the development of these ideologies throughout their time with WFZ. I take an approach to ideology that differs slightly from the classical "negative" Marxist understanding of ideology as "false consciousness" (Hartwig, 2007, p.252). I instead subscribe to a definition of ideology as "the political ideas or worldview associated with different standpoints, groups or social classes," in the case of this thesis I explicitly refer to hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies (Hartwig, 2007, p.252). I take inspiration from Louis Althusser's theory which emphasizes the influence of hegemonic ideology shaped by the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) which take form in institutions like the education system, religion, family relations, unions, or the political apparatus. Althusser argues that hegemonic ideology "represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence," namely the capitalist relations of production (Althusser, 1970, p.30). To maintain the capitalist relations of production, simply reproducing its material base (for example in the form of a skilled working class, or machinery) is not enough, ideology fulfils the function of reproducing submission in individuals to the hegemonic order which ensures its continued existence (Althusser, 1970, p.6).

Ideology is pervasive and appears to individuals as the obvious natural reality. However, Althusser also acknowledges that this ideology is not absolute, but in constant struggle against the exploited class where alternative ideologies can be born (Althusser, 1970, p.49). This birth of counter-hegemonic, empowering ideologies that challenge the capitalist relations is the focus of my research. A crucial Marxist thinker in this regard is Paulo Freire. He argued that to develop a truly revolutionary praxis challenging the capitalist system necessarily means to undergo a transformation of consciousness through an education that allows the proletariat to understand and empower themselves from the capitalist relations of production (Freire, 2014). This understanding of ideology based on Althusser informed the formulation of my interview guide as to probe into how the interviewees recognised themselves within particular subjectivities, and how they related to dominant narratives about the green transition. It also informed my analysis of the conditions that led to the formation of ideologies in the interviewees, as Althusser emphasises that ideology has a material existence in practices and does not exist only on the spiritual sphere of ideas (Althusser, 1970, p.33).

To better understand how a transformation of consciousness might have taken place in the coalition members, I employ a central concept of Althusser's theory of ideology: interpellation, describing an act of subjectification. According to him, the central function of ideology is to "interpellate individuals as subjects" which places them into categories and roles that end up shaping their actions and recruit them into the ideology (Althusser, 1970, p.38). Althusser uses the example of a police man calling out someone on the street to explain interpellation; The person who is called by "hey you" recognises themselves to be addressed, turns around and in that motion becomes the subject of the call (Althusser, 1970). The process of interpellation and ideology formation is mutually reinforcing, with each constituting the other, Althusser argues: "there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects" (Althusser, 1970, p.38). Althusser uses the concept of interpellation in the context of individuals being interpellated by hegemonic ideologies via the ISA. I stay true to the

meaning of the concept, however, I apply it in an innovative way to the context of an alternative, counter-hegemonic ideology being born in the exploited classes.

When it comes to an initial assessment of the different activists' ideology, I took inspiration from Hultgren and Stevis' (2019) interpretive scheme that seeks to analyse "the degree and limits of ideological convergence within coalitions or movements bridging social and environmental politics" (Hultgren & Stevis, 2019, p.460). The concept of ideology plays a central role in their scheme, defined as a "comprehensive belief system composed of patterned ideas and claims to truth" with three central analytical dimensions they employ: activists' visions of nature, political economy, and political community (Hultgren & Stevis, 2019, p.460). Hultgren and Stevis develop maps to visualise their scheme. I made use of one of the maps that visualised visions of nature and political economy to illustrate the different positions activists take ideologically. Hultgren and Stevis' definition of ideology is more neutral than the one I subscribe to, however, I still chose to make use of their map for an initial visualisation of ideological tendencies within the coalition.

In the map, the different visions of nature are placed along the x-axis where anthropocentric visions are placed on one end, and eco-centric approaches on the other. On the y-axis different conceptions of political economy (who should control production and consumption) are placed; Liberal views that promote the employer's authority are placed toward the "Inequality" end of the spectrum, while socialists are positioned at the opposite end for "Equality" (see Figure 1).

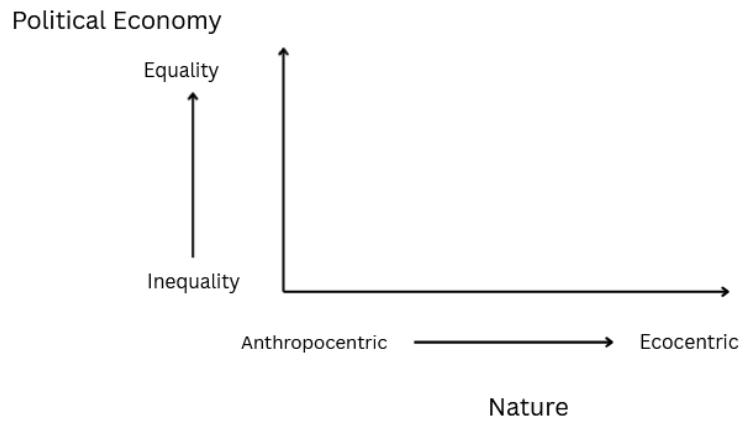


Figure 1. Ideology Visual Map (based on Hultgren & Stevis, 2019, p.462)

Hultgren and Stevis provide different labels for ideological positions at different points within their maps, however, as I found these labels slightly inaccurate at times, I only took over their design of the visual maps. The visual map depicting my findings will be presented in the findings section.

4. Literature review

The literature that this thesis draws on and contributes to comes from three fields which are partially interrelated: Eco-Marxism, environmental labour studies and social movement theory.

4.1 Eco-Marxist Literature on Climate-Labour Coalitions

Ecological Marxism has been an integral framework in the theorising of the relationship between labour and nature. Most scholars in the following literature review base themselves in an implicit or explicit eco-Marxist understanding of labour and nature as inherently connected, as I outlined in the theory section.

From this understanding of the systemic connection between the plight of workers and nature arise several academic interventions targeted at the climate movement and its lack of engagement with the labour movement. In 1993, John Bellamy Foster called out the limited effectiveness of environmentalism without class solidarity as it alienates and constructs an image of sustainability that is incompatible with workers' economic livelihoods (Foster, 1993). A more recent article with a similar call for change in the environmental movement is by Oliver Pye, a German scholar, urging for a "labour turn in the environmental movement" to address the neglected question of reorganising production and the role of the proletariat in this endeavour (Pye, 2017, p.532). In the US-context, Matthew Huber proposes a Proletarian ecology for the environmental movement which centres workers in the struggle to gain access to and organise sustainably the means of production, as well as provide the working class with access to the elements of a secure life (Huber, 2022). Peter Nitsche-Whitfield, who is based in the Austro-German context, echoes Russell (2017) and argues that trade unionists and environmental activists should recognise capital's attempt to play them off against each other and work toward a class-conscious ecological activism (Nitsche-Whitfield, 2022).

Two other influential scholars from Austria and Germany who have called for coalition-building between the labour and environmental movement from an eco-Marxist perspective are Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen. While they are clear in their argument that these coalitions are essential, they are also critical of the limitations of such coalitions in the Global North. Brand and Wissen employ the concept of the “imperial mode of living” to explain that the material prosperity in the Global North is enjoyed at the expense of nature and people in the Global South (Brand & Wissen, 2021, p.5). Unions and workers are indirectly implicated into the externalisation of social-ecological costs to the Global South since the production that they work in and that grants them material prosperity, causes the effects to be externalised in the first place (Wissen, 2020; Hornborg, 2012). This implication came to be through the historical compromise between unions and capital when unions essentially accepted the capitalist mode of production in exchange for a bigger share in the increased prosperity (Röttger & Wissen, 2017). According to Brand and Wissen, for labour-environmental coalitions in the Global North to overcome the imperial mode of living they need to confront racism in the working class, critically reflect on unions’ strategies in fostering national competitiveness and to challenge competitive corporatism (Wissen & Brand, 2021).

4.2 Environmental Labour Studies

When it comes to researching the connection between actors in the labour movement and environmental concerns, the field of Environmental Labour Studies is central. Environmental Labour studies seek to connect the previously disjointed fields of environmental studies and labour studies by acknowledging labour as having an inherent relationship with nature since it forms the (industrial) production process that transforms nature (Stavis et al., 2018). Labour is treated as “the medium of metabolism between society and nature” which highlights the close connection environmental labour studies have with eco-Marxist analysis ” (Wissen & Brand, 2021, p.709).

There are three broad areas of interest that form the current scholarly discourse in environmental labour studies: the role of unions, the Just Transition framework and working class environmentalism, which dives into the ontological consequences of an environmentalism formed by labour actors.

Unions

Unions have been analysed to have a variety of approaches to their work, with three main ones emerging: unionism as anti-capitalism, unionism as social integration and business unionism (Hyman, 2001). While the first approach is concentrated on developing workers' class consciousness for a radical transformation of the class system, and the second one on a more gradual integration of workers' social needs, the business unionism model is solely concentrated on the workers' interests at the workplace, in the form of wages and working conditions. Business unionism is the predominant union strategy in Europe and the US and leads to a central conflict often referenced in environmental labour studies: the "jobs versus environment dilemma" (Räthzel & Uzzell, 2011, p.1215). This perceived dilemma speaks to the often present discourse that suggests the interests of workers in environmentally harmful industries (i.e. coal mining, automobile manufacturing etc) are diametrically opposed to the interests of the environment that their labour is transforming and those of the movements advocating for said environment.

In the German context, there is no comprehensive study of the environmental discourse in German trade unions, however, there is insightful work on the shape the jobs versus environment discourse takes here. Tobias Kalt investigated narratives surrounding the German coal phase out and found the presence of a jobs versus climate narrative which delays the coal phase out (Kalt, 2021). Seeing as this is the position German unions take in the face of the sustainable transition, Klaus Dörre argues that German unions need to understand their own interest in sustainability and act as protagonists in the sustainable transition if they are not to stand in the way of it (Dörre, 2020).

Just Transition

The second major concept in the environmental labour discourse is *Just Transition* (JT). The term developed in union debates in the 1980s and has been one of the official objectives of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) since 2015, defined as: “greening the economy in a way that is as fair and inclusive as possible to everyone concerned, creating decent work opportunities and leaving no one behind” (Kaizuka, 2024, p.155). There is a wide variety of literature on the concept of JT as it has become somewhat of an umbrella term for environmental and social justice. I will not cover the academic debate on JT in depth, but focus on the contributions most relevant to the topic of labour and environmental alliances. Wilgosh et al. (2022) make an important intervention by analysing how different policy framings of JT and their key proponents (labour and environmental actors) can guide the way towards more inclusive and transformative approaches to energy transitions. They find that labour and environmental actors, both separately and in coalitions, offer the most transformative vision of a just transition, while big governmental and private actors rather frame it through a lens of investment, innovation, and ecological modernisation as seen for example in the European Green Deal (Wilgosh et al., 2022). Wilgosh et al. are critical of the use of the JT framework in labour-environmental coalitions since the term has been appropriated and institutionalised by powerful actors who aim to preserve the status quo.

Working Class Environmentalism

The third major concept in labour-environmental studies that relates closely to the topic of coalitions between labour and environmental movements is “working class environmentalism.” This term was coined by Stefania Barca, the main scholar whose work I will reference in this field. The main premise of Barca’s work is that the dramatic environmental changes of the industrial age have affected workers and turned them into ecological subjects who developed an environmentalism that is a

distinct form of environmental consciousness which she calls “working class environmentalism” (Barca, 2024, p.37).

Barca’s earliest conception of working class environmentalism developed when researching the struggles against industrial toxicity in Italy in the 1960s and 90s. Here she defined it as environmental mobilisation that starts from and revolves around labour, with a vision of ecology as the industrial manipulation of nature via human labour (Barca, 2024, Introduction; Barca, 2012). It is “the day-to-day struggles that workers at the bottom of the agriculture, industry and service sectors lead, both individually and in organized form, to defend the integrity and safety of their working environment and of the environment where their families and communities live.” (Barca, 2012, p.66). David Uzzell’s (2021) study relates to Barca’s theorisation of the specific type of environmentalism that develops in labour movements. He interviewed 20 unionists engaged in environmental topics to understand how they think about the relationship between environment and labour. The responses spoke to the importance of their background as socialists in believing that they can only understand the world if they see how all its parts interact and are interdependent, with nature being a central part of these interrelations. Their perspective on the interdependence of workers’ and nature’s wellbeing led them to propose policies that address larger societal problems, rather than eco-modernist and technocratic fixes (Uzzell, 2021).

4.3 Social Movement Theory

An additional scholarly field of debate that has made some important contributions to the research on labour-environmental coalitions is social movement theory. This field of research is occupied with questions of the mobilisation of collective action. It investigates social movements for their strategies, goals, and values (Klandermans & Stekelenburg, 2009). Several scholars have approached the phenomenon of coalitions between the labour and environmental movement from this angle. An early study is by Mayer et al. which examined the formation of an environment-labour coalition in

New Jersey and used the theory of framing to argue that coalition actors construct a common frame uniting union and environmental activists (Mayer et al., 2010). A more recent study done from a similar angle is by Robinson who examined the development of environmental-labour coalitions in California and British Columbia, including the mechanisms that shape the emergence and sustainability of these coalitions. She finds three key mechanisms that are critical in the establishment of these coalitions: drawing on the strength of organisational diversity, focusing on relationship building (including flexible ideologies, trade-offs and hybrid identities), and, in line with Mayer et al., frame bridging (Robinson, 2020). Furthermore, Jasper and Rose explored the role that class cultural divides play in these coalitions between quite different actors and found that the main divide which needs to be bridged in the climate-labour context is the difference in prioritisation: labour unions typically prioritize job security and economic stability, whereas environmentalists focus on broader systemic change (Jasper & Rose, 2000).

4.4 Summary of Literature

In this table I summarise the most important contributions of each stream of literature with my theoretical framework in mind.

Table 1: Summary of literature review

	Ontological Perspective on the climate-labour nexus	Strategic Perspective on climate-labour coalitions
Eco-Marxism	- Labour's and nature's interests are inherently connected under the capitalist system that exploits both in its profit seeking mechanism - Highlights the imperial contradiction of ecologically unequal	The major strategic weakness of the current climate movement is its failure to take on workers' concerns and operate in solidarity with them.

	exchange that workers in the Global North embody.	Connecting with workers would allow the climate movement to possibly affect the abode of production and restructure it sustainably and justly.
Environmental-Labour Studies	- Working class environmentalism revolves around labour with a vision of ecology as the industrial manipulation of nature via human labour as a theoretical basis and the recognition of the interdependence of nature and workers' wellbeing which leads to a systemic view and understanding of unions as social movement actors. - Unions however remain steeped in narratives of the jobs versus environment dilemma	- There are constraints to using the term "Just Transition" in labour-environment coalitions since it has been appropriated by big governmental and private actors to be framed through innovation and eco-Modernism. - Unions need to understand themselves as central actors in the sustainable transition and see their own interest in it
Social Movement Theory	No analysis of a systematic or theoretical connection, the two movements are rather viewed as actors coming from different ideological and class backgrounds that need to overcome their divides in order to mobilise together	Successful strategies employed in the past to facilitate these coalitions have created a frame that unites the two movements' different approaches, especially in terms of prioritisation, and general worldviews, as well as focusing on relationship building between the different actors

4.5 Contribution of This Study

My study draws on insights from the three streams of literature presented in this review to provide an analysis of the ideological groundings of activists in the WFZ coalition. Eco-Marxist discourse about the strategic weakness of the current climate movement in its failure to operate in solidarity with workers is the point of departure of this thesis and provides the backdrop for my motivation to further investigate the WFZ coalition. The practical mechanisms and strategies that helped WFZ form and become successful have been discussed in the German literature, but what has remained missing is a deeper look at the coalition members' ideologies and their development through the praxis in the coalition, as well as the material conditions that influenced the forming of the coalition. Generally, the WFZ coalition's practical experiences have not been put into connection with the wider social movement theory on such coalitions or the more specific theory on working class environmentalism emerging out of labour environmentalism. That is why I make use of the existing scholarship on labour environmentalism which engages with internal processes of environmentalism in workers, hegemonic narratives about labour and environment, as well as social movement theory. I believe the combination of these fields can help translate the experience of activists in WFZ into the wider context of establishing successful climate-labour coalitions and add the case of WFZ to a growing collection of climate-labour coalitions that are discussed in the academic literature.

5. Methodology

5.1 Research Paradigm

The research design for this thesis was guided by the paradigm of critical realism. Critical realism postulates realist ontology and epistemological relativism. According to critical realist philosophy, the reality of the world exists independently of people's understanding of it. Physical processes or social phenomena are what the founder of critical realism, Bhaskar (1975, p.xi), calls the "intransitive dimension of science." Scientific theories and discourses about these processes and phenomena are the "transitive" dimension (Sayer, 2000, pp.10-11). This transitive dimension is acknowledged as a social process and (scientific) knowledge therefore as a social product (Benton & Carib, 2011, p.131).

Critical realism analyses the world through different domains: the domain of the "real" where deep causal mechanisms take place independently of human understanding, the domain of the "actual" where these mechanisms are expressed as tangible phenomena, and lastly the domain of the "empirical" of observed events (Benton & Carib, 2011, pp.125-126). The goal of critical realist research is to make inferences about mechanisms in the domain of the 'real' through qualitative and quantitative methods. Abstractions are critical to identify the necessary, constituent properties of the study object to understand its generative mechanisms and arrive at a causal analysis (Danermark & Ekström, 2019, p.65). Abstraction is a helpful tool because it allows to isolate certain elements of the social reality, before hypothesising the existence of underlying social structures (Brown et al., 2002). The formulation of my research questions which seek to understand the meaning activists construct in their ideologies and the necessary conditions for these meanings to arise was informed by a critical realist philosophy. I collected empirical data through interviews and documents, approaching their content from an interpretive perspective. Through later causal thematic analysis, I was able to abstract a common pattern that pointed to

constituent factors of the activists' political ideology as well as generative mechanisms on the level of the real that led to the formation of such ideology. I followed a process of increasing levels of abstraction by organising and later thematising codes in my analysis (see Fig. 2).

5.2 Methods

The major part of empirical data for this research was elicited in the form of 13 qualitative, semi-structured interviews. I chose this method as interviews are a “key venue for exploring the ways in which subjects experience and understand their world.” (Brinkmann et al, 2018, p.10). Qualitative interviews are the method best suited to investigate the ideological meaning that activists within the WFZ coalition give to their work. In the context of studying current social movements, interviews are especially valuable since there is a lack of accessible data in a written format, and personal accounts of people within these movements have the most to reveal (Della Porta, 2014). The documents I analysed were used in supplementation to the interviews to understand the materials provided to activists in WFZ.

I chose to focus my research on the WFZ coalition which only operated in the German national context, therefore my data collection took place in the German language. All translations were done by myself.

Interviews

In designing my interview study, I oriented myself along the guidelines presented by Brinkmann et al (2018). I firstly thematised my study and developed my theoretical framework around climate-labour coalitions before designing an interview guide. The interview guide was formulated in a way to produce content about the interviewee's conceptual understanding of the environment, labour, its interrelation, and their political ideology, inspired by my theoretical framework based in eco-Marxism and ideology (see Appendix I). I followed a semi-structured approach during the interviews which meant that I did not stick to the guide rigidly, but changed the order

of the questions according to the flow of the conversation. The interviews took place via zoom, were audio recorded, held in German, and lasted between 45 mins and an hour. I transcribed the interviews for the later analysis. The first interviews early in the process allowed me to evaluate the effectiveness of the interview guide in addressing my research questions, leading to some changes.

I recruited participants using “mixed purposeful sampling strategies” (Leavy, 2017, p.149). In my case this meant that my participants were not chosen randomly, but rather with the purpose of heterogeneity in order to provide a wealth of information. This heterogeneity also makes identification of common patterns in the interviews more robust (King et al., 2019). I aimed for my sample group to be diverse in two aspects: the locations in Germany where the interviewees had taken part in the coalition, as literature suggested experiences varied greatly between cities (Lucht and Liebig, 2023), and the interviewees’ political background before joining WFZ, as this was of interest in the development of a political ideology. The sample was coincidentally diverse in regard to the gender identities, occupation and ages of the participants. I interviewed 13 people in total, in Table 2 I outline their period of activity and organisational backgrounds (see Table 2). It is important to note that all interviews who came from ver.di labour union had a professional background in public transport.

To recruit the participants for this study, I reached out to people active in the coalition whose contacts I had and who acted as gatekeepers. Through this I gained access to the *Telegram* group chat of the coalition which has around 1000 members. Here I sent a message and received responses from 7 people. From the participants I interviewed initially, I proceeded with snowball sampling, getting connected with 5 more interviewees. I also contacted certain WFZ local groups or activists with an active social media presence via *Instagram* and found one interviewee through this.

Table 2: Interview Participants

Participant's Pseudonym in the thesis	Years of activity in the WFZ coalition	Political background before joining the WFZ coalition
Theo	2022-2024	ver.di labour union
Ben	2023-2024	ver.di labour union
Mathias	2023-2024	ver.di labour union
Finn	2020-2024	ver.di labour union
Martin	2020, 2023	Formerly in a labour union, local left-wing politician
Jonas	2023-2024	Marxist climate concerned group
Lisa	2023-2024	Climate Justice group
Luca	2022-2024	Students for Future, anti-coal activism
Julius	2023-2024	Fridays for Future, a national youth environmental group
Anna	2021-2024	Students for Future
Mia	2020-2024	Students for Future
Sofie	2023-2024	Fridays for Future
Lea	2023-2024	Fridays for Future

Document Analysis

In order to supplement my data collection, I assembled a number of internal text documents that I was given by one of the interviewees with her permission to use

them for my analysis: a document with prompts for conversations to recruit workers, the presentation used for onboarding new members, and several documents with guidelines for the PR work done for the campaign (see Table 3). The documents were important for me to understand what materials activists were given during their time in WFZ to inform their work and to be able to analyse how these might have affected their meaning-making and development of their ideology. The documents were created by the national organising group of WFZ which was made up of especially active members with a background in climate activism and experience with the labour organising framework by Jane McAlevey (McAlevey, 2018).

Table 3: Primary Documents

Document	Content	Author	Date of Publication
“Einwände entkräften” (How to refute objections)	A conversation guide for introductory talks with workers in public transport	The national organising group of WFZ	November 2023
Onboarding Presentation	Presentation for new members outlining the WFZ	The national organising group of WFZ	Autumn 2023
“Öffentlichkeitsarbeit-Paket” (PR material)	A guide on doing PR work about WFZ	The national organising group of WFZ	January 2024

5.3 Analysis

For the analysis of the interview and document data, I used causal thematic analysis as it is described by Christodoulou (2024). Normal thematic analysis (TA) is used when the researcher’s goal is to reduce the data to a few themes that can summarise its content, usually to explore the viewpoints of members of a certain social group or

context (Christodoulou, 2024, p.34). Christodoulou developed his approach to causal thematic analysis as a critical realist-inspired thematic analysis that prioritizes “not only description and exploration but causal explanations reached by the inferences of abduction and retroduction as well.” (Christodoulou, 2024, p.34). His approach developed out of a synthesis of the earlier papers on the topic by Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) and Fryer (2022). Christodoulou’s method of analysis was suitable to my research goal since my research questions aimed to establish causal connections between ideological and material conditions and the formation of the WFZ coalition as it took place, as well as causal connections between change in activists’ ideology and their time in the coalition. Christodoulou’s causal TA made it possible to discover connections of this nature and to justify them with a solid method of analysis.

He suggests four stages of analysis corresponding to levels of abstraction which I followed closely:

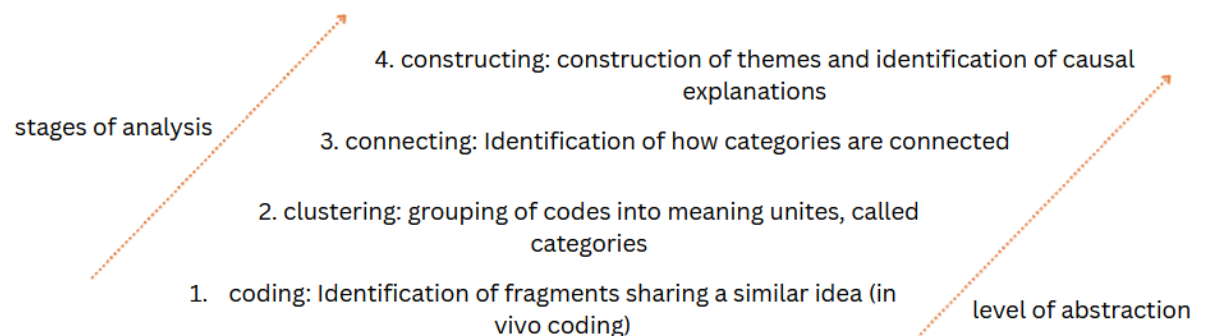


Fig.2 The Stages of Analysis (based on Christodoulou, 2024)

Firstly, I went through an open coding process during which I coded all interview and document data in NVivo, using my research questions as guidelines. This produced around 200 codes. In the next step, I clustered codes that shared similarities into categories. According to Christodoulou, the categories should not overlap and

codes should only correspond to one category at a time (Christodoulou, 2024, p.44). Categories are labelled at a higher level of abstraction than the codes, however they should avoid imposing theoretical concepts at this stage. After this step, I ended up with 31 categories (see Appendix III). In the third step of the analysis, the aim is to discover connections between the different categories and the emergent properties of these connections. Christodoulou defines a connection as: “one category makes another more specific, one category is part of another, one category is a condition which enables or restraints another category to be what it is” (Christodoulou, 2024, p.46). To visualise the connections between all categories, I employed a one-mode network, in which 1 connotes a connection and 0 connotes no connection, as Christodoulou suggests (see Appendix IV).

After creating the network table, I wrote down what the connections mean qualitatively, reasoning why I made the connection. Writing this out led me to the formulation of themes which were essentially redescriptions of the most salient connections in a conceptual manner while abstracting the essential features of these connections (Christodoulou, 2024, p.47). I engaged in an abductive process, trying to arrive at the formulation of a theme that best explained all clusters’ relationships. The mechanism that Christodoulou suggests for developing causal explanations for the themes that answer the research questions is “retroductive reasoning” (Christodoulou, 2024, p.48). This meant that I asked myself the questions: What makes this theme to be what it is? What are the necessary conditions for this theme to emerge in the data? Through this I was able to draw out causes for the themes on the level of the real which I describe and depict visually in my findings section (see Fig.4).

5.4 Researcher’s Positionality

I came to the topic of this research through my own involvement in ecosocialist movement building and my familiarity with the German climate movement. I have a subjective position on the topic of climate-labour alliances that I bring to my research. I believe in the value of these coalitions in the struggle against the

capitalist-induced climate crisis and want to contribute to their future success. As such, I position this paper as a work of scholar-activism. I engaged with the works of scholars who describe themselves as researcher activists to better understand the position I take and how to navigate academic research of an issue I am also connected to as an activist (de Castro, 2023). This led me to the position that academic research and activism strengthen each other; Activist positions can guide research to be relevant and meaningful, while academic language can help reflect on the effectiveness and relevance of activism (de Castro, 2023, p.51). I aim to bring my findings not only in conversation with the academic debate around the topic, but to also make them available to movements and organisers attempting to build labour-climate alliances.

I recognise that my positionality impacted my research in a few ways. Firstly, it influenced the data I was able to collect. My positionality made accessing the participants for this study possible in the first place. I doubt that I could have gained entry into the coalition as quickly without my prior knowledge and contacts to vouch for me. This facilitated a certain trust between the interviewees and me; while I did present myself in the role of a researcher and not an activist, I was open with them about my personal investment in the topic upon their asking. Therefore, participants might have shared more details than they would have with an outsider, however, they might have also changed their responses in a way that they believed served me well. Secondly, my positionality might have influenced the results of my analysis, as I had preconceived notions about the nature of labour-environmental coalitions which could have influenced the direction of my analysis and stopped me from discovering patterns that disagree with my preconceived ideas. However, in order to mitigate this as much as possible, I checked in with all interviewees about my presentation of their quotes in the context of my analysis.

5.5 Ethical Considerations

The major ethical considerations in this study concerned the treatment of the interview participants who volunteered their time and energy for this project.

I strive for a principle of mutuality in my research praxis since I want the research not only to benefit me but also the community I investigated (Leavy, 2017, p.36). The interviewees did not benefit in a monetary sense from their participation in the project, however, I do believe the experience of being interviewed about their activist work was empowering and satisfying for them. I will share the thesis with each participant and summarize the most relevant findings to WFZ to share with the participants and gatekeepers. All participants expressed their commitment to WFZ and their motivation for participating in my research to help future climate-labour coalitions be successful. Since we shared this goal, I believe there was a certain reciprocity in the relationships I built with the interviewees.

I followed Lund University's ethical guidelines regarding informed consent and treatment of interview data. Before any interview, every participant received an informed consent form in their Native language which outlined that their data would be treated confidentially and presented anonymously in the thesis, as well as their right to withdraw at any point (See Appendix II for the English and German versions). Participants had the opportunity to ask questions before the interview if anything was unclear, and received a more detailed briefing of the scope of the research after the interview. I sought participant's consent before incorporating direct quotes from their interviews into the thesis.

Concerning anonymisation of the participants, I made the choice not to mention the cities where their campaign work took place, nor their ages. The WFZ coalition is a relatively small community and several of the participants hold a central role in their local groups, so would therefore be easily identifiable by an insider. Since the interviews concerned sensitive topics like political beliefs, it was especially important to ensure complete anonymity of all interviewees. This also concerned the names of smaller organisations that were involved in WFZ. As some interviewees expressed

the wish not to have their organisation mentioned by name, I chose to only name the official coalition partners (ver.di and FFF) and keep the rest anonymous.

Lastly, concerning the use of the documents, I was given explicit permission by one of the creators of these documents to make use of them in my analysis and to quote them in my thesis. None of the documents contained information that was sensitive or breached individual's privacy.

5.6 Research Limitations

Firstly, a limitation of the interviews was their online location. In-person interviews would have been preferable to build a stronger relationship of trust with the participants and possibly gain deeper insights.

Secondly, while interviewing 13 activists with diverse backgrounds in the WFZ coalition allowed me to arrive at a point of finding a pattern in the formation of their political ideologies, I believe interviewing more activists might complicate the pattern, add nuance, and generally give the results more authority. I chose a smaller sample size due to time constraints, as well as to be able to make a first move at connecting the experiences of activists in the WFZ coalition with the larger theory about labour-environmental coalitions, and hopefully determine concepts that are useful in understanding the case of WFZ. Speaking from the perspective of critical realism, even a small case can potentially allow the researcher to discover mechanisms that operate on the level of the real (Danermark & Ekström, 2019). A future study on this topic might benefit from a larger sample size to explore this further and investigate if the mechanisms hold true.

Lastly, what remains a question my thesis was not able to address due to its limited scope was the role of solidarity with the Global South in climate-labour coalitions in the Global North. I chose to focus my study on the case of WFZ which operated exclusively in the German national context. This was due to my expertise of the context, as well as having a limited time frame. However, this choice meant I was

unable to incorporate the perspective of labour-environmental movements situated in the Global South. The appropriation of land and labour in the periphery is a crucial aspect of the capitalist system which workers and unions in the Global North are indirectly implicated in (Hornborg, 2012). This necessitates a theorising of this dynamic in movements located in the imperial core (Wissen, 2020). While there was a general awareness in my interviewees about the injustice of climate chaos happening in the Global South which carries the least responsibility for historical emissions, this did not directly translate into the WFZ campaign's set up or content. An avenue for future research that I believe could be extremely fruitful is an investigation into a possible uniting frame that not only highlights the connections between labour and environment and resists capital's divide and conquer strategy, but also addresses imperial structures and therefore the need for internationalist solidarity.

6. Findings and Discussion

6.1 Findings

Analysing the interview and document data employing causal thematic analysis, five themes emerged. I present them in this section, and outline how they answer the first two research questions, along with a visual depiction of the causal mechanisms that are connected to each theme (see Fig.3). In the discussion section I will outline explicitly how these findings respond to my third research question.

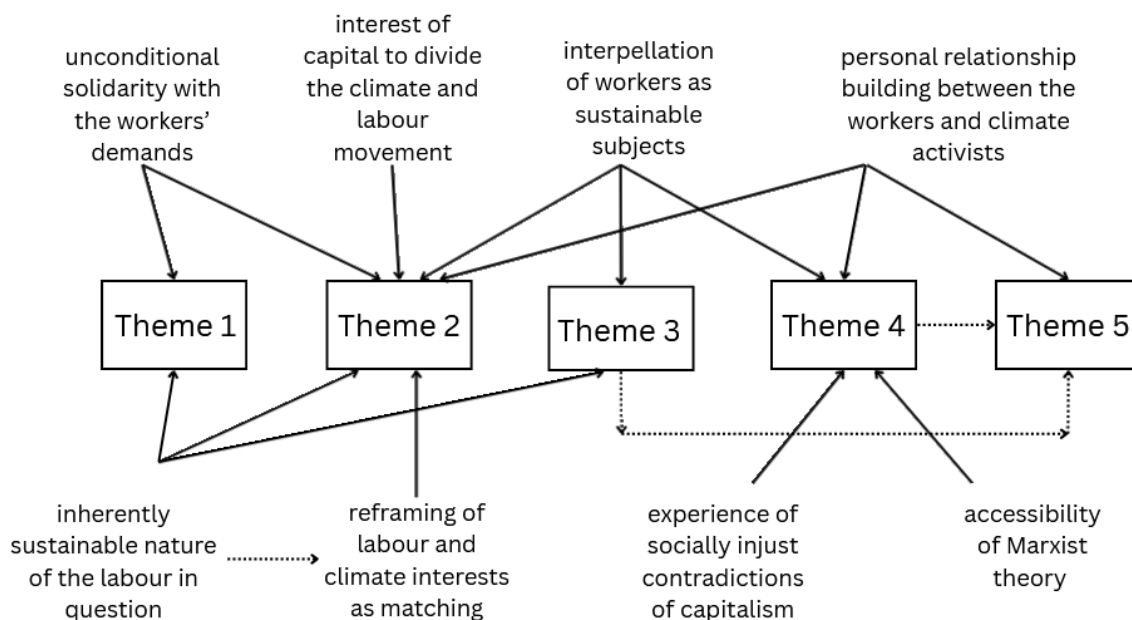


Fig.3 Visual Illustration of the Themes and Their Causal Mechanisms

(The dotted arrows between two aspects illustrate a prerequisite for the latter to emerge.)

Theme 1: Unifying Campaign Set-Up

As I outlined in the introduction to the “Wir Fahren Zusammen” coalition, while WFZ is officially presented as an alliance of Fridays for Future and the labour union

ver.di, in reality, actors with diverse organisational and ideological backgrounds from the far to centre-left spectrum were drawn to the WFZ coalition. This interest from very different actors was possible because of the WFZ campaign's set up. I found two causes that made this uniting set-up possible: solidarity with the workers' demands, and the inherently sustainable nature of labour in the public transport sector.

Firstly, the campaign was explicitly centred around the issue of bad working conditions for public transport drivers. This was said in the interviews: *"the main demand was more funding for the public transport and therefore better working conditions, better pay and an expansion of the transport network"* (Sofie), but this also became clear to me through my analysis of the documents that were used to introduce the campaign to new audiences. Presenting the fight against bad working conditions as the common goal united different groups *"who would have otherwise had ideological disagreements. But they understood that we all fight for the same thing: For all the drivers to win the negotiation and improve their conditions"* (Lisa). Being in solidarity with the drivers was an uncontested stand for all actors involved, and therefore an effective way to unite them.

Secondly, the WFZ coalition presented a promising strategic opportunity to all actors despite their varying ideologies. I used Hultgren and Stevis' (2019) interpretive scheme to make sense of the different coalition members' ideology and to understand their convergence in seeing WFZ as a strategic opportunity. Like Stevis and Hultgren, I categorised different ideologies according to their vision of nature and political economy. Through this approach, I identified five main ideological tendencies in the coalition:

- For **ecosocialist/Marxism-informed actors (a)** the WFZ coalition was an opportunity to work on the climate labour turn, as Luca said explicitly: *"the biggest success of this campaign was to lay groundwork for the climate-labour turn, that's what we always said, to orient the climate movement toward labour struggles."* Luca was not the only interviewee who mentioned the term "climate-labour turn," many

Marxist-informed interviewees had an understanding of it according to how Oliver Pye defines it: *“we need to overcome capitalism (to be sustainable) and to achieve that we need to unite with the people who are workers because the plane of production is where we need to do the sustainable transformation.”* (Luca). In this ideological stream, actors showed an eco-Marxist understanding of nature, and political economy as I outlined it in my theoretical framework. This stream also includes an anti-fascist attitude that sees WFZ as an opportunity to fight the spread of far-right ideology in the working population and unite the society behind an inclusive, leftist agenda that is focused on good working conditions for essential labour: *“it was a time, and still is, when it feels like society is divided more and more, and this idea of we need to connect people to keep them from drifting to the right was a motivation for me as well”* (Lisa).

- **System critical climate activists (b)** who were not explicitly Marxist or ecosocialist, saw the WFZ coalition as a campaign to make the compatibility of climate and social justice clear for a majority in the population and thus build a broad alliance of different social groups that support climate just policies: *“my belief was that we have to unite to change the system away from the imperative for constant growth, and coalition building like WFZ is one of the only options to build power, to build a majority who supports such a change”* (Lisa). These activists are less radical in their approach to an equitable political economy, but align with the Marxist-informed activists in their prioritisation of socially just solutions to the climate crisis.

- For **climate activists with a focus set more on emission reductions in the transport sector (c)**, WFZ was of interest due to the content of its campaign to put pressure on the state for more investments in public transport. These activists had a more eco-centric approach but similarly anti-capitalist attitude as system-critical activists.

- **Labour activists and workers who were more or less system critical (d)**, saw WFZ as a help in building solidarity for their labour strikes in the population by

publicly having the moral power of young climate activists on their side: “*WFZ combines the striking power of the workers with the moral power of the climate movement*” (Lisa). These people had a mostly anthropocentric approach, and varying opinions on political economy within a generally leftist to left-centre spectrum.

- For **social-democratic union officials in ver.di (e)** the WFZ coalition was an opportunity to gain lobbying power and publicity for the union by combining strike power with activists’ discursive political power which is not usually possible for the unions by themselves due to strict German strike laws: “*I think ver.di bureaucrats have a problem because they do not have enough power or lobby for their labour strikes. They saw that the climate movement gets a lot of publicity which ver.di lacks and thought they would try to combine their causes.*” (Jonas). This ideological tendency was similar to (d) but more liberal in its political economy.

Some interviewees also held multiple of the above-mentioned strategic motivations at the same time or changed from one to another throughout their time in WFZ. In Fig.3 I visualise the different ideological positions actors in the WFZ coalition took.

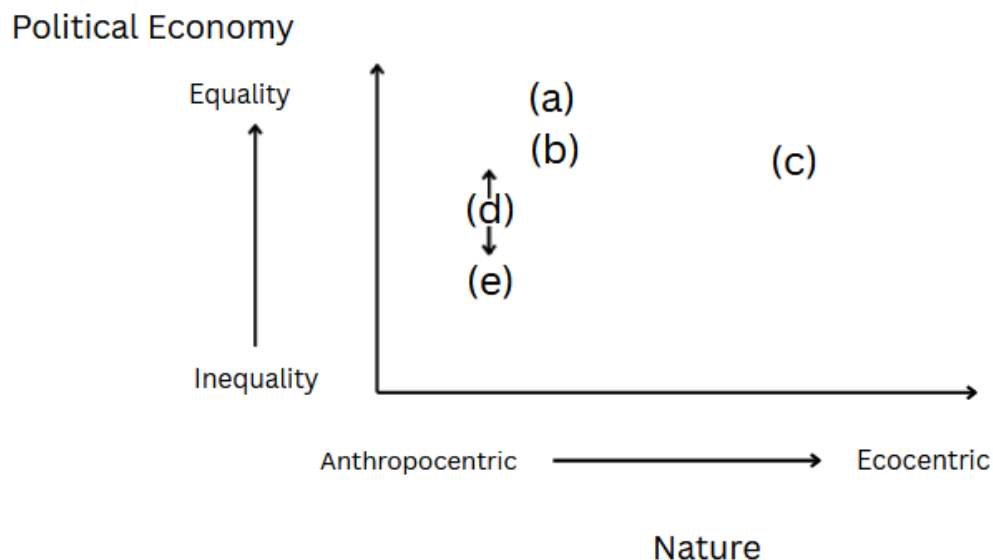


Fig.4 Ideology Among Different Types of Coalition Members (based on Hultgren & Stevis, 2019)

The key material condition that made it possible for WFZ to unite different actors around the issue of working conditions, as well as to present a strategic opportunity to all, was the inherently sustainable nature of the labour in question: public transport. A shift from individual transport to public transportation would mean a major decrease in carbon emissions (UN, 2025). This meant that climate activists, public transport drivers and their unions inherently overlap in their interests: more investment in public transport means better working conditions for the drivers, therefore better public transport and less emissions. As Ben summarises it: *“In the coalition it was actually only about our working conditions. Obviously, better working conditions create a better offer of public transport. And better public transport will cause more people to switch over and leave their car at home which is what the climate activists want.”*

The early members of the coalition were aware of this material connection between climate movement and public transport, Sofie mentioned it as a reason for choosing to set up this coalition in the first place: *“We had the feeling with ver.di and bus drivers, there is a certain accessibility because it is so easy to connect our causes. In the automobile industry for example it would be so much more difficult to make that connection.”* Other interviewees said the connection between public transport drivers’ cause and the climate movement seemed absolutely logical when you thought about it in a material sense. This logical material connection made it possible for the fight for better working conditions to become a uniting cause for different actors in the coalition, as well as for the WFZ coalition to present a promising strategic outlook for a diversity of organisations.

Theme 2: Resisting Capital’s Divide and Conquer Strategy

The main hegemonic ideological condition that affected the recruitment of workers for the coalition was the current sustainable transition discourse in German mainstream media, politics as well as unions. This discourse can be labelled with the term “jobs versus environment dilemma” and has a dividing effect on the climate activists and workers, comparable to what Russell (2017) describes in her analysis of “divide and conquer strategies of capitalist actors” (Räthzel & Uzzell, 2011, p.1215; Russell, 2017, p.109).

Both interviewees with a climate background as well as in public transport expressed that the framing of environmental concerns as opposed to the interests of the working class affected workers’ willingness to participate in the coalition: *“You keep running into walls. There are always these narratives present that the ecological transition will destroy our wealth and make people lose their jobs.”* (Anna).

Interviewees pointed to this framing as present in unions, but also connected it to the wider, hegemonic climate discourse in German politics: *“in the unions [...] this whole climate topic is defined by a defensive position. In the automobile and metal sector for example, the climate issue is presented in terms of the danger of loss of jobs. The hegemonic climate politics and therefore employers and even most unions present climate protection and the interests of workers as opposed to each other.”* (Mia).

The ideological use of the job versus environment framing legitimises the defensive, oppositional position unions have often taken to the climate movement in the past in different industries (Hoffmann & Paulsen, 2020; Kalt, 2021). As to why unions go along with the discourse given by employers and hegemonic ideology, many interviewees referred to the social partnership between unions and employers as a reason. In Germany, unions and employers follow a social partnership principle in their interactions, meaning that they operate on the same basic approach: fighting unemployment and increasing competitiveness of the company (Greer & Fichter, 2003). Many interviewees critiqued this approach as making the unions too susceptible to the employer’s interest and therefore not seeing the interest workers have in the green transition: *“Unions in Germany do not fulfil the purpose of fighting*

for better ecological and social conditions for people. They have a mindset of “we are social partners, we join forces” [...] the union bureaucracy is ideologically aligned with hegemonic politics that’s why they cannot play the role that they should.” (Jonas). The fact that unions reproduce the hegemonic ideology of jobs versus environment due to their social partnership with capital is consistent with Althusser’s theory of the function of ideology as reproducing the lived social relations necessary to reproduce the relations of production (Althusser, 1970). As outlined earlier, Althusser sees unions as a part of the ISA (Althusser, 1970, p.30).

Some interviewees even blamed politicians and media to consciously pit the labour and climate movement against each other in order to protect their capital interests against their united power. Mathias expressed it like this: *“There is a strong framing in the media which aims to present the climate movement as over-privileged eco-idiot.”* Upon which I asked: So you think the climate and labour movement are being divided on purpose? *And he responded: “Yes, I am completely convinced. The people who invest millions in media and advertisements are the ones who make a profit when the movements fight each other instead of them.”* Martin summarised the effect of the jobs versus environment discourse as follows: *“It’s the game of the rulers to play social movements off against each other. [...] And that is easy to do with the climate movement because many workers do not feel connected to it. And then they say: Those eco-idiot want to take your jobs from you.”*

These statements speak strongly to an understanding of the relationship between capital, workers and environmentalists that corresponds to Russell’s analysis of the latter: “the firm’s “divide and conquer” strategy will provoke environmentalists and workers to fight each other rather than the capitalist firm which is both polluting and failing to meet workers’ demands. In addition to diverting both environmentalists’ and workers’ energies away from conflict with capital, a capitalist firm may garner additional longer term advantages from successful “divide and conquer” strategies.” (Russell, 2017, p.114).

To resist the divide and conquer strategy of capital, and overcome the image many workers had of the climate movement as “*eco-idiot*s who want to take their jobs from them,” (Martin) the experience of unconditional solidarity coming from the climate movement, as well as the attractiveness of having young, very engaged people in your space and being listened to, were decisive to win the hesitant workers over. It became clear in the interviews that the most effective way to remove prejudices in workers against the climate movement was the continued presence of climate activists at their strike posts, their strike meetings and steward meetings. Showing real interest in the workers’ expertise and a solidarity that was not perceived as connected to certain conditions were crucial. Mathias describes what effect this had on previously critical colleagues of his: “*An understanding developed in the colleagues, like, oh, they are really here just to support us. It left such a great impression when there were 50 climate activists present at the strike, showing solidarity. It sounds difficult, but in this case you cannot demand a give and take, because then the colleagues would say: they were just here because they wanted something from us! WFZ solved that well because they were just present and did not make demands of the colleagues. Their solidarity that lasted over multiple bargaining rounds really removed the prejudice people had against them.*”

Another mechanism that was employed in bonding workers with the climate movement was the presentation of common enemies of both movements and therefore reframing the movements’ interests as aligned. This was prevalent in the documents where focus was put on certain politicians who have blocked investments in public transport and therefore opposed both movements’ goals: “Wissing will not even invest enough money to continue the 49€ Ticket. Instead he tells the states to save money in the public transport areas. At the same time he is investing billions into building new highways. [...] With our petition we demand together that the country and states invest money for better working conditions and more public transport. We want to stop them from playing our demands off against each other” (PR Material). This narrative also echoed in many interviewees who mentioned

billionaire company chefs or right-wing politicians as the common enemies of both the climate movement and the working class. Again, this reframing was easily possible due to the inherently sustainable nature of public transport.

Theme 3: Becoming a Subject of the Green Transition

Their work in the WFZ coalition led members to develop a counter-hegemonic ideology that views workers as active subjects whose expertise and involvement is central for the green transition. This ideology can be seen as counter-hegemonic because it opposes the divide and conquer strategy that posits environmental concerns as opposed to workers' interests and portrays workers as the losers in the green transition. This transformation of understanding took place both in members with a climate background as well as workers themselves and can be explained with Althusser's concept of interpellation.

Interviewees with a climate background described their process of coming to an understanding of workers as central transformation subjects with expertise through two ways. Firstly through the personal interactions they had with public transport workers and experiencing their knowledge in terms of restructuring the system sustainably: *"I started to understand the drivers as experts because we talked so much with them about what a sustainable transformation would look like. You realise then that the drivers really hold all this knowledge about the public transport system, and that they are absolutely competent enough to manage positive change themselves."* (Mia) Secondly, this understanding developed through the presence of more experienced coalition members who presented workers in general as central subjects of the green transformation in a strategic sense in education workshops as well as the social setting of the coalition. When asked how WFZ politicised members, Lisa responded: *"I think you developed an understanding of workers as the ones who have the real power in the transition. I think also because more experienced people talked about this often."*

Interviewees with a background in public transport emphasised that before the WFZ campaign they did not understand their work as contributing to a more sustainable society. As Ben states: *“I for sure didn’t become a tram driver because I wanted to protect the climate.”* and Finn explained: *“For me environmentalism wasn’t very present. [...] It was never a topic in my work context. We never labelled our work as doing climate protection, or reducing CO₂ emissions. We were never conscious of that, it was just our work.”* This attitude changed when they were approached by climate activists: *“And then came people from Fridays for Future and WFZ and opened up a new perspective. They said: ‘you are doing good work [...] are you even aware of your work’s impact?’ And so you really warmed up to the (climate) topic through that.”* (Finn)

Mathias argued that the contact with WFZ activists made many of his colleagues realise for the first time that their job was actually connected to environmental sustainability: *“They interacted with the topic for the first time [...] what does environmentalism have to do with me? In the public transport sector, hardly anyone picks the job for sustainability reasons. But then when they realise, wow, if there is investment in climate protection, there will be investment in my job and hopefully better working conditions for me. That got people excited about the topic on a whole new level. For many it was completely out of their zone of interest before.”* Once again, this connection can be easily made due to the inherent sustainability of public transport and being a worker in this industry. Through the recruitment of workers into the coalition as well as the ensuing interpersonal connections with young activists who shared their view of the climate crisis, the workers positively connected themselves with the green transition and understood their work’s significance in it. As Ben said: *“Now, I am at a point where I say: Yes, I work in a job that protects the climate.”*

This process of transforming one’s subjectivity can be explained with Althusser’s concept of “interpellation” (Althusser, 1970, p.38). The climate activists that approached the workers (who initially had no understanding of themselves as

connected to the sustainable transition in a positive sense) *interpellated* them as active subjects whose work they saw as central for a sustainable society. By *interpellating*, I mean that the activists simply addressed the public transport workers as subjects doing sustainable work and contributing to a green transition. The workers recognised themselves in being addressed as such and thereby became the subject they were called as. The activists did not consciously engage in such a process of interpellation, however, this transformation into an active subject that holds agency was part of the goal of the organising strategy the WFZ campaign employed and therefore worked into the structure of the conversation guides. Mia explained the thought process behind the organising: *“the idea was that movement actors like the climate movement, by being present around the company operations, can sharpen the confidence and subjectivity of workers, make them understand the role that they hold in society, and by discussing issues of climate put them in the centre as active subjects. So that hopefully in the end, an automobile factory worker says; yeah my job is important, but I know we can redesign it in a different way.”* Mia indirectly describes the interpellation of workers as active subjects of the green transition in order to shape their actions politically.

Theme 4: The Framing Power of Marxist Theory

Many interviewees with a background in climate activism expressed that they perceived Marxist theories as helpful in providing a framework that made sense of what they were encountering in their interactions with workers and the union bureaucracy.

Marxist analysis was accessible in the coalition due to the presence of several individuals with a background in Marxist theory and organisations who offered workshops or passed on their knowledge in social interactions. However, as Mia expressed, there was no agenda of winning over activists for the Marxist cause, new coalition members often were not interested in more theoretical debates. This interest

only developed as they made experiences during their campaign work that they struggled to understand: *“I think at the beginning of being active in the campaign, this [Marxist theory] was not so much of interest. In my eyes, people need those concrete experiences of contradictions. For example, when activists run into issues with the union and wonder why the union secretary is the way he is. Only then did we talk about the role of unions in capitalism and how it comes to be that union staff is so close to the employer. For a climate activist those things could seem random and confusing at first.”* (Mia)

Besides the union’s ideological proximity to the employer, interviewees recounted some other practical experiences that pointed them into the direction of Marxist theory, all connected to the building of personal relationships between workers and climate activists and the embodiment of capitalist contradictions in the workers’ position:

- hearing workers’ concern about climate policies that put a financial strain on their already insecure situation

“People started looking into how climate policies affect who. Then of course it is righteous that there is protest against climate measures in the population [...] that climate measures are not done under a united class politics, but only for a few people who can now afford their electric car [...] we actually need measures that the broad majority profits from.” (Lisa)

- the social and monetary undervaluation of public transport workers’ work which is essential for society to function

“It’s interesting that the jobs that are sustainable and essential for society have such bad working conditions. Whether I work in education, in healthcare, in public transport... Those are the jobs where people get sick from their working conditions. [...] The working class gets ground down, that’s where they externalise.” (Theo)

- working class despair and the pull of right-wing ideology

“It’s a completely different experience to talk to workers who say things like “immigrants are ruining everything,” or who express a deep hopelessness about their

situation, that's completely different than reading about the working class conditions in some leftist magazine.” (Mia)

- witnessing the transformation of public transport workers’ understanding of their own subjectivity through the organising method.

“The workers I was in contact with did not have this understanding of themselves at first. When I told them, your work contributes to climate protection, they would say: “No, I’m not a climate activist, I don’t want them to take my car from me.” I was shocked how individual consumption choices completely overshadowed their societal role as workers.” (Lea)

Because it offered theoretical answers to contradictions in their lived experiences during the coalition work, activists who previously did not identify as socialist or Marxist felt motivated to engage more deeply with Marxist thought, encouraged by peers who had gone through a similar process earlier in time.

Theme 5: Effects on Political Praxis Beyond the Coalition

The transformation of ideology, leading to an understanding of the worker as a subject of the green transition and in some cases a turn toward Marxist theory, affected members’ political praxis beyond the coalition and highlights the dialectical nature of ideology and praxis in such a coalition.

Coalition members with a background as public transport workers described an emotional development they went through that continued to affect their political activity after the WFZ campaign ended. Finn described it as feeling *“so activated by the energy of the young activists around me. I remember some amazing moments together with Mia, holding a speech in front of 25.000 people at the Brandenburg Gate.”* Mathias felt a strong change in his confidence speaking up about political issues in the union context: *“Before, at the meetings, I didn’t really dare to speak up and address problems, I rather went with the flow and tried to make the best of it. But through all those participation opportunities in the coalition that I had, this changed.*

Panel discussions, talking to MPs, it just strengthened my confidence, and through that I eventually got the job as group manager. Just because I trusted myself to do it. [...] The coalition time was such a boost for my later union work.”

In summary, the interviewees expressed that the practical experience of being active and successful in the campaign made them more motivated to continue their political praxis, especially in their union where they see potential in strengthening its political character toward engaging with the green transition in a more worker-centred way.

Coalition members with a climate background described a change in their political praxis that related to a shift in the focus of their work. There was a significant interest to continue being involved in labour struggles, to make use of the union experience gained, and, similarly to the workers, a perception of the potential to strengthen the union's political and emancipatory character. Many said they found motivation to engage more with people outside their usual social bubble of climate activists since the organising practice gave them the experience that while a social movement with actors of different ideologies can be challenging, it is rewarding as well. For many of my interviewees this meant an orientation toward new activist spaces that were more explicitly socialist or anti-capitalist: *“WFZ managed to attract a lot of people who were not that radical who got politicised and changed through the process”* (Lisa). *“WFZ radicalised me in a way, I got organised in a revolutionary socialist group after. Pretty much because of the experience in the labour struggle and everything that came with it.”* (Luca).

6.2 Discussion

This thesis set out to understand the ideological and material conditions that affected the formation and development of the WFZ labour-climate coalition. What answers can this analysis offer in terms of the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour alliances in a broader context?

The most significant counter-hegemonic ideological development in the coalition was the interpellation of the public transport workers as active subjects whose expertise and involvement is central for the green transition and whose interests as workers align with those of the climate movement. This changed the self-understanding of public transport workers who had previously not seen their job as connected to sustainability, and viewed climate activists as threatening the working population's base of life by taking their jobs. It connected them emotionally and analytically with the climate movement and its demands for a just green transition. Especially the praxis of relationship building between climate activists and workers was crucial to make this interpellation function in the first place. As the interviewees highlighted, in line with the findings of Lucht and Liebig's (2023) as well as Robinson's (2020) studies, personal interactions, solidarity and the forming of emotional bonds facilitated the process of opening workers up to the topic of climate protection.

The subjectivity that developed in the public transport workers that were part of WFZ is an illustration of what Stephania Barca describes as "working class environmentalism" (Barca, 2024, p.37). It is a type of environmentalism that is alternative to upper/middle-class environmentalism and does not have the protection of nature as its primary objective (Barca, 2012, p.67). It instead focuses on the protection of workers' living and working environment, i.e. the defence of the living conditions of the working class (Barca, 2012). This difference in prioritisation became clear in the WFZ coalition when the public transport workers revealed to the climate activists that they did not choose their job because of an interest in environmental sustainability and that their working life does not leave space to even consider the sustainable impact of their job. The workers' support for the climate movement's demands eventually came out of the material connection established between these demands and the defence of their own working and living conditions. Some more eco-centric environmentalists might say that this friction reveals a limitation of working class environmentalism, namely: it does not hold the protection

of nature as a primary objective, but rather the protection of the working class's living conditions (Barca, 2012). However, I agree with Barca who argues that it is not a limitation, but simply an alternative conception of environmentalism (Barca, 2012, p.67). I find that the focus on living conditions highlights the nature of environmentalism as a struggle for the thriving of humanity which necessarily involves an intact ecosystem and just societal conditions. This is a conception of environmentalism that aligns with an eco-Marxist analysis and also aligns with the coalition members who were placed on the more anthropocentric end of the ideology map in Figure 3. It therefore becomes clear that to build a successful coalition, a transformation of ideology is not only necessary in the case of the workers to understand their role in the transition, but also in the case of eco-centric climate activists. In the case of WFZ, they were able to develop an understanding of the connection between the demands of workers and the climate movement in a system critical, Marxist sense through interactions with their coalition partners (as outlined in Theme 4). I would argue this was not an interpellation mechanism to the same degree as with the workers when they were hailed as subjects of the transition by the activists. Rather, the activists gradually developed their class conscious subjectivity by being faced with contradictions of the capitalist system, embodied in the workers (Theme 4).

I believe that both the interpellation of workers and the transformed understanding in activists are an illustration of what Freire terms the transformation of consciousness in the proletariat (Freire, 2014). Freire highlights education to achieve a transformation of consciousness. His notion of education is grounded in a practical, problem-posing approach that encourages critical interaction with real word problems (Freire, 2014). I would therefore argue that members of the WFZ coalition, both with a background in labour and climate, went through a form of education in line with Freire's argument.

The key material condition that made the convergence of different movements and prioritisations so easily possible in the case of WFZ was the inherently sustainable

nature of the labour that the coalition was centred around. Namely, public transport contributes to the lowering of carbon emissions, therefore the interests of workers in the sector for more investment and better working conditions were materially aligned with those of the climate movement advocating for less emissions in the transport sector. This uniting frame in the coalition facilitated an ideological convergence. Aligned with the findings of Robinson (2020) and Mayer et al. (2010), environment-labour coalitions are most successful through such a frame that unites the two movements' different prioritisations.

The centrality of the inherently sustainable nature of public transport in the WFZ coalition to establish a uniting frame calls into question the consequences for the establishment of labour-climate coalitions in other industries. As Kaiser (2022) argued about industries that are not inherently sustainable, there needs to be an extensive reframing to convince workers of their interest in the sustainable transition. In a sustainable transition, such harmful industries may be downsized, and workers may have to relocate to a different jobs. In the case of WFZ, the relocation of jobs is not a necessary condition for a successful just green transition. Rather, more investments and better working conditions in the public transport sector are crucial for a just sustainable society (UITP, 2023). This allowed for WFZ to frame their campaign in a positive manner - for *more* investments, and *better* working conditions. I believe that if the campaign had been formulated in a negative manner (downsizing an industry for example) workers would have seen their living conditions threatened and the realisation of the connection between labour and environment would have been in jeopardy. This dynamic has played out in many instances in the past, most notably the coal transition in Germany, and is part of the hegemonic discourse mentioned by the interviewees that presents workers' and environmental concerns as opposed (Kalt, 2021).

If the climate movement wants to build strong alliances with the labour movement, "sustainability policies aimed at social justice must be based on new and convincing forms of articulation between labour and environmental issues." (Barca, 2024, p.22).

I argue that these articulations need to centre the protection of working class living conditions in their framing. Otherwise capital's divide and conquer strategy will continue to reign and workers will continue to feel alienated from the climate movement's demands. The WFZ coalition showcased some examples for how these articulations between labour and environment could be approached:

- Advocating for climate measures that benefit the working class
- The interpellation of workers as emancipated subjects of the sustainable transition whose role is an active one of expertise to sustainably redesign their work place according to society's needs, as opposed to the victimising role they are often placed in.
- Unconditional solidarity for the plight of workers to facilitate such an interpellation
- Increasing the critical understanding of climate activists in regard to the connection between climate and workers' interests through confrontation with the living conditions of workers and their embodiment of capitalist contradictions.

Additionally, following from my analysis, a possible future mechanism that could be trialled in such a coalition is the dual interpellation of workers as sustainable subjects and climate activists as defenders of working class living conditions.

Overall, these articulations should serve the goal of aiding people in the realisation of the connections between labour and environment because, as Barca says, this is what is "capable of producing a radical critique of the economic system and a new emancipatory discourse" (Barca, 2012, p.67). My thesis shows concrete mechanisms and strategies that led to such a realisation in the case of the WFZ coalition. Both the strategies exemplified in WFZ, as well as my own suggestion, are applicable to coalitions in polluting industries as well.

The German employer's association and conservative politicians' severe reactions to the WFZ coalition, even attempting to shut it down by legal means, illustrated impressively how threatening climate-labour coalitions are for the hegemonic,

capitalist political-economic order and why attention should be paid to the mechanisms that facilitated this threat (Wir Fahren Zusammen, 2024; Barca, 2024).

In summary, the analysis of the ideological and material conditions that played a decisive role in the WFZ coalition can offer interesting insights in terms of the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour alliances. The process of interpellation that workers went through in the WFZ coalition and the sensitisation of climate activists for workers' conditions showcase effective strategies to push for the development of working class environmentalism in climate-labour coalitions. They also highlight the necessity of personal relationship building and a feeling of solidarity between the coalition partners to make such a development of a shared environmentalism possible in the first place. The inherent material sustainability of the labour conducted that the coalition revolved around, might make some question whether the frame of the WFZ campaign is applicable to climate-labour coalitions in industries that are environmentally damaging. However, I believe the key take-away from the uniting effect of WFZ's frame is that articulations seeking to connect the labour and environmental movement need to centre the protection of working class living conditions in their framing. WFZ has shown that this is an effective strategy to counter the divide and conquer strategy of capital, independently of which industry a climate-labour coalition takes place in.

7. Conclusion

“[I]f environmentalists adopt a single-issue approach, then they will simply drive workers into the arms of capital. To be politically effective and to connect with a broader base, they need to confront the issue of class.” – J.B. Foster

In this thesis I had three objectives: I firstly set out to investigate the material and ideological conditions that affected the formation of the WFZ coalition, and secondly the change in coalition members' ideology through the praxis of the coalition. This was done in order to, thirdly, understand the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour coalitions in a broader context.

Firstly, regarding the ideological and material conditions, I found that the coalition was made up of a diverse group of actors. The central mechanism that helped unite these actors of very different ideologies was the WFZ campaign being centred around the issue of bad working conditions for public transport drivers. Standing in solidarity with the workers enduring bad conditions was uncontested in all coalition members and the central point of ideological convergence. The key material condition that made this convergence possible was the inherently sustainable nature of the labour that the coalition was centred around.

Secondly, regarding the relationship between ideology and praxis, the case of WFZ highlights the dialectical nature of ideology and praxis in such a coalition. The practical experiences that members of a climate and labour background made in the WFZ coalition contributed significantly toward developing a robust counter-hegemonic ideology that resists the hegemonic ideological discourse which serves to divide the labour and environmental movement and protect capital interests. The most significant development in this counter-hegemonic ideology was the interpellation of the public transport workers as active subjects whose expertise and involvement is central for the green transition. This changed the self-understanding of public transport workers who had previously not seen their job as connected to sustainability, and viewed climate activists as wanting to take the working

population's base of life. It instead connected them emotionally and analytically with the climate movement and its demands for a just green transition.

A crucial practice that opened up the transport workers to the climate movement in the first place and enabled their subjectivity developments was the showing of solidarity from the climate activists that was not tied to certain conditions and lasted over time. At the same time, the sensitisation of climate activists for workers' conditions was necessary to facilitate the establishment of a common environmentalism in the coalition, and was also enabled through personal interactions between the coalition partners. The dialectic between praxis and ideology was a two-way relation in the WFZ coalition. The change in ideology that the coalition members experienced also changed their political praxis beyond their time in the coalition.

Lastly, when it comes to the conditions and strategies necessary to foster effective climate-labour coalitions in a broader context, I see the insight gained from WFZ as two-fold:

1. The powerful mechanism of interpellation, facilitated by personal relationships and feelings of solidarity, that led workers to develop a subjectivity as central actors in the sustainable transition and therefore engage in working class environmentalism. This mechanism could possibly also be harnessed in a dual manner to interpellate climate activists as defenders of working class living conditions.
2. The need to centre the protection of working class living conditions in a climate-labour coalition's framing to effectively counter the divide and conquer strategy of capital, regardless of the industry such coalition takes place in.

The findings of my thesis point to the central role that the evaluation of praxis should play in the theorising about climate-labour alliances. Workers and activists who are engaged in the practical work of coalition building hold immense practical wisdom. I believe tapping into this wisdom by integrating their experience into academic research, while also amplifying their voices, is invaluable if we want to

build a movement that includes the working class and therefore has the power to push for a just, sustainable transition of society and unitedly confront the forces of capitalism.

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Appendix I: Interview Guide (English Version)

Briefing:

- Thank you so much for taking part in this interview
- doing these interviews as part of my thesis to research coalitions between workers and climate activists and hopefully find out how to successfully establish more of these in the future. I think WFZ is a great example to do this research on.
- Do you have an appointment after this and a time when you absolutely need to end the interview? I will keep an eye on the time in that case.
- I would like to record this interview on zoom to be able to transcribe it for my analysis. Is that ok with you? It will include the video recording but I will not be using the video at all. If you are uncomfortable, you can also switch off the video.
- Refer to consent form

Questions:

Bloc 1: How do they perceive the role of the WFZ coalition in the transition to an ecologically and socially sustainable system?

1. In your opinion, what does WFZ stand for?
2. In your opinion, what does WFZ contribute to the green transition in Germany?
3. In your opinion, what can WFZ achieve that ver.di and FFF cannot achieve on their own

Bloc 2: How do they see themselves politically, and how does that relate to their work in the coalition?

- a. *What political ideas are at the root of them finding the WFZ coalition meaningful?*
4. What motivated you to join WFZ?
5. Why do you politically believe in WFZ?
- b. *What is the activists' political ideology?*
6. How would you describe your political beliefs?
7. What is your understanding of the climate crisis?
- c. *How do the activists understand the role of the dominant economic system of capitalism? How do they connect this to the coalition's work?*
13. What do you think about the influence of capitalism on the climate crisis/bad working conditions in public transport?
14. What do you think about Germany's strategy for a green transition? Which aspects are you critical of?
- d. *How do their beliefs relate to dominant ideologies in their community/wider society?*
10. Do you think your ideology aligns with what most people in ver.di/ FFF think?
11. Do you think your ideology aligns with the dominant ideas in German society?

e. How do they recognize themselves within the identity of worker/climate activist?

8. Do you identify yourself with your position as a worker/climate activist?
9. Do you identify yourself with the WFZ coalition?

Bloc 3: Perspective on the relationship between environmentalism and labour

f. How do the different activists conceptualise the relation between workers and the climate crisis?

10. What do you think is the role of workers in the sustainable transition?
Probe: public transport workers, other sorts of workers
11. Do you see a conflict of interest between workers and certain goals of the climate movement?
12. Should labour unions advocate for sustainability? If yes, in which way?
Probe: lobby the state? Lobby the industries they represent?

Debriefing:

- summarise important points, see if there are comments on it
- ask if there is anything we should have addressed
- anyone else I should interview whose contact you could pass on?
- Thank you for taking the time, I am always available for questions.
- If you like, I would love to send you my analysis in a month or so to hear your feedback on it and incorporate any feedback you might have/change things I maybe misunderstood.

Appendix II: Participation Consent Form (English and German Versions)

Participation Consent Form (English Version)

By signing this document, you agree to participate in the thesis project of Lina Monika Pitz as part of her Master's degree in Human Ecology: Culture, Power and Sustainability at the University of Lund.

The thesis deals with the topic of coalitions between the climate and labour movement, investigating the perceptions of activists coming from the "Wir Fahren Zusammen" campaign in Germany.

This is a student project for which I will be collecting personal data from activists in the "Wir Fahren Zusammen" Campaign in form of interviews. Participation is **voluntary**. There are no negative consequences if you choose not to take part. If you decide to take part but then later change your mind and wish to withdraw your data, you can let me know up to 1 week after the interview - you will not have to give any explanation why. You can choose not to answer certain questions during the interview and can stop the interview at any point.

Information on the processing of personal data

The following personal data will be processed: *Name, age, phone number, organizational affiliation, the city where the person was active in the campaign*

The following sensitive personal data will be processed: *Political views, union membership*

Your personal data will be processed and stored according to GDPR principles. The interviews will be transcribed, either in audio or video format according to oral consent, and stored, along with other personal data, in a safe file on the student's password-encrypted USB-drive until the thesis project is finalized and receives a passing grade (this is expected to be in June 2025). After this, all your personal data will be deleted. Data from the interviews will be presented in the dissertation in the form of quotations or paraphrasing. All interview data will be **anonymised** in the final degree project. You will be given a pseudonym in the dissertation and any statements that could make you easily identifiable will be taken out. The dissertation will be published in the university's online library of student papers.

We do not share your personal data with third parties. Lund University, Box 117, 221 00 Lund, Sweden, with organisation number 202100-3211 is the controller. You can find Lund University's privacy policy at www.lu.se/integritet. You have the right to receive information about the personal data we process about you. You also have the right to have inaccurate personal data about you corrected. If you have a complaint about our processing of your personal data, you can contact our Data Protection Officer at dataskyddsbud@lu.se. You also have the right to lodge a complaint with the supervisory authority (the Data Protection Authority, IMY) if you believe that we are processing your personal data incorrectly.

I agree to participate in the thesis project of Lina Monika Pitz.

Date:	Signature:
Location:	Name clarification:

German Translation: Einverständniserklärung zur Teilnahme

Mit der Unterzeichnung dieses Dokuments erklären Sie sich einverstanden, an dem Dissertationsprojekt von Lina Monika Pitz im Rahmen ihres Masterstudiums in Human Ecology: Culture, Power and Sustainability an der Universität Lund teilzunehmen.

Die Arbeit befasst sich mit dem Thema Koalitionen zwischen der Klima- und der Arbeiterbewegung und untersucht die Wahrnehmungen von Aktivisten der „Wir Fahren Zusammen“-Kampagne in Deutschland.

Es handelt sich um ein studentisches Projekt, für das ich persönliche Daten von Aktivisten der „Wir Fahren Zusammen“-Kampagne in Form von Interviews sammeln werde. Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig. Es gibt keine negativen Konsequenzen, wenn Sie sich entscheiden, nicht teilzunehmen. Wenn Sie sich zur Teilnahme entschließen, es sich aber später anders überlegen und Ihre Daten zurückziehen möchten, können Sie mir das bis zu einer Woche nach dem Interview mitteilen - Sie müssen keine Erklärung abgeben. Sie können sich dafür entscheiden, bestimmte Fragen während des Gesprächs nicht zu beantworten, und Sie können das Gespräch zu jedem Zeitpunkt abbrechen.

Informationen über die Verarbeitung personenbezogener Daten:

Die folgenden personenbezogenen Daten werden verarbeitet: Name, Alter, Telefonnummer, Organisationszugehörigkeit, Stadt, in der die Person in der Kampagne aktiv war

Die folgenden sensiblen personenbezogenen Daten werden verarbeitet: Politische Ansichten, Gewerkschaftszugehörigkeit

Ihre personenbezogenen Daten werden gemäß den Grundsätzen der Datenschutz-Grundverordnung verarbeitet und gespeichert.

Die Interviews werden transkribiert, entweder im Audio- oder im Videoformat, je nach mündlicher Zustimmung, und zusammen mit anderen personenbezogenen Daten in einer sicheren Datei auf dem passwortverschlüsselten USB-Laufwerk der Studentin gespeichert, bis das Dissertationsprojekt abgeschlossen ist und die Prüfung besteht (dies wird voraussichtlich im Juni 2025 der Fall sein). Danach werden alle Ihre persönlichen Daten gelöscht. Die Daten aus den Interviews werden in der Dissertation in Form von Zitaten oder Paraphrasen wiedergegeben. Alle

Interviewdaten werden in der Abschlussarbeit anonymisiert. Sie erhalten in der Abschlussarbeit ein Pseudonym und alle Aussagen, die Sie leicht identifizierbar machen könnten, werden herausgenommen. Die Abschlussarbeit wird in der Online-Bibliothek für studentische Arbeiten der Universität veröffentlicht.

Wir geben Ihre persönlichen Daten nicht an Dritte weiter. Die Universität Lund, Box 117, 221 00 Lund, Schweden, mit der Organisationsnummer 202100-3211 ist der für die Verarbeitung Verantwortliche. Die Datenschutzrichtlinie der Universität Lund finden Sie unter www.lu.se/integritet. Sie haben das Recht, Informationen über die von uns verarbeiteten personenbezogenen Daten zu erhalten. Sie haben auch das Recht, unrichtige personenbezogene Daten über Sie berichtigen zu lassen. Wenn Sie eine Beschwerde über die Verarbeitung Ihrer personenbezogenen Daten durch uns haben, können Sie sich an unseren Datenschutzbeauftragten wenden: dataskyddsbud@lu.se. Sie haben auch das Recht, eine Beschwerde bei der Aufsichtsbehörde (der Datenschutzbehörde, IMY) einzureichen, wenn Sie glauben, dass wir Ihre personenbezogenen Daten nicht korrekt verarbeiten.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, an dem Dissertationsprojekt von Lina Monika Pitz teilzunehmen.

Appendix III: Categories and Codes

Category		Corresponding Codes
1	aim of building a strategic majority in society of different social groups that supports WFZ and has the power to push for green transition	- solidarity to unite the society - coalition building with workers is the only strategic option to build the power needed to facilitate green transition - combine workers' position in production with climate activists - discursive power - start using force as climate movement in the form of workers strikes - solidarity with working class to build support base for climate policies
2	climate policies have to include social justice to be successful	- new climate policies that combine social and climate improvements - connection of social justice with climate makes ppl more interested to engage - you cannot win support for climate policies that reduce people's living standard
3	The capitalist system is inherently incompatible with sustainability	- capitalism as inherently unsustainable due to profit maxim - capitalism as the root issue - capitalism exploits nature and humans - capitalism externalises negative impacts to the global south - capitalism is unsustainable because of endless growth - capitalist societies champion individual transport - lacking climate politics under capitalism
4	The capitalist system is socially unjust	- jobs that are essential in society are underpaid - redistribution is needed for ecological life while preserving quality of life - there are no investments in public transport because it is used by the working class - undemocratic power relations in capitalism as issue - work is valued only by the profit it produces
5	climate-labour coalitions make the compatibility of social and climate justice clear	- climate activists and public transport drivers overlap in their interests - climate and labour have the same interests - investments in public transport will make it more efficient and more attractive - labour struggles are a good place to start the merging of climate and workers concerns - loss of publicity for climate crisis - united by a common cause - WFZ as example for climate policy that combines social justice - WFZ time convinced many ppl of the importance of climate labour turn
6	coalition allowed for the inclusion of diverse set of groups and actors who had diverse ideological backgrounds (all within the centre-left spectrum)	- conflict between different priorities within the coalition - different organisations from the climate spectrum joined - presence of small groups who had selfish interests - shared understanding of campaign but different motivations - bottom-up organising as motivation - own experience with bad public transport as motivation - the explicit content of the campaign was not so much a motivation

Category		Corresponding Codes
		success of WFZ due to growth narrative wide framing of the campaign to include all coalition actors -- general openness for climate and leftist topics background in climate justice or system critique activism background in ecocentric environmentalism --capitalism as part of the cause of climate crisis colleagues who had a neutral attitude could be successfully convinced inspiration from successful labour struggles Lützerath as a place of coming to anti-capitalist understanding --science based understanding of climate crisis sustainable consumer behaviour as part of the solution to the climate crisis --understanding of sustainability as basis of life --worry for the next generation living in climate crisis
7	--colleagues with established right-wing attitude had no interest	--right wing colleagues tend to be stuck in their bubble Prior awareness in the interested public transport drivers that they contribute to inclusive society Working class is increasingly taken over by right-wing Contradictory ideology in workers
8	Importance of organising strategy	gaining a new skill in the form of organising as motivation organising as inherently anti-capitalist organising for power course as inspiration
9	current German discourse about sustainable transition lacks an understanding of the role of labour in it	conflict between climate and labour movement because climate movement lacks consideration for workers conversations with workers help climate activists gain understanding of labour as central to green transition experience with workers informed climate activists' understanding of their role as subjects in the transition good working conditions are central to green transition green transition discourse lacks in understanding the role of human labour overreliance on technological fixes --political discourse only focuses on jobs that will be lost working conditions as part of the green transition are undervalued in politics --successful conversion of production can only happen in cooperation with workers
10	development of understanding in workers of themselves as subjects of green transition	drivers initially had no understanding of themselves as green transition subjects or actors --understanding of themselves as subjects of green transition connected workers with the topic of sustainability politicisation of workers to understand the significance of climate issues for them
11	education in the coalition about the capitalist system	educational offers gained an understanding of capitalism as the root cause of the climate crisis through WFZ

Category		Corresponding Codes
		WFZ work put her focus more on capitalists' responsibility workshops made him realise the capitalist system as the root cause
12	frustration with the current state of the climate movement	questioning the role of climate activists in public perception the climate movement is too homogenous frustration with the role of climate activists as petitioners to the politicians
13	influence of materials provided by the coalition	all local groups used the same centralised materials inspiration from race-class narrative Leitfäden as important to lead successful conversations at the Streikposten practical experience informed the Leitfäden
14	influence of personal relationship building between climate and labour activists for success	empowering to connect with workers friendship relation between activists and colleagues inclusion of workers is central interest between drivers and activists to get to know each other --interpersonal relationships could remove prejudices --lack of actual drivers active in the coalition in some cities led to issues personal relationships between workers and activists were decisive in coalition building Streikversammlungen, Vertrauensleutesitzungen and Streikposten as important spaces to build connections
15	labour has a central position in challenging the capitalist system	labour struggles are central in halting production to overcome capitalism, worker's strategic position in the production is needed workers have specialised knowledge that makes them critical subjects in redesigning society and production in a sustainable way working class is important because it is majority of population
16	labour issues as central campaign goal were a uniting factor for diverse groups with diverse politics	bad working conditions in public transport as point of departure for solidarity --frustration about bad working conditions as motivation labour is central to the campaign
17	negative views of the lack in unions	issues with union bureaucracy unions are only in favour of ecological politics if it comes to the advantage of the workers --unions need to understand the overlap in interests between workers and climate movement unions operate sozialpartnerschaftlich unions tend to be reactionary ver.di had selfish motivation of increasing their lobbying power
18	personal development through the work in the coalition	--experience pushed self-confidence personal development through interaction with different social bubbles
19	politics pit social and climate concerns against each other	misunderstandings of each other in both movements prejudice against climate activists

Category		Corresponding Codes
20	positive view of union's potential	bargaining for the common good as inspiration union should educate drivers about their role in sustainability unions as a space for the organisation of workers, rather than a change-maker themselves unions as a tool to connect social and ecological policies --unions should operate more as social movement actors --views union work as inherently leftist WFZ can motivate ppl to be active outside the union too
21	practical experience in WFZ pointed people toward Marxist theories	development of real feelings of solidarity with workers' cause engagement in WFZ made cl activists more system critical hearing working class despair in real life is a different experience than reading about it interest in Marxist-socialist theory Marxist theories were helpful to explain experiences in the coalition for climate activists practical experiences with workers organising led to recognition of contradiction of capitalism sozialpartnerschaftlicher Character of unions as radicalising
22	presence of people prior organised in Marxist spaces has effect on character of the coalition	climate labour turn as explicit motivation experienced organisers as central in campaign general anti-capitalist leftist atmosphere in WFZ the new personal connections in WFZ talk about restructuring of production as a solution many founding members are organised in Marxist groups pool of individuals present that have an ecosocialist background prior engagement with climate-labour issues
23	reaching out beyond the usual activist circle as positive opportunity	acceptance of different politics in coalition partners to achieve class solidarity goal of informing both movements about each other's interests operating in alliance with broad sectors of society is personally challenging but worth it prior imagination of the climate activists as educators of workers in the coalition the meeting of different social bubbles is the most difficult but also most important WFZ allows ppl of both sides to leave their social bubble
24	Selfless engagement of young activists impressed and attracted the workers	--extreme commitment to the cause of the activists convinced neutral colleagues
25	--sustainability is an issue many workers do not have the capacity for	--drivers work at their limit, there is no space for more ideological discussions --initially no environmental experience --workers with migration background have other concerns than sustainability working ppl lack time to educate themselves about the climate

Category		Corresponding Codes
26	the climate movement should oppose the capitalist system	connection of leftist analysis with climate politics identification with left-labour movement the ultimate goal of my climate activism is to overcome capitalism
27	the experience of solidarity coming from the climate movement was transformative for the workers	--feeling of being heard by the activists was crucial to convince colleagues feeling of solidarity support is psychologically motivating solidarity work makes coalitions successful rather than top-down agitation unconditional solidarity of climate activists was convincing
28	The labour and climate movement have common enemies in neoliberal politicians and capitalists	--workers' concerns are misused by capitalist politicians Both movements have the same enemy
29	the working class and Global South are especially affected by the climate crisis but have less responsibility for it	mainstream climate politics harm working class marginalised, Global South and working class ppl are most affected by climate crisis the rich pollute more
30	WFZ experience transformed climate activists' subjectivity as an activist	more practical thinking through WFZ new strategic outlook through WFZ steep learning curve in terms of union matters the roles of worker and climate activist faded over time understanding of activism changed due to organising technique to include people who are sceptic WFZ has sparked debates about strategy in the climate movement WFZ led to more professional engagement with the cause WFZ time inspired some activists to get more organised in Marxist spaces WFZ work increased her understanding for ppl who are not active for the climate and engage in unsustainable behaviour
31	WFZ experience transformed workers' activity as political subjects	experience in WFZ made workers motivated to become active subjects WFZ is an example to strengthen the political and emancipatory character of unions WFZ led to structural change in union WFZ made drivers feel their work is valued

Appendix IV: One Mode Network

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
1	na	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	1	na	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	
3	0	0	na	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	
4	0	1	1	na	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
5	1	1	0	0	na	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
6	1	0	0	0	0	na	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
7	0	0	0	0	0	1	na	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
8	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	na	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
9	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	na	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	
10	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	
11	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	na	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
12	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	na	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
13	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	na	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	na	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	
15	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	na	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	
16	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	na	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	na	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	na	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	
19	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	na	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
21	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	na	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	
22	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	na	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	
23	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	na	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	na	0	0	1	0	0	1	
25	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	na	0	0	0	0	1	
26	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	na	0	1	1	1	0	
27	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	na	0	0	0	1	
28	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	na	1	1	0	
29	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	na	0	
30	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	na	0	
31	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	na

Resulting from the network are the following connections: (“:” connotates “is connected to”)

- C1: c2-c5-c6-c8-c12-c16-c19-c23
- C2: c1-c4-c5-c10-c12-c21-c25-c29-c30-c31
- C3: c4-c9-c15-c11-c19-c21-c22-c26-c28-c29
- C4: c2-c3-c9-c11-c13-c15-c19-c21-c22-c26-c28
- C5: c1-c2-c9-c10-c11-c19-c25-c27-c28-c29
- C5: c1-c2-c9-c10-c11-c19-c25-c27-c28-c29
- C6: c1-c7-c8-c12-c13-c16-c23-c28
- C7: c6-c9-c12-c19-c25
- C8: c1-c6-c10-c13-c14-c16-c18-c20-c22-c23-c28-c30-c31
- C9: c1-c3-c4-c5-c7-c10-c12-c17-c19-c20-c22-c23-c25-c28-c30-c31
- C10: c1-c2-c5-c8-c9-c11-c13-c16-c18-c19-c20-c22-c23-c24-c25-c27-c29-c31
- C11: c4-c5-c10- c15-c17-c20-c21-c22-c26-c28-c30
- C12: c1-c2-c6-c7-c8-c9-c19-c20-c22-c23-c30
- C13: c4-c6-c8-c10-c14-c16-c18-c19-c20-c22-c28-c30
- C14: c8-c13-c18-c19-c23-c24-c27-c30-c31
- C15: c3-c4-c11-c16-c17-c19-c20-c21-c22-c26-c28-c30-c31
- C16: c1-c6-c9-c10-c13-c15-c23-c25-c27

C17:c9-c11-c15-c20-c21-c22-c23-c25-c28-c31
C18:c8-c10-c13-c14-c22-c23-c27-c30-c31
C19: c1-c3-c4-c5-c7-c9-c10-c12-c13-c14-c15-c21-c25-c26-c27-c28
C20: c8-c9-c10-c11-c12-c13-c15-c17-c31
C21:c2-c3-c4-c8-c11-c15-c17-c19-c22-c25-c26-c27-c28-c29-c30
C22: c1-c2-c3-c4-c6-c8-c9-c10-c11-c12-c13-c15-c17-c18-c21-c23-c26-c27-c28-c30
C23:c1-c8-c9-c10-c12-c14-c16-c17-c18-c22-c27-c30-c31
C24:c10-c14-c27-c31
C25:c1-c2-c5-c7-c9-c10-c16-c17-c20-c22-c31
C26:c3-c4-c11-c15-c19-c21-c22-c28-c29-c30
C27:c5-c6-c10-c14-c16-c18-c19-c21-c22-c23-c31
C28:c3-c4-c5-c8-c9-c11-c13-c15-c17-c19-c21-c26-c29-c30
C29:c2-c3-c5-c10-c21-c23-c26-c28
C30: c1-c2-c8-c9-c11-c12-c13-c14-c15-c18-c21-c22-c23-c26
C31: c1-c2-c8-c9-c10-c14-c15-c17-c18-c20-c27