

More than JUST Socio-Ecological Transformation - Another World is POSSIBLE!

Tatjana Winter | 27th of March 2023 | Radboud University



Colophon

Document Master's Thesis

Title **More than JUST Socio-Ecological Transformation –
Another World is POSSIBLE**

Prefigurative practices and ethics of care in the environmental resistance movement 'Lützi' and its potential for bottom-up socio-ecological transformation

A participatory action research of the land occupation and resistance movement Lützerath (Lützi bleibt!) in Germany

Programme Environment & Society Studies
Specialization Global Environment and Global Sustainability
Date of submission 27th of March 2023

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Acknowledgements

The first step towards my Master's in *Environment and Society Studies (MSc)* at Radboud University was spurred by my curiosity for environmental activism and the wish to make the world a better place. I am grateful that throughout various courses during my master's and my pre-master's I was able to gain a diverse knowledge in the field of environmental governance.

The course *Geographies of Care* equipped me with extensive food for thought and provided me a variety of literature concerning the notion of care. Besides that, the course *Decolonial and Post-colonial Encounters* reencouraged my critical thinking and encouraged me to reflect on my positionality as a researcher. Thus, I would like to acknowledge the facilitators of both courses and I am very thankful for their strong inspiration and great work.

Besides that, I was very lucky to participate in the honors lab *re:place* which allowed me to reflect and experiment with alternative ways of learning and inspired me to my methodology, participatory action research. I am thus grateful for the community, the friends that I met, the continuous support throughout our weekly meetings and the inspiration of seven strong women. Consequently, I was able to meet with practitioners in the field of social transformation. Gerard Van Der Ree gave me honest support with developing my theoretical framework and reassured my action research of Social Movements, with his deep understandings of facilitating Social Transformation.

Beyond academia, I am very pleased that my friends introduced me to activism and with first joining XR Nijmegen and later moving on to more intersectional activism, they spurred my need to be involved with occupation and resistance movements. Obviously, this thesis would not have been possible without the contributions and the insights gained by being able to join the Lützi Movement in Germany. I am deeply grateful for the trust and commitment of all participants and thankful for the co-creation and careful knowledge creation that we established. Furthermore, this thesis aims to decrease the gap between the academic realm and civil societies, by seeking to create space for bottom-up change and everyday practices in social science research. I see this thesis as a first step into my career in transformative learning and community building on the legacy of social movements.

Finally, I want to thank my friends that supported me throughout my journey and the wonderful people that I met during my time at Radboud. The exchange with such smart and kind people gave me hope that there is so much potential and love for another world. I would not be where I am now, without the continuous care of my parents Manfred and Luise Winter, and my sister Loren Winter. A special thanks goes to my partner and best friend Elena Georgiadi that I co-created this path to this day. Thanks to Paris who took the time and willingness to peer review my research.

Last but not least, I am thankful for the continuous support and constructive feedback of my supervisor Nowella Anyango-van Zwieten and her support to find my internship at Stichting Otherwise in Wageningen, which allowed to extent my academical and social horizon.



Abstract

This research aims to explore the potential of prefigurative caring practices, arising from the ethics of care and the notion of ‘caring with’ introduced by John Tronto (2013) in environmental resistance movements. This research will take a participatory action research approach, where i will focus on an in-depth case study in Germany. The case under research will be the land occupation in Lützerath Germany, which for many years has been part of the resistance against coal mining in Germany and is part of the largest environmental movement in Germany called ‘Ende Gelände’.

In resistance movements, the phenomena of place-based struggles and translocality have been largely explored in academia; however, little research has been conducted on the actual practices, principles and structures applied by environmental resistance movements in everyday practices.

The aim of my research is to access which prefigurative practices in relation to ethics of care are applied within the movement and how these everyday practices potentially help to accelerate a transition to a more socio-ecological just society. The underlying research largely draws on a holistic worldview and emphasizes the relationality of all beings.

The research implies to answer the following research question:

What is the significance of prefigurative politics of care in Lützerath for a just socio-ecological transformation?

The main learnings of this thesis were the insights into the Lützi movement’s everyday prefigurative lifestyle, which is the source of hope and motivation for many to continue in their fight for climate justice. The immense solidarity and interconnection of the alter-globalization movements and the transformative power Lützi has gained, in comparison to previous forest occupation, provides proof for the growing need for systematic change. Furthermore, the Lützi movement proved to be an attempt for reciprocity in care and strong potential for transformative learning. Many lessons that have been gained throughout this research can be valuable for other social movements and for community-building on a broader scale.

In our times of socio-ecological crisis, where Western governments and profit driven companies rule the decision making, social movements and thus, the power of the people must be considered a key driver to provoke the change that is so direly needed. Further research is recommended to delve deeper into autonomist leadership, transformative justice, transformative learning, actor-network theory, and radical resilience. Additionally, I highly recommend considering non-academic literature, such as zines, which give valuable insights and experiences on alternative living and autonomous coordination from the ground.

Keywords: environmental resistance movements | feminist ethics of care | prefigurative practices | participatory action research | just socio-ecological transformation



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1. Introduction to the research

For a long time, the Western model of development has been built upon impact reduction and resource optimization. To perpetuate the status quo and validate the liberal capitalist mode of development, a mere focus on technological advancement has been perpetuated and lies at the roots of our current socio-ecological crisis (Plug de la Bellacasa, 2011; Scoones, 2016). The socio-ecological crisis is an umbrella term for the interrelated network of causes, such as the climate crisis, the biodiversity crisis, and the social and community crisis, with capitalism as the major driver.

In the face of these multifaceted crises, voices that call for more radical, transformative change have become louder. We need to transform society and learn to live responsibly in this socio-ecological crisis, we need to promote practices that do not accept economic growth to the detriment of the human and more-than human world. Thus, the aim is to generate a notion of sustainability that goes well beyond green growth imperatives and ecological modernization but represents a more extensive understanding of well-being (Brand and Wissen, 2017), by overcoming the growth driven economy and by turning towards economic actions that can reflect care and responsibility for the ecosystem (Gibson-Graham, 2008).

For this to be realized, we need to counter the prevailing tone that is often attributed to Jameson (1994) that it is harder to imagine the end of capitalism than the end of the world. Thus, it is time to question current prescriptions, and ask what is radically important. Psychoanalyst Orange (2017) states that citizens of industrial growth societies of the Global North, need to question current perceptions, mainly technocratic in nature and ask what is radically important today. However, not infrequently we can sense here, what Lifton (1993) has coined as ‘the absurdity of the double life’, or the double reality (Norgaard, 2008), describing the disconnection between abstract information and everyday life which in many cases leads to the tendency of continuing with our business as usual as if no such threat existed.

We thus need to emphasize other ways of knowing, dreaming, living and being and encourage a holistic conception of regeneration. This implies including movements which actively chose to practice daily resistance and prefiguration, to counter the neoliberal globalization and thus through mobilization, gradually replace the current system (Leach, 2015).

1.1 The German ‘Energiewende’

However, meanwhile the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change aimed at limiting temperature rise to “well below 2°C” above preindustrial levels (UNFCCC, 2015), they are attempting to do so by accelerating a low carbon transition, with renewable energies overtaking coal, which constitutes the world’s largest source of installed power capacity (Clark, 2016). Fetching the urgency of environmental degradation of our earth, in 2018 the intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) called



for “rapid, far-reaching and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society” which were aimed to be achieved by limiting coal to close to 0% of electricity (IPCC, 2018).

In Europe, Germany is the second-largest consumer of hard coal, and the biggest consumer of less-energy lignite, or brown coal, which lies under Lützerath, a place in the German Rheinland, and the biggest region for lignite mining (Coal production and consumption statistics, Eurostat, 2022). To reach the 1.5°C goal, Germany is undergoing an energy transition since 2011, with the aim to phase-out nuclear power plants by 2022, which got postponed to 2023 out of fear of a possible energy crunch following Russia’s gas cuts (DW, 2022). In 2021, a study by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) found that coal production must be severely curtailed. However, the government surrounding the Economist and Climate Minister Robert Habeck and North Rhine-Westphalia’s Economics and Climate Minister Mona Neubauer, presented an agreement to phase out coal by 2030, instead of the previously announced 2038 (Alkousaa, 2023). In addition, the EU countries have agreed to endorse a global fossil fuel phase out at this year’s COP28, attempting to boost a global deal that failed at COP27 (Abnett, 2023).

Thus, coal mining sites are crucial in the energy transition debate. Coal mining sites have become a place of interconnection and conflict between different stakeholders, but also places where economic interests clash with environmental politics and with interests, particularly with local peoples’ (Oels & Buschmann, 2018). However, they have also become places which make actual environmental liabilities in legislative and governance settings visible (Kroger, 2020).

1.2 Lützi - anchor point of German made climate injustice and resistance movements

Following the decision of Robert Habeck and Mona Neubauer, Activists claim that "Robert Habeck and Mona Neubauer decided on a dirty deal with RWE based on questionable numbers, which in the end only helps one thing: the coal company [RWE] itself," (Linda Kastrup, FFF, 06.01.2023). Also, Energy Experts such as Prof. Claudia Kemfert from the DIW, argue that according to several studies (cf. FossilExit, EUF Flensburg; CoalExit Research Group) Lützerath does not have to be destroyed and excavated, as there is enough coal in the existing areas. Nevertheless, the government wants to burn further 280 million tons of lignite from Garzweiler II, which is 6 times as much as the 1,5°-Budget of the mine. Thus, climate experts and activists warn that with excavating Lützerath, Germany will miss its climate goals.

However, this fight for Lützerath goes beyond the German Energiewende and calls on the German government to take responsibility. It is a matter of climate justice, as Germany is part of the top 10% of the richest nations globally, it is also responsible for almost 50% of the global CO₂-emissions (cf. figure 1).



This has largely been taken as a trigger for the environmental justice movement to be extended to the anti-extractivist movements (Rodríguez-Labajos & Özkaynak, 2017). These social movements are challenging the prevailing discourse of technocratic and market-based approaches and call for a greater acknowledgement of how climate change is shaped by racialized, gendered, colonial histories and patterns of exploitations under capitalism (Brown & Spiegel, 2019). Following, if climate change is taken as a serious concern, it is inevitable to take a holistic and regenerative approach and thus question current prescriptions, which are mainly technocratic in natures, and demand for what is radically important, particularly in the light of living in the industrial growth societies of the Global North (Orange, 2017).

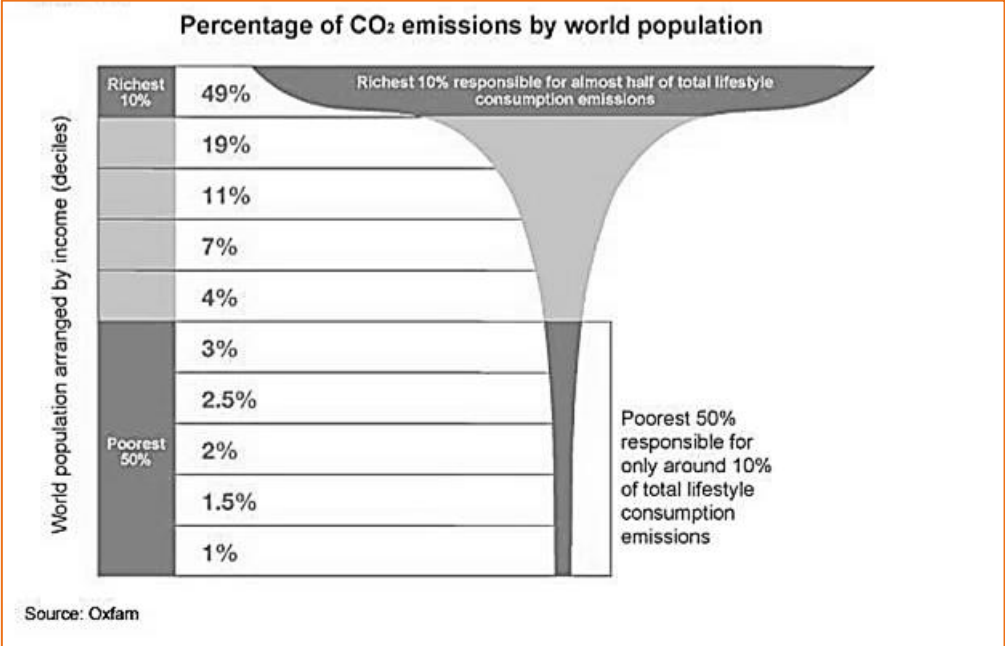


Figure 1: Global income deciles and associated lifestyle consumption emissions (Source: Oxfam, 2005)

Slowly in sustainability science, there is the acknowledgement of the transformative power of resistance, which has been put forward by activists for long (Temper et al., 2018). Furthermore, environmental resistance movements offer spaces in which politicization, and empowerment are acknowledged and made possible (Robert, 2014; Temper et al., 2015; Sebastien, 2017; Martinez-Alier et al., 2016).

1.3 Research problem statement

Local environmental resistance movements directly confront the commodification of nature and thus, are places where the concerns generated by the scale of human intervention in the more-than human world are visible (Özkaynak et al., 2020) and where the dominant socio-ecological order can be directly contested (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). Furthermore, in relation to land occupations, resistance movements create space for experimenting with alternative ways of living (Kempf, 2014; Robert, 2014; Grisoni, 2015; Barbe, 2016).



Studies have shown that with the advance of the energy transitions, local oppositions against energy development are increasingly widespread (Ocelik et al., 2021). Additionally, also the post-Paris climate movement notably shifted their focus to direct action campaigns against the fossil fuel industry (Tramel, 2016).

One telling example are the recurring mass-direct action campaigns organized against mines in Germany by *Ende Gelände*, for instance in Lützerath. Among many activists of the "Luetzerath Lebt" movement, the occupied land around the coalmines is called the 'ZAD Rheinland', which is a reference to the term first introduced by the French land occupation movement to successfully prevent the construction of an airport. This movement has inspired further resistance groups against infrastructure projects to occupy zones and build 'post-capitalist' communities, in the frame of the movement (Robert, 2014).

Kempf (2014) and Subra (2016) two French authors who have studied the French ZAD movement, explained that it was the offspring of being involved in concrete, local struggles for the alter-globalization movement. These movements call for a collective action that is locally grounded (Pleyers, 2010). According to Glasius (2013), they claim to create autonomous spaces where they experiment with alternative practices of prefigurative nature. These spaces of 'counter-power' of self-organization and self-determination are an essential of bottom-up concepts of social change (Sebastien et al., 2019). Gibson-Graham (2008) argues that these spaces enable possibilities of other ways of being in the world.

One key shortcoming and not sufficiently researched aspect of such alternative living spaces is the consideration of maintenance of spaces, rather than development and the consideration of creating radical yet accessible movement to prevent the re-creation of isolated, extremist spaces but to encourage the establishment of translocal networks to spur socio-ecological transformation from the bottom-up (cf. Loorbach et al., 2020).

Lately there is a growing body of literature in geography and sociology that highlights the importance of 'place' in the context of collective action, social movements and politicization processes (Featherstone and Korf, 2012; Nicholls et al., 2013; Combes et al., 2016; Dechézelles and Olive, 2016) however, according to Chin and Mittelman (2000) 'resistance has to be read as the way in which people live their everyday life.' Thus, there is the need for new practices of living together, discursive socio-ecological spatialities through the re-appropriation of space, the production of new egalitarian material, and the creation of new socio-ecological relations (Swyngedouw, 2014).

Overall, I believe in order to approach the socio-ecological crisis that we are facing, we need to apply a holistic approach. Drawing on Brand and Wissen (2017), we require a consensus that profound societal change is required. Wagner (2012) suggests that different encounters with oneself, others, and the surrounding environment need to form part of daily routine on the way of a regenerative



future. This indicates that alternative forms of living and being, such as in environmental resistance movement in Lützerath, makes a different conceptualization of culture possible. It appears to lead to entire ways of life and a whole style of world making being called into question (Escobar, 2018), whilst opening up space for transformation.

1.4 Research aims and research question(s)

The aim of this research is to examine the practice of prefigurative politics in the occupation movement in Lützerath and its potential to leverage change outside the movement through a care-based approach to transformative change.

To analyze the transformative potential of environmental resistance movements, I will examine which prefigurative practices are applied within the environmental occupation movement in Lützerath. As prefigurative practices, we consider the development and execution of practices which are not yet considered mainstream but radical in society, with the aim to create another world through actively practicing the utopian (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). Drawing on prefigurative politics allows the movement to construct alternative ways of living experimentally and imaginatively in the here-and-now and thus, challenges multiple forms of oppression which are deeply enrooted in the current institutions (van de Sande, 2013).

Furthermore, I will assess the potential of an ethics of care to provoke a bottom-up transformative change, to extend the prefiguration of social resistance movements outside the movement on a larger, meta scale. According to a recent newspaper article 'An ongoing inquiry into care' (by Julie Cho and Erin Segal, in ARTS OF THE WORKING CLASS, No.23), in our society, care is experienced in a dichotomous way, where it is connoted as innocent and sentimental on the one hand, and as labor intensive and obligatory on the other. Consequently, care work is widely dismissed from the public and thus kept invisible. Which leads to Tronto (2020) stating that this invisibility of care provokes the illusion that autonomy is feasible, which ensures the powerful to maintain their privilege. To make the invisible, visible, Tronto suggest engaging productively with the concept of care, exposing its centrality to all aspects of living.

However so far, the scholarship on care ethics is not much considered in the socio-ecological transformation debate (Schildberg, 2014; UNRISD, 2016, p.99). This lens however provides the transformative potential of caring practices and extends the reach of sustainability transformation debates, while ensuring to prevent the recreation of inward-looking communities, that escape rather than change wider society.

Finally, this research engages with the debate on transformative change from a methodological perspective. By applying participatory approaches, I will foster the production of knowledge and solutions for and with society by including various ways of knowing and kinds of knowledge (Martens et al., 2010).



The research aims to answer the following research question:

What is the significance of prefigurative politics of care in Lützerath for a just socio-ecological transformation?

1.5 Scientific and societal relevance of the proposed research

There is widespread consent among scientists that our current model of development and growth needs substantial reconsideration. Research funding agencies as well as natural scientists are recognizing the need for inputs from social sciences and humanities to understand and respond to the current socio-ecological crisis (O'Brien 2011; see also International Social Science Council/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISSC/UNESCO, 2013).

Socio-ecological sciences are required to conduct integrative, interdisciplinary research to explain human and more-than-human interactions, particularly the change and persistence of human activities that emerge in response to or are cause of the socio-ecological crisis today (ISSC, 2012; ISSC/UNESCO, 2013). By undertaking a participatory action data collection approach, this research will directly contribute to eliminating the gap between society and research, through exploring and participation in the practices of the movement on the ground, while putting it into an academic context.

In order to create a more socio-ecological just world, we call for the consideration of care ethics to provoke transformative change. The care ethics literature puts particular focus on interdependence and relationality, which allows to gain new perspectives on socio-ecological relations, which so far has been given little consideration (Mol et al., 2010; UNRISD, 2016).

Overall, from a scientific perspective, and according to Temper et al. (2018), besides some limited work by Geels (2006) on 'the dynamics of regime transformation', Scoones et al. (2015) on 'the politics of green transformations' which besides discussing citizen-led transformation, examines 'culturing radical progress', Stirling (2015) emancipating transformations, and Smith and Ely (2015) on grassroots innovation, sustainability science literature has not included the potential of social movements and their resistance activities in the transformation debate.

Finally, the previous work in the field of transition has largely neglected the importance of cultural and societal aspects for instance, in the case of the multi-level perspective framework by Geels (2005). Furthermore, Shove and Walker (2007) criticize that there is a clear lack of the consideration of the everyday practice and undervalues the transformative power of ways of living.

From a societal perspective, this research has valuable input because it provides insights into the environmental occupation camp 'Lützi', which offers profound potential for other alternative living spaces around Europe. Facing a socio-ecological crisis, alternative living spaces will be an essential component of a socio-ecological transformation and thus, further research is pivotal for society to learn with and from each other when creating communities based on caring cultures in places of



resistance. Additionally, scholars have argued that grassroots organizing and activism is one of the most impactful ways to contribute to combat climate change (Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz & Zhao, 2014).

By focusing on prefigurative politics in environmental resistance movements this research highlights the potential of the ‘power of the people’ and the validity of everyday prefigurative practices in facilitating a transformative change. Thus, it will encourage people that are not usually involved in climate activism to potentially get encouraged to do so or at least learn more about alternatives to the current system from an academic viewing point.

By drawing on ethics of care lens, this research further aims at understanding the socio-ecological crisis holistically. Thereby, creating more caring societies which learn through moral and emotional reconnection of humans and more-than-humans, to contribute to a better future based on their mindful action in the present (Moriggi, 2020).

Furthermore, this research will highlight the insufficiency of socio-technical fixes (Geels, 2002; Raven, 2004; Rip and Kemp, 1998) and thus, create space for environmental resistance movements in the academic discourse, while also provoking the awareness of policymakers who get the chance to learn about the meaning of Lützerath for the activists, but also its potential for a socio-ecological transformation.

This will be rendered possible by conducting action research, which follows the main value of respecting people’s knowledge and understanding the concerns confronting their community. By working collaboratively with others, we will create community and organizational change, but also personal change through reflection and the ‘lived experience’. Thus, society is actively involved in the practice of doing research collectively. We are committed to research which challenges undemocratic and unjust economic, social, and political systems and practices and are thereby giving society the agency for direct contribution and action (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003).



1.6 Structure of Thesis

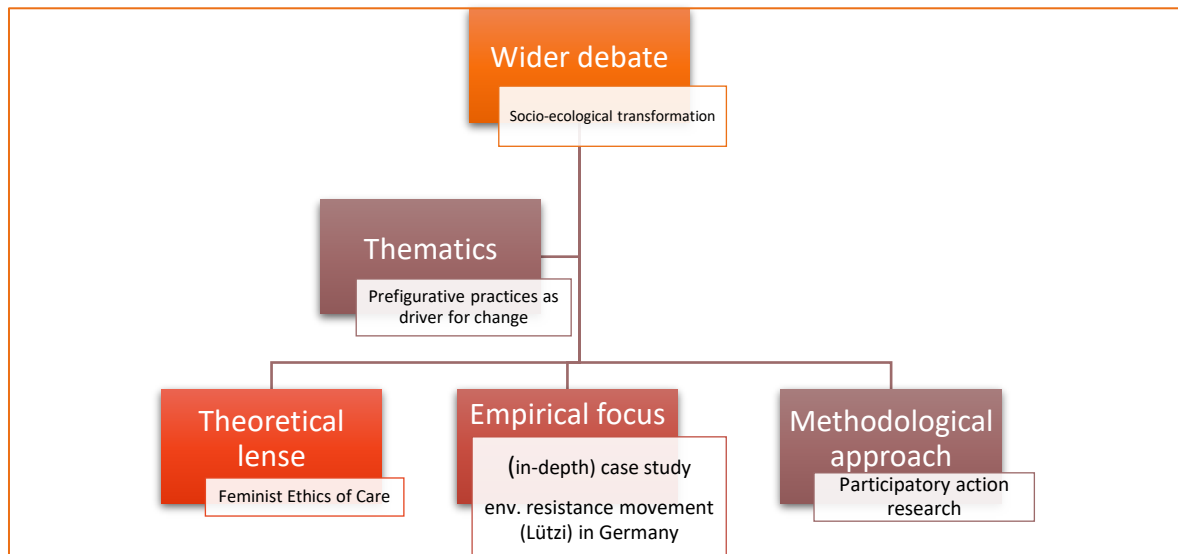


Figure 2: Thesis Overview

So far, an introduction to the research has been given. Chapter 2 proceeds by discussing the scientific literature on social movements and the socio-ecological transformation context. Chapter 3, the theoretical framework presents the operationalization and the relevance for the theories applied to the research. Chapter 4 presents the findings and analysis from empirical research. Chapter 5 will provide the discussion and an interpretation of the findings, as well as limitations and recommendations for further research. Chapter 6 closes the research with the conclusion and the answer to the research question.

2. Critical review of the academic literature

In the following section I will introduce the literature review about the context of the socio-ecological transformation to combat climate change and I will give a summary of the social movement theory and shed some light on the recent and relevant social and environmental movements related to the Lützi Movement.

2.1 Socio-ecological transformation

The evidence for global environmental change being driven by human activities is mounting and is referred to as the 'Anthropocene' Era (Steffen et al. 2007; IPCC 2014). Given the enormous disruptiveness of modern society in their engagement with the environment, there is growing consensus for the need of a radical, fundamental, and possibly rapid change towards sustainability (Feola, 2014).

The major goal of the socio-ecological transformation is to establish a social and political strategy to cope with these crises and provide a general understanding of changes in our global environment (Brand et al., 2017). Thus, it is widely agreed that systematic change is required for the long-term

sustainable transformation of a social change (Nelson 2009; Westley et al. 2011; DeFries et al. 2012; ISSC 2012; Shove et al. 2012).

Other than the transition approach, transformation calls for "radical, systemic shifts in deeply held values and beliefs, patterns of social behavior, and multi-level governance and management regimes" (Westley et al. 2011, p:762). Furthermore, transformation is highly focused on "social innovations, challenging incumbent structures, subject to incommensurable knowledges and pursuing contending ends" (Stirling, 2015).

Throughout this research, I will refer to socio-ecological transformation to describe the 'political, socioeconomic, and cultural shifts resulting from attempts to address the socio-ecological crisis' (Brand & Wissen, 2017). I thus recognize environmental resistance movements to serve as spaces for experimenting with prefigurative practices to be scaled across to other spheres and seek a holistic approach beyond technocratic solutions to the socio-ecological crisis.

Transformation is a red thread that connects theory to methodology in throughout this thesis. There are two ways in which transformation is conceptualized in this thesis. First, Olsson who describes 'transformative capacity' as the ability to strengthen and enhance management of desired ecosystem states and associated values' (Olsson, 2003). Secondly, O'Brien views transformation as psycho-social process, unleashing the potential to commit, care and effect change for a better life (O'Brien, 2012). Furthermore, this thesis frames transformation as a dialogical and communicative process, that happen as a result of the perpetual interaction and negotiation with the social and ecological environment (Emirbayer, 1997; Tschakert & St.Clair, 2013). Additionally, System thinking is an important lens in the sustainability transformation literature, meaning that radical shifts are needed at multiple levels.

2.2 Social resistance movements

This section will shortly reveal the history of social movements in the environmental activism discourse. There are three major movements that I deem valuable in the framework of this research: the environmental justice movement, as it lays the groundwork of people's struggles against environmental injustice, such as in this case coal extractivism in times of climate crisis; secondly, the alter-globalization movement, which lays out the structures and ways of 'organizing' practiced in Lützi and finally, the anarchist environmental movement, which is crucial in the discourse of forest and land occupations in Germany. All in all, the history of social movements lays the corner stones of places and occupation movements such as Lützi.



2.2.1 The environmental justice movement

While sustainability science has only recently been linking social movements with the transformative power of resistance, Environmental Justice movements and activists have been engaged with this through climate justice struggles (Bond 2012; Chatterton et al. 2013) or global environmental justice issues for some time (Sikor and Newell 2014; Scheidel et al. 2017).

Social movements, enable relatively powerless individuals through collective action, to change entrenched and oppressive institutions such as slavery (King & Havemann, 2008) or promote civil rights (McAdam, 1982) or LGBT rights (Creed et al., 2002). Overall, social movements are predisposed to challenge power structures and seek social transformations. They are defined as a process in which different actors engage in collective action, according to Della Porta and Diani (2006). I will follow the principal characteristics of a social movement as identified by the authors:

- 1) collective identities grow beyond particular events and initiatives and the people are engaged by the feeling of solidarity.
- 2) actors of social movements aim to achieve social change through engaging in political conflicts.
- 3) they build a solid network of informal ties by engaging in sustained exchange of resources towards reaching a common goal.

In this research, I will focus on some of the social movements that seem to foster transformative social change from the ground up. We will primarily focus on resistance movements.

The environmental movement has been described as "the most comprehensive and influential movement of our time" (Castells 1997, p.67). Additionally, we are facing an unprecedented number of socio-environmental conflicts due to the increasing resource extraction at the "commodity frontiers" (Moore, 2000), accompanied by excessive production of carbon dioxide (Horowitz et al., 2016) due to the prevailing capitalistic system. These struggles can be termed as struggles for environmental justice (EJ).

Collective environmental justice claims are generally concerned with equity in the distribution of benefits and burdens, participation in decision-making processes on local changes, and the recognition of diverse experiences and worldviews, including those of local groups (Rodríguez-Labajos and Ozkaynak, 2017; Schlosberg, 2013; Urkidi and Walter, 2011). There is quite a large body of literature on the topic of community resistance to extractive projects (Conde, 2017). One key finding is that communities largely react due to the lack of representation and participation in the decision making of the extractive projects (Bridge, 2004).



2.2.2 The alter-globalization movement

Movement actors often refer to the alter-globalization movement as ‘the movement’ or the ‘movement of movements’ (Kingsnorth, 2003). The movement was born from its predecessors around the world, from the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994 to the anonymous basement of Wetlands, and was taken to the world stage in a united form during the WTO protest in Seattle (Maeckelbergh, 2009). The people that the movement consists of are internationally prefigurative of the ‘other world(s)’ they would like to see. They truly focus on practicing alternatives and rendering another world possible. The alter-globalization movement is idiosyncratic for its network of formal and informal interactions of movement actors that ties them together through overlapping unities (Diani 1992: 13, cf. Stammers and Eschle 2005: 54).

Moreover, the movement attempts to link as many different people as possible on a global level, through horizontal structures based on diversity, in order to constitute a global connection among each other (Juris, 2008). This unity between movement actors is constructed through an opposition to neoliberal globalization and multilateral organizations, anti-corporatism, anti-war, direct action, a general ethos of ‘resistance’, the abolition of capitalism, the ‘reclaiming of the commons’ (McCarthy, 2005) among others. Actors of the movement do not share a single ‘vision’/‘goal’, nor single ‘adversary’, and nor single ‘identity’ (cf. Castells 1997, Touraine 1985). However, activists of diverse backgrounds will work together on a specific project, where their interests will temporarily overlap, and once this project is over, another project will re-create the overlapping in a new form (Maeckelbergh, 2009).

Overall, the alter-globalization movements intend to establish a radical democratic alternative, which is based on decentralized network structure and principles of diversity and horizontality into reality, through prefiguration and connectivity. For alter-globalization movements, social change lies in practices, trained through conflict and diversity, not through unity. Making another world possible thus lies in the realm of possibility, which is linked from the future to the present through prefiguration (Maeckelbergh, 2009).

2.2.3 Anarchist environmental movements and the ‘Occupy’ Movement

Anarchist environmental movements, which consists of activists that share a strong ideological heterogeneity and the willingness to stop local extraction and deforestation projects, consisting of anti-capitalists and radical environmental activists that build conservation coalitions on the ground (Kaufer, n.d.). These activists orient their political action towards anarchist ideas and ideologies, the so-called eco-anarchism. This movement seeks for direct action to combat climate change, animal exploitation, ecosystem degradation and deforestation (cf. Kaufer & Lein, 2020; Price, 2019). They thus differ from more professionalized and hierarchical NGOs and other environmental movements which



utilize a 'more neutral framing of climate change that is directed more strongly at state than non-state actors' (De Moor et al., 2021 p.619).

Adversary, green anarchist movements draw on the narrative of climate emergency (Friberg, 2021; Patterson et al., 2021), crisis, international solidarity with the MAPA (Most Affected People and Areas) and time constraints to policy making, due the urgency of climate change. Environmental solidarity thus is crucial to the green anarchist and environmental movements and the extraction of resources, clearing of land and forests is an attack to global climate justice (Kaufer, n.d.). Ecological solidarity is enrooted in global networks of anarchist activists (cf. Tysiachniouk et al., 2021) and is at the core of green radical politics targeting the transformation of the fossilist capitalism and thus the overarching transformative change.

A social movement closely linked to the eco-anarchist movement is the 'Occupy' Movement. The 'Occupy' Movement is built on traditional tactics, new tools of technology and alternative forms of organizing to protest. The movements most unique feature is its horizontal, leaderless 'structure' in combination, with its tactic of longer-term encampment of public spaces, such as it is the case in the village of Lützerath (Marcuse, 2011). According to Sassen (2011) and Mendieta (2011), protestors symbolically, as well as literally, reclaim the space which formerly used to be public but had been privatized and sold to corporate owners. Mendieta (2011) has thus coined the term of re-occupying. Another layer of symbolic action according to Lawler (2011) is that occupations create a place 'where people converse, engage in experimental practices of radical democracy, and contribute nothing to the production of profit'.

Occupations thus create a space where people can experiment with alternative forms of living, while at the same time they force governments and mainstream media to acknowledge their presence. Thus, contesting public spaces may give the powerless, so-called 99%, 'rhetorical and operational openings' (Sassen, 2011). Overall, the Occupy Movement is the latest iteration of an evolving protest for people to collectively resist an expanding sense of social, economic, and political disenfranchisement. Thus, occupations such as Lützerath can be seen as 'physical and political spaces for reasserting the power of the people' (Lubin, 2012).

2.2.4 Environmental resistance movements in Germany

In Germany, the environmental justice movement gained ground after the G8-congress 2007, when some critical activists started as an anti-capitalistic grassroots organization with the intention to hold direct contributors of global warming accountable (AntiRassismusBüro Bremen, 2007). The movement was inspired by the British climate justice movement and the strategy of 'Camps for Climate Action' (Frenzel, 2011). However, because of the disappointing results of the UN-Conference in Copenhagen in 2009, the movement decided to concentrate on local and regional climate justice topics, in



which they could develop a political impact and concrete alternatives (Klima!Bewegungsnetzwerk, 2010). Soon, the coal industry became the target of this group.

The German movement 'Ende Gelände' which is strongly involved with the Lützerath occupation, considers themselves as part of the Climate Justice Movement. It is in favor of the protection of the most vulnerable groups, a change of production systems responsible for climate change and a post-carbon energy system (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Hence, 'Ende Gelände' engages a deeply anti-capitalist discourse (Bosse, 2017; Sander, 2017) and condemns 'the carbon economy as a symptom of larger inequalities created and exploited by the global capital' (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014, p. 364).

Recently, the 'end fossil – occupy!' movement started to use occupations as a vehicle to fight for the end of fossil fuels (End Fossil – Occupy, 2023). In an open letter they state: 'as young people born on the brink of the greatest catastrophe in human history, it is our responsibility to rise up and stop it'. (Schlegel, M. (2022, July 29). The aim of the movement is to hold big oil accountable and pressure schools and universities that are also major investors in fossil fuel companies. Beyond the demand to end fossil fuel, the movement also shows solidarity with: 'Lützi's demands!', 'Debt for Climate' and 'Enough is Enough'(organizations).

3. Theoretical frameworks

In the following, the key theories applicable to this research are discussed. First, Prefigurative politics for socio-ecological transformation is introduced. Next, the background and relevance of feminist ethics of care as coined by Tronto (2013) is discussed. Finally, participatory action research as a methodology and a practice is explained and its transformative potential is highlighted.

3.1 Prefigurative Politics (for social transformation)

The concept of prefigurative politics has been increasingly used to describe and make sense of social movements (e.g., Beckwith, Bliuc, and Best 2016; Biddau, Armenti, and Cottone 2016; Chabot and Vinthagen 2015; Cornish et al. 2016; Gordon 2018; Haunss and Leach 2007; Jaster 2018; Leach 2016; Miettunen 2015; Raekstad 2018; Reinecke 2018; Sorensen 2016; Trott 2016; Wallin-Ruschman and Patka 2016; Van de Sande 2015; Yates 2015). More recently, the term stimulates discussion of political action and is part of debates and theories around utopia, social change, anarchism and imagined futures (Yates, 2020).

The term 'prefiguration' was first coined by Sheila Powbotham, a feminist historian, based on the idea of creating change though experimented practicing rather than thriving for perfection and without waiting for society to change for the better. David Graeber (2011) describes prefigurative practices as one of the core concepts in contemporary anarchist thinking, besides direct action, the rejection of hierarchy and illegalism. Prefiguration in their eyes is about creating a social order, where



everyone can experience freedom directly, which exist beyond structures of subjugation and coercion (Graeber, 2011).

According to Raekstad and Gradin (2020, p.17) we can define prefigurative politics as ‘the deliberate experimental implementation of desired future social relations and practices in the here-and-now.’ It follows the notion that in order to replace the prevailing social structures, we need to practice some of the future structures in the resistance movements that we create (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). It was first coined by Boggs (1977, 103) as the attempt to create change in the ‘here and now’ through the construction of ‘local and collective structures that anticipate the future liberated society’, which most of the subsequent scholars have followed (Epstein, 1991; Yates, 2015).

In the anarchist discourse and practice of direct action, prefiguration is seen as a key principle to access the legitimacy of actions and to establish the anarchist commitment that ‘means must prefigure ends’ (Franks, 2006). Subsequently, organizing becomes an aim rather than a mere ‘instrumental’ goal for movements (Haug, 2013; Maeckelbergh, 2011). In other words, the central values of the new society should be instantiated by the created structures and processes in the present (Törnberg, 2021). Further aims are to carve out autonomous spaces, that enable a new world to be built with the shell of the old world, but without being restricted by its representative politics and public institutions (Frank, 2003).

Given that it is a recent academic concept, it is worthwhile referring to Ghandi (1948) who used the related concept of the ‘constructive’ to describe one of his branches of ‘civil resistance’, which was described as essential to construct concrete structures, **systems**, and processes as alternatives to oppression and to promote unity within the resistance community and self-sufficiency.

Further Franks and Maeckelbergh (2011) follow Ghandi and argue that actions ‘embody the forms of social relations that actors wish to see develop’ (2006, p. 114). This mainly consists of two practices: the confrontation of established political structures and the construction of alternatives (Maeckelbergh, 2011) linked to creativity, subversion, and playfulness. These alternatives are largely challenging the way power inequalities are deeply embedded in various institutions today (van de Sande, 2013).

Thus, everyday behaviors are crucial to anarchist practices and provide a primary locus for anarchist actions. It anticipates that the commitment to direct action in everyday life is placed at the core of the prefigurative discourses (Graeber, 2002). It is thus about the ‘continuous exercise of testing the imaginary landscape against the necessities and the hidden flows of daily life’ (Campagna & Campiglio, 2012).

Until today, the concept has been applied in a range of protest activities from the autonomous communities of the Zapatista movements in Mexico to the Spanish anarchists during the civil war, to



environmental direct action, the European autonomous movements, the Occupy movements, to the Idiganados and the Landless People's Movements in Brazil (Törnberg, 2021).

Overall, prefiguration cares for certain approaches to social change, but the specification of behaviors is up to the activists of the certain movement. They do so by experimenting with alternative institutions that aim at 'reciprocity in power, influence, and attention' and horizontality and inclusivity (Polletta, 1999; Maeckelbergh, 2011), including consensus-based decision-making and self-organization (Breines, 1982; Epstein, 1991; Graeber, 2002). However, beyond that, it is equally important to leverage change outside the movement because they would otherwise risk to create isolated, inward-looking communities that escape rather than change wider society (Murray, 2014)

I believe that to create new socio-ecological relations and practices of living together, it requires a re-emergence of the "political". There is the strong requisite for a 'socio-political' approach to initiate a socio-ecological transformation, which unravels the prevailing power relations that inevitably confront resistance movements (Swyngedouw, 2014; Kenis and Lievens, 2014). Rather than resistance, our societies need reconstruction. A way to achieve this is through prefigurative politics. None of the practices are new, but they are increasingly important but poorly accounted for in political participation and social movements literature (Yates, 2021).

Yates (2021) has identified three broad analytical categories that are understood to be necessary for movement strategy: reproduction, mobilization, and coordination. In the following, I would like to shortly elaborate what each of the three entails. Overall, Ganz (2000) defines the different types of politically relevant social movement activity as follows: 'how we turn what we have into what we need – by translating our resources into the power to achieve purpose'.

Reproduction stands for the maintenance of resources, it is mostly the fabric of collective action itself that is largely overlooked and undervalued by activists and researchers (Federici, 2012), which nonetheless are pivotal for any social movement to maintain. Secondly, without Mobilization, social movements will only be reproducing themselves. However, mobilization moves beyond persuading people to participate politically but it aims to supplant existing institutions by alternatives, practicing experimentation, innovation, and learning in the process and thus by mobilizing these alternatives, one might prepare or resource collective actors to the movement (Yates, 2021). Finally, the third pillar is Coordination, which entails the imaging, marshalling, planning, and guiding of forces in a particular direction. This is essential as without explicit coordination, movements do not have an agenda, and will thus struggle with forcing opponents to accede demands, identifying opportunities and forcing change to happen through mobilization. Overall, many authors recommend that prefiguration is best coordinated with, conflict and struggle, as it forces the elites to accept new settlements (Wright, 2010).

So far, the concept has been explored by various disciplines, the focus has been widely on defining and characterizing the concept by mapping the terrain and categorizing various forms of



prefigurative strategies (cf. Sorensen, 2016). However, the potential of prefiguration as a revolutionary strategy i.e., the potential of prefigurative practices for transformative change has not been sufficiently researched. It is particularly important for the notion of prefiguration to be included in this research as the recognition of ‘latent’ and rather invisible work has still not been sufficient attention in academic literature in comparison to the work of coordination on the surface.

Lützi can be seen as a place of conflict that has forced the elites to accept such new settlements according to Wright (2010). The audacity of the German government, allowing RWE to dispossess thousands of people of their land to the profit of the rich, has evoked activists to take to the streets and squat the land for more than 2 years. The community building and prefigurative practices learned and installed during the time of resistance are extremely valid learnings for the overall society in a socio-ecological transformation.

3.2 Feminist Ethics of Care (Lens)

As already briefly touched upon in the previous chapter and stated in the work of Federici (2010), historically, care has been restricted to the private sphere, devaluated, taken for granted, and thus held invisible (Puig De la Bellcasa, 2011). Only recently, due to feminist theories, we have seen a resurgence of care in extended fields of sociology, anthropology, geography, philosophy, and ethics debates (Mol et al., 2010). Despite the awareness of the need for a more radical, transformative change, the scholarship on ethics of care has not been considered in the transformation debate (UNRISD, 2016, p.99).

However, ‘care talk’ has become increasingly employed across various research contexts, such as prospects of caring society and caring economy. This has thus spurred the work of feminist economist, political scientists, and philosophers, who advocate for practices regenerating today's societies, for future generations (Held, 2006).

Notions of caring for the Earth and human/more-than-human interdependence lie at the heart of spiritual and philosophical traditions, and of indigenous knowledges (Whyte & Cuomo, 2016). At the core of caring approaches lies the notion of interdependence, which calls for reconnecting with the biosphere and create an understanding of human and nature as a whole (Capra & Luisis, 2014). Feminist scholars such as Virginia Held, Sara Ruddick and Nel Noddings, endorsed a systematic thinking in their philosophies by drawing on humans being fundamentally relational and interdependent members of a network of relationships on which they all depend (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 2006; Noddings, 2013).

Following, the notion of nature-cultures by Donna Haraway (1997) which signifies the inseparability of the culture and the nature (see also Latour, 1993). At the center of the ethics of care literature lies the importance of context, interdependence, relationships, and responsibilities (Held, 2006;



Koggel & Orme, 2010). Feminist perspectives on transformation have long built on relational approaches to display alternative possibilities (Gibson-Graham, 2006) and uncover marginalized experiences (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2010). Care has been conceptualized as a 'grounded everyday ethical practice' (Williams, 2016: 514) to highlight the importance of place-specificities (cf. Williams, 2016; Power & Mee, 2019; Held, 2018, 2004).

Much of this work has aligned with the work of Fisher and Tronto (1990) who define care as: *'A species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our "world" so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (Tronto, 2013, 19).'*

What we can understand from this definition is that humans are relational subjects and are thus capable of sustaining life in various forms, which is highly relevant for a socio-ecological transformation. Tronto (2013) and Held (2006) have manifested this notion in the dual nature of caring, which is an ethical framework as well as a series of tangible practices. Thus, care is considered an inter-activity, situated between subjects (Conradi, 2015), who share caring relations as a continuous process (Tronto, 2013).

Held (2018) and Conradson (2011) further describe care as an 'embodied practice' in favor of 'social relationships of mutuality and trust rather than one-way dependence' (Lawson, 2007: 3) as we have established in neoliberal care institutions. Feminist ethics of care regard this more politically charged care of the public sphere as undemocratic, because of its failure to privilege the non-privileged (Alam & Houston, 2020). Therefore, Puig de la Bellacasa (2010) demands to go beyond the normative framing and to include actors and issues that 'are not likely to succeed in articulating their concerns' (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2010: 94). They define generating care as: an engagement which is preconditioned by interdependency and grounded in affective ethical everyday practical doings that engages with the troubles of interdependent existence (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012). Overall, feminist ethics of care advocates for a more 'situated response to unjust situations' (Williams, 2016) by recognizing the unequal, relational and interdependent capacities of care actors.

A care lens has already been applied to place-based sustainability initiatives, such as permaculture (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2010) and Community Supported Agriculture (Wells & Gradwell, 2001), but it lacks application to alternative forms of living in environmental resistance movements. Consequently, applying an ethics of care lens to the resistance movement of Lützi has the potential to enrich the debate on a just and inclusive socio-ecological transformation from below and will reveal learnings and lessons on how to practice care in social movements.

In the following we will delve into Tronto's (2013) definition of "caring with" to reimagine how care as an alternate infrastructure may favor place-based and non-human forms of democracy. Caring



can be represented in two ways, according to Tronto's (2013) model: through ethical principles and through embodied activities. She encapsulated this dichotomy in the five stages of the caring process, each of which is represented by a practice motivated and activated by a moral principle.



Figure 3: Five stages of caring and related moral principles. Inspired by Tronto (2013).

There are five steps in the process of care:

1. *Caring about*. Stimulated by attentiveness and the capability to adopt the perspective of others, one can recognize an unmet need around us. The recognition of mutuality can be a trigger to care about.
2. *Caring for*. Through the recognition of unmet needs, attention might be channeled into intention and thus induce action upon those needs (Kimmerer, 2014). The underlying principle is responsibility, which arises from a practice of relationality, and can be better framed as response-ability: meaning that the more we are involved in relations, the more we are able to respond and feel responsible to the needs (Moriggi et al., 2020).
3. *Care-giving*. As the actual care work which requires competences.
4. *Care-receiving*. Those being cared for are expected to respond on the quality and effectiveness of the care given, where new needs might be acknowledged.

However, the care process can be asymmetric given the potential capacity of the individual. Therefore, Tronto (2013) has included a fifth stage which encompasses the entire caring process:

5. *Caring with*. Is meant to establish the link between care and democracy by recognizing care as a dynamic between care-giver and care-taker and their active participation for meaningful care. Through the mutuality of 'caring with', neither 'disempowers nor reduces the care receiver as an object of care' (Power, 2019).

Caring with offers the opportunity of having "a greater trust for one another and thus a greater (responsibility and) capacity" (Tronto, 2013: xii); hence, there are opportunities to build the "public

momentum” (Amin, 2010: 9) through an expanded degree of community participation. Caring is not just a procedure that takes place within the confines of a therapeutic environment. It is instead a transparent process of learning and empowerment that has the potential for positive spillover effects for society as a whole, benefiting other caregivers and care-receivers in the long run (Faden et al., 2013).

Thus, John Tronts’s (2013) framework provides the basis for analyzing all five stages of caring concerning the prefigurative practices lived by the people of Lützi and the potential of creating caring communities by living adhering to reciprocity and by taking care from the private to the public sphere.

3.3 Participatory Action Research

Rather than simply observing change, research in the field of transformation can simultaneously enable change. This is essential to turn ideas formed in academic and research arenas into action (Keeler et al., 2017). The need for inter- and transdisciplinary approaches that embrace exploration and uncertainty, is particularly apparent, when shading light on the multiple environmental and societal crisis, which despite the extent of scientific knowledge produced, has not been averted.

Action research (AR) has emerged over time from a broad spectrum of fields. AR traces its roots to the work of Kurt Lewin, a German American social psychologist who managed to make the notion of collaborative research central to a broad range of social scientists. However, it has not been a linear development (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). The origin can be pinned down to the attempt to integrate factory workers in participatory democracy to address problems in their work environments. The second strand of AR is the comprehensive aim for equality, justice, and the end of oppression. Paul Freire's work is vital to this movement, as they attempt ways of human research that gives a voice and dignity to all participants, which is later called the ‘human inquiry and cooperative inquiry’ and strongly influenced by Peter Reason, Hilary Bradbury, John Heron, and William R. Tobert.

Participatory action research (PAR) has been developed by researchers aiming for involvement, social critique, and activism with the initial goal of liberatory change. PAR is based on the core principles of AR which we drew out above. Reason (1994) describes three key features of PAR: (1) commitment to liberationist movements; (2) commitment to honoring the lived experiences and knowledge of the people involved; (3) commitment to 'genuine collaboration' in the research (Gatenby & Humphries, 2000).

Reason and Bradbury (2008) define PAR, as research that is eager to provoke change by creating participative communities that address significant questions for the participants as co-researchers, by engaging them in semi-systematic cycles of action and reflection. PAR is a research approach that engages community members at any aspect of the research process (Long, 2016).

As a methodology it was largely inspired by writings of Fals-Borda (1987) and Freire (1970), and like-minded researchers associated with liberation and anticolonial social movements in the



Global South. The intention of the knowledge creation is not to merely contribute to the academic literature but also inherently provoke social change (Coghian & Brydon-Miller, n.d.).

The participatory research approach was first applied in development studies. After discovering that relying on communal sharing of locally specific knowledge was more effective. Swantz (2008) suggested that both the researched and the researcher could become agent of change. Since then, PAR has rested upon 3 main principles:

- (1) PAR actively engages the participants in all stages of the research,
- (2) PAR aims to fundamentally transform social relations, by including people with fewer resources and less power and finally,
- (3) in PAR every participant contributes their knowledge and shares in responsibility.

This collaboration bridges cultural gaps between partners and increases trust (Coghian & Brydon-Miller, n.d.).

Research on transformative change has increasingly used PAR approaches to nurture activist orientations (Fazey et al., 2018; Moser, 2016). Researchers are increasingly supposed to ‘recognize and accept their social responsibility’ (Cornell et al., 2013, p.67), beyond answering research questions (Salas-Zapata et al., 2012) and providing evidence (Kajikawa, 2008). Researchers today also engage in action and process-oriented activities: they commit themselves to transforming reality (Salas-Zapata et al., 2012), mediating between different frames (Pohl et al., 2010), putting sustainability into action (Loorbach et al., 2011) and guiding collective learning processes (Pohl et al., 2010).

Miller (2013) extends the role of the researcher beyond the ‘knowledge-first’ to the ‘process-oriented’, which views the researcher beyond a knowledge provider, also as ‘establishing, facilitating and participation in mechanisms or dialogues for change’ (Miller, 2013, p.287).

Noffke (2009) suggests that there are different dimensions of PAR, which are either personal, professional, or political. However, according to Carson ‘Action research is rooted in a belief in the transformative possibilities of personal and collective action’ (2009, p. 347). Thus, the action in action research is conceived ‘a mechanism of social change grounded in principles of democracy’ (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Therefore, PAR can be seen as something more than a methodology. It is a tool of change to foster transformation in people’s lives created by the people themselves (Stark, 2014).

To rewind the bow to prefigurative practices, discussed earlier, PAR can be seen as prefigurative as well. At the center of PAR lies the everyday practice, ongoing commitment and hard work to build spaces, relationships, and processes that manifest the kind of radical democracy and social science that we aspire to (Arieli, Friedman, & Agbaria, 2009; Bradbury & Torbert, 2016; Brydon-Miller, 2009).

More than espousing, PAR enables us to enact in the imperfect yet becoming present, a direct trial to the favoring ‘performativity over humble co-operation, abstraction over praxis, individual



knowing over collective learning, and monological solution-giving over dialogical inquiry’ (Amsler, 2014, p. 279). PAR has at least some principles in common with post-left anarchist theory, amongst which we can count the certainty that *other worlds are possible, now* (Gayá & Brydan-Miller, 2017).

3.3 Operationalization of theoretical concepts

In the previous paragraphs, the conceptual model for this research has been presented. In the following, I will describe how these theoretical concepts will be measured. According to van Thiel (2014) operationalization can be conducted in three broad steps. First, the conceptual models applied are defined. Second, several indicators are defined which help identify the concept in the data and finally, values are selected to be able to measure the variables on a quantitative scale (van Thiele, 2014). The conceptual model in Figure 4 depicts these relevant concepts and shows how they can together sustain the drive for a just socio-ecological transformation.

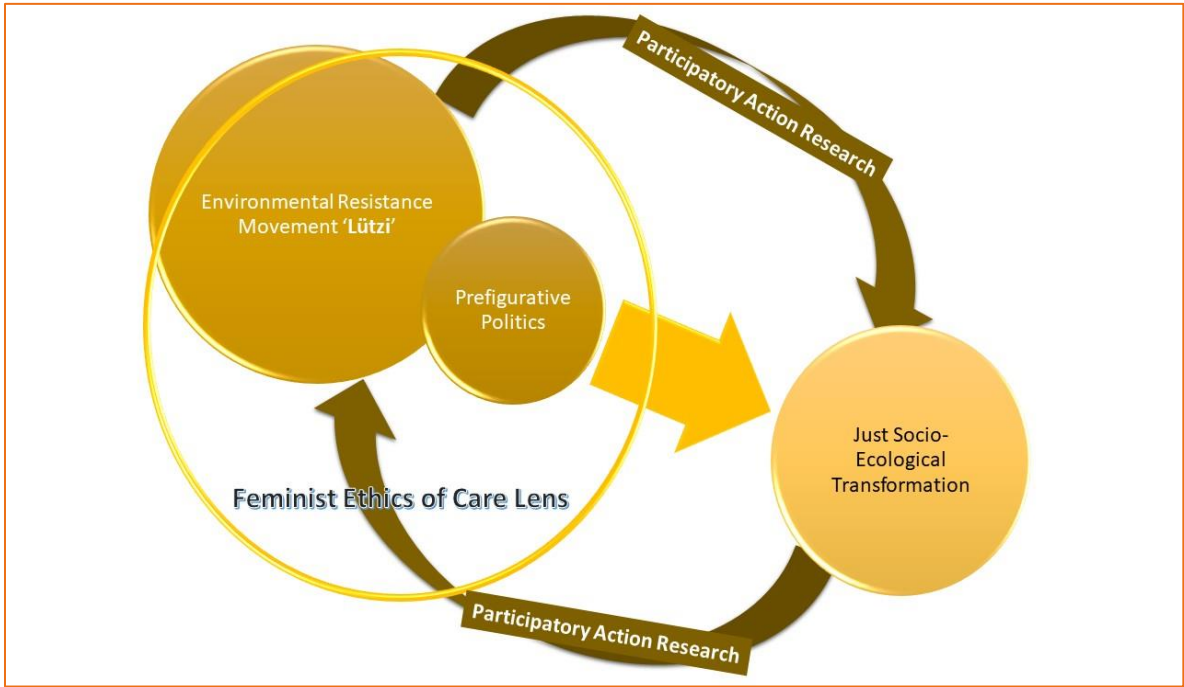


Figure 4: Conceptual Model

Concept	Definition	Variables	Values
PAR	PAR is a theory as well as methodology applied in this research to ensure a non-hierarchical and non-exploitative, authentic research.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engagement of participants in research Fundamentally transform social relations Shared responsibility and knowledge contribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> co-creation of knowledge reciprocity of researcher and researched non-hierarchical experimentative approach
Feminist Ethics of Care	Is a theory largely worked on by John Tronto (2013) which aims to bring care to the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Care about Care for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attentiveness Response-ability



	public sphere by creating a notion of caring with within societies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care giving • Care receiving • Care with 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Responsiveness • Reciprocity
Prefigurative Politics	Is a political practice build on the believe of provoking change in the here and now by practicing it.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reproduction • Mobilization • Coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance • Collectivity • Inclusion

Figure 5: Operationalization of theoretical framework

To answer the main research question, three sub-questions have been formed based on the underlying theories (see Table 1 for more details), and with the aim to finally guide us to answer main research question:

1. What are the prefigurative practices and principles performed in Lützi? (descriptive)
2. What are the multiple dimensions of caring in the prefigurative practices in Lützi?
3. How can we take on and implement awareness work Lützi in an intersectional, preventive, low-hierarchical way, in collective responsibility and with a benevolent culture of error?

This research draws on Tronto's five stages of caring, to analyze the prefigurative potential of caring practices. Therefore, in the first sub-question, we describe and analyze Lützi's place specificities and infrastructure in alliance with Lützi's caring culture. Afterwards, we operationalize Tronto's theoretical approach, which has been largely explained in the theoretical framework, into an analytical framework for the studies of environmental resistance movements. This will allow us to answer question 2: 'What are the multiple dimensions of caring in the prefigurative practices in Lützi?' In the final question (3) we will access the caring culture in Lützi (based on the General Assembly) and will give recommendations for change.

Table 2 depicts the operationalization of Tronto's (2013) 'caring with' concept and reveals the empirical questions and the analytical focus in the data to answer the second sub-question. It will allow to create a very clear image of how care is practiced with each other in Lützi.

	Stage in caring process	Moral principle	Empirical question	Analytical focus in the data
1	CARE ABOUT	Attentiveness	What are prefigurative practitioners attentive to? What are they concerned about?	Motivations and concern
2	CARE FOR	Response-ability	How are practitioners able to respond to these concerns? What do they do and for whom?	Practices implemented daily
3	CARE GIVING	Competence	How are practices implemented on an everyday basis?	Key criteria and ways of working
4	CARE RECEIVING	Responsiveness	What mechanisms are in place for care receivers to respond to the practices of care?	Elements to enable receivers' responsiveness



5	CARE WITH	Reciprocity	How are principles of reciprocity and mutual learning expressed throughout the process of caring?	Ongoing ways to foster reciprocity and mutual learning
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Figure 6: Analytical framework of care for prefigurative practitioners (cf. Moriggi, 2021)

4. Methodology

4.1 Positionality philosophical perspective

Social research is strongly shaped by the philosophical foundations and the theoretical assumptions of the discipline and thus can only be meaningfully interpreted if the underlying philosophical principles are sufficiently stated (Newing, 2010). These principles largely determine the ways in which research is designed, conducted, analyzed, and interpreted and thus critically shapes the outcome of any research (Moon & Blackman, 2014). In short, philosophy provides the basis for how we obtain knowledge of reality (Spirkin, 1983) and thus shapes our data collection methods and analysis (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Our research philosophy in a simplified form can be restricted to three key elements: ontology, epistemology, and philosophical perspective. In the following I will elaborate on my position within this scheme.

A researcher's ontology defines what is thought to be reality (Moon & Blackman, 2014). On a broad spectrum, we can draw a distinction between realism on the one side and relativism on the other, with the former arguing that only one reality exists and with the latter arguing that reality is constructed within the human mind and thus, reality being contingent upon individual's experience at a given time and place (Moses & Knutsen, 2012). For this research, I will take a relativist stance, where it is believed that each and every individual creates their own version of reality and thus seeks to capture the depth and diversity of experiences and behaviors contributing to or impeding transformation efforts (Balmford & Cowling 2006; Evely et al. 2008). This research is based on a holistic worldview, which encourage interdependences and relationality and thus provokes the creation of transformative methodologies for everyday practices in environmental resistance movements.

The epistemological position defines how a researcher creates knowledge, which can be divided into an objectivist, constructionist, and subjectivist perspective (Moon & Blackman, 2014). This research will take a constructionist epistemology, which means that knowledge is constructed through human interaction and engagement with the world around them (Crotty, 1998). Thus, every individual construct meaning is of a phenomenon in different ways. This meaning is based on ones 'cultural, historical, and social perspectives' and arises through interaction with human community (Creswell, 2009). In the case of the underlying research, we will build on the preliminary literature review which will be enriched by subjective perspectives through PAR, which 'fosters collective inquiry and experimentation and applies constructive and critical stance that considers participant's experiences and 'social history' (Long et al., 2016). Knowledge is co-created by participants and researchers who



question theoretical assumption on the ground, in this case the practice of care in prefigurative resistance movements. Thus, knowledge is 'in becoming' (Moriggi et al., 2020).

The philosophical perspective describes the philosophical orientation can be described as 'a basic set of beliefs that guide action' (Guba, 1990, p.17). This research builds on a feminist and participatory perspective, which aims to 'collaborate with the people in the system in order to provoke active change' (Creswell, 2009) through practices, while considering the understanding of power relations and dynamics among stakeholders involved in resistance movements.

4.1.1 Ethical considerations

In the mutuality of knowledge co-creation, ground rules between and among the researcher and the participants are essential to ensure a safe and caring space for everyone. These values can be seen to be shaping our actions as scholars and change agents beyond our research. In the words of Brydon-Miller et al. (2003, p.15):

"A respect for people and for the knowledge and experience they bring to the research process, a belief in the ability of democratic processes to achieve positive social change, and a commitment to action, these are the basic values which underlie our common practice as action researchers".

Building this research upon the ethics of care by Tronto (2013) it almost falls in place naturally to use the moral principles of the caring cycle as a guideline for collaborative and ethical PAR. Following Moriggi (2021), the five caring principles highlight the relevance of a) doing research with people, b) an iterative, reflective process, and c) to conduct research to foster new abilities of knowledge-creation together.

4.1.2 The role(s) of the researcher

PAR is a research approach that aims to shift knowledge production towards a trans- and interdisciplinary, participative, and explorative mode (Martens et al., 2010). Therefore, researchers are required to take on multiple roles during their research journey (Wittmayer and Schaepeke, 2014). Horling et al. (2020) define five different roles of researcher with responsibilities related:

- (1) reflective scientist, aims for objectivity and provides recognizable results,
- (2) process facilitator, focuses mainly on facilitating a 'sustainable' process (build on justice, inclusiveness, and future orientation),
- (3) knowledge broker, aims to mediate different perspectives and incorporates normativity and ethics,
- (4) change agent, mostly networks with stakeholders outside the group, and



(5) self-reflexive scientist, recognizes themselves as part of the dynamic action and values experience of personal transformation vital to facilitate transformation processes.

In this research, I am taking on multiple roles, the role of the process facilitator and the one of the self-reflexive scientists. As my role as a researcher, I consider myself a facilitator as in my participatory action research I tried to provide a stage for the people from Lützi, to share their experiences, viewpoints, and ideologies when it comes to prefigurative care in their lives. I encouraged them to express their thoughts, while aiming to help reflect on the caring culture and provoke more inclusive care. Besides that, I took the role of the self-reflexive scientist, as I saw myself as an active part of the movement, besides being a researcher. I experienced my very own learning journey, while living in Lützi, I do believe that these kinds of personal transformations are an essential building block to facilitate transformative change.

It is pivotal to mention that taking on several roles as a researcher came with some struggles. Given the sensitivity of the Lützi camp and the constant possibility and risk of being evicted by the German police on behalf of RWE, I sometimes, particularly in the beginning struggled a lot with focusing on my role as a process facilitator. While personally adjusting to the place and the people, it sometimes felt intrusive to facilitate data collection within Lützi. In addition, given my active engagement with resistance movements in the Netherlands, I felt personally very invested in being part of the resistance movement and participate in the resistance. However, this came at a cost of balancing those two roles and sometimes felt like I was intruding the space and the movement.

To collect data is in coherence with the ethics of care and in a respectful way it is an essential to build trust with the participants. However, for the reason of remaining anonymous and not revealing people's identity, many of the activists living in Lützi are very private and it became a challenge to approach and get to know them. It did not always feel very safe to interview and record their cases for research purposes.

4.2 Research strategy

A qualitative research approach has been selected as it aims “to study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A research strategy reflects the overall design of the qualitative research that will be followed throughout the research. Van Thiel (2014) differentiates between four research strategies: experiment, survey, case study, and desk research respectively.

To answer the main research question, which revolves around the potential of a socio-ecological transformation through prefigurative caring practices by environmental resistance movements, I selected an in-depth case study as the fitting research strategy to my research problem. Given its holistic approach, case studies provide the opportunity to collect ample data to the case, here: the resistance movement (Van Thiel, 2014). Furthermore, case studies are used to link theory to practice.



Thus, the theoretical concepts that are derived from the literature have been tested and added with insights from the case study.

4.2.1 Case Selection

During the design phase of this research, I mostly focused on the review of literature, which I combined with a preliminary visit to the land occupation side in West Germany. This early contact with the field and its practitioners allowed me to get familiar with the ground, and the people early on and helped me to identify the potential of the case study.

Yin (2003) proposes five different categories of case studies and thus ensure the critical selection of the phenomena under research. We selected the Luetzerath occupation movement in Germany for one of the five categories. Luetzerath is a representative case study as for many years, this has been the key side of conflict in the 'Rheinische Revier', where the electricity company RWE has continuously caused harm to humans and more-than-humans by coal mining and deforestation. The village Luetzerath is adjacent to the in-activist circles well-known 'Hambi' which was the birthplace of the so-called 'Hambach Movement', which started occupying forests to prevent the continuous clearing of the forest back in 2012. Thus, Luetzerath is the continuation of the ongoing struggles of environmental resistance movements and their collective revolt against 'destruction by RWE, their capitalist logic and the thereby accelerated climate crisis' (Ende Gelaende, 2021). Overall, Lutzerath can be seen as representative for the phenomena under examination, which are environmental resistance movements.

Shading some light on the usage of case studies in action research, Stake (1995) encourages systemic thinking and the iterative nature of interpretations. Therefore, we will use an intrinsic approach for this research in order to create an in-depth understanding of the study situation itself (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). This aligns as well with the place-based notion of occupation movements and the environment that they protect and the co-creation of knowledge which is essential for PAR.

Furthermore, given the continuous relevance of the case and the popularity of it amongst activists, the side and with it the movements provide high potential of an intersectional group of people engaged with the environmental resistance movements and thus promise a successful execution of a PAR together.

Besides that, there were also practicalities that influenced my choice: the practitioners can communicate fluently in German or English, they are interested in being part of a research project, they are open for anyone with good intentions to join the resistance and stay on the occupied land, in squatted houses, tents or treehouses and they are accessible by public transport from the Netherlands.



4.2.2 Research Area

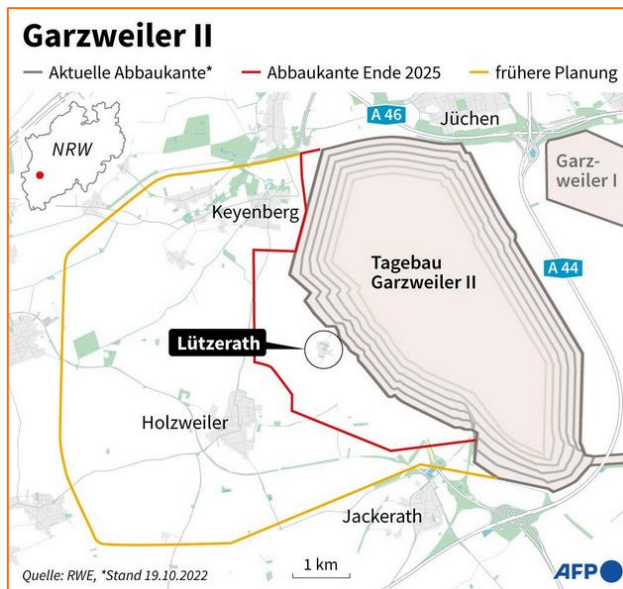


Figure 7: The Village of Lützerath and the Garzweiler II open Coal Mine (Source: RWE, 19.10.2022)

The research focuses on the village of Lützerath (North-Rhine Westphalia, Germany, see Figure 8) and the social movement demanding the preservation of the forest and demanding a fast phase-out of coal-fired power plants for electricity generation in Germany. Besides Lützerath, more than 300 villages in Germany have been destroyed for lignite mining since the second world war and over 120.000 people have been forcibly relocated (Schuetze & Solomon, 2022). The yellow line in the map was the previous border of the open mine which has been reduced to the red line which shall be de-

pleted by 2025 and which also includes the demolition of Lützi. The black line around Garzweiler II is the current demolition edge. Therefore, through consistent resistance, the villages of Keyenberg and Holzweiler have been saved for now.

4.3 Research methods, data collection and data analysis

According to Wicks et al. (2008), action-researchers are *bricoleurs*, that constitute a set of different approaches and perspectives throughout the creation of their research and in the process of gaining an understanding of the issue being researched.

Therefore, they often combine an 'eclectic pluralism' of methods, along the fieldwork process (Chambers, 2008). Many action-research scholars (Kemmis et al., 2014; Koshy et al., 2010; Perry & Zuber-Skerritt, 1992) refer to the data collection and data analysis process of action research as a 'research spiral', where through the connection of action and reflection, the process unfolds while doing it. The data collection and data analysis process, particularly in action research, is inductive and tends to be iterative or cyclical in character (Van Thiel, 2014). However, for this research to be reliable and gain validity, my systematic approach of data analysis and collection will be stated below.

I am including several 'new' approaches to data collection due to the access to training and connection to like-minded people offered through OtherWise Wageningen, as well as other regenerative communities that I have encountered during workshops. Additionally, PAR strongly rests upon the principles of co-creation and collaboration and thus requires adaptive experimentation for the case study to fit their specific contingencies, and places (Knickel et al., 2019).

4.3.1 Data Collection

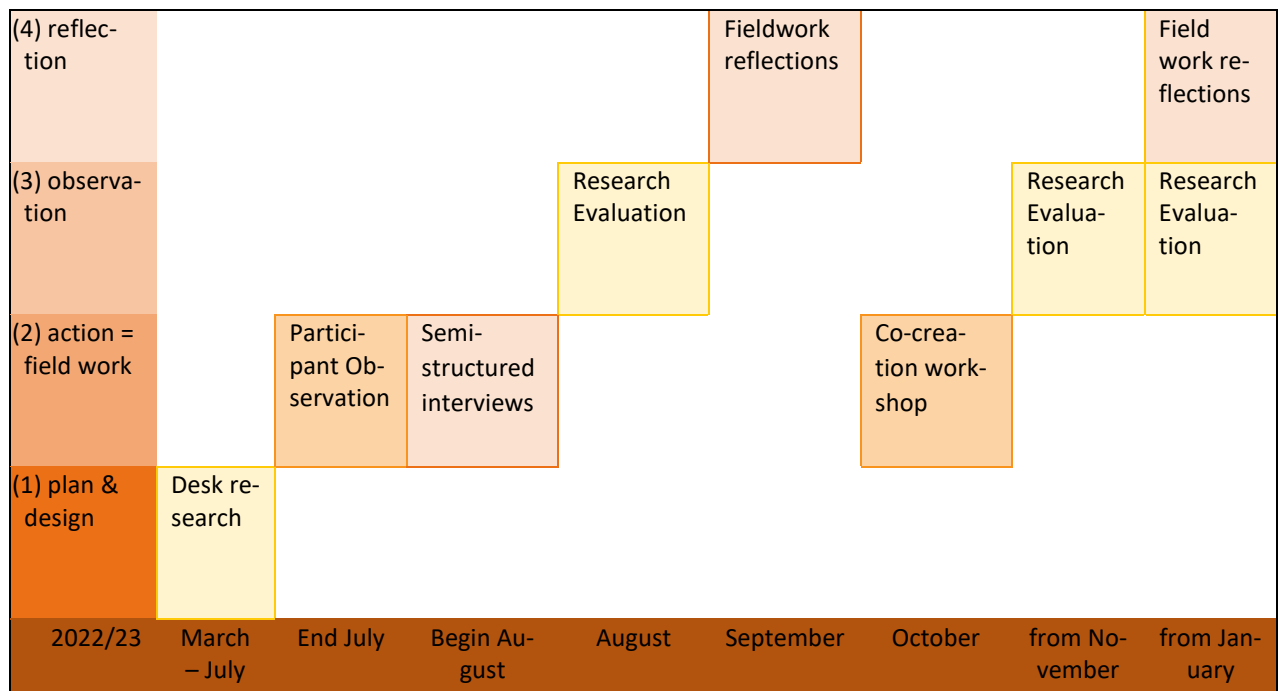


Figure 8: Overview Data Collection Approach

The selected research design, a single case study, is suitable for inductive data analysis as it provides detail to the phenomena under research. The research methods are broadly divided into four major steps, according to Perry and Zuber-Skerritt (1992):

- (1) plan and design of the thesis,
- (2) action and field work,
- (3) observation in the thesis, and
- (4) fieldwork reflection in the thesis and the writing process.

The methods can be broadly distinguished as exploratory methods, with the aim to assess how activists assign meaning to prefigurative care practices and how the concept of prefigurative care is applied in practice (Van Thiel, 2014). Exploratory methods aim to gain further insights and not necessarily provide conclusive answers (Yin, 2009). The exploratory methods consist of preliminary desk research, participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

However, overall, the data collection process as it was highly iterative, turned out to entail a lot of back and forth to be flexible and adapt to the conditions and the constraints and opportunities in the field. The previous desk research and preliminary visit had vital potential to be able to get in conversation and connect with people from the movement in Lützerath on spot. This allowed me to gain first observations and insights very fast, almost from the first day that I arrived.

The narrative walks turned out to be not feasible for several reasons. First, I did not have the professional equipment to catch the recording of the walks in outdoor conditions with immense external noise such as construction or winds. Furthermore, narrative walks did not allow for the



participants to always remain unattended from other people and thus, did not provide a safe environment for the participants to share their experiences and insights. Hence, I decided to give the participants the choice of where they want to conduct the interview, in a resting situation. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and unexpected circumstances in the field, I did not manage to conduct all interviews on spot and consequently, conducted three of the interviews online via zoom. The contacts for these interviews were established during my stay in Lützi and participants volunteered for an interview online.

Finally, the co-creative workshop turned out to be a bit too ambiguous from me. There were already several workshops per week scheduled by different groups e.g., awareness team, friends of the earth, etc. and I therefore decided that it would be out of the participants and mine capacities to host another co-creative workshop. However, when I came back to Lützerath for the third time, some people had planned an awareness assembly for everyone, concerning the awareness structures in Lützerath and I managed to participate and take notes, which allows me to enrich my analysis with data from a co-creative workshop that I did not host but which thematized care in Lützerath on a broad and participative scale.

In the following I will elaborate on each of the data collection tools applied in the wake of this research.

Literature research and preliminary observations

Previously, I had attended a course in Geographies of Care, which equipped me with some initial references (Tronto, 2013; Alam & Houston, 2020; Power, 2019) on the topic of care. To gain further familiarity with the field under study, an analysis of secondary data was conducted and interpretation and gaps in existing knowledge were presented (van Thiel, 2014). A traditional literature review sketches out and critically examines what is already known about the research area (Bryman, 2012).

This literature research was mostly conducted under the use of 'google scholar' for relevant articles and the platform of 'ruquest', through which I was able to locate key texts and search further with the use of the respective bibliographies. The keywords that I focused my literature search on are as follows: care ethics, socio-ecological transformation, prefigurative care practices, environmental resistance movements.

The literature helped to design the theoretical and methodological framework and allowed to formulate the research question. Further, documents such as the 'Lützerath Lebt!' website, their twitter accounts such as @LuetziBleib and the live update channel on Telegram, provided useful insights to complement impressions from the first field visit and to understand the wider context and stay updated with recent field developments (Flick, 2009).



Participant Observation

Typical for ethnographic research, participant observation is valuable to look at practices performed in places, observe the interactions of participants and their environment, and to gain appreciation of the project contexts (Flick, 2009). Through the direct involvement, the researcher can gain an intimate familiarity with the practices and cultural environment of the case study (Moriggi, 2021).

Drawing on my active involvement with environmental activism in Germany, I have already picked up the nuances of etiquette in environmental resistance movements and thus participant observation can help me intellectualize what I already know (Bernard, 2002) and explore further. As means of data collection, I am drawing on a research diary, where I collected my personal reflections, and further observatory fieldnotes, which I aim to combine with some photographs to visualize and contextualize my observations. Overall, I gained insights into the everyday routines and practices of an environmental resistance movement and obtained a sense of the site, learnt how the movement is using that site, and saw what potential they hold for a just socio-ecological transformation and living.

I took an active role within the occupation movement of Lützi, by living with the community for the period of my fieldwork (3 weeks). While living there, I took up the active roles of being a researcher, while at the same time participating as an activist and an actual inhabitant of the place. This was accomplished by contributing to repro responsibilities, such as cooking, doing the dishes, nightshifts, participating in plena meetings, being part of an AG and overall, just operating as an active member. Major observations of my research were also gathered during the regular awareness AG plena that I joined. Eventually my roles as a researcher and as an activist largely merged.

Semi-structured narrative Interviews

To gain understanding and develop an in-depth description of the case, semi-structured interviews have been carried out. Semi-structured interviews are one of the most common and important data gathering tools in qualitative research (Myers and Newman, 2007). Adams (2015), states that semi-structured interviews have advantages and disadvantages. They are labor intense and very time-consuming. However, the semi-structured manner of the interviews offers an opportunity to ask probing and open-ended questions and allow to gather the independent thoughts of an individual (Adams, 2015).

It is particularly fitting for respondents that might not feel comfortable answering questions in group settings. The selected case study is a place where a large variety of people meet but do often do not broadly share their background and more personal narratives for the sake of protecting once identity. The intimacy and open-ended character of the interviews thus, allowed to create a safer space for respondents to share very personal needs and intentions. The narrative character, particularly for the opening of the interview was particularly important for me, as I wanted to allow each respondent to



tell their own story. However, an interview guide has been used to structure the interviews in a relevant way for each respondent. The questions of the interview guide consist of the core questions related to the framework and relevant associated questions. The interview guide can be found in Annex 4.

The number of semi-structured interviews is limited to a few participants to highlight the free-ranging and rich discourse of the individual within the community (Josselson, 2012). The interviews will be focusing on the connection of the movement to the respondent and the creation of the practices and infrastructures of cares in proximity. I also focused on the personal narratives and the perception, values and emotional involvement with the community and the more-than-human environment of the activist in and around Lützi.

Most interviews were conducted in Lützerath, in different places around the village, which the respondent chose for themselves. The Interviews were conducted in German, except from one which was conducted in English. In total, I conducted 10 Interviews. All the interviewees were directly involved in the LütziMovement, as they stayed either in the village or can be considered regular or long-term visitors of the place. These interviews were conducted in a face-to-face setting. The face-to-face interviews were conducted between the 29th of July and the 10th of August. The zoom interviews were conducted between the 16th and 23rd of November, the contact to the zoom interviews were already established during the first field visit.

To understand the caring culture practiced in Lützi and its potential for the wider society, I conducted interviews with persons living in the Lützi occupation camp, or frequent visitors of the camp. One of the interviews was a group interview. For the group interview, additionally to the interview number, the interviewee is indicated with a P (Person) and an additional number, e.g., #27, P2.

All respondents have been asked permission for recording before the interview started, as well as permission to cite. However, as already mentioned earlier, the identity and the information shared by the respondents of this research are highly confidential and thus require a very sensitive handling, as otherwise people might risk severe consequences of police repression. I will thus not in detail elaborate on the respondents' background and will further focus on their personal narrative and their story in relation to the resistance movement. Furthermore, people will only be referred to by their forest name (aka action name).

Regarding the sampling framework, which is essential to secure the external validity and to state which selection procedure was applied, I applied a mix of snowball sampling and purposive sampling (Black, 1999). Particularly important in the selection process was to me for it to be built on trust, care, mutuality, and inclusivity (research ethics). Thus, the sampling took place in a co-creative and participatory way, where I tried to establish meaningful connections with people to create a 'safer space' for respondents to share their narratives and insights into the caring practices of the movement. Further



essential to me was for the sample of respondents to be as diverse as possible, in order to gain a large variety of visions and experiences, particularly of people from different social and political identities. An overview of the interviewees can be found in Annex 2.

These conversations proved extremely valuable to get a thorough understanding of how prefigurative Care practitioners make sense of what, why, and how they are involved in the movement. Participants were prompted to talk about their personal connection to the movement, as well as to reflect on the development of both their practices and their structures, tapping into past experiences and future aspirations. Importance was given to their learnings and personal development within the movement and their beliefs in how the movement is valuable for the socio-ecological transformation.

Awareness General Assembly Lützerath, 15.10.2022

Co-creation workshops allow to create experiences and knowledges together with the activists of the environmental resistance movement (Hirschnitz-Garbers, 2018). The objective of the workshop is to create an understanding and action plan for the handling and navigation of care work/emotional labor/awareness within the camp (movement). The plenary assembly took place during my second visit and took up one full day. Due to the immense preparation work required to host a general assembly (GA), a group of five people took on the role of creating a full fetched agenda for the assembly. The occasion for the GA was the problematic that Lützi is not a discrimination free space, incidents have been piling up, plus people in and around the camp are burning out. The intention of the GA was for Awareness to become more of a group task and for it to no longer be outsourced to the Awareness Team.

The Awareness GA took place on the 15th of October and around 50 people participated in the assembly. The assembly allowed all participants to extensively reflect on their own care work, particularly their own awareness work, but also gave extensive space for different working groups involved in Lützi to share their perspectives and struggles during the past few months, mostly from the beginning of the year 2022.

The GA which lasted about a total of 7 hours, was broadly divided into 2 larger parts. The 1st mostly focused on sharing the current situation and providing the floor for different groups and individuals to share their personal stories on awareness work in Lützi. The 2nd part of the GA was mostly future and solution oriented and aimed at finding some new approaches by the end of the day, as the current awareness structures were not containable but essential to the movement. Thus, the goals and the conditions for the new awareness concept were clearly stated. Afterwards, the question of ‘what is to be achieved’ by the GA was posed: *How can we take on and implement awareness work here in Lützerath in an intersectional, preventive, low-hierarchical way, in collective responsibility and with a benevolent culture of error?* This question was aimed to be reflected upon in a 1-2-9 Methodology for which smaller groups were formed in which people were invited to present their own ideas of



new concepts. Later, the proposals were discussed in plenary and action points and working groups for the implementation were formed.

Overall, the conceptual design of the GA drew heavily on future-oriented and problem-solving approaches to the structure and practice of awareness work and explicitly reminded everyone of the significance of awareness support to the resilience of the movement. Furthermore, the GA reassures the relevance of my research to the wider society and particularly the Lützi Movement and underlines it with personal narratives and challenges of building a resilient caring culture.

4.3.2 Data Analysis

The variety of data collection approaches will lead to a rich amount of collected data. Therefore, the data will be analyzed in various steps. The conversations that recorded during the interviews were transcribed manually and afterwards imported to Atlas.ti, which allows to organize the data in a transparent way, by applying categorization and interpretation of the information (Flick, 2009).

The qualitative analysis will build on a thematic analysis approach, which acknowledges the way in which individuals make meaning of their personal experience, while also considering the ways that the wider social context affects those meanings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The theoretical framework will constitute the realm which carries several assumptions about the data and provides guidance regarding what the data represent in terms of my philosophical perspective to generate robust findings in theory (Flick, 2009).

The coding process took place based on various stages of thematic coding. The first round of coding in Atlas.ti will be an inductive approach of coding, which is guided by the set of categories from the theoretical framework (Patton, 1990), in addition thematic categories will be formed to add

Name	Name	Name	Name
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> alternative living	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> accessibility	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> accessibility	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Gruppen
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> awareness team	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> alternative living	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> agency	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> inclusion
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> bezugis	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> coal mine	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> alternative living	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> intersectionality
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> BiPOC	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Freiräume	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> anti-capitalista	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> non-hierarchical
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> co-creation	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> kolonial	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> anti-discrimination	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> off-the-grid
<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> diversity	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> natur	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> awareness team	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> on-boarding
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> nutrition	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> bedürfnis	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> patriarchiale Muster
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> off-the-grid	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> bezugis	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> privacy
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> place	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> BiPOC	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> regeneration
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> place attachment	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> boundaries	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> safer space
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> privacy	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> capacities	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> security culture
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> utopie	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> case work awareness	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> sharing
	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> ZAD	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> collective awareness	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Strukturen
		<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> collective responsibility	<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> transformative justice
		<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> conflict resolution	
		<input type="radio"/> <input type="checkbox"/> consent culture	

Figure 9: Code Groups question 1 : Groups, Place, Structures



meaning and importance to the lines of reasoning (Saldana, 2009) to consider the bigger picture and move beyond the limitations of one place. The first chapter of my findings consults around the Lützi occupation as a physical place and how it constitutes an infrastructure of care. For the largest part, the findings are based on participant observation and interviews. Relevant codes that were grouped in three larger code groups: place, structures, groups.

The second round of coding took place in a thematic way, where I coded data according to the 5 stages of the caring cycle of Tronto (2013). Besides that, I created **networks**, collecting the important codes for the 5 stages. The code networks allowed to gain a visual overview of the main characteristics of each of the stage.

Finally, for the last round of coding, where I largely focused on the notes and observations from the GA, I used a very loose coding strategy, largely drawing on my perceptions.

Besides textual data, visual materials and field notes will be collected. This data is very valuable to ensure triangulation (Della Porta & Keating, 2008). They mostly provide additional support to the data collected in Interviews and thus do not undergo a specific coding strategy.

Besides that, I created memo while coding my data with remarks and themes that arose from the data, that contained further valuable insights and further literature and food for thought for the discussion and conclusion chapter of the thesis.

4.3.3 Validity and reliability of the research

To conduct sound scientific research, reliability and validity of the research need to be ensured. According to Van Thiel (2014), reliability rests on accuracy and consistency. However, in the case of a single case study, the external validity is limited because the findings of one specific case are difficult, if not impossible, to generalize to another case situation. This is because the case either is unique, so not comparable to the underlying study or the results only apply for the context (Flybjerg, 2006).

There are several ways to enhance the external validity of case studies, the most important one as stated in the data collection section is triangulation. Triangulation (Della Porta & Keating, 2008) can be defined as *'a way of collecting or processing information by using different operationalizations, data sources, researchers, or methods'*, meaning the researcher aims to gather as much diverse information as possible, to ensure that the data is valid irrespective of the amount of data (Van Thiel, 2014).

In this study, triangulation will be ensured by drawing on desk research which will be accompanied by extensive field research consisting of participant observation, semi-structured narrative interviews and a general assembly in a participatory manner. Thus, a wider perspective on the emerging themes, a greater consistency in interpreting the data set, and enhanced validity of the findings can be ensured.



The reliability of this research was further enhanced by keeping a research log (Yin, 2009), in which all steps of the study were documented so that the research can be reviewed afterwards. To limit my bias when conducting research, my supervisors, peers, and some of the research participants will be consulted to review the research, which will contribute to enhanced (internal validity).

Lastly, the risk of long-term relationships which will cause me to become closely involved with the subject and the participants in the case study, might reduce objectivity, or cause interference with the research and thus lowers the validity of the study. In academic writing, this is often referred to as the insider-outsider problematic, which means that for each of the ways, meaning being an insider, which considers the researcher being also a member of the population under research (Kanuha, 2000) or an outsider, who is solely taking on a researcher role without actively participating. However, according to Adler and Adler (1987) the distinction between researcher and participant has 'traditionally existed more in strongly in theory than in practice' and 'that objectification has mostly occurred in the analysis not in the fieldwork' (p.85). Therefore, many feminist researchers have advocated for a participatory model (Reinharz, 1983) to move beyond the binary and to occupy the space in between. I am thus aiming to bring my personal role into this research, by sharing my knowledge and experience with the participants. Additionally, I will share my personal reflection and learning journey in the wake of this research in the discussion part.

Nevertheless, in order to ensure my consideration of the insider-outsider binary, I will clearly state my background and intention of the research and will create a proximity to the phenomena under research and will thus increase the usefulness of the study to the action research participants in my positionality section (Glaser and Straus, 1967).

5. Findings

The findings are presented in three chapters. First, I would like to create a clearer picture of the caring infrastructure of Lützi by drawing on a physical map that I have created from my observations and interviews during my field work period. Secondly, I will elaborate in detail on the 5 stages of the care cycle (Tronto, 2013) in Lützi which will provide deeper insights into the caring culture practiced in Lützi. The third chapter focuses on the General Assembly on collective care and provides shortcomings of and recommendations for the current caring culture in Lützi.

5.1 Lützi's Care Infrastructure

In the following, I will provide a short overview of the village of Lützerath and the establishment of the movement throughout the past years. Firstly, mentioned in documents in 1168 as Lutzelenrode, RWE started their relocation process in 2006. In 2020, with the demolition of the main road, connecting



Lützerath to the surrounding villages, the initiative 'Lützerath Lebt' and the 'Mahnwache' [1]¹ was found, with the swift formation of a camp in a field of the farmer Eckhardt [2]. The 'Mahnwache' and the strong allyship to the farmer Eckhardt reflect the strong solidarity and sense of community among all people involved in Lützi from early on. From 2021 further buildings and warehouses were occupied by activists until on the 1st of October, the last farmer Eckhardt Heukamp had to give in to the rigorous tactics of RWE and had to leave Lützerath, and so his farm. From the 6th of December 2022 RWE started cutting power lines and maturely impeded the live in Lützerath. On the 19th of January Lützerath was evicted.

The underlying research question for this chapter is:

How is the place relevant for the movement and what constitutes Lützi's caring infrastructure?

The 'occupied' village of Lützerath was co-created by a plethora of activists and allies who devoted their personal time, effort, love, and commitment to create the Lützerath, which resembled a lived utopia for all. However, it is made very clear that Lützi is not a drop-out utopia (Lützi Website), but a place of resistance against the neoliberal system, against oppression and exploitation. It is a political place where people, mostly activists, see their leverage to provoke change by physically creating blockades against the destruction of land and people for profit. This goes in alignment with the re-politization of the local space, which provokes the re-connection of people with the land, as an alternative way of living.

To create an image which depicts the energy of the occupied space, as vividly as possible, I decided to create a physical map which displays all the essential places within Lützerath and their potential for the movement. The resistance against resource extraction obviously is contingent upon a specific geographic place, the coal mine (the hole) of Garzweiler 2 [3]. The struggle provides a place for many like-minded people to unite in their fight against capitalism and the fossil-fuel industry.

This territorialization of the movement and the physical attachment to one place, allows the movement to be locally grounded in its alter-global struggle. By being attached to this local space, activists are attempting a bottom-up approach to change by prefiguratively practicing the change that they want to see in the world in their everyday life. The local struggle thus creates a physical place where the people can unite in their aim to create alternative ways of living. *'It is also such a trial life [...]. A pre-life of a society.'* (#1)²[a]

¹ The numbers in [brackets] resemble with the numbers on the physical map of the 'care infrastructure in Lützi' in figure 11.

² The Letter serves as an index for the original German quote in the Annex 2 of this Thesis.



Implementing these alternative ways of living into the everyday life in Lützi allowed to create a shared collective identity, which is built on common values, that are need oriented, and build on a culture of care and an approach of sharing resources. Given that the movement is built on a basis of shared identity, it allows to create a strong sense of belonging to the community. This feeling of belonging to an everyday community gives space for prefiguration and the creation of 'a world encompassing many worlds' (Aguirre Rojas, 2008). It is the aim of changing the resistance struggle into a transformational struggle, which can build a society free of all exploitation, repression, deprivation, and disparagement in the reclaimed spaces.

This alternative way of living has also been labeled as the 'ZAD Rheinland'. Previous occupations in Germany had not considered to be called a ZAD: however, with the popularity of the ZADs in France, they followed the example of French land right occupation, a ZAD can be considered an ideology and a new wave of social occupation movement. One strong aspect that comes with the ZAD is the ideology and the image it creates to the media and the wider society. The intention is to create solidarity beyond the French borders and to make it a wider movement, recalling the same believes. By Lützi declaring themselves as a ZAD, they did set a clear sign of solidarity with all the ZADs around the world, and they make clear that it is not just another forest occupation, but part of a growing movement and they are willing to defend the land with their bodies against the police, against the state and against fascism. *'We are gonna stay long, we are gonna fight against you, we want this zone to be ours, kind of, for the environment, for the people, [...] and we are also gonna live against the society so we ware gonna try to deconstruct everything and build a new alternative way.'* (#8)[b]



Figure 10: Banner in Lützi Wäldchen 'Liberte Pour Toux'

Nevertheless, the community of Lützerath did not merely consist of local people but soon provided a hub beyond borders, that was particularly enforced by its translocal ties that were created with other environmental resistance movements worldwide. This came particularly apparent during the eviction in January 2022, where a plethora of global social and environmental resistance movements communicate their solidarity with the community of Lützerath. Some activists from Lützi also participated in the 'Karawane für das Wasser und das Leben' and travelled to Mexico to exchange knowledge, experiences, and skills (#2, #5). *'Because there is so many connections between countries in Europe and more. We can see in Brazil, Brazil, or in Mexico. So, I think it is so impressive all those connections.'* (#8)[c]

Another main difference to previous occupations was the place-specificity that made Lützi more accessible to a diversity of people for several reasons. First, different than in forest occupations, in Lützi there were several houses that were occupied with running water and electricity. It allowed for people with disabled bodies that were dependent on a wheelchair to be part of the movement: *'[...] because it's just also like that, in terms of accessibility, you can work much better with it. Because you can't drive with a wheelchair through the muddy forest, but you can drive with a wheelchair over the bored roads.'* (#5)[d]

In the following I would like to elaborate on the specific spaces that were co-created in Lützi, and I will shed some light on how they are essential to a caring movement. The map allows to get a better geographical understanding of Lützi and its caring infrastructure, because as the respondent (#4) stated: *'And we all share the sentiment. Until you've been here the first time, you don't quite understand why you should come here.'* (#4)[e]

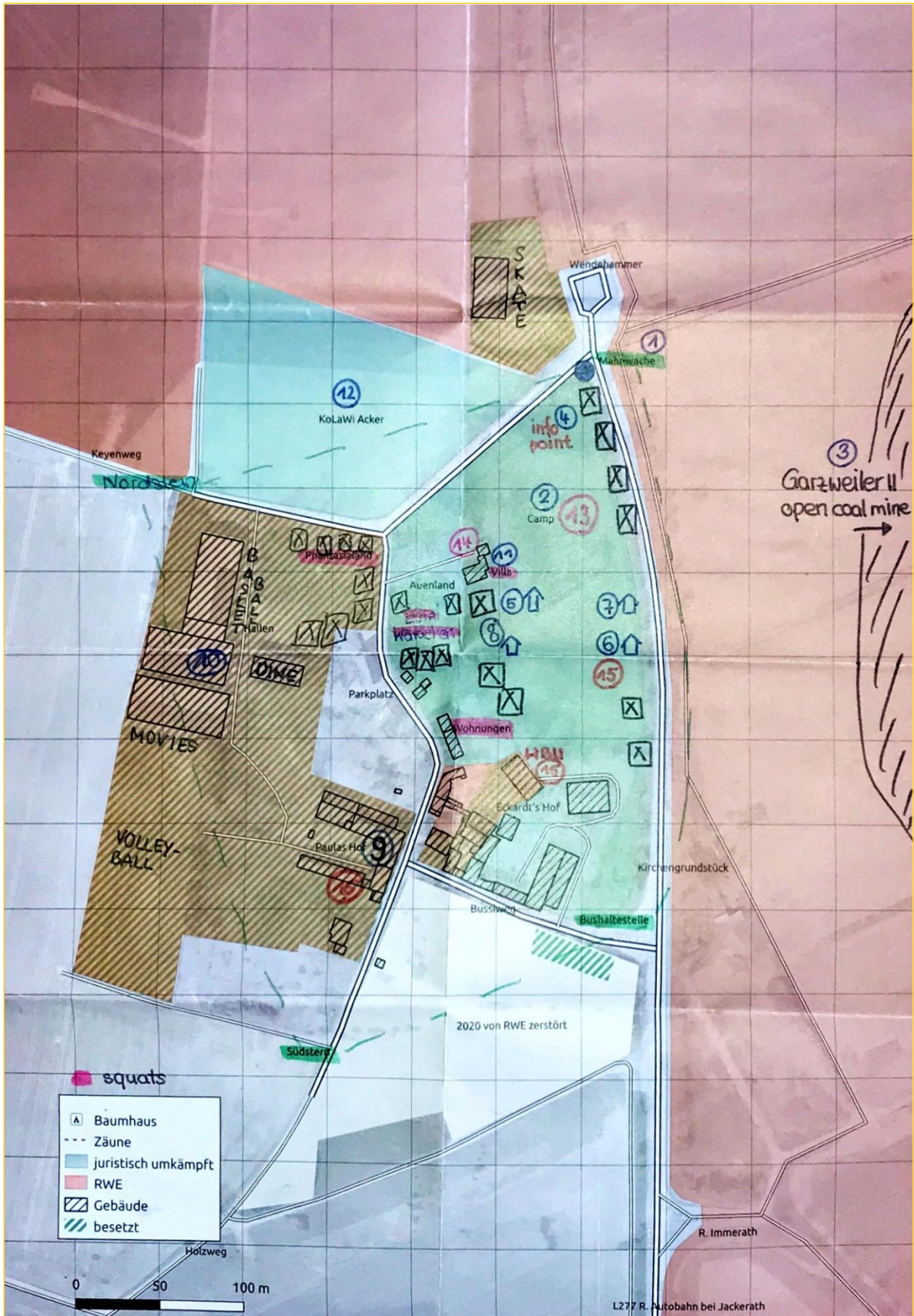


Figure 11: Physical map of the caring infrastructure in Lützerath

Given that Lützi is following the intention of the alter-globalization movement of reclaiming the commons, almost all spaces in Lützi are open spaces that belong to everyone. The regaining of the commons is often linked to social movements and the struggle against neoliberalism, which experiments with alternative forms of organizations based on values of mutuality, inclusion, and sharing. *'[...] but I just find something to share makes me so happy [...]. Yes, there is always a way to sharing something.'* (#10)[f] *'You need something and 10 min later somebody brought it to you at the camp.'* (#2)[g]

The first place for most people to approach is very likely the 'Mahnwache' [1], which is a legally registered permanent demonstration, located next to the dead-end road and close to the coal mine. Given that it is protected by law and registered, it provides a physical burden to the police and prevents them from walking into the camp unannounced. Furthermore, the Mahnwache is the central meeting point for people from outside the camp and therefore, a crucial place for mobilization and an exchange point of information from inside the camp and vice versa.



Figure 12: People in front of the mine, throwing their anger metaphorically to the mine 'Pöbel-Kasten'
(Source: 'Lützi Bleibt' IG)

Another major place in Lützerath, and one that has not been created but is the reason for the struggle and the occupation of Lützerath open coal mine [3], also referred to as 'shit hole' (#5), 'hole' (#10), 'disgusting coal hole' (#5). However, even though it is the symbol of destruction and pain, it is also the place of contrast and oppositions, where the power of capitalism and the drivers of climate

change become physically apparent which fuels people anger but also motivation to act. *'You see how the earth is tortured. And then you look at the hole and then you don't have any questions at all.'* (#10)[f]

Moreover, for people from outside the movement, the hole is a major attraction, which allows to mobilize people stunned by the destruction that RWE excels, straight from the edge of the hole. So overall, the hole can also be seen as the starting point, even though we wish it would not exist and the start would not be necessary. *'[...] in places where something is done to oppose this system and to try to prevent corporations like RWE from digging away our livelihoods.'* (#3, P3)[g]

At the info-point [4], people can find access into the movement, by learning about the reproductive shifts and anything else that is happening around Lützi. This is an essential structure for the movement as otherwise you run the risk of losing the cohesion of the movement. *'Because I think it's also difficult sometimes for people who are new here to get in there.'* (#3, P2)[h]

Furthermore, there are several huts on the camp, which provide space for the different groups such as the media ag [5], the awareness ag [6], the Sanis [7] (first aid), and the action point [8], which is home to the people doing the night shift. This physical separation of the different working groups provides some structure and space for people to contribute to the movement and clearly represents the many crucial roles one can take besides front-line activism. Thus, it plays a key role to secure a caring culture. *'Because you have these structures, the press hut next to the awareness hut, next to the action points, and while we are holding media plenums, they are somehow building something next to us a few meters away [...].'* (#9)[i]

Paula [9] is a Queer Feminist Squad in Lützi, which clearly states to everyone that the Lützi movement is an inclusive movement, which celebrates diversity and honors that the first pride was a riot. Different than previous 'forest' occupations, Paula is an openly queer space, which cannot be missed when arriving to Lützi. This helps immensely with making it visible to the wider society, that Lützi, and the overall climate justice struggle is meant to be a place for everyone but particularly a place where marginalized groups feel safe and included. Moreover, it emphasizes that the climate crisis is a struggle where all the struggles of justice are and should be united under the motto 'no justice, no peace'. *'Paula, that's a queer feminist squat, that's just also written on the flag, it's just also already present outside, where you say ok 'we don't let ourselves get down so easily.'* (#5)[j]





Figure 13: 'die Paula' - queer feminist squad in Lützi

Given that the Lützi movement is based on the principle of the commons, the KüfA [10] (*Küche für Alle*) is the collective kitchen of the camp and is an essential place to nurture the people but also a main connection and meeting point. It is a structure that has been introduced by the squadding culture of the 1980s in the Netherlands. It is a major pillar of the reproductive structures of the camp and allows people to easily get involved in the movement. The kitchen is based on an freeganism ideology, which rests upon a minimal consumption of resources, through practices such as dumpster diving and recovering wasted foods and is associated with anti-consumerist and anti-capitalist ideologies and the deeply ingrained values of mutual-aid and sharing. The *freeshop* [11] is also part of the freegan ideology and allows for people to exchange or donate clothes or equipment for others. It also allows for everyone to join the movement without the prerequisite of owning anything. 'And now they've [local pizza place] come and said: we've found out that the pot is too big for us, we're giving it to KüfA.' (#10).[k]



Figure 14: Activists watering plants on the KoLaWi in front of the big coal digger (Source: Heartbreak Country, KoLaWi 2022, by photographer Barbara Schnell)

Another place closely associated with the KüfA is the KoLaWi [12] (*Kollektive Landwirtschaft*). The KoLaWi allows the movement to become more autonomous by growing their own vegetables and fruits. However, it is also a place where people come together to care for the soil and the plants and get into conversation. It almost felt like a ritual, coming together every evening during summer to water the plants and appreciate what mother earth gives us. It allows to reconnect with the more-than-human and allows to include them into the every-day life of the movement. *'This is a place of strength for me. And I haven't even planted that much myself. But being there, watering it and seeing how people come and how it delights people, that gives me so much. And, that it's just also such a connection point or a way to connect, this caring for the earth.'* (#10)[!]

All the spaces are collective and thus give everyone the agency to initiate and organize community activities within Lützi. Everyone can be an organizer, as the responsibilities are all carried out collectively. However, the existence and the co-creation of such spaces are deemed key to allow people to create the practices and structures around them. *'[...] with the skate hall, that so skate people from Mönchengladbach or so come here, that just doesn't happen to you with a forest, but that just happens to you with such things, where people just have a lot of freedom to do what they just want.'* (#5)[m]

Finally, there are certain spaces in Lützi that bring people together unconventionally for instance the circus tent [13], which is the central meeting point of the camp. It is where the Dorfplenum takes place and where people meet to catch-up. It allows for people to get in touch or just rest. It is a space where you can feel like you are part of the movement, without having to actively participate. Like the Café Lützi [14], it resembles public spaces in urban and rural spaces that invite to co-exist. *'I*

arrived in the afternoon like that, [...] then I went to the circus tents, there was fire and music and then I went there and met a lot of people.' (#6)[n]

Another essential part of this new alternative way of living, that places and movements like Lützi empower, are the creation of 'Freiräumen', which can be considered spaces, that can be created even within a system that practices various forms of oppressions and allows people to experience and explore freely. *'And that this can also create spaces for people everywhere in the midst of all kinds of oppressive structures.'* (#4)[o]

Yet again, for marginalized groups in a mainly white movement, safer spaces [15] can become places of isolation, rather than empowerment. Therefore, the establishment of a supportive structure around the safer spaces e.g., working groups, awareness structures is necessary to incorporate them into the movement rather than creating spaces of isolation (#2). However, safety is always negotiated between two human subjectives, which gives away the intention of the space to be safer than other spaces yet, a space can never be a safe space to everyone who is suffering from discrimination. In the next section I will elaborate on 'how to hold this spaces', which shows the correlation of the structures and the places in Lützi.

Nevertheless, also Lützi is a space of growing and learning every day and thus there are spaces that are still missing to build a resilient movement (#3, P3), (#10), (#4). These spaces will be given more thought and recommendations in the discussion of this thesis.

Finally, the spaces that have been co-created in Lützi within the past 2.5 years have proven to be essential to create a resilient occupation movement, that resist the oppression of the system and consider care as a public notion to prevent people from burnouts and trauma.

5.2 Care ethics: Towards reciprocity in care in Lützi

This section provides the finding of my systematic analysis applying Tronto's five stages of caring. The findings are organized for semantic coherence, following the analytical framework as guidance, and are presented in accordance with the emerged pattern from the data analysis. The chapter will be guided by the following question:

What are the multiple dimensions of caring in the prefigurative practices in Lützi?

5.2.1 Care about – What are they concerned about?

The initial stage of the caring process is when unmet needs around us are notices, causing self-interest and adopting the perspective of others. My sample of the Lützi Movement is attentive to a variety of societal and personal issues, concerning four main areas: demand for *climate justice*, *need for system change*, *nature destruction and climate change*, and *lack of community*. Above it all lies the *urgency* that the need for change holds for all participants.



The destruction of nature and the habitat of many species is a common concern across all practitioners. Particularly because it is seen as a key driver of climate change during times of a climate emergency. The Lützi people see the earth and thus nature, as the origin of all our lives and want to protect the earth from destruction: *'And that's why tons of and square kilometers of habitat must be destroyed. I don't even want to know how many animal species that one [RWE] has already destroyed with its behavior.'*[p] Thus, climate activism can be seen as one key motivation but also the preservation of the habitat of a plethora of animals that are at risk of extinction fuels people's motivation and the need to resist. This resonates with the anti-speciesism and vegan ideology that many people in the camp follow and aligns with their position in animal liberation. *'I'll say this I wish that this habitat would just be preserved for these really cool barn owls and all these cool rabbits and all these cool little birds and all these little mini bugs and that.'* (#3 P1)[q] Nevertheless, the protection of nature and the wish of 'keeping it (coal) in the ground' (#5, #10) also adds to the bigger picture of the demand for 'people over profit' and the wish of many to reconnect with nature and with a more regenerative way of life.

Consequently, most people in Lützi see the need for a systematic change to achieve these demands. Thus, they aim to create alternatives while following prefigurative manners of 'building something new within the old'. *'We don't want to be unhappy anymore, we find the world as it is, really shitty. We would like to create alternative, and I think that succeeds here quite well.'* (#3 P1)[r] There is also a clear imagination of the change being anti-capitalistic and diverse, going beyond the heteronormativity and limitations of our society: *'Yes, and sometimes it just appeals to me, but it has bothered me before in this society that it is so heterogeneous.'* (#10)[s] Therefore, many believe that Lützi can be a stimulus that provokes bottom-up system change by practicing it in the small and spreading it *'So by the fact that we now simply live together as one and think need-oriented and s practice a lot of caring culture, we really simply create a need-oriented system by itself.'* (#9)[t].

What comes along with the demand for a systematic change and nature protection is the call for climate justice. The respondents emphasized that to them, the climate crisis also reinforces all inequalities in the world and thus the interlinkage of these crisis becomes increasingly pronounced: *'The Climate catastrophe intensifies all the crises and injustices that exist in the world and that if we want to overcome the climate crisis, then we have to overcome capitalism and we have to decolonize everything and those are definitely two goals that I want to dedicate my life to.'* (#2)[u] Thus people see the need to unite to fight for climate justice and thus abolish all forms of oppression, as they believe that Lützi can be seen as a place where inclusion is practiced and where people can sensitize *'towards whites structurally oppression mechanisms'* (#9) and the struggle of MAPA (most affected people and areas). *Climate justice also means social justice in any case, and you can't have one without the other.'*(#2)[v]



Finally, all respondents come from a place where they also experienced a deep longing for community. They described that in their lives before, they became part of the movement they felt alone in their struggles and in their perspectives on the system and they missed the feeling of belonging to somewhere. Looking at our society, this lack of community will be a major health concern in our western world, which the respondents have also recognized: *'That an incredible number of people become ill because they are lonely. Because they just get lonely and that will be one of the big problems and challenges of our society' (#2)[w]*. Thus, this sense of belonging to the movement and being part of something bigger, where mutual aid and support are validated, and the sense of collectivity can be experienced and lived. *'That was somehow the strong feeling where I noticed that I was missing something, a community like that, this strong collective feeling, it's really just like that, you walk through the village [Lützi] and towards every person you see there, you somehow have a certain empathy, a certain affection.'* (#9)[x] Furthermore, respondents mentioned that they wanted this community to responsive to people's needs and where reproduction and care are validated as the baseline. *'We need this care to be ready for the revolution, to unite together, and to keep us able to act.'* (#1)[y].

5.2.2 Care for – What do they do and for whom?

In Tronto's model, attentiveness translates into action in the phase of caring for. Ideally, people are now ready to respond to needs of care through tangible practices. Data collected show how practitioners act upon their concerns through a variety of practices. **Community building** is pursued in different ways. Overall Lützi provides a place for people that do not have an alternative. However, people feel safe to go and live there without having to explain themselves or reveal their whole background and past life. Therefore, and for safety reasons against state repression, people are encouraged to choose their forest name. Furthermore, a more inclusive language has been created where everyone is in the first place referred to as human, except if they chose their pronouns to be different. This allows people to meet on equal terms and create new relations. *'People are nevertheless dealt with in terms of issues, and you have to imagine that out there in society, if anyone, let's say, behaves quietly, then they are simply ostracized.'* (#3, P1)[z]

Lützi creates an alternative to institutions for people who need institutional help (#6, #1, #3 P1). *'[...] back then it was just my only choice to be honest, in the cold, it was in the winter.'* (#6)[a1] Thus, Lützi as a place but also as a movement represents the intersectionality of the climate crisis. It sets an example for the necessity of the elimination of all kinds of oppressions to achieve climate justice. It is therefore not only a place of resistance against the coal mine, but also a place where inclusion and diversity are celebrated. *'First of all, how I ended up in Hambi was actually that I was in a helpless situation, I was living on the street and a lot of shit happens on the street with women no matter where you are, and then Hambi was really like a real safe place.'* (#1)[b1] In several interviews people mentioned #like-minded-people but there is also a variety of places in Lützi that allows a multitude of



different people to unite in one place and thus create a shared collective identity. *„[...] all these anarchist forest dudes, but you also have the people from the villages and some random visitors who come by and I think it's all like that, because everything is in one place, but at the same time there are so many different things, it makes it somehow accessible and full of attraction for a lot of different people and also for people who don't fit in so clearly [...]“. (#5)[c1]*

For climate justice to be put on the global agendas, **mobilization** work is pivotal. Primarily the movement is so diverse, it provides 'freiräume' and spaces for people with a variety of interests, which makes it a meeting point for experimentation and exploration.

The Lützi movement is driven by the power of the people and thus the solidarity and co-creation of group structures have encouraged people to stick with the movement. Overall, Lützi is built upon an anarchist autonomous ideology, which means that all structures are co-created and implemented diy and thus constitute a process. There is no such thing as a scheme or a best practice. It is the bottom-up character that validates the collective and transdisciplinary knowledge and skills of the people involved. However, there are two ways in which people organize themselves: Bezugs (affinity groups) and Barrios (direct translation from Spanish, neighborhood). People organize themselves in Bezugsgruppen (affinity groups) which are particularly important for times of police interventions (e.g., evictions) but are also meant for mutual aid and support in everyday life. Bezugs are pivotal to create a caring culture because they allow for people to establish relationships and make sure that everyone has a support system. *'And here it's rather that friendships are really close and that affinity groups and affinity group meetings and so on, that would also be a cool word for cliques. (#2[d1])*

Besides that, there are so-called autonomous Arbeitsgruppen (working groups) which invite everyone to get involved in more than reproductive shifts and help to shape life in Lützi. Everyone can become part of a working group no matter how long they are staying in Lützi. Everyone is welcome to join a working group anytime, without any previous knowledge or experience required. Overall, there are three main types of working groups: organizing, well-being, and action (civil disobedience and direct action).



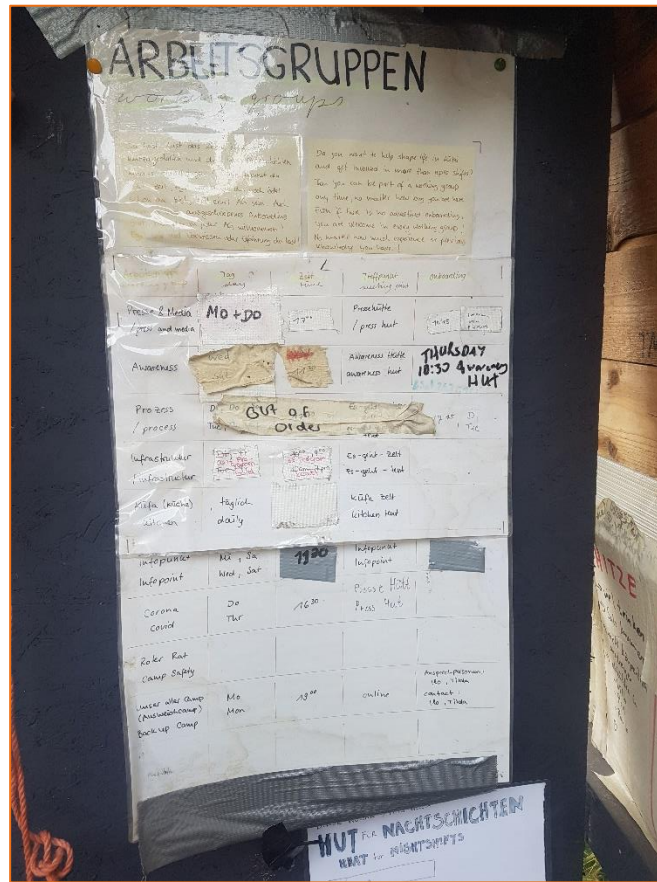


Figure 15: Working Groups Schedule in Lützi

The organization related working groups are concerned with establishing everything regarding the infrastructure and the overall coordination within and outside the camp run smooth (Presse AG, Infrastructure AG, Process AG, Info-point AG). They are essential for the overall culture of the camp because they build the baseline for the existence of the camp. Without the Presse AG, the mobilization with the outside world could not happen in such a strategy and considered manner. Other than previous occupations in Germany, the Lützi movement found a consensus to use social media platforms as a public sphere, a concept presented by Habermas. Thus, social media is utilized as a major tool to reach out but primarily to gain awareness for the apathy and violence that RWE and the police are applying to criminalize activists and extract the land. Nevertheless, without the physical infrastructure, it would be impossible to maintain the camp. Maintenance is one of the three key aspects of care (according to Tronto) besides continuation and repair of our world.

The well-being working groups are concerned with the physical and mental well-being and awareness of the camp (Sanis, awareness AG), as well as the inclusion of minorities and the unlearning of systematic discriminations (neurodiverse AG, anti-racism AG). These working groups ensure that concepts to co-create a caring community are worked out, awareness cases in the camp are followed-up, internalized discrimination are recognized and ways to unlearn them are thought out and hygiene concepts (e.g., Covid-19, Norovirus) are developed as an equivalent of an autonomous health department. However, it is crucial to keep in mind that these collective caring structures are an attempt but

cannot replace institutional or professional care due to the lack of resources and expertise. They are mostly meant to establish an awareness foundation that can carry the everyday lives of the people in the camp, but it cannot be seen as an autonomous health care center. We shall see it as preventive care, mentally and emotionally, and emergency care physically.

Furthermore, there are certain action related groups, which ensure that people that experience criminalization by the police or securities, are looked after. Frequently, Lützi activists experience repression by the police and thus often face custody. Therefore, the EA (Investigation Committee) and the GeSa (custody) support have been implemented in the movement structures. They ensure that in case activists become targets of state repression, they will be supported legally, but also emotionally and mentally. The GeSa support awaits people that are released from custody outside the police station to make them feel as an essential part of the movement, loved and supported. The legal AG also frequently organizes action trainings and ensures that activists know their rights before they go into action, so the physical, mental, and emotional harm that activists experience can be limited. *'All the stuff with the GeSa support now for days we go there all the time and hang there in front of the cells where our other activists are inside and this support and this together. It's such a shame that people aren't there [in Lützi]. You just really have such a great community and such a gritty cohesion.'* (#3 P1)[q1]

Additionally, there is the finance AG, which administrates donations but also assists people with no means by compensating their travel costs, allergy conditioned food, or other needs. Everything in Lützi is donation-based in line with the anti-consumerism ideology and the aim to include everyone.

Finally, there are also international and national organizations such as FFF, Ende Gelände, or the Earthholders, that support Lützi with solidarity actions and local groups in various cities throughout Germany but also come into the movement to use it as a vital space to host skill-shares, workshops and action trainings. Thus the climate justice movement network also grows strongly transnationally. *'It is always connected with the same people, with those workshop, these conferences, kind of, it is always connected to others.'* (#8)[e1]

Looking deeper into the practices that provoke a systematic change, **reproduction** practices are a main element. Based on the collective responsibility approach, most responsibilities are announced on the info board at the info point, where everyone can sign up for recurring reproduction shifts such as KüfA, Shit brigade, trash, and nightshifts. Besides that, there is a timetable which allows everyone to have an overview over all the plena, workshops, skill-shares etc. happening.

For new people to feel well included and welcomed to the movement, it is important to establish a well-functioning on-boarding strategy, it is particularly important given the spaciousness of Lützi as otherwise you might run the risk of new arrivers to feel lost and isolated and them leaving again before even getting to know the movement. Thus, it is essential to create bonding activities such as



movies where people can easily get to know one another without much effort, because for people who live in the occupation it can also be quite tiring to constantly meet new people and establish relationships, which takes capacities. *'That you have to actively decide yourself to do something, also when it comes to the shifts, there is no one who divides you up now, but you have to somehow come up with it yourself, I'm going to do this and this and this, but I think that it already pays attention to the needs of people'. (#5)[f1]*

To break the backbone of our internalized capitalism in the Western society, the Lützi movement has devoted Mondays as resting days, to prevent activists from burning out and encourage them to take days-off. Being so strongly connected to the struggle can make it difficult to find the right balance for yourself, particularly when you see the urgency right in front of your eyes every day.

All the above-mentioned activities speak to the concern for climate change and nature destructions. Indeed, practices and structures are co-created not only to the values and concerns listed above. The needs, aspiration, and skills of the Lützi people are also crucial in shaping the caring culture of the movement.

5.2.3 Care giving – How are practices implemented on an everyday basis?

This question is concerned with the specific ways in which practices are implemented, along with what Tronto refers to as competence, encompassing both technical skills, and the moral behavior underlying the work of caring (Tronto, 2013). Two patterns emerged from my data in this respect: a) the principles and values associated with care giving, and b) the shared concepts and coordination of care giving.

Data reveals that the core of the movement is built upon the values of mutual aid, solidarity, empathy, and respect. All these values entail collective awareness and encourage care to be elevated to the public sphere. By empowering the individual to collectively give care, people are actively encouraged to be responsible and participate in co-creating a culture of care. *'This feeling of okay, there are people behind you, and they support you and you are somehow not alone.'* (#9)[g1]

In accordance with the practice of inclusion, respondents highlight the diversity and the purity of human relations within the movement. Beyond the organization in groups and networks, every individual involved in the movement actively or passively, making the movement what it is today. As aforementioned, the movement is particularly striking for its diversity of people that are united in Lützi. Particularly, the involvement of all generations and the absence of ageism is telling. The movement aims to create safer spaces for minorities and believes in an intersectional approach to transformation. *'So, it's different again than with other occupations, because you have super different people, also in terms of age and what people have done before, and that's also really good, because this place attracts super different people, but they all somehow have a similar understanding of what you can do and how you can do it'. (#5)[h1]*



However, the respondents also highlighted the strengths of the personal relations and connections that they had established in Lützi. The abolishment of the nuclear, heteronormative family and the extension beyond the binary to the community. They describe it as being part of something bigger and thus being part of a community. Many shared that they met some of their best friends in Lützi. Furthermore, they emphasize that the personal network is extremely important to be supported by in the struggle. Moreover, for me personally it really felt like a village, where everyone knew each other and created some kind of place attachment together and with it a shared collective identity. *'It is just also a place where it is actively fought against the isolation and I have somehow met super cool people here that I would never have met otherwise and that just also around each other is taken care of and that you do not have to see for yourself that you get along, but that always people are there who catch you and who are there for you.'* (#5)[i1]

Another strong aspect that the movements care is built upon is the appreciation and recognition of care work and emotional labor. Thus, activism is no longer restrained to hard-core direct action, police confrontation and repression, but has been extended to everyday practices, such as reproduction, coordination, and mobilization, which for a long time have been neglected. By validating essential everyday practices, people that execute these practices also feel validated and relevant for the movement. Consequently, it allows the people of the movement to learn and practice alternative ways of coexistence and treating each other in a more caring way, while every individual is motivated to reflect on their own behaviors and habits. *„So we all think that only if we are productive, if we create something, if we work something, build something, somehow, do something 'productive' and not 'reproductive', that it (ehm), that this is work, or that this is valued in our society, but we also have to learn ourselves, that this work (reproductive) is needed, for ourselves but also for the community, because if we end up being nothing but broken people, who are all on the verge of burnout and can no longer do anything, then no one is helped.'* (#2)[j1]

The coordination of the movement revolves around various concepts, which are mostly borrowed from the legacy of prior resistance and occupation movements, collective accountability, and the black power movement and the black panther party, particularly because they took up the right to health (Bassett, 2019).

Care practices are never accomplished once and for all, as care work needs to be constantly attuned to the needs and capacities of those involved (Mol, Moser, & Pols, 2010). Thus, also in Lützi, the individual and collective needs of the people are primarily considered. This also means that individuals are asked to think about 'What do I need right now?'. Asking yourself this question is also the first step to self-care because it encourages everyone to look inside and take care of themselves. This also requires people to check in with their own capacities and resources. Need-orientation thus means to build a movement and with it its structures around the needs of each people. *'And most importantly,*



that the needs and feelings of all beings are included. That's so important, there's always this consensus there.' (#3, P1)[k1]

Consent culture applies to everyday interactions and is about respecting each other's personal and emotional boundaries every time. This respect of people's boundaries and capacities is a crucial manner in Lützi, which allows people to feel safe and heard. The setting of boundaries and the stating of one's capacities are encouraged and appreciated. This allows everyone to see and be seen by the movement. *'Where one can set their limits without being condemned for it. And how that is accepted as one wants to be accepted. I mean, with certain. Restrictions, but where the values and the needs of each other are valued.'* (#7)[l1] Very often it is also criticized how people, who newly arrive to the movement and are not yet familiar with setting their boundaries and stating their capacities, are very quickly burned out by the movement, particularly by being involved in non-violent direct action, or by lacking hygiene in the KüfA. Thus, these values and principles are essential everyday practices of the movement that are not the default of our society and require active integration and introduction to prevent people to get worn out before even being involved in its consent culture. *'We must not burn people out like this.'* (#2)[m1]

An essential part of the consent culture are trigger warnings before sensitive topics are shared, with the option to always opt out and with the announcement and the availability of awareness people (well-being people) who are willing to accompany someone who is struggling. Clearly assigned and announced roles creates a safer space, where people are more likely to reach for help when they are in need.

This collective awareness approach helps a lot with checking in with your own needs and thus, with setting boundaries and creating a healthier environment, where people do not have to shy away from communicating their emotions and needs. It also strengthens the bonds and relationships among the people, and leverages the connections to deeper and authentic relationships, where people take care of each other mutually. *„You know because each person is doing more than just living, they are always thinking about you. They are always kind. They always ask you: How are you? That's the real question, you know like in the other society.'* (#8)[n1]

An active part of the needs-oriented approach is the collective awareness practiced in Lützerath. It is the aim to collectively practice awareness to create a public sphere of awareness, where people take care of each other and thus align with the qualities of mutual aid, empathy and solidarity. *'But it's also taking place with each person. You know because each person is doing more than just living, they are always thinking about you.'* (#8)[o1] This community accountability has encouraged a deep sense of responsibility towards each other. The respondents are aware of the importance of guaranteeing each other well-being and safety. From a care lens, responsibility arises from the recognition of human interdependence and vulnerability (Mancuso, 2015; Puig de la Bellacasa,



2010). This ‘response-ability’ (Haraway, 2016), means being able to respond to something or somebody based on the practice of relationality. Thus, the more we engage in attentive relationships, the more we feel the need to care about and for others (Tronto, 2013).

Consequently, the communal practice of awareness, encourages everyone to be more aware of their environment and thus enables one to create a more relational living. By doing so, the act of care giving becomes an act of mutual aid, rather than a give and take and thus again moves beyond the dichotomy of care giver and care receiver: *‘common experiences, especially when these common experiences carry suffering with them. So individual suffering. That is now also a basis, I would say, a yes ... building block, of my basis.’ (#6)[p1]*

Part of the collective awareness is Lützi’s established awareness structure, that is mostly carried by the awareness AG, which meets bi-weekly, to share input from other movements and scholars e.g., Sonya Rene Taylor, Andrea Richie, or Kimberlé Crenshaw, to check-in with each other, and to work and consult on awareness cases that came up in the camp, revolving around any form of discrimination, or disrespecting of personal and collective boundaries, or emotional first-aid. Frequently, the Awareness Team also co-creates awareness inputs for the village plena as a way of sharing awareness knowledge. The labor of the awareness team is pivotal to create a caring culture, where people feel safe and included. Besides that, the awareness structures organize workshops and emo-rounds to give people a safe space to share and validate their emotions.

When it comes to conflicts the camp aims for a constructive conflict resolution, which is based on the approach of transformative justice. Transformative justice, as an alternative to criminal justice, aims to look at the bigger picture of the case. It considers the root causes of the conflict and aims for comprehensive outcomes. Equally, the violence perpetrators and the people affected by violence, are both considered and taken care of. The aim is to transform the conflict into change by seeing the case as a learning for the community and for the individuals in their personal journey. This approach is particularly vital in the confrontation of the movement with the police, where activists are criminalized for non-violent direct action, while the police use repression as their default practice. On the climate justice scale, the movement aims to promote transformative justice, when e.g., MAPA are actively excluded from decision-making, and emphasizes the reinforcement of various structural injustices in society. *‘Especially in the left scene, sexual violence is a problem, and a group has also formed, after unfortunately, here a sexual assault happened, and this group still exists, so that was at the beginning of the year, in January, the group still exists and the still works with the perpetrator as well as with the affected person.’ (#2, in July)[r1]*

Along the line of collective awareness, the Lützi movement also follows the principle of collective responsibility, which is encouraged, as mentioned above by the needs-orientation and the consideration of everyone’s abilities, capacities, and emotions. The collective notion of responsibility, which



is also encouraged by the validation of reproduction work and the encouragement of participation, entities participants with agency to contribute to the movement. This agency gives participants a sense of ownership over the achievements and visions of the movement, and thus fuels their actions internally, regardless of the motivators deemed necessary in the capitalistic system. It follows, that the notion of 'sharing is caring' and the shared collaborative identity arising from these practices, are representing transformative learning within the people, the collective and potentially beyond. *„Like the people who would under capitalism be labeled as 'unable to work' and would be shoved in certain boxes, they, just like anyone else here, can contribute here according to their needs and abilities.'* (#4)[s1]

Leadership in anarchist movements have always been a bit of a sticky wicket and thus often lack consideration in academic research and propagate the romantic illusion of leaderless movements (Gerbaudo, 2015). However, also within the movement, the strong ideal of autonomy and non-hierarchical coordination constitutes a key principle. The form of autonomist leadership, which is practiced in Lützi, rejects authoritarian and hierarchical structures for self-management and mutual support, aiming for a balance between individual autonomy and collective responsibility. *‘And the crazy thing is, of course, we don't have predefined structures that we then fill with people and then you're responsible.’* (#10)[t1] Furthermore, the Lützi movement claims to be engaged in prefigurative politics, building a new society 'in the shell of the old' based on values of 'community, generosity, social concern, freedom, cooperation, and sharing' (freegan.info). This paradox creates a dissonance that provokes displacement of energy and tension which undermines the movement's agency and prevents them from developing. One interviewee puts it this way: *‘but just see that people talk to each other, that things don't happen twice. But there will be a lot of things, of course, that might have to happen twice, but it will evolve in any case.’* (#10)[u1]

There are some structures, for instance plena, which are vital to keep everyone in the loop with what is happening within and outside the camp. They are happening three times a week, where everyone is invited to put updates and topics on the agenda. There is always at least one person facilitating the plena, and one person taking notes, which are made accessible to everyone after the plena. *‘Plenum ist wichtig für die Revolution’* because it creates the space for people to discuss topics, however it has been mentioned that it is not inclusive because it lacks accessibility e.g., for people with hearing impediments, language barriers. *‘It goes in the direction of deep democracy, so that you really try to discuss everything that goes somehow until everybody somehow has a consensus.’* (#3, P2)[v1]

In general, every decision that affects the collective in Lützi is established on consensus-based decision making, which is a core element of participatory democracy. However, for a long time there has been criticism towards its efficiency (Leach, 2016). This is also a pattern that has been observed in Lützi. Most frequently, the plena take too much time and end up not reaching a consent. There have



been attempts of prioritizing topics on a scale 1-5 by the people that add the topic, yet people tempt to leave the plena halfway and many have even given up joining. This is unfortunate, because as aforementioned, plena are very vivid spaces which allow to share concerns, proposals and feedback with the whole group and reflect together on behaviors and patterns that need to be unlearned together. *'There's also now a facilitation group starting again slowly, because the village plena were just a disaster. It wouldn't stop, there is no prioritization at all, people are totally frustrated. No one ever wants to go there. It's so unfair and you can only solve that structurally, you can't solve it individually. And that's also good. There is also hope.'* (#10)[w1]

5.2.4 Care receiving – What mechanisms are in place for care receivers to respond to the practices of care?

Tronto's model endorses the principle that the practice of caring is not a matter of giving something to others to passively receive it, but it is equally about the practice of receiving care and the actual care work that is done by care receivers. Thus, it is essential for the care cycle to be complete, to ensure the responsiveness of the participants and identify and acknowledge needs (Tronto, 2013). In my data, besides responsiveness, the main patterns were *lived experience, collective care, self-care, time, and place-making*.

Many of the respondents consider their live in the occupation a lived experience. They experience Lützi as a place of experimentation and play, regardless of its serious circumstances. This experience of collective care, and the every-day practice of mutual aid and collective awareness and responsibility, allow people to reproduce these practices and lead by example: *'I think the central point is experience. I think if you experience things yourself and somehow feel them, then this is something completely different.'*(#5)[x1] By the manner of everyday practice and the encouragement of the collective, the art of being responsive to care feels appreciative towards yourself and the movement.

Besides that, very frequently there was also the comparison to the institutional care system which many respondents have already had close touching points. As aforementioned, a collective care system can never fully replace the institutional care, particularly when it comes to the physical and monetary resources, which it needs in our society, that over years have been built upon pharma industry and the manner of making care a service, that one can purchase. Respondents emphasized that the care that they could receive in Lützi which was resting on humanity, reciprocity, and mutuality, could not be received like that outside. *'And that we then already can't manage that in our health care system, that we then need such an occupier bunch here, where people then take care of each other, we solve this here much more humanely than all these 'civilized' people out there.'* (#3, P1)[y1] However, there are attempts to create an exchange between the collective and the institutional system: *'We are also regularly supported by the Psychologists for Future (ehm), which is totally cool, they come every two weeks, so regularly to also offer talks for activists, because just for example clear with climate*



anxiety and also the fear of depression and out-of-action for example, so the follow-up of actions is of course incredibly important and also happens far too little.’ (#2)[z1]

Another factor, that actively contributes to the responsiveness of the people is the validation and encouragement of self-care. However, it is not the notion of self-care that capitalism teaches us, and the treatment with consumerism, but the act of receiving care from ourselves. By accepting oneself and giving and receiving care from oneself, it also unburdens the act of receiving care from others. It is believed that it is empowering and a political act to care for oneself. *‘That I allow myself to take the freedom, for example, to say no to help or to ask for help myself, I also take the freedom to be involved with different groups and thereby not to feel restricted, but genuinely open, for the collective and for the individual.’ (#6)[a2]*



Figure 16: Meaningful Tags in Lützi

Another aspect that allowed care receivers to be responsive to care was time. Many respondents mentioned that people invest time to actively engage in conversations and exchange feelings and stories with one another and actively listen to what one wants to share (#2, #4, #8, #10) It almost makes it feel like time moves slower in Lützi than in the outside world, it also feels like one is escaping from the hamster wheel of capitalism for once. *‘And then also that people here have the freedom to deal with the important points and are not somehow clocked from place to place.’ (#4)[b2]* Even though people have responsibilities, the place and the ethics of collective care, allow one to feel more flexible and prioritize such human check-ins, rather than chasing time: *‘What people experience here and why*

people keep coming here is that they experience a place where it is different and where things are different and where people can manage their own time and therefore have more time to do CARE work.' (#2)[c2]

Many respondents have mentioned the concept of safe spaces to make Lützi a place where everyone can coexist, and particularly marginalized groups have spaces where they can share and exchange feelings and experiences confidentially. They are mostly spaces for people to retreat to, to be protected and sheltered from discrimination. However, to not merely hold these spaces figuratively but also create safe spaces physically. *'So, we have different safer spaces, [...], for example the BiPoC safer space, the FLINTA safer space, then again a QUINTA safer space, so the Queer - Inter - Non.Binary & Trans, and then the Neurodiverse'.*(#2)[d2]

All these safer spaces are meant to have their own physical space in the village. They are supposed to be easily accessible, noticeable, and well maintained to be welcoming for people who need it. These spaces have proven to be incredibly helpful for people to feel more at home in the movement. *'I am neurodiverse myself and I have experienced a lot of discrimination outside, and I have always been very careful with people. [...]. Yes, I find that if you have such a safe space and I also feel safe, it is much easier to talk to people in this way. Also, in conflict situations.'* (#3, P1)[e2]

5.2.5 Caring with – How are principles of reciprocity and mutual learning expressed throughout the process of caring?

An approach to reciprocity, requires that both sides of the caring spectrum are considered agents in the caring process. It includes processes of learning that are beneficial for the caring relation itself as well as society at large (Faden et al., 2013).

Besides the shared collective identity and the strong bond of the movement, safer spaces are still pivotal for several reasons of which I would like to elaborate further on. First, peoples background, still strongly determines how people experience the place, thus it is remarkable that discriminatory patterns are still reproduced. People with migration background thus still face discrimination and thus rely on structures such as safer spaces. White cis-gendered people on the contrary, more frequently describe Lützi as a utopia and are less aware of the unlearning and processes that need to be done. Secondly, white cis-gendered people also often reproduce toxic masculinity and lack the awareness of getting involved in care work and emotional labor. These patriarchal patterns also require active unlearning and workshops for cis-gendered people to reflect on their position and acting are in the pipeline. *'For me personally, I haven't noticed anything in that direction yet or anything'* (#3 P1, cis-dude). *'FLINTA definitely do more CARE work (laughs), definitely, so 100%, that's not a ... so, that's not even up for debate here, and it's just annoying again, but what can you do?'* (#2)[f2]

However, not only with care work and the re-production of patriarchal patterns but also with other forms of discrimination the same patterns can be recognized. *'These assemblies are not always*



a point to talk. And the way its organized, there is nothing for those people kind of (neurodiverse). It's always like they have still inequalities, and even discriminations.' (#8)[g2] Consequently, it is a false assumption to believe that because Lützi is an autonomous space, where everyone seems to aim for a society which is based on equity, reciprocity, and solidarity, we all carry deeply ingrained and internalized behaviors, which need to be reflected and finally unlearned. Nevertheless, this requires a lot of internal work but there are also structures that can facilitate the individual and collective process.

A key component to construct the reciprocity in care is the aspect of transformative learning, which is a process of 'perspective transformation' based on three dimensions: psychological (changes in understanding of the self), convictional (revision of belief systems), and behavioral (changes in lifestyle). *'I don't feel that's reflected enough here. That FLINTA are doing most of the CARE work. So, it's always said, but nothings is really changed about it, but I also think that we are more FLINTA, in general.'* (#2)[h2] Following, in Lützi we can observe a perspective transformation on the convictional dimension, given the circumstances and the people one experiences, and on the behavioral dimension, where everyone practices everyday practices in a more collective and awareness-oriented manner, however, for the process to be fully transformative, the psychological dimensions need more space. The processes of personal reflection, healing and unlearning require more space in the movement to make it even more reciprocated: *'With awareness, we can't sustain that individually. That's the problem. That it's still believed because we care or both. Want, is that we think that. We can individually, but we can't.'* (#10)[i2]

Overall, the needs-orientation of the Lützi movement largely contributes to the reciprocity of care in the movement. Being aware of one's own need, makes it less likely to overstep your own boundaries and the boundaries of others. Thus, the cycle of care is based on consent and thus facilitates more reciprocity. *'The me caring for myself and for others caring corresponds with it also. Then my needs and fulfills certain needs of mine. That's why I don't want to separate it that way.'* (#4)[j2]

Furthermore, given that the culture in Lützi is based on transformative justice and transformative learning, the cohabitation is experienced as a journey or a process, which allows people to be more experimental. Which goes in line with being more open towards people and less afraid to make mistakes but to see it as learnings that are reflected upon thus create a mutual care cycle. *'It's not, of course, a place where people don't harm, where people don't discriminate. It is a place where harm, where discriminates, where assaults happen, where violence happens. Yes, we will not be able to make that go away. But the question for me is, how do we keep trying to deal with that'.* (#10)[k2]

The autonomy of the people of the movement and yet the strong sense of belonging and togetherness, and the strong will to practice inclusion and create an intersectional movement resisting social injustices, empowers people to be response-able to the needs (Moriggi, Soini, Franklin, et al., 2020). *'Because I have the feeling with most people that they want to be here, whether they have*



decided to come here or whether they have landed here and have not found a better place, but there's such a commitment to this place.' (#5)[l2]

5.3. Learnings and Recommendations from Lützi's caring culture

This chapter will be guided by the following question:

How can we take on and implement awareness work here in Lützerath in an intersectional, preventive, low-hierarchical way, in collective responsibility and with a benevolent culture of error?

A concern that could be observed regarding Lützi's awareness structures, which was also the occasion for the general assembly, is the fact that Lützi is not a discrimination-free space, which has caused incidents to pile up, and thus people to burn out. Intentions are to reemphasize care as a collective task rather than outsourcing it to the Awareness group (AG). *'You can't slow down the waterfall by hand. It can. We must change something elsewhere. I can't stand in front and make sure the water doesn't fall. It won't work. And even if there are 15 of us, we won't make it. Because we're there as people, not as a structure that looks beforehand to make sure that there's a little less water.'* (#10)[m2]

What this respondent is saying and what also becomes evident from the data is that most awareness resources go into emergency relieve and thus, fail to create prevention structures which causes the same difficulties to reproduce without any collective reflection or learning process. This lack of a functioning healing process causes an internal downward spiral due to many being burned-out. In combination with an internal performance problem (heavy demands in short time), the physical proximity and 24/7 availability, this structure is merely sustainable. In addition, the awareness team is idealized as consisting of superheroes and therapist, which is a misconception because no one receives any training and everything is based on experiences and learning on the way. However, this causes a lack of collective responsibility and the outsourcing of awareness work to 'the AG'. *They always say: You don't have to if you don't feel it. But they don't go deep to say. Okay. You really must measure it. You do not find balance. And they are you able to do everything so ... They talk about it. But they don't really put a word in.* (#8)[n2]

This phenomenon is also very evident in the fact that people are way more likely to pick up reproduction tasks like cooking, cleaning, etc. than awareness tasks, maybe also because they are more socialized, whereas awareness work is still very much domesticated and thus there is a higher burden or a higher resistance, less self-confidence to contribute there. *'Certain tasks I also just have to learn first because they were taught to me, for example, um, because it's just kind of the STANDARD that no idea that my sister then somehow does such tasks in the house, that is kind of like that, every socialization, you carry that with you and that's not an okay.'* (#9)[o2]

Finally, I also often felt a lack of prioritizing internal awareness structures and well-being, it is very much talked about the strategy towards police, RWE, outside parties but the internal awareness



and structures are less considered. However, without internal resilience, resistance cannot be effective. *'The revolution is not some X day in the future. The revolution has to be imagined, fought for, lived, questioned and critiqued every single day. And it's super exhausting to feel alone with it.'* (GA)

The following working groups and practices were consensually proposed to ensure a more regenerative and resilient awareness and care structure within the Lützi movement. They were co-created based on collective struggles and experiences that can be considered milestones of collective and transformative learning if the process moving forth is intentional and emphasizes reciprocity.

There is the intention of having hats (someone who takes responsibility for a certain task, for a limited amount of time) instead of an AG, which would mean that tasks are more subdivided and there is less pressure on a single group. Secondly, fixed check-in/exchange groups are planned to have a more continuous awareness of people's wellbeing and thus prevent people from burning out. Further, regular, non-binding emo rounds can be initiated to provide more frequent spaces for people to check in with their emotions collectively and thus be able to take preventive care measures. To ensure the execution of the process, working groups were formed to follow-up with the tasks.

6. Discussion and Interpretation of Results

In this section, I present some general conclusions and reflections, with regards to contribute to the study of prefigurative Care practices in the Lützi Movement and its transformative potential, and to the scientific debates around the ethics of care and prefigurative practices.

6.1 Interpretation of Findings

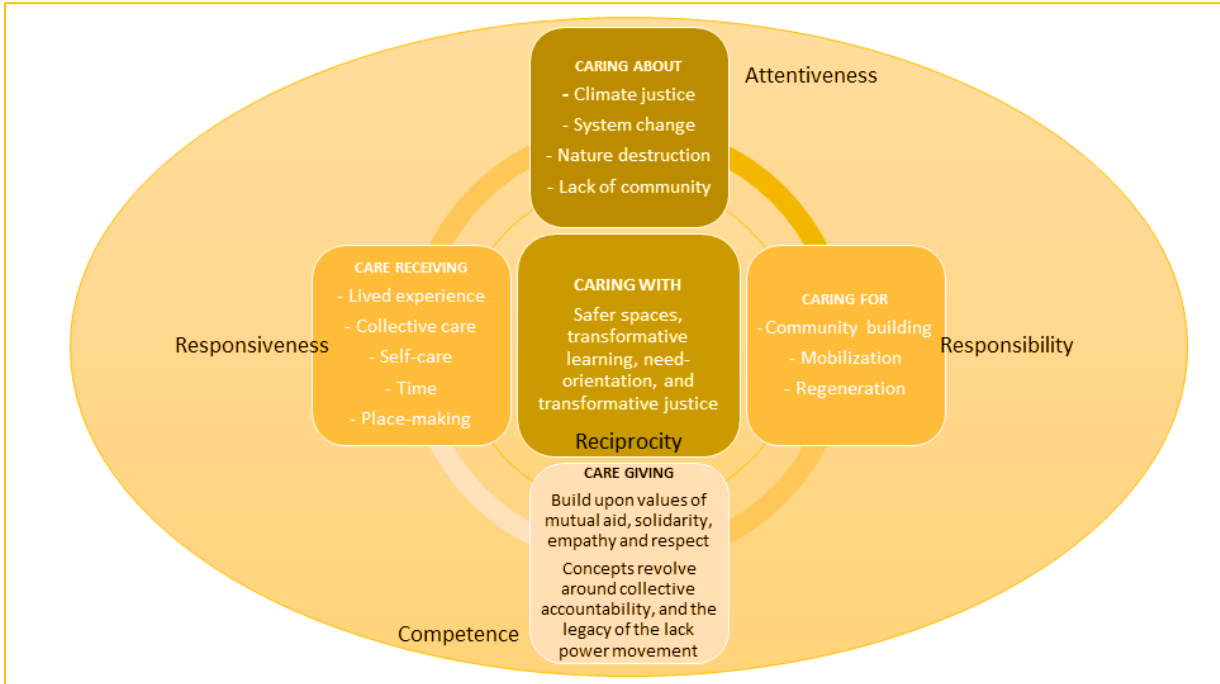


Figure 17: Findings Ethics of Care Cycle (Toronto, 2013)



As summarized in Figure 11, my analysis investigation across Tronto's five stages of caring has revealed the following findings: (1) The needs of the people of the Lützi movement go beyond the desire of awareness and care. On a micro level, people are deeply attentive to the environment, and depict clear feelings of anxiety and anger, and the need to change something in the today. They also mentioned a lack of community in their everyday lives, and fear loneliness and isolation. These fears fuel there strong longing for climate justice and system change from below. (2) Their attentiveness to such concerns and needs manifests itself in the daily practices they engage in, and which go beyond the resistance struggle that they are primarily known for in the media. There is a host of internal prefigurative practices, which can largely be grouped in community-building/inclusion, reproduction, and mobilization work (cf. Yates, 2021). Largely, it can be broken down to the people organizing themselves in the struggle, building a community based on collective practices and aiming to prefiguratively co-create an alternative to the system driven by the place-specific struggle. (3) Besides, what the movement is practicing, it is also pivotal how they do it. The Lützi movement revolves around some core values of mutual aid, solidarity, empathy, and respect. Furthermore, respondents highlighted the deep and pure human relations that they established in Lützi, and the movement beyond binaries. In addition, the movement is built upon a strong appreciation and recognition of care work and emotional labor, which is also prioritized with the coordination of the movement, which is co-created around the needs of the people. (4) Both care-givers and care-takers are considered active agents of the process. The responsiveness of the care-receivers is facilitated by collective lived experiences, the collectiveness of care, the prioritization of self-care and the time and place-making, which co-creates the safer space, where setting boundaries, acknowledging your needs, and asking for help and receiving it is considered a strength. (5) Closing the caring cycle, what is essential to the movement is the shared collective identity, but also the autonomy of the people. Further it is essential for the movement to see the movement as a large transformative learning journey, a trial life, which encourages reciprocity through acceptance.

There were several new insights gained for a better understanding of the transformative potential of care in social movements. I would like to elaborate on three major insights.

First, the most insightful was the analysis of the care receiving notion. Looking into the ways in which care receivers can be better responsive allowed a change of perspectives. Following, the research gave elaborate findings on the responsiveness of the care receiver and what and how to co-create more caring spaces. The iterative approach revealed that self-care is an essential part of creating caring movements. This brought me back to the 1960s when the Black Panther Party in the US declared their 'Ten-Point-Program' and in 1972 added health as the sixth point: 'We Want Completely Free Health Care for All Black and Oppressed People' (Black Panther Party 1972) (Bassett, 2019). Following their model of putting 'theory into practice' the Panthers opened more than a dozen free health clinics



across the USA between 1968 and 1973. It deserves further research into the request of accessible health care structures that are pivotal for a socio-ecological transformation, where resources are allocated to the people not to profit.

Secondly, the care for aspect of Tronto's framework allowed to extensively analyze the needs of the people involved with the movement, moving beyond the extensive demands that are projected by the media. The research revealed that the relationality goes beyond care among human-beings to more-than-human beings and the strong sense of place attachment.

Finally, Tronto's approach of making care public and the initiation of the 'care with' notion allowed to dive deeper into the reciprocity of care in the Lützi movement. It revealed that learning and particularly transformative learning is pivotal to create the space where people are encouraged to practice experimental learning and see healing as a cycle rather than a linear development. The cycle of the care framework also replicates the circularity of transformation.

6.2 Personal 'care' journey

The photo I took of a sign saying 'careful', hanging from a tree, with a small note on it: 'how to careful'. One of many small reminders that I found during my stay in Lützi. When I arrived, I felt scared, scared of the unknown and the insecurity of how people are going to include me into the movement and how I can contribute to the movement. However, I also felt excited for an adventure, an alternative living, and the chance to capture it for research and share it with the world and particularly with the 'ivory tower'. However, taking up the role of a researcher while being closely associated with the movement under research is not always easy. While in the beginning I tried to be very strategic about my being and doing in Lützi, trying to establish strategic alliances and being an active observer, with time this became challenging.

I struggled with the dual role of being a researcher, while at the same being an activist. The struggle reached peak when I got arrested for a non-violent direct action, without further warnings by the police. After deciding to identify myself to the police to ensure the continuation of my research, it was then that I decided to see my research as a struggle and to trust the process. Field work cannot be conducted in a full fetched plan, it needs flexibility and the willingness to experiment with environment and the relations that evolve.

Personally, I also went through my personal transformation. While I only stayed for 3 weeks, the movement soon felt like home. The perception of time just feels different in Lützi and the fears that I had when going to Lützi reproduced but the other way round, with leaving Lützi. The place, the people, the practices, everything felt so familiar so soon and I had never experienced such a sense of care before. However, I really struggled with connecting the inner with the outer world. Lützi felt so utopian, that it was at times hard to believe that it is not the whole world.



After coming back, Lützi stayed in my heart. I stayed in connection with the people of the movement, which I had created unique bonds with. Also, the practices lived on, not only within me but with the spaces and people around me. The transformative power it holds is the lived experience of ‘another world’ and the courage and hope it gave me to fight for it. Many doubts that I used to carry with me, based on my socialization and upbringing about a post-capitalistic caring society became irrelevant, because I knew that ‘another world is possible’ and I had experienced prefiguration myself.

However, obviously every personal journey is unique. It appeared that not everyone in the movement is considered an activist. There are also people that cannot take the live anymore, that do not have a place in the outside and that found their place in Lützi. It was very interesting to get to know a diversity of people that I had never met in one place ever before, with various intentions, that however co-existed peacefully and as a whole, no matter the insecurity of the place.



Figure 18: Tree with diy sign 'careful' in Lützi

6.3 Limitations of the research

Besides the value insides that we discovered by applying Tronto’s framework, I experienced three shortcomings while working with it. Firstly, I felt a lack of consideration of different spheres and the possibility to differentiate between the collective, the self, and the higher self. Consequently, I felt like the analysis part was restricted to a more descriptive frame, rather than diving deeper into the relationality of the self with the community. Further, the consideration of the environment as a more-than-human remains difficult within the framework because it seems the environment is framed as an entity rather than an actor in the network of care. Finally, I would wish for more space to deeper analyze the different kinds of underlying relations connecting the caring cycle.

Furthermore, there are certain limitations regarding my data collection methods. The selection of a single case study was made with the purpose to gain an in-depth insight into the movement, but it came at the expense of lacking the ability to draw more general conclusions. Furthermore, the

participatory action research approach caused the struggle of taking on different roles as researcher and activist and renders it impossible to conduct neutral research. The strong involvement might thus cause the findings of the research to be subject to my personal experience. Finally, the restricted time available for the data collection process has limited the research to a friction of time in the existence of the movement, restraining the findings to a point in time rather than being able to observe the transformative evolution over time.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

Given the limiting time frame of this research, I would like to give some recommendations for further research that I believe can yield social and scientific relevance.

1. Unlearning as an active practice

This research has uncovered, that in order to create an alternative movement, it cannot be sufficient to create the space, but it needs space for unlearning our internalized and socialized behaviors collectively. Therefore, I would like to recommend putting larger emphasis on the practice of unlearning but also practices that encourage unlearning in further research.

2. Further research on the politicization of places

I would like to emphasize the need to further investigate the politicization process, that lead to the emergence of collective and radical individual subjectivities. It would be very insightful to further analyze how the space as such, particularly in occupation movements, becomes political territory.

3. Actor-Network Theory

Given the large entity of spaces, people, and more-than-humans involved in the Lützi movement, it could be very insightful to apply Actor-Network-Theory. It can reveal valuable findings and different perspectives on collective action, which has not been elaborate in this research.

4. Consideration of anarchist and non-academical literature

Finally, given the context of this research and the approach of participatory action research with the aim to be as involved in the movement as possible as a researcher, I am sure it would be very relevant to include more non-academic literature, such as zines, poems, workshops from the movement, to gain even deeper insights in their 'sub-culture'.

7. Conclusion

In the following section, I would like to respond to the overall research question of this thesis: *What is the significance of prefigurative politics of care in Lützerath for a just socio-ecological transformation?* The aim of this study was to research the transformative potential of the environmental occupation movement in Lützerath. Therefore, it proved to be very relevant to consider the internal ties and relation of the movement and their prefigurative character, as well as their caring culture. What became



evident throughout the research process are the following patterns that are essential for a socio-ecological transformation: community or collectivity, hope, and responsiveness.

Whenever the people struggle, there is a hand full of people that unite in the struggle and use it as their motivation. The strong bonds and immense sense of belonging to the place of resistance (Lützi) proves that to co-create a just transformation, we need alternative spaces of care, where people can reunite and reconnect with each other in a more reciprocal way. This thesis provides ample examples on how this can be implemented in other places. *'It just needs more togetherness, more opportunities to meet and talk to each other. Maybe you could somehow make structures in villages or communities, where you just have different meetings, where you discuss things together and distribute tasks or something. Yes, and such awareness things.'* (#3, P3)[p2]

Furthermore, the movement holds immense potential for the transformation by the hope for 'another world is possible' and the systematic change it aims to achieve. Throughout the research, I experienced almost every feeling in Lützi, von contentment to anger, from anxiety to empowerment, from despair to hope. These experiences are what gives people hope. The feeling of experiencing emotions together and reconnecting with the environment despite the destruction that is going on and being able to resist the destruction and oppression. *'So, people can come [to Lützi] and experience, even on a level that takes them and that, that also gives emotional connection, experience that yes, what a good living together could look like.'* (#4)[q2]

Finally, the movement co-creates a space that can only be carried together. Thus, people experience responsiveness. They gain agency from being able to contribute to the change. I thus wish for everyone to be able to experience this deep sense of togetherness and thus spread the values of collective care to the wider society and call for all the feminists: the private is political, so is care. Thus, care should be validated and seen as empowering!

'You cannot evict a movement.'



Appendix

Annex 1: Poem

Deep listening

Ich höre den Wind,
In den Bäumen, Sträuchern,
Es raschelt.

In den Baumkronen
Die Blätter vibrieren.

In der Ferne höre ich den Bagger,
einen Bagger, viele Bagger,
argchhh, argchh,
ein Knirschen, Zermürben.

Der Wind, ganz zart,
streichelnd, über meine Haut, mein Gesicht
die Sonnenstrahlen kitzeln mein Gesicht,
ich fühle mich schön.

Schön, ganz ohne den Zwang schön sein zu müssen,
selbstbestimmt, frei, ich.

Hier kann ich, ich sein,
mich schätzen und andere
dafür, dass wir hier sind,
einfach nur SEIN.

Flugzeuge rauschen vorbei,
Bagger baggern,
die Autobahn rauscht,
ich BIN.



Tatjana, 10th of August 2022, Lützerath



Annex 2: German Quotes

[a] *„Ja, ja also es ist einfach so ein ... ein, Probeleben.“ (#1)*

[b] *(orig. in English)*

[c] *(orig. in English)*

[d] *„weil es ist halt auch so barrieremäßig kannst du damit viel besser arbeiten. Weil du kannst nicht mit dem Rolli durch den schlammigen Wald fahren, aber du kannst mit einem Rolli über die gedehten Straßen fahren.“ (#5)*

[e] *‘Bevor man das erste Mal hier war, checkt man nicht ganz warum man hierhin kommen sollte.‘ (#4)*

[f] *„aber ich finde einfach etwas zu teilen. Mach mich so glücklich, wenn das wirklich oder das etwas mit mir teilt.“ (#10)*

[g] *„[...] das ist schon krass oder du brauchst irgendwas und 10 min später hat es dir irgendwer auf dem Camp gebracht, so [...]“ (#2)*

[f] *„wo du einfach siehst, du siehst, wie die Erde. Gefoltert wird. Und dann guckst du nach dem Loch und dann hast du gar keine Fragen mehr.“ (#10)*

[g] *„an Orten, wo halt diesem System was entgegengesetzt wird und versucht wird zu verhindern, dass das Konzerne wie RWE uns unsere Lebensgrundlage wegbaggern.“ (#3, P3)*

[h] *„Weil ich denke, es ist auch schwierig, manchmal für Menschen, die hier neu sind, da reinzukommen.“ (#3, P2)*

[i] *„einfach weil man da halt diese eine Strukturen hat, die Pressehütte neben der Awarenesshütte, neben dem Actionpoints und während wir Media Plenum halten, bauen halt so irgendwie ein paar Meter weiter neben uns was total, weil wir was total krasses, was ich halt selbst niemals hinkriegen würde.“ (#9)*

[j] *„die Paula, das ist ne queer feministische Hausbesetzung ist, die das sich halt auch so auf die Fahne schreibt, ist es halt auch schon present nach draußen, wo du sagst ok 'wir lassen uns nicht so leicht unterkriegen.'“ (#5)*

[k] *„Und jetzt sind sie gekommen, haben gesagt: wir haben rausgefunden, der Topf ist zu groß für uns, wir schenken den der KüfA.“ (#10)*

[l] *„Das ist für mich voll der Kraftort. Und eben. Ich habe nicht mal so viel selber gepflanzt. Aber da sein, das zu gießen und zu sehen, wie Menschen kommen und wie das Menschen so erfreut, das es für mich gibt, mir wahnsinnig viel. Und. Und das ist eben auch so ein. Auch so einen verknüpft oder wie es auch Anknüpfungspunkt ist oder eine. Möglichkeit. Sich. Zu verbinden. Diese. Fürsorge für die Erde.“ (#10)*

[m] *„auch mit der Skatehalle, das so Skateleute aus Mönchengladbach oder so hier her kommen, das passiert dir halt nicht mit nem Wald, aber das passiert dir halt mit solchen Sachen, wo Leute halt voll viel Freiraum haben das zu machen, was sie halt wollen.“ (#5)*

[n] *„ich bin so Nachmittags angekommen, aber dann wurde es aber schnell dunkel und ich bin in Paula's Hof reingelaufen, dann bin ich zu den Zirkuszelten, da war Feuer und Musik und dann bin ich da hin und hab viele Menschen kennengelernt.“ (#6)*



[o] ,dass überall solche Orte entstehen können. Und Menschen. Menschen so was schaffen können. Und dass das überall auch Menschen inmitten von von verschiedensten Unterdrückungsstrukturen Freiräume schaffen können.' (#4)

[p] ,Und deswegen müssen. Hier muss hier tonnenweise an leben. Also wir müssen Quadratkilometer und Lebensraum zerstört werden. Ich will gar nicht wissen, wie viele Tierarten der da mit seinem Verhalten schon vernichtet hat.' (#3, P1)

[q] ,Also ich setze mich zumindest für die für die Rechte der Rebhühner und der Kaninchen hier auf dem Feld ein Weiße denkt doch mal bitte an die Kaninchen hier.' (#3, P2)

[r] ,Wir wollen nicht mehr unglücklich sein, Wir finden die Welt wie sie ist, echt beschissen. Wir würden es, wir würden gerne Alternative schaffen und ich finde, das gelingt hier ganz gut.' (#3, P1)

[s] , Ja, und es reizt mich dann manchmal einfach, aber es hat mich schon früher dann in diese Gesellschaft bin und ich bin und dass das so heterogenormt ist.' (#10)

[t] , Also dadurch, dass wir jetzt irgendwie im Einzelnen zusammenleben und dass wir jetzt einfach mal eins zusammenleben und so bedürfnisorientiert denken und so und viel caring culture praktizieren, so wirklich von alleine einfache, bedürfnisorientiert System schaffen.' (#9)

[u] ,weil (ehm) ich irgendwann gemerkt habe, dass die Klimakatastrophe alle Krisen und Ungerechtigkeiten die es auf der Welt gibt noch mal verstärkt wirkt und (ehm) dass wenn wir die Klimakrise bewältigen wollen, dann müssen wir den Kapitalismus überwinden und müssen alles dekolonialisieren und das sind auf jeden Fall zwei Ziele denen ich mein Leben widmen möchte.' (#2)

[v] , also ich glaube Klimagerechtigkeit heißt halt auch soziale Gerechtigkeit auf jeden Fall, und das eine ohne das andere geht nicht.' (#2)

[w] ,dass unglaublich viele Menschen krank werden, weil sie einsam sind. Weil sie einfach vereinsamen und das wird auch einer der großen Probleme und Herausforderungen sein unserer Gesellschaft nicht zu vereinsamen.' (#2)

[x] ,Ja, das war irgendwie voll das starke Gefühl, wo ich gemerkt habe, das fehlt mir voll. Also jetzt, als ich dann genau nach Berlin gekommen bin und genau so eine Gemeinschaft auch, also wie wir, dieses starke kollektive Gefühl, das ist echt einfach so, man läuft eben durch das Dorf und gegenüber jeder Person, die man da sieht, hat man irgendwie so eine gewisse Empathie, eine gewisse Zuneigung. Und das ist halt für mich irgendwie das erste Mal, dass ich so so ein echtes kollektives Gefühl Experience habe.' (#9)

[y] ,Und deswegen würde ich sagen wir brauchen die Fürsorge für die Revolution.' (#1)

[z] ,dann wird sich ja trotzdem mit diesen Leuten inhaltlich befasst und das muss man sich mal vorstellen, da draußen in der Gesellschaft, wenn sich da irgendjemand, sagen wir mal, still verhält, dann wird der einfach nur ausgegrenzt, ausgeschlossen, der wird wegge weggeschmissen, der wird weggegrenzt.' (#3, P1)

[a1] ,Nein, das hat sich jetzt im nachhinein so herauskristallisiert, gebildet, gemerkt, damals wars einfach das bessere Übel und ehrlich zu sein, im kalten, es war im Winter. Ja, es war auf jeden Fall das bessere von sehr vielen Übeln, die ich so nacheinander irgendwie abgehackt habe.' (#6)



[b1] *„Ja, also erstmal wie ich im Hambi gelandet bin, war eigentlich dass ich in ner hilflosen Situation war, ich habe auf der Straße gelebt hab und auf der Straße passiert viel scheiße mit Frauen, egal wo du bist, und dann war Hambi wirklich so ein richtiger safe place.“ (#1)*

[c1] *„diese ganzen anarchistischen Waldzecken, aber du hast halt auch die Leute aus den Dörfern und das irgendwelche random Besucher:innen die vorbei kommen und ich glaube das ist auch alles so, weil alles so auf einem Ort ist, aber gleichzeitig so unterschiedliche Sachen (ehm) gibt, macht es das irgendwie zugänglich und voll so anziehungsmäßig für voll viele verschiedene Leute und so halt auch für Leute die sich nicht so klar so richtig einordnen lassen.“ (#5)*

[d1] *„hier ist das viel mehr dass Freund:innen -schaften, richtig eng sind und dass Bezugsgruppen (BG) und Bezugsgruppentreffen und so, also das wär auch so ein cooles Wort für Cliques, aber (lacht), aber ... ist schon spannend.“ (#2)*

[e1] *(orig. in English)*

[f1] *„bzw so dass du dich halt selber aktiv dazu entscheiden musst irgendwas zu machen auch wenn es um die Schichten geht, gibt es jetzt keinen Menschen der dich jetzt einteilt sondern du musst halt selber irgendwie darauf kommen, ich mach jetzt das und das und das, aber ehm ich glaube das achtet halt schon auf die Bedürfnisse von Menschen.“ (#5)*

[g1] *„dieses Gefühl von okay, da stehen Menschen hinter einem und die unterstützen einen und man ist da irgendwie nicht alleine.“ (#9)*

[h1] *(orig. in English)*

[i1] *„ist es halt auch ein Ort, wo es aktiv gegen die Vereinzelung gekämpft wird und ich hier irgndwie super coole Leute getroffen habe, die ich sonst nie getroffen hätte und dass halt auch umeinander gekümmert wird und dass du nicht irgendwie alleine gucken musst, dass du klar kommst, aber das schon immer Leute da sind, die dich auffangen.“ (#5)*

[j1] *„ganz klar, wir haben alle Kapitalismus auch verinnerlicht, also wir denken alle auch, dass nur wenn wir produktiv sind, wenn wir was schaffen, wenn wir irgendwas arbeiten, irgendwas bauen, irgendwie, irgendwas 'produktives' und nicht 'reproduktives' machen, dass es (ehm), dass das Arbeit ist, oder dass das gewertschätzt wird in unserer Gessellschaft, aber wir müssen halt auch selber lernen, uns auch wirklich einzugestehen, dass es diese Arbeit (reproduktive) benötigt, dass es das braucht, einmal für uns selber aber auch für die Gemeinschaft, weil wenn wir am Ende lauter nur noch kaputte Menschen sind, die alle kurz vorm Burnout stehen und nicht mehr können, dann ist keinem geholfen und (ehm) genau, da müssen wir glaub ich alle selber an unseren verinnerlichten, internalisierten Kapitalismus arbeiten.“ (#2)*

[k1] *„Und vor allem auch, dass die Bedürfnisse und Gefühle aller Wesen mit einbezogen werden. Das ist so wichtig, dass da immer wieder dieser Konsens herrscht.“ (#3, P1)*

[l1] *„Aber auch wo Mensch. Seine Grenzen setzen kann. Ohne dafür verurteilt zu werden. Und wie das so akzeptiert wird. wie mensch Akzeptiert werden will. Also ich meine, mit gewissen. Einschränkungen, aber. Bis ist, wo halt auf die Werte, die Werte und die Bedürfnisse einander wert gelegt wird.“ (#7)*

[m1] *„Wir dürfen die Menschen nicht so verheizen.“ (#2)*

[n1] *(orig. in English)*

[o1] *(orig. in English)*



[p1] ,gemeinsame Erfahrungen, vorallem wenn diese gemeinsamen Erfahrungen Leid mit sich tragen. Also individuelles Leid. Das ist jetzt halt auch eine Basis, würde ich sage, ein ja ... Baustück, meiner Basis.' (#6)

[q1] ,Dann die die die die ganzen Sachen mit dem GeSa support jetzt seit Tagen fahren wir da andauernd hin und hängen da vor den Zellen wo unsere anderen Aktivisten drin sind und diese, dieser Support und dieses dieses gemeinsam. Es ist so schade, dass die Leute nicht da sind und das ist einfach so toll. Man hat einfach wirklich eine so tolle Gemeinschaft und so einen krassen Zusammenhalt.' (#3, P1)

[r1] ,gerade in der Linken Szene, ist sexuelle Gewalt, auch in linken Spaces und da hat sich auch eine Gruppe gebildet, nachdem leider, wir hier einen sexuellen Misbr..., eine sexueller Übergriff passiert ist, und diese Gruppe gibt es immer noch, also das war am Anfang des Jahres, im Januar, die Gruppe gibt es immer noch und die arbeitet auch immer noch mit dem Täter sowie mit der betroffenen Person ..' (#2)

[s1] ,Wie die Personen, die ihn in der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft als nicht arbeitsfähig oder so irgendwo hingeschoben würden. Die, die genauso wie alle anderen auch, die Möglichkeiten haben, sich ihren Bedürfnissen und Fähigkeiten entsprechend einzubringen.' (#4)

[t1] ,Und das Krasse ist natürlich, wir haben ja keine vordefinierten Strukturen, die wir dann mit Menschen befüllen und dann bist du verantwortlich.' (#10)

[u1] ,oder so, aber einfach gucken, dass die Menschen miteinander sprechen, dass nicht die Sachen doppelt geschehen. Aber es werden natürlich viele Sachen. Müssen vielleicht auch doppelt. Geschehen, aber das geht auf alle Fälle weiter.' (#10)

[v1] ,Und es läuft einfach alles mehr in Richtung Deep Democracy, also dass man wirklich versucht alles was geht irgendwie auszudiskutieren, bis alle irgendwie einen Konsens haben, wenn es hitzig. Es wird nicht für alle perfekt passen, aber es wird für möglichst alle okay sein.' (#3, P2)

[w1] ,aber es gibt jetzt auch wieder eine Moderationsgruppe, die langsam anfängt, weil das so grauenhaft war, weil die Dorfpläne einfach eine Katastrophe waren. Es hat nicht mehr aufgehört, es wurde überhaupt nicht priorisiert, die Leute total frustriert. Kein Mensch will mal hingehen. Es ist so ungerecht und das kannst du nur strukturell lösen, kannst du nicht individuell lösen. Und das ist auch gut. Da gibt es auch Hoffnung.' (#10)

[x1] ,aber ich glaube, der so zentrale Punkt ist glaub ich Erfahrung. Ich glaube, wenn du die Sachen selber erfährst und irgendwie auch fühlst, dann ist das hier was ganz anderes.' (#5)

[y1] ,Und dass wir das dann in unserem Gesundheitssystem schon nicht mehr hinbekommen, dass wir dann hier so einen so ein Besetzer Haufen brauchen, wo sich die Leute dann umeinander kümmern quasi wir bewahren Waren wie wir das hier viel menschlicher lösen als diese ganzen in Anführungszeichen zivilisierten Leute da draußen. Das ist bewundernswert.' (#3, P1)

[z1] ,Da werden wir auch regelmäßig supportet von den Psychologists for Future (ehm) was total cool ist, die kommen aus, ich glaube aus einer der größeren Städte hier aus NRW und (ehm), kommen dann alle zwei Wochen, also regelmäßig um auch Gespräche anzubieten für Aktivisti, weil halt zum Beispiel klar mit climate anxiety und auch die Angst vor Depressio und out-of-action zum Beispiel auch, also so die Nacharbeitung von Aktionen natürlich unglaublich wichtig ist und auch viel zu wenig passiert.' (#2)

[a2] ,dadurch dass ich mir erlaube, den Freiheit zu nehmen, zum Beispiel nein zu sagen zur Hilfe oder selbst nach Hilfe zu fragen, nehme ich mir auch die Freiheit in verschiedenen Gruppen unterwegs zu sein und mich dadurch nicht eingeschränkt zu fühlen, sondern echt offen, fürs Kollektiv und fürs Individuum.' (#6)

[b2] ,Und dann aber auch, dass Leute hier den den Freiraum haben sich mit den dafür wichtigen Punkten auseinander zusetzen und sich nicht irgendwie getaktet von Ort zu Ort zu hätzen.' (#4)

[c2] ,Ja, ich glaube (ehm), was Leute hier erleben und dass Leute auch immer wieder hierher kommen, ist halt dass die hier einen Ort erleben, wo es halt anders ist, und wo's anders läuft und wo Leute sich deswegen auch ihre Zeit selber einteilen können, und dementsprechend dann auch mehr Zeit haben um CARE Arbeit zu machen oder wo CARE Arbeit auch als Arbeit wirklich angesehen ist, also noch nicht komplett gleich, aber wir sind auf jeden Fall auf einem guten Weg, denke ich mal.' (#2)

[d2] ,mhm, also wir haben ja verschiedene safer spaces, zum Beispiel das ist mir auch unglaublich wichtig, dass die noch weiter bestehen, also zum Beispiel den BiPOC safer space, den FLINTA safer space, dann nochmal einen QUINTA safer space, also den Queer - Inter - Non.Binary & Trans, und dann den Neurodiversen.' (#2)

[e2] ,ich bin ja selber neuro divers und ich habe draußen schon viel Diskriminierung auch erlebt und ich war immer sehr vorsichtig beim Menschen. Dann ist das hier etwas. Es ist für mich auch ein Safe, so Neuro diverse Menschen, manche leben auch viele diverse Menschen. Genau und. Ja, ich finde, wenn man so ein Safe Space hat und ich mich auch sicher fühle, fällt es halt viel einfacher eigentlich mit den Leuten auch immer so zu reden. Auch in Konfliktsituationen.' (#3, P1)

[f2] ,So, auf jeden Fall machen FLINTA mehr CARE Arbeit (lacht), always, auf jeden Fall, also 100%, das ist gar kein ... also, das steht gar nicht zur Depate hier, und es ist halt einfach wieder mal nervig, aber was soll man machen ... (lachen) es ist wie's ist, aber auf jeden Fall.' (#2)

[g2] (orig. in English)

[h2] ,und ich habe nicht das Gefühl, dass das genug reflektiert wird hier. Dass FLINTA die meiste CARE arbeit machen. Also es wird immer wieder gesagt, aber was tun, tut sich nicht wirklich, aber ich glaube auch, dass wir dentenziel mehr FLINTA sind, generell.' (#2)

[i2] ,Bei Awareness, das können wir nicht individuell auffangen. Das ist das Problem. Dass es immer noch geglaubt wird, weil wir Fürsorge oder beide. Wollen, ist, dass wir das denken. Wir können es individuell, aber wir können es nicht.' (#10)

[j2] ,Also dadurch entspricht, dass mich. Kümmern und (ehm) für andere fürsorgen entspricht damit auch. Dann meinen Bedürfnissen und erfüllt auch gewisse Bedürfnisse von mir. Deshalb will ich das gar nicht so trennen.' (#4)

[k2] ,Es ist natürlich nicht ein Ort, wo nicht verletzt wird, wo nicht diskriminiert wird. Es ist. Ein Ort, wo verletzt wird, wo diskriminiert wird, wo Übergriffe. Passieren, wo Gewalt. Passiert. Wo? Ja. Das heißt, das werden wir nicht erreichen können, dass das weg ist. Aber die Frage für mich ist wie versuchen wir immer wieder damit umzugehen?' (#10)

[l2] ,weil ich bei den meisten Menschen das Gefühl hab, dass sie hier sein wollen, ob sie sich jetzt entschieden haben hier hin zukommen oder ob sie so hier gelandet sind und keinen besseren Ort gefunden haben, aber so ein Commitment zu diesem Ort.' (#5)



[m2] *„Du kannst. Du kannst den Wasserfall nicht von Hand ausbremsen. Es geht. Nicht. Es geht nicht. Wir müssen woanders was ändern. Ich kann nicht mich vorne dran stellen und gucken, dass das Wasser nicht fällt. Es geht nicht. Und auch wenn wir zu 15 sind, schaffen wir es nicht. Weil wir da als Personen sind und nicht als und nicht eine Struktur haben, die vorher vielleicht guckt, dass vielleicht ein bisschen weniger Wasser.“ (#10)*

[n2] *(orig. in English)*

[o2] *„gewisse Aufgaben muss ich mir auch einfach erst erlernen, weil sie mir beispielsweise beigebracht wurde, ähm, weil es halt irgendwie der STANDARD ist, dass keine Ahnung, dass meine Schwester dann irgendwie so Aufgaben im Haus macht, dass heißt irgendwie so, jede Sozialisierung, die trägt man ja mit in sich und das ist kein okay.“ (#9)*

[p2] *„es braucht einfach mehr Miteinander, mehr Möglichkeiten sich zu treffen und miteinander zu sprechen. Irgendwie. Vielleicht könnte man irgendwie Strukturen machen in Dörfern oder Gemeinschaften, wo man einfach verschiedene Treffen hat, wo man Sachen zusammen bespricht und Aufgaben verteilt oder sowas. Ja und auch solche Awareness Sachen.“ (#3, P3)*

[q2] *„Also Leute können hinkommen und erfahren, auch auf einer Ebene, die sie mitnimmt und die, die auch emotional Anschluss gibt, erfahren, die ja, wie ein gutes Zusammenleben aussehen könnte.“ (#4)*

Annex 3: Schematic overview of conducted interviews

#	Nr. of Persons	Date	Wald-name	Person Description	Place of Interview
1	1	29-07-22	Klappstuhl	FLINTA, white, neurodiverse	Skatehalle
2	1	02-08-22	Lakshne	FLINTA, BiPoC	Nordstern
3	3	03-08-22	Klee, P1 Phil, P2 Auri, P3	cis-man, white, borderline cis-man, white FLINTA	Atelier
4	1	07-08-22	Yuma	BiPoC	Hängeplattform
5	1	08-08-22	Mandy	FLINTA, queer, white	Sessel an Grube
6	1	09-08-22	Morgenstern	-	Hängeplattform
7	1	10-08-22	Snickers	FLINTA, queer, white	Circus Zelt
8	1	16-11-22	Lo	FLINTA, white	Online
9	1	22-11-22	Leo	BiPoC	Online
10	1	23-11-22	Schildkröte	FLINTA, white	Online

Annex 4: Interview guide

1. Why are you in Lützi? What drives you to be here? How do you see your role here?
 - a. Do you have certain needs that bring you here?
 - b. Are those needs being met here?
 - i. If so, how?
2. What does care mean to you?
3. do you think that a 'caring culture' is practiced in Lützi?
 - a. What does it take?
 - b. Do you feel that caring in Lützi is different from caring in general society?
4. If yes, why?
 - a. What places, habits do you associate with caring in Lützi?
5. do you have capacities to support other people in Lützi?
 - a. How does this feel for you?
6. do you feel supported by other people in Lützi?
 - a. How? How does that feel?
 - b. Do you have the opportunity to ask for help?
7. would you describe the care as mutual?
 - a. Do you find the patriarchal pattern broken?
 - b. Are sensitive groups and minorities given special support?

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8. how do you practice collective care in everyday life?
 - a. What do you think it takes? (Resources, system)
9. How can collective care lead to revolution?
10. what gives you hope for a revolution for a different world?
11. how do you think Lützi contributes to socio-ecological transformation?
 - a. Does Lützi provide an alternative from of living?



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