Protest for a future:
Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents 2

Erratum 3

Copyright statement 4

Abstract 5

Fridays For Future: a new generation of climate activism 6

- The protesters' profile = young women 9
- Mobilization networks 11
- Motives for participation 15
- Conclusion and Outlook 18

Country reports 19

- Sweden 19
- United Kingdom 32
- Belgium 42
- The Netherlands 55
- Germany 69
- Poland 82
- Austria 91
- Switzerland 100
- Italy 113

Appendix: list of researchers involved in coordinating the data collection 120

Erratum

This is a revised version of the report, released 9 July 2019. Due to the discovery of an error in the Swedish national dataset, two interpretations and one figure in the introduction required corrections:

- Page 17: *"Furthermore, the vast majority of participants, both school students and adults, have little trust in the possibility that "companies and the market can be relied on to solve our environmental problems" in every country except ~~Sweden and~~ Poland."*

  Sweden should not have been named an exception here; only Poland is the exception.

- Page 17: *"The notion that lifestyle politics are of primary importance as a solution finds strong support in Switzerland and Italy across all age groups. In Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Belgium, the majority of school students are convinced that this should be the way to go, while adults are much more sceptical. Overall, 59.3 % of the school students support this claim. Of course, these individuals still decided to participate in a demonstration that primarily demanded government action. Only in ~~Sweden,~~ the Netherlands and Manchester (England) was lifestyle change met with much more scepticism, highlighting that, while they are united under the same slogan, there are important differences within the movement."*

  The Swedish case fits the pattern we find in Poland, Germany, Austria and Belgium, so Sweden should have been included here. Likewise, Sweden should not have been included along with the Netherlands and Manchester, where we observe low shares of support for this statement among both school students and adults.

- Page 17: Figure 8 has been updated.

Copyright statement

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Citing this report

In full

Wahlström, Mattias, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt and Joost de Moor (Eds.) (2019). *Protest for a future: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities.* Retrieved from: [URL]

For individual chapters, for example:

Saunders, Clare and Brian Doherty (2019). United Kingdom. In: Mattias Wahlström, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt and Joost de Moor (Eds.). *Protest for a future: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities.* Retrieved from: [URL]

Abstract

The #FridaysForFuture climate protests mobilized more than 1.6 million people around the globe in March 2019. Through a school strike, a new generation has been galvanized, representing a historical turn in climate activism. This wave of climate protest mobilization is unique in its tactics, global scope and appeal to teenage school students. Media coverage of these protests and high-level national and international political meetings involving the movement's icon, Greta Thunberg, illustrate a level of global attention that no previous youth movement has ever received.

A team of social scientists from universities across Europe[1] organized a survey of the global FFF strike events on March 15. The team surveyed protesters in 13 cities in nine European countries using the same research design to collect data, following the well-established protest survey methodology used previously in the "Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation" (CCC) project.

Demographically, the 14-19 age group is significantly over-represented among our respondents. More surprising is the predominance of female participants, particularly among teenagers. We believe that the movement's female leaders may have a strong mobilizing effect on (particularly young) women. Education remains a strong predictor of participation. The movement's ability to create engaged young citizens through their climate activism is also highly significant, with average figures for first-time participants (among school students) on March 15 at around 38% across all countries.

Despite the adults participating in solidarity with school students, our survey data shows that the involvement of peers seems to matter more for school students. 45% of all school students agreed with the statement that Greta Thunberg had been a factor in their decision to join the Climate Strike. Compared with the adults in our survey, school students are seldom engaged as financial contributors or active members of environmental NGOs. Activists showed strong identification with both instrumental and expressive motivations. To a higher degree than adults, young respondents stated a wish to defend their interests, although they did not take success in this aim for granted. We can observe that participants feel distrustful about their current national governments' capacity to deal with global warming, but they still push these governments for climate policies. In almost every country, student and adult participants are extremely sceptical about relying on companies and the market to solve environmental problems. There are significant differences between countries, and between adults and school students, over stopping climate change through individual lifestyle changes, highlighting that the movement may actually be quite heterogeneous in some regards.

The significant presence of young first-timers in the strike signals the emergence of a new generation of climate activists and the possible development of FFF as a broader, grassroots movement, with a strong female presence and reliance on social media and peer networks. It highlights limited commitment to established environmental organisations, with varying interpretations of the importance of lifestyle politics and a hopeful attitude towards the future. Further research will be needed to follow the development of the first mass youth mobilization on climate change. During the second global school strike on May 24, 2019, new surveys were organized in Stockholm and Budapest.

[1] The involved researchers are listed in the appendix of this report.

Fridays For Future: a new generation of climate activism

Introduction to country reports

Mattias Wahlström, Moritz Sommer, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt, Joost de Moor and Stephen Davies* together with Ruud Wouters, Magnus Wennerhag, Jacquelien van Stekelenburg, Katrin Uba, Clare Saunders, Dieter Rucht, Dániel Mikecz, Lorenzo Zamponi, Jasmine Lorenzini, Marta Kołczyńska, Sebastian Haunss, Marco Giugni, Teodora Gaidyte, Brian Doherty and Aron Buzogany

The global climate protests under the slogan #FridaysForFuture mobilized more than 1.6 million people around the globe in March 2019 and mobilization continues. This wave of climate protest mobilization is unique in its tactics, global scope and appeal to teenage school students. The following report is based on a survey of protesters conducted in 13 cities in nine European countries using the same research design. In this introduction we discuss the main comparative insights coming from our survey, including differences and similarities. In the following chapters, each surveyed demonstration is discussed in detail.

Fridays For Future (FFF), the banner under which millions of school students worldwide are mobilizing, is a historical turn in climate activism.[2] Never before have so many young people taken to the streets to demand climate action through the symbolically forceful disobedience of a school strike. Public attention has been substantial: there is prime-time media coverage of these protests and high-level national and international political meetings have invited the movement's icon, Greta Thunberg, to talk.[3] No youth movement has had such a global reception before. In order to gain a better understanding of this emerging youth climate movement and its exceptional character, we describe below 1) the demographic and political profile of the participants, 2) the mobilization networks bringing these people into the streets, and 3) what motivates these activists.

A team of scientists from universities around Europe organized a survey of the global FFF strike on March 15, 2019, in nine European countries and 13 cities, approaching over 10 000 demonstrators and providing us with 1 905 responses of a systematic random sample of protesters. Data collection followed the methodology of the well-established protest survey method previously used in the project "Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation" (CCC).[4] Not knowing the population of a demonstration, we must generate a probabilistic sample. Thus, it is important that every demonstrator has an equal chance of being included in the sample. The surveys must, therefore, be distributed evenly across the whole crowd. In our case, we used flyers with basic information about the survey and a QR-

* The first six authors contributed equally to the creation of this report.

[2] The slogan "Fridays for Future" is not used in every country; across countries different names have been given to the current climate activists. However, all events have the school-strike character in common. Therefore, the FFF banner is suitable for all of the surveyed events.

[3] The Guardian, 25-1-2019: 'Our house is on fire': Greta Thunberg, 16, urges leaders to act on climate. Online.

[4] Walgrave, S., Wouters, R., & Ketelaars, P. (2016). Response Problems in the Protest Survey Design: Evidence from Fifty-One Protest Events in Seven Countries. *Mobilization*, (21), 83–104.

code, as well as a token taking the individual to an online survey. The protest survey method aims to maximize the representativeness of the sample by adhering to three principles:

First, interviewers do not themselves determine whom to approach for an interview but are instructed by 'pointers' (co-members of the research unit) to hand out surveys to specific individuals. Experiments where interviewers could select their own respondents indicated that interviewers are inclined to approach the more 'approachable' respondents.[5] By separating sampling and interviewing, one source of response bias is thereby avoided.

Second, pointers follow systematic selection procedures which differ somewhat for moving and static demonstrations. In a moving demonstration, pointers count rows to ensure a fair dispersion of questionnaires over the marching column. In every n^{th} row, the pointer selects or points at one demonstrator, alternating between the left, middle, or right side of the row. How many rows should be skipped depends on the estimated turnout and the number of surveys the research unit aims to distribute. The goal is to cover the whole demonstration; reaching both (visible) protesters at the front of the moving march, as well as those who prefer to demonstrate less visibly in the middle of the crowd and those at the tail end of the demonstration. In the case of a static demonstration, interviewers are equally distributed around the edges of the standing crowd. Pointers instruct their interviewers to start from the outer circle, then to hand out a survey two steps further in the direction of the centre. The following questionnaire is handed out three steps further in the direction of the centre, and so on (4, 5, 6 steps, etc.). The number of steps between two interviews increases to allow for the fact that, due to the circular shape of the crowd, the number of people gets smaller as you move towards the centre.[6] Of course, both sampling methods can be used during one event if a demonstration changes in character (composed of a march and a rally).

Third, we conducted a short, on-the-spot, face-to-face screener interview with every fifth demonstrator approached, collecting data on socio-demographics (age, education, gender), attitudes (political interest, eagerness to participate in the demonstration, and satisfaction with democracy), as well as political behaviour (membership of staging organization and past participation in demonstrations). Bearing in mind the anticipated response rates, screener interviews help to estimate a potential delayed refusal bias. By comparing the samples generated on-the-spot to the samples of online survey responses, we can assess whether there are any differences between those participants who decided to accept a flyer with a QR-code and those who actually filled in the questionnaire. Moreover, in the case of a substantial delayed refusal bias, we have the option of weighing the responses to improve the representativeness of our sample.

The events surveyed were all organized under the FFF banner, but varied in size from about 300 participants in Truro (UK) to around 35 000 in Brussels (Belgium). Table 1 lists the response rates for each of the surveyed events.

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[5] Walgrave S., and Verhulst, J. (2011). Selection and response bias in protest surveys. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 16(2), 203-222.

[6] van Stekelenburg J., Walgrave, S., Klandermans, B., and Verhulst, J. (2012). Contextualizing Contestation: Framework, Design, and Data. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*,17(3), 249-262. Here p. 258.

Table 1. Response rates

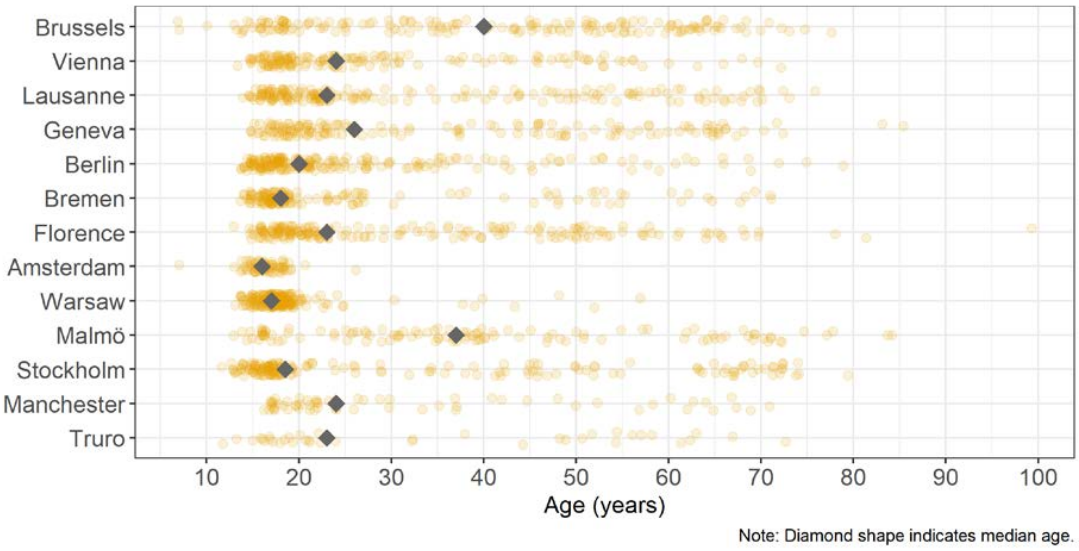
City/country	Estimated # of participants	# surveys distributed	# F2F (short interviews)	# survey responses	Response Rate (%)
Amsterdam, Netherlands	5 500	609	118	72	12
Berlin, Germany	15 000 - 25 000	1 202	257	204	17
Bremen, Germany	5 000 - 6 000	998	100	151	15
Brussels, Belgium	30 000 - 35 000	733	140	166	23
Florence, Italy	10 000 - 30 000	1 000	0	195	20
Geneva, Switzerland	5 000 - 6 000	1 000	103	154	15
Lausanne, Switzerland	12 000 - 15 000	1 000	152	183	18
Malmö, Sweden	600 - 650	528	95	114	22
Manchester, UK	800	398	76	100	25
Stockholm, Sweden	3 000 - 5 000	588	108	174	30
Truro, UK	300	260	62	38	15
Vienna, Austria	15 000 - 25 000	930	180	154	17
Warsaw, Poland	6 700	916	170	220	24

Strike actions followed the same pattern everywhere: it involved a school strike and a demonstration in the main streets and squares of every city. In most countries, the March 15 climate strike was the culmination of a series of smaller weekly strikes and was followed by another global day of action on May 24.

The protesters' profile = young women

Previous research has shown that the age composition of street demonstrations varies greatly, both in terms of issues and political context.[7] A prior comparison of climate protest participants in Brussels, Copenhagen, and London in 2009 reported median ages of between 32 and 48 years.[8] Not surprisingly, our results show that the participants in FFF are typically much younger: While we refrained from surveying children younger than 14 (apart from taking note of their age) due to the ethical constraints, we find the age group between 14 and 19 to be by far the largest with an average share of 45% across countries and an overall median age of 21 years (varying between 16 years in Amsterdam and 40 years in Brussels). Interestingly, there is significant age variation with an almost exclusive participation of young activists in the Netherlands and Poland and a more even distribution of age groups in Belgium, where half of the respondents were older than 40.

Figure 1. Median age



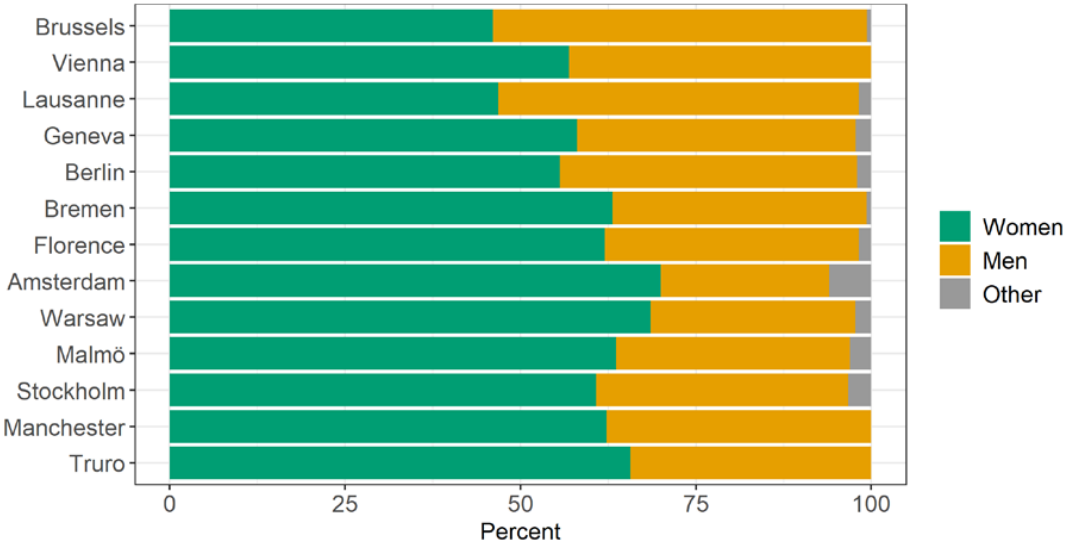
More surprising is the gender distribution: Reflecting the gender of the movement's leaders in many of the countries, we found that the protests were strongly dominated by women – particularly among school students (66.4%). In this report (including the separate country reports), we define school students as people under the age of 20 with an ongoing education

[7] van Aelst, P. and Walgrave, S. (2001). Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalisation of protest to the normalisation of the protester. *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 39, pp. 461–486.; Wennerhag, M. (2016). Who takes part in May Day marches? In A. Peterson & H. Reiter (Eds.), *The ritual of May Day in Western Europe: Past, present and future* (pp. 187-216). London: Routledge.; Peterson, A., Wahlström, M., & Wennerhag, M. (2018). 'Normalized' Pride? Pride parade participants in six European countries. *Sexualities*, 21(7), 1146-1169.

[8] Wahlström, M., Wennerhag, M., & Rootes, C. (2013). Framing "The Climate Issue": Patterns of Participation and Prognostic Frames among Climate Summit Protesters. *Global Environmental Politics*, 13(4), 101–122.

not higher than upper secondary (the educational level that corresponds with level 3 of the International Standard Classification of Education).[9]

Figure 2. Gender distribution



While about 70% of the respondents were women in Amsterdam, Warsaw and Truro, in Brussels and Lausanne there were slightly more men. On average, the share of women in the Fridays For Future events is exceptionally high. For comparison, in the previous demonstrations surveyed by the CCC project, the average was 47% female.[10] We can only speculate at this point, but the role of mainly female leaders of the movement may have a particularly strong mobilizing effect on (young) women.

Street demonstrations in general and climate protests in particular tend to be the domain of the well-educated.[11] Among FFF-protesters, too, the highly-educated parts of society are over-represented. School students attending the FFF demonstrations definitely have a well-educated family background (overall, 71.3% of the school students in the data have at least one parent with a university degree). Most adults completed or were completing university education (as many as 85% and 91% in Stockholm and Malmö).

[9] European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018. *The Structure of the European Education Systems 2018/19: Schematic Diagrams.* Eurydice Facts and Figures. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

[10] Walgrave, S., Wouters R., & Ketelaars, P. (2016). Response Problems in the Protest Survey Design: Evidence from Fifty-One Protest Events in Seven Countries. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 26(1), 83-104.

[11] Olcese, C., Saunders, C., & Tzavidis, N. (2014). In the streets with a degree: How political generations, educational attainment and student status affect engagement in protest politics. *International Sociology, 29*(6), 525-545; Wahlström, M., Wennerhag, M., & Rootes, C. (2013). Framing "The Climate Issue": Patterns of Participation and Prognostic Frames among Climate Summit Protesters. *Global Environmental Politics*, 13(4), 101–122.

Political participation at a young age can have biographical consequences, putting individuals on track to remain politically engaged throughout their lives.[12] Part of the broader importance of the FFF movement lies in its ability to mobilize so many young people who are – through their climate activism – becoming engaged citizens. Remarkably, many respondents indicated that they had never demonstrated before. Especially among school students, the share of newcomers ranges from 22.6% in Brussels up to 50.6% in Bremen, averaging around 38.1% across all country cases. These shares are high, as previous research has shown an average of 10% of first-timers attending demonstrations.[13]

The high number of first-time demonstrators is also a consequence of the young age of the participating population. However, the FFF-protesters were – due to their age – not only considerably inexperienced in taking part in demonstrations, but also had little involvement in conventional politics. While 14.7% of the adults were active party members or their financial supporters, this was true only for 5.6% of the demonstrating school students – which is unsurprising if we bear in mind that this age group most often does not even have the right to participate in elections. The school students who participated in the FFF-demonstrations not only rarely support political parties (or their youth organizations) but also very rarely contact politicians or government officials. While 24.2% of the adults had had contact with a politician or government official, this was true for only 10% of the school students.

The low numbers of party members and supporters, as well as the low frequency of participants who had contacted political officials, are – among school students – not an expression of political disinterest. 68.2% of them are quite or very interested in politics. Even though adults are even more interested in politics (80.8%), we are not dealing here with a lack of political interest among young people. Compared to previously surveyed European demonstrations, this young age cohort merely lacks experience in conventional and unconventional participation. As a consequence, the FFF-demonstrations could be a starting point for civil activism.

Mobilization networks

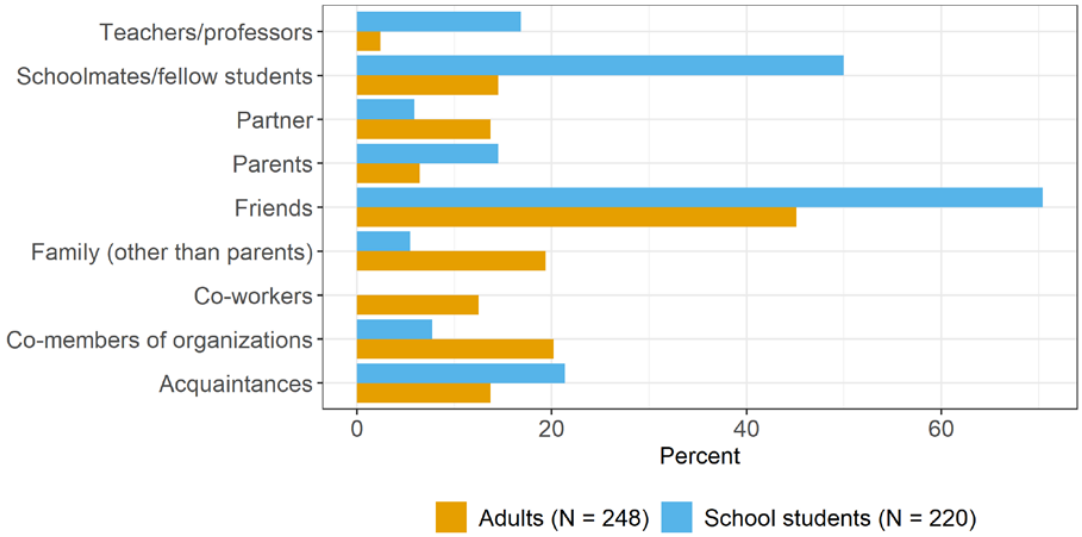
Why does FFF mobilize so many young first-time activists? Of course, FFF is organized by and explicitly targets young people. The entire framing of this movement is about young people demanding that adults take responsibility for safeguarding their future. Adults participate, but do so mainly in solidarity with the young (indeed, as we will discuss below, solidarity is a stronger motivation among adults than among school students). An important reason why so many youngsters are being mobilized is the school context in which FFF originated. Based on the homophily principle of social networks, we can expect that an initially young core will gather a similarly young circle of protesters around itself.[14] Since FFF originally started as a

[12] Giugni, M. (2004). Personal and Biographical Consequences. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* pp. 489-507.
[13] Saunders, C. (2014). Anti-politics in Action? Measurement Dilemmas in the Study of Unconventional Political Participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(3), 574-588.
[14] McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L. and Cook, J. (2001). Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 415-444.

school strike, the young front-runners of the movement predominantly focused on inviting their peers in school rather than inviting non-school-related contacts. Our data support this line of reasoning.

Among our respondents, 32.9% of the school students indicated they had been personally asked by someone to participate in the demonstration, as opposed to only 22.8% for adults. Figure 3 shows by which categories of social ties these respondents have been asked to participate.

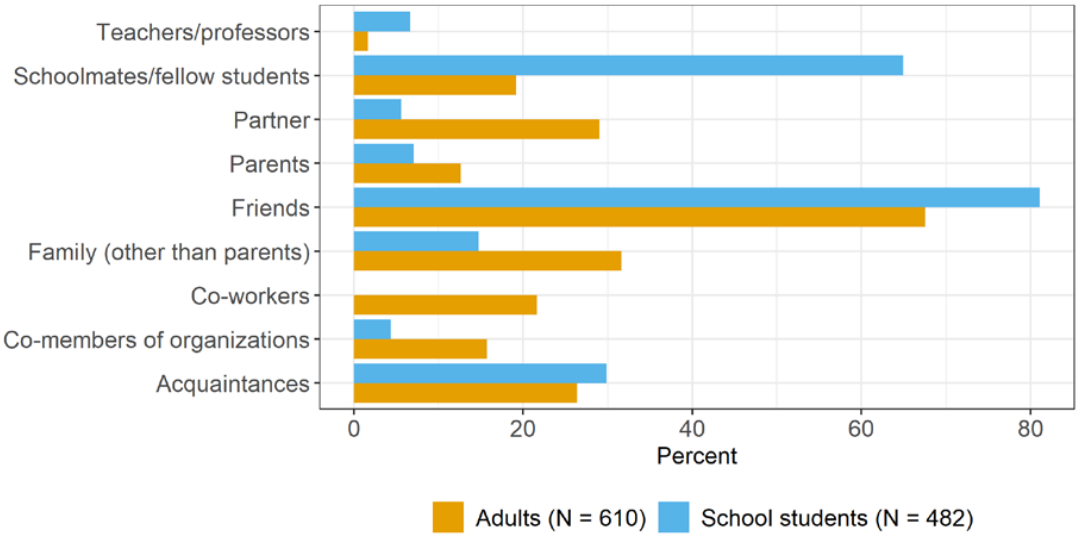
Figure 3. Being asked: by whom was participant invited?



We notice that many (70.5%) of the invited school students were asked by one or more friends. Every second participating school student was invited by a schoolmate. Interestingly, still 16.8% school students who received a personal invitation to the demonstration told us that they had been invited by a teacher. A rather small share (14.5%) of school students were "called to action" by their parents. Adults were mostly recruited through friends (45.2%).

Interpersonal recruitment is not just a matter of personally *being asked* (being the target of a recruitment attempt) but may also involve personally *asking others* (recruiting others). Significantly more respondents indicated that they had asked others themselves: 72.4% of surveyed school students personally asked someone else to join them in demonstrating at the Global Climate Strike. For adults, this share is lower, but still high at 56.3%. Relatively more demonstrators are thus recruiters themselves, rather than (solely) being a recruit. Recruiters were mostly those who did *not* receive a personal invitation themselves: 67.9% of all recruiters had not personally been asked by someone else. Most recruiters are thus starting an interpersonal invitation chain, rather than extending an invitation.

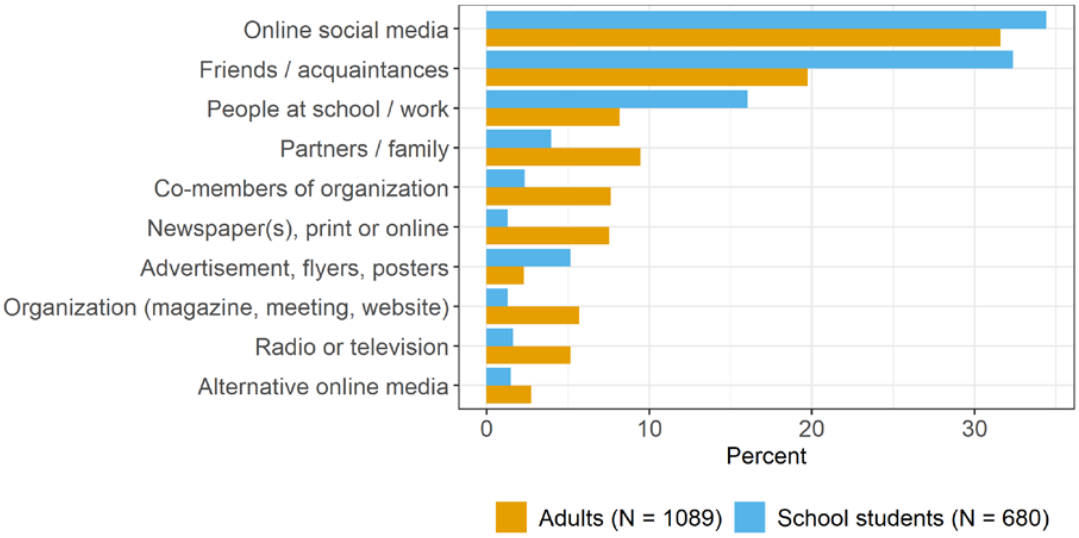
Figure 4. Asking others: which groups of people did participants invite themselves?



No fewer than 81.1% school students who indicated having personally asked someone else targeted their recruitment attempt at a friend. 64.9% of the school students invited a schoolmate. We specifically instructed our respondents to categorize each invited person to one category only. Our data on interpersonal recruiting demonstrates that school students do indeed recruit among their similarly young peers (friends and schoolmates). FFF is able to mobilize many young people because much of the recruiting takes place in the context of schools and shared classes. Having friends who are announcing that they will demonstrate and who are inviting you to do the same creates a structural environment where social pressure is successfully employed.

In line with these findings are the results concerning the most important information channel. We find that 54.7% of our school student respondents learned about the demonstration through direct social contacts, mostly friends and schoolmates, whereas this number is about 45% for adults. Of the adults, 23.4% learnt about the event through an impersonal channel, such as newspapers, advertisements, radio or TV (whereas less than 11% of school students did so). Online social media certainly proved a potent information channel, as no less than 34.4% of school students and 31.6% of adults indicate having learnt about the protest through social media like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram (but not personal messaging).

Figure 5. Most important information channel



A second observation – beside our first one concerning mobilization – supports our interpretation that school students attach more importance to their peers than adults when it comes to activism; the proportion of lone demonstrators among school students (less than 3% on average) is significantly less than the proportion among adults (around 20%). This pattern generally conforms to broader patterns in protests; lone protesters are more likely to be found in static rallies and among older protest participants. Furthermore, climate protests are among the kinds of events where lone participants are more frequent.[15] A large majority of school students (around 87% on average) indicated to have demonstrated together with one or more friends, whereas only 52% of adults demonstrated with a friend. Compared to school students, adults more frequently participated in the company of their partner (20% versus 6%), family members (20% versus 6.7%), and co-members of an organization (14% versus 6.4%). In general, family ties are secondary in the mobilization process. They are hardly mentioned as an important information channel and relatively few school students demonstrated together with a parent or family member (no more than 10% across all cities, with the exception of the Belgian and UK cases).

Another related reason why FFF is mobilizing so many young people might be Greta Thunberg, who has shown that being young does not mean that you cannot have an influence on politics. Our survey shows that, across all surveyed cities, 44.9% of all school students agree "quite" or "very much" with the statement "Greta Thunberg has affected my decision to join the Climate Strike." Greta inspires people, and this effect is stronger among youngsters than adults. Yet the effect was more noticeable in some cities, like Malmö and Stockholm, and less so in Brussels, where the 'Youth for Climate' movement clearly has its own Belgian champions to take the place of Greta.

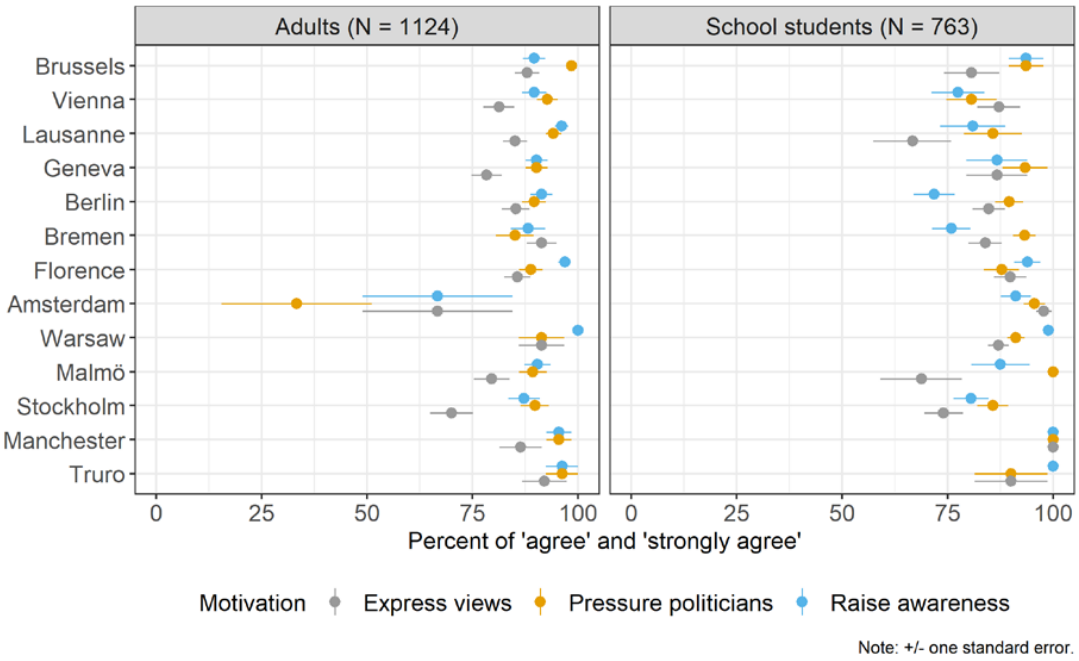
[15] Wahlström, M., & Wennerhag, M. (2014). Alone in the crowd: Lone protesters in Western European demonstrations. *International Sociology*, 29(6), 565-583.

Against this background and keeping in mind the high number of newcomers, it is to be expected that the role of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) will not be of crucial importance for school students. On average, young demonstrators at the climate strikes are not very engaged in ENGOs, either as passive financial contributors or as active members. If we combine the active and passive forms of engagement, for all cases, youth engagement in ENGOs is as low as 5.7% in Bremen and averages 9.8%. Adults are with 35% much more engaged in ENGOs.

Motives for participation

In studies of protest participation, a theoretical distinction is often made between *instrumental motivations* – acting in order to achieve a particular political goal – and *expressive motivations* – acting to express one's ideology, values and/or emotions, regardless of the expected outcome of the protest.[16] FFF activists expressed strong identification with *both* instrumental goals in the question about their motivations for participation – such as "pressure politicians to make things change" and "raise public awareness" – and expressive goals – such as "express my views."

Figure 6. Average levels of support for motivations to participate in the demonstration



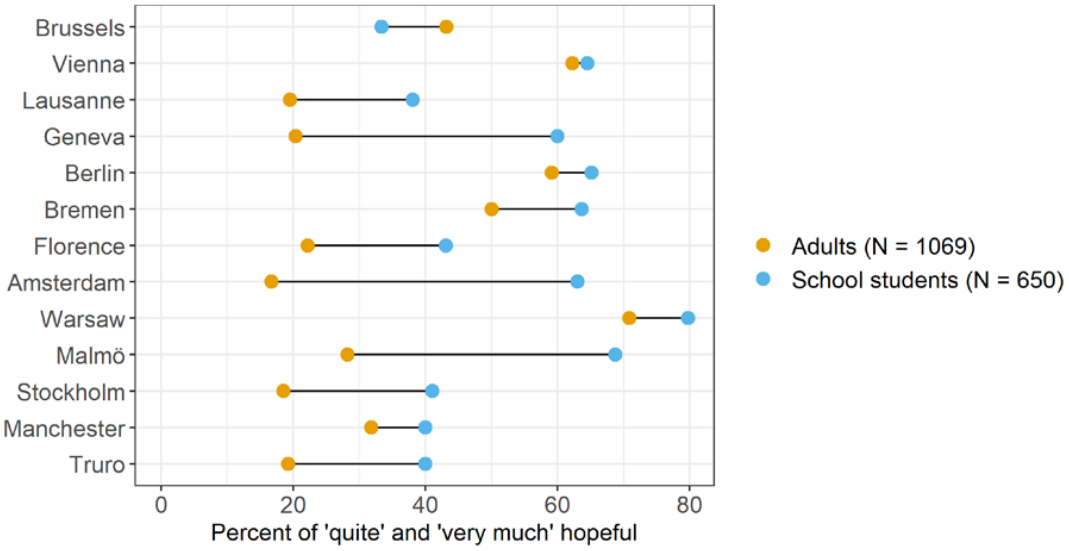
Young people seem to perceive a higher stake in the climate issue. In all cities (except Warsaw) young respondents to a higher degree than adults agreed (or strongly agreed) with the statement that they were protesting "to defend their interests" (the overall percentages

[16] Klandermans, B. (2004). The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social-Psychological Correlates of Participation in Social Movements. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (pp. 360-379). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

among the respondents were 74.3% among school students and 60% among adults). This corresponds to the overwhelming majority of adult respondents, who regarded their participation as an act of expressing solidarity (91.5%, compared to 77.3% among school students). This solidarity is probably partly directed at people who will be worse off when the climate changes. However, this pattern could also partly correspond to young people feeling that they will live through more negative effects of climate change, and therefore protest in their own interest. Meanwhile, their parents and other adults have a stronger perception of acting in solidarity with their children.

FFF-protesters clearly believe that politicians need a wake-up call. Only about 8% of all adults and 10% of school students (strongly) agree with the statement that "governments can be relied on to solve our environmental problems." While many participants regarded their participation, at least partially, as a way "to pressure politicians to make things change" (91.1% agree or strongly agree here) and nearly unanimously believed that it is important that "politicians must fulfil their promise to stop global warming" (98% of all respondents agreed upon this statement quite or very much), neither school students nor adult participants took for granted that their protest would be successful in this regard. A combined 49.1% of all respondents only "somewhat", "not very" or "not at all" considered the demonstration to be effective in reaching that goal. However, there were significant differences, both between school students and adults, and between cities, regarding the degree to which participants felt hopeful about the political capacity to deal with global warming.

Figure 7 The average level of support (agreeing quiet and very much) among school students and adults for the statement "I feel hopeful about policies being able to address climate change"



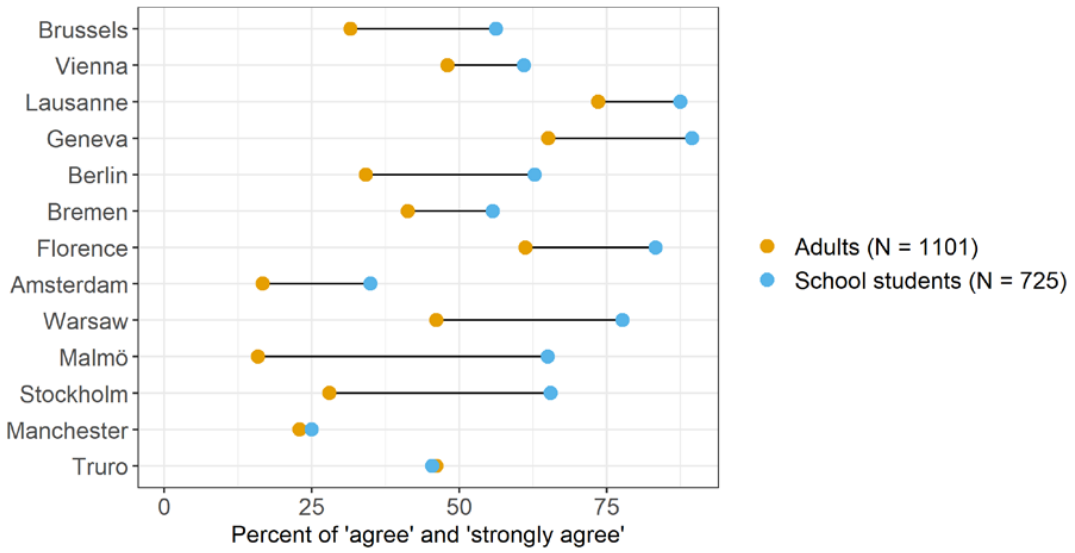
These numbers indicate a tension between attempts to push for (more ambitious) climate policies and the degree to which one feels hopeful that such policies will be sufficient. However, the results do not indicate total despair among protesters, who overall indicated that they feel more "worried" and "angry" than "hopeless" when thinking about climate change. School students, in particular, tended to be more "anxious" than adults, but at the

same time less “hopeless”, and more convinced that climate change can be addressed by the right policy choices. Furthermore, the vast majority of participants, both school students and adults, have little trust in the possibility that “companies and the market can be relied on to solve our environmental problems” in every country except Poland. In line with much of the framing used by movement leaders like Greta Thunberg, it is above all science that demonstrators rely on. About 54% are convinced that modern science can solve our environmental problems and about 79% agree or strongly agree that “Governments must act on what climate scientists say even if the majority of people are opposed.”

The protesters believe that government should take responsibility for combatting climate change, yet there is little trust in their respective government’s approach to the problem. Many protesters have adjusted their lifestyles to be more climate friendly, but support for the claim that “stopping climate change must primarily be accomplished through voluntary lifestyle changes by individuals” differs strongly between countries and between adults and school students. The notion that lifestyle politics are of primary importance as a solution finds strong support in Switzerland and Italy across all age groups. In Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Belgium, the majority of school students are convinced that this should be the way to go, while adults are much more sceptical. Overall, 59.3 % of the school students support this claim. Of course, these individuals still decided to participate in a demonstration that primarily demanded government action. Only in the Netherlands and Manchester (England) was lifestyle change met with much more scepticism, highlighting that, while they are united under the same slogan, there are important differences within the movement.

Finally, notwithstanding the strong presence of first-timers, in every country the majority of respondents stated that they were “quite” or “very” interested in politics, both among school students and adults.

Figure 8. The average level of support (agree and strongly agree) among school students and adults for the statement “Stopping climate change must be primarily accomplished through voluntary lifestyle changes by individuals”



Conclusion and Outlook

This brief and preliminary analysis of the data collected from the protest survey indicates some specific characteristics of the March 15 climate strike. First of all, it seems to hint at the emergence of a new generation of climate activists. At the time of writing in June 2019, we do not know the capacity of FFF to sustain mobilization and how many protest participants will become committed activists. However, the significant presence of young first-timers in the strike is undeniable. Furthermore, young school students bring to the movement some peculiar characteristics: a strong female presence, a significant reliance on social media and peer networks, a limited commitment in established environmental organisations, a significant investment in lifestyle politics (especially among school students), but a varying interpretation of how important lifestyle politics are for achieving social change, a hopeful attitude towards the future and a sense that the movement is strong. These elements point towards the possible development of FFF into a new grassroots movement able to significantly broaden the composition of climate protest. It would be unwise either to dismiss FFF as an ephemeral trend built on Greta Thunberg's media-based popularity or to consider it a coherent and articulate political movement. Our data show that different elements coexist at the moment, with participants highlighting both the role of Greta in motivating their participation and stating high levels of interest in politics. Further research is needed to follow the development of the first massive youth mobilization on climate change.

The future course of the campaign depends not only on its ability to sustain the high level of mobilization among young people but also on its diffusion to other parts of society. The role of the growing number of spin-off campaigns, such as Entrepreneurs For Future, Parents For Future and others, and the success of the mobilization for a universal climate strike on September 20 2019, will be crucial in this regard. We strongly encourage research efforts to continue following this movement as it develops over time.

Country reports

Sweden

Joost de Moor, Katrin Uba, Mattias Wahlström, Magnus Wennerhag, Kajsa Emilsson and Håkan Johansson

Background

Greta Thunberg started the global wave of school-strikes for climate in front of the Swedish parliament on the 20th of August 2018. She was alone at start, but soon the strikes spread from Stockholm to surrounding municipalities (Nacka) and to other cities: Gothenburg, Malmö, Umeå and Örebro. On March 15, there were 161 events with about 25,000 participants taking place in Sweden according to the site Fridays For Future.[17]

Surely, school-strikes for climate were not the first climate-protest in Sweden. Previous campaigns have mainly been mobilized by organizations like Friends of the Earth (Jordens Vänner), Greenpeace, Naturskyddsföreningen (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation). Similar to other countries, there have been waves of climate-protests, starting with those mobilized in relation to the climate-talks in Nairobi in November 2006, followed by Climate Walks in December 2007 and 2008, a Swedish nationwide campaign (organized by group Klimax) in May 2008, and then travelling to protest in neighboring Denmark during the UN climate-talks in Copenhagen in December 2009.[18] During the period of 2010-2012, there were fewer large protest events, but small-scale mobilization still took place. The next wave of larger demonstrations in Swedish cities took place in relation to the UN climate report release in May 2013, as well as in relation to the UN climate-talks in May (Istanbul) and November (Warsaw) 2013; and in May (New York) and December 2015 (COP21, Paris). In May 2017, in relation to People's Climate March a protest in Stockholm was also demonstrating solidarity to the activists in the U.S., and this was repeated in 2018.

Thus, Greta Thunberg's action followed a series of events, and despite rather few actions during the first months of her campaign, the idea of school-striking on Fridays got nation-wide support for the 2nd of November, when in 19 locations all around the country (but also all around the globe) people joined her strike. Still, one could say that the numbers of participants in Sweden during this early phase were not very large.

The climate strikes in Sweden

While all Fridays For Future events were in some way inspired by Greta Thunberg, the Stockholm event was quite literally a continuation and escalation of Greta's first school strike. The Malmö event was a significant example of the national spread of the school strike, and also a peak in a much longer, continuous campaign. Despite this continuity, the events of 15 March did stand out. According to one of the Stockholm event's main organizers, the weekly Fridays For Futures events had at most attracted a couple hundred participants, and a few days before the global school strike, she hoped for more than 1000 participants, but expected less. Her expectations were well exceeded when, despite rainy and cold weather, an estimated 3000 to 5000 individuals participated in Stockholm's main event. According to some, 15.000 took the streets across all of Stockholm. Compared to the events in other countries, the Swedish events remained fairly small. This may seem surprising given the Swedish roots

[17] Available at URL: https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/events/list, accessed 26 April 2019.

[18] In a survey of the participants in the protests outside COP15 in Copenhagen 2009, 21% of the respondents were Swedes (Wahlström et al. 2013)

of this global movement. However, in international comparison, individual protests in Sweden are seldom very large (but often spread out in several locations across the country, see Wennerhag 2017). Historically, the event can therefore still be interpreted as a large mobilization.

The event was long planned to consist only of a stationary rally on Mynttorget, the square next to the Swedish Parliament. Yet in the days running up to the event, some school classes spontaneously announced they would meet at the nearby square Sergels torg to walk to Mynttorget. As days passed, more and more announced they would join, until finally, all participants joined this short march. When the march arrived at Mynttorget, speeches, including one by Greta Thunberg, alternated with musical performances, to make a largely festive, albeit wet event.

The Malmö event attracted around 600-650 participants. As in the case of Stockholm, the expectations of the organizers were well exceeded since around 200 participants had been expected. The event took place in front of the City Hall, the main political institution in the city. This was where the previous weekly Fridays For Future events had gathered. The stairs leading up to the City Hall, which normally had enough room for everybody during the Fridays For Future events, were now filled. A mix of young and old participants occupied the stairs but also the square just beneath. Compared to Stockholm, we found less presence of school classes, even though there seems to have been a few also in Malmö. The Malmö event was very much cheerful, mixed with speeches and musical performances. Hot soup was distributed by a group of people – movement organizers – for participants who were hungry or wanted to warm themselves in the cold weather.

Who participated?

Despite their connection to the school strikes, there were substantial numbers of non-school students (hereafter "adults") in the Stockholm and Malmö protests. Among the Stockholm respondents, school students (operationalized as having an ongoing education of, at most, upper secondary school and being younger than 20) were a majority of 54%, while in Malmö they were much fewer - 20%. Correspondingly, younger segments of the population dominated heavily in Stockholm, while the age distribution in Malmö was in a sense more evenly distributed, with the broad group of 36-65-year-olds being the largest category (see Figure 1.1). However, there are strong reasons to infer that there was a non-response bias in the sample towards older respondents. In the sample of respondents only responding to the face-to-face questionnaire, 76% of the Stockholm respondents were younger than 20. This segment appears to have had a lower tendency to respond to the online questionnaire.

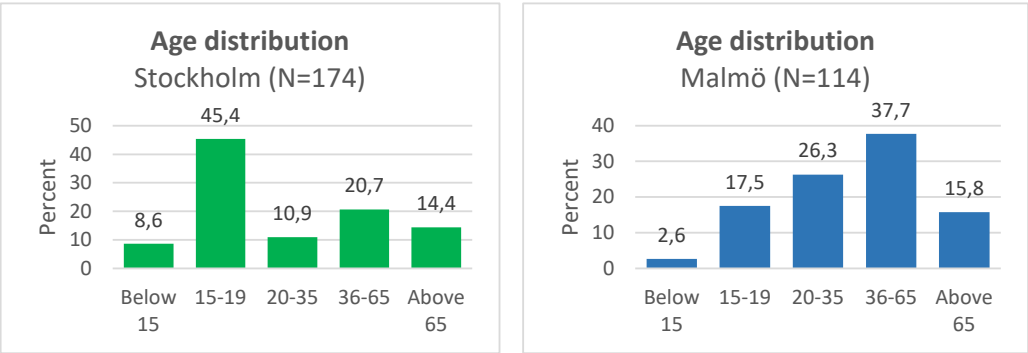


Figure 1.1: Age distribution of protesters in Sweden

Women and girls numerically dominated both surveyed Swedish protests. In Stockholm and Malmö 61 and 55% respectively were women and in both cities 3% of the respondents chose the option ”other” in response to the gender question. This dominance was even more pronounced among the school students, with 68% girls and 4% other among the respondents in Stockholm and 81% girls and 6% other in Malmö.

Education among the participants was high. Among the non-school students in Stockholm, 85% had an ongoing or finished university education, and the corresponding figure for Malmö was a full 91%. Among the school students in Stockholm 79% knew for sure that they had at least one parent with university education; the corresponding figure for Malmö was 88%. While high education is a recurring pattern among contemporary protest participants (as in other forms of political participation), these proportions are extraordinarily high, which may be related to the scientised nature of the climate debate.

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Quite a few of the protest participants in both Stockholm and Malmö had prior protest experience, but especially among the school students there were also many first-timers (see figures 1.2 and 1.3).

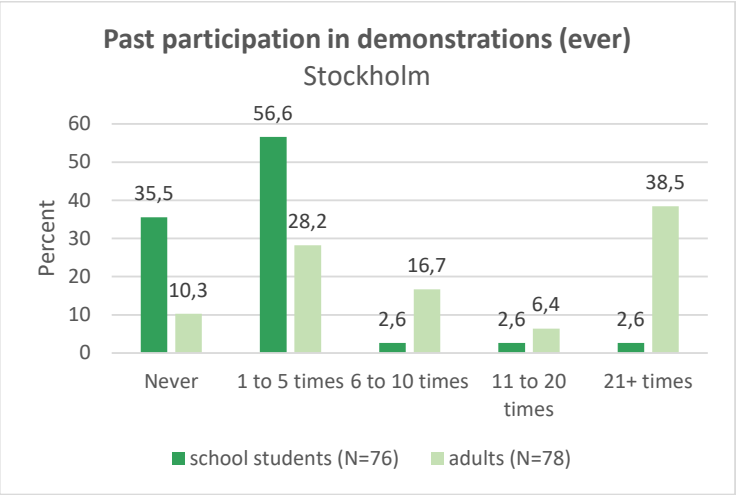


Figure 1.2: Previous demonstration participation (ever), Stockholm

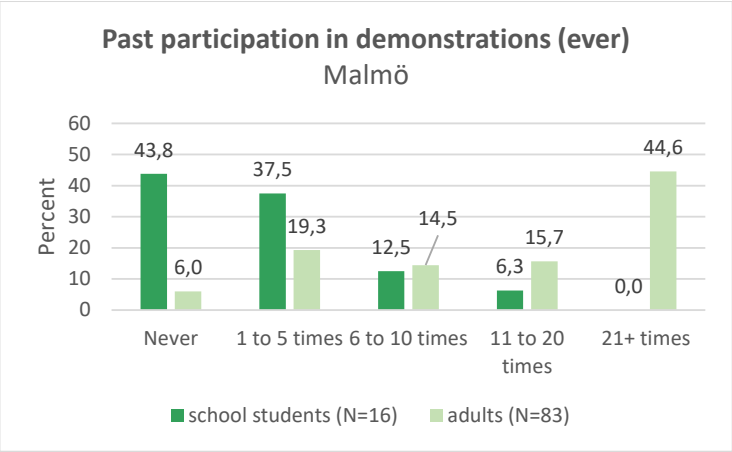


Figure 1.3: Previous demonstration participation (ever), Malmö

Not surprisingly, large proportions of the participants had also been active in individualized forms of political participation, except for contacting a politician directly.

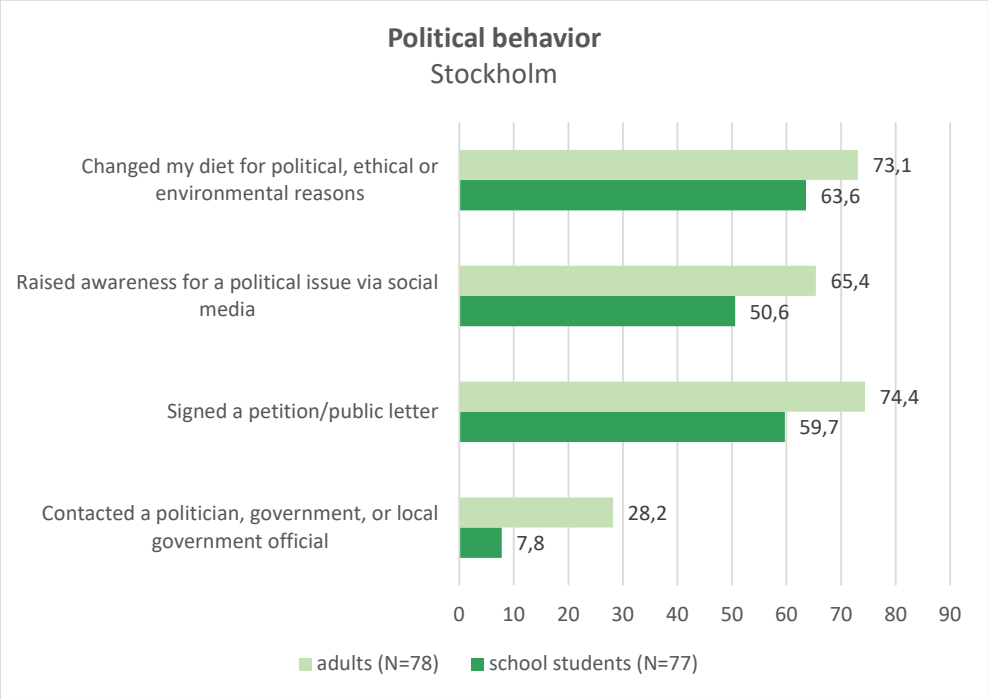


Figure 1.4: Previous individualized forms of political participation, Stockholm

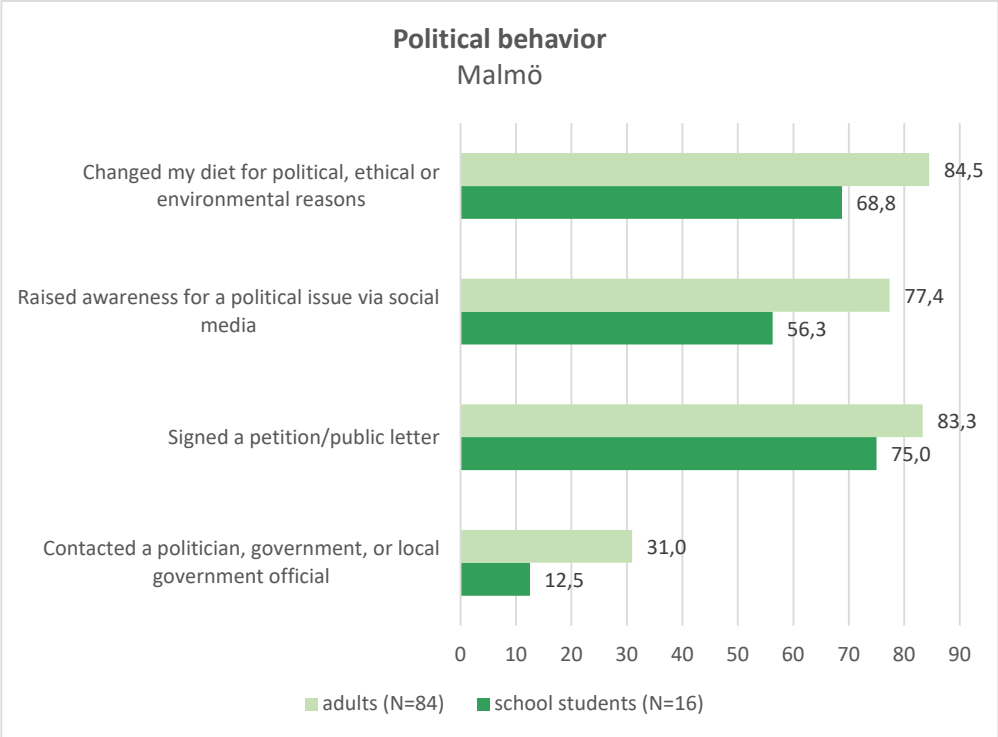


Figure 1.5: Previous individualized forms of political participation, Malmö

Not many of the school students were members of formal organizations (see figures 1.6 and 1.7), but among the adults a significant share were members of political parties or, in particular, environmental organizations. The adults thus seemed to have a much more established formal engagement in the issue, which is unsurprising given their much longer exposure to opportunities to become engaged. The adults also seemed a bit more politically interested - 46% of the Stockholm adult respondents stated that they were "very much" interested in politics (same proportion in Malmö), versus 33% among the school students (19% in Malmö). Many of the school students had parents that appeared to be engaged in the climate issue: 62% in Stockholm and 63% in Malmö stated that their parents cared quite or very much about climate change, and 63% in Stockholm and 56% in Malmö talked quite or very often about climate change with their parents.

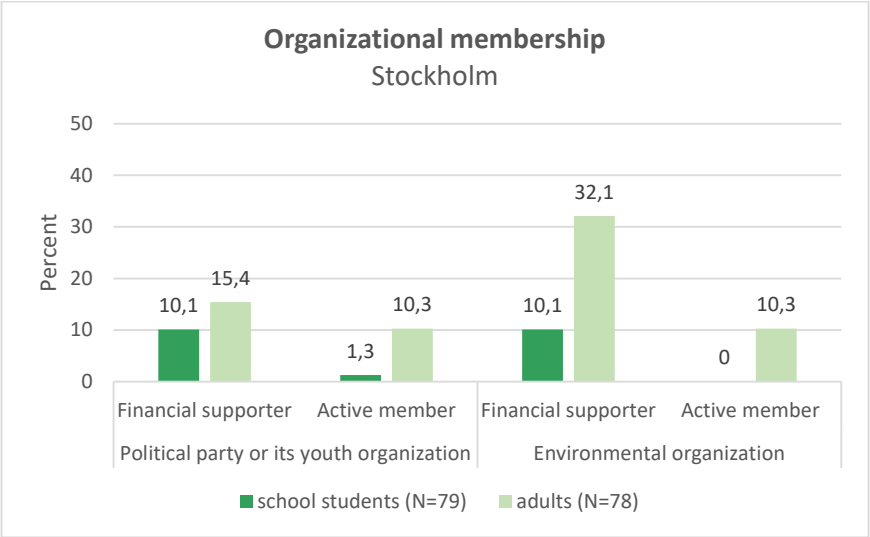


Figure 1.6: Organizational membership of protesters in Stockholm

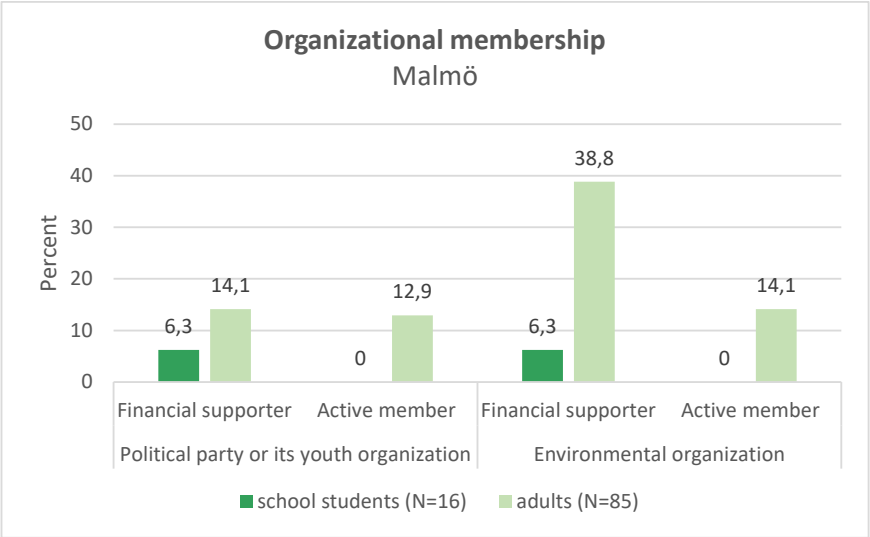


Figure 1.7: Organizational membership of protesters in Malmö

Why did they protest?

Reasons for protesting can be elaborated on different levels. Among the respondents in both Stockholm and Malmö, ”pressure politicians to make things change” and ”raise public awareness” were the most common among the preselected motives, but participants also frequently strongly acknowledged motives such as ”moral obligation” and “expressing ones views.” Fewer saw the protests as a way to “defend one’s interests”, but this tended to be more common among the school students. The least common among the pre-stated motives were “because someone asked me to join”, which, however, received slightly more support from the school students (See figures 8-13).

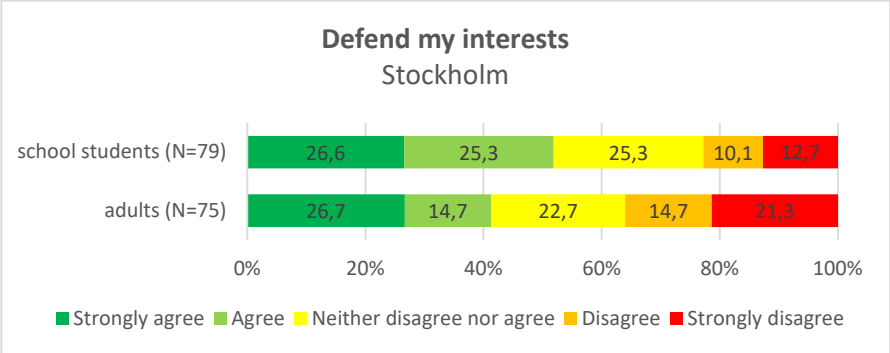


Figure 1.8: Motive – defend my interests, Stockholm

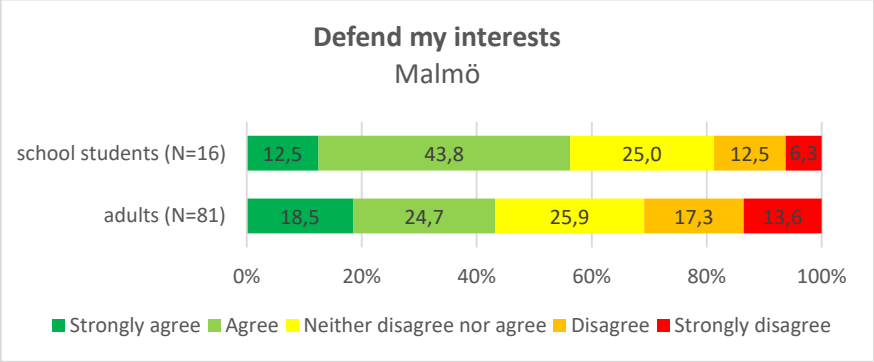


Figure 1.9: Motive – defend my interests, Malmö

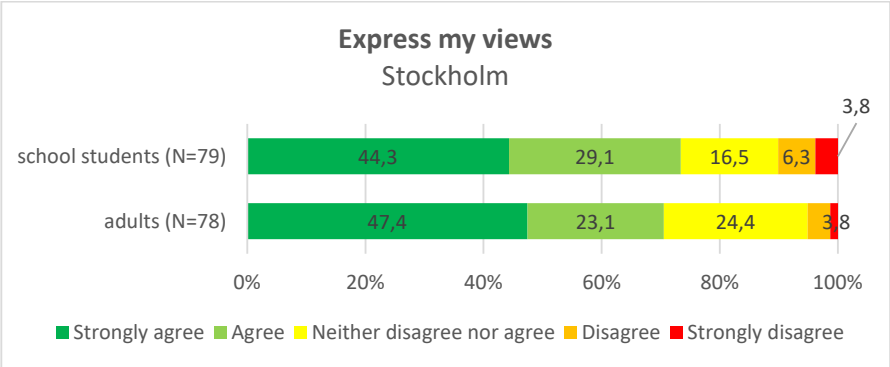


Figure 1.10: Motive – express my views, Stockholm

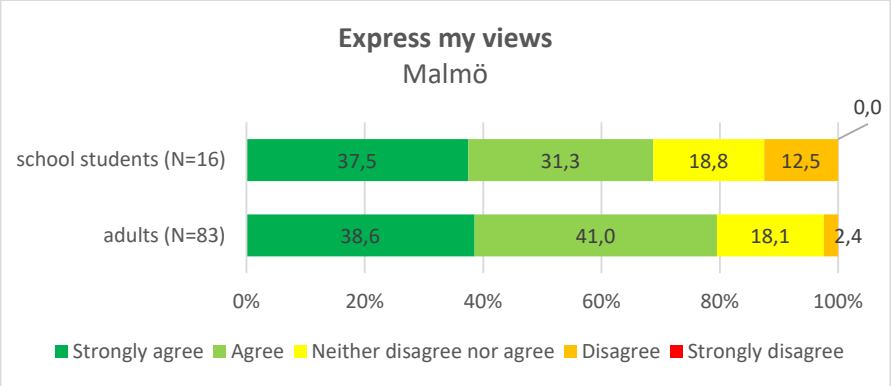


Figure 1.11: Motive – express my views, Malmö

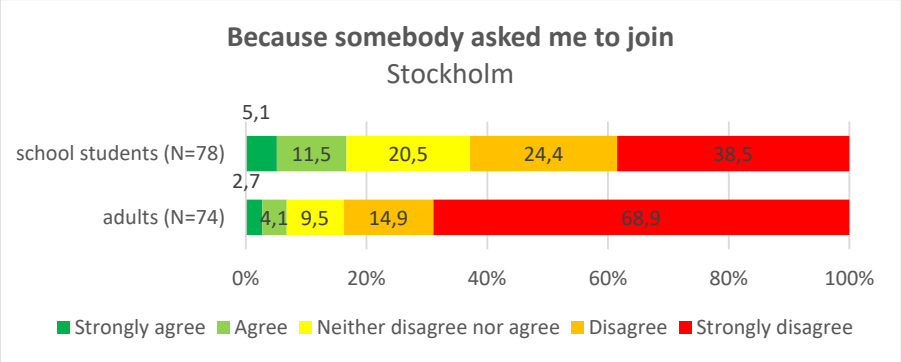


Figure 1.12: Motive – because somebody asked me to join, Stockholm

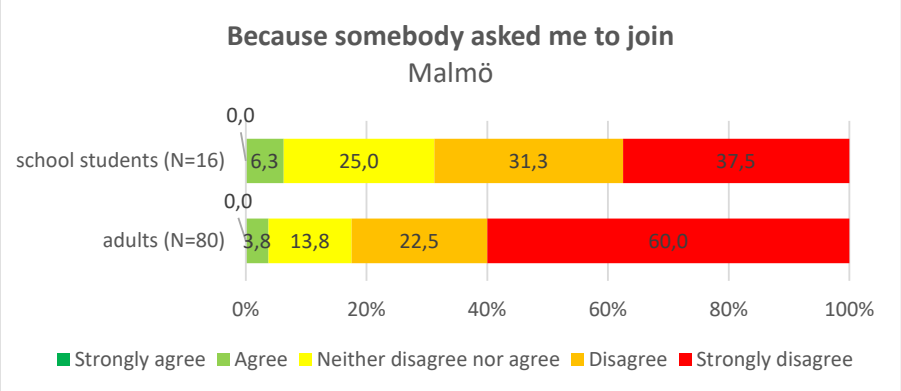


Figure 1.13: Motive – because somebody asked me to join, Malmö

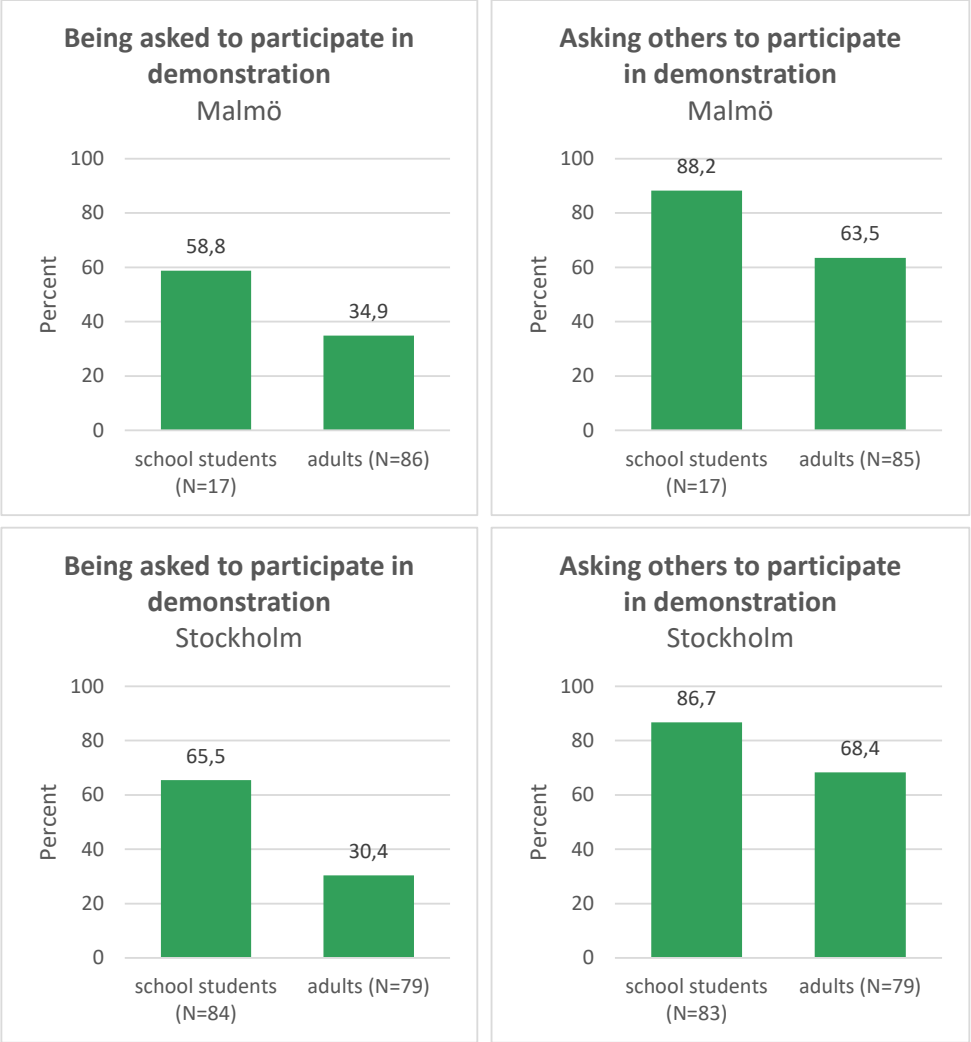


Figure 1.14: Interpersonal recruitment

Even though it is not experienced as an important driver of participation by protesters, we know from previous research that being asked is an important precondition for protest participation. Indeed, most protesters asked or were asked to join. School students had more frequently been asked by someone to participate, and also tended to have been more active than adults in asking others to participate (see figure 1.14).

Regarding emotional drivers of mobilization, Swedish protesters most frequently stated feeling ”quite” or ”very much” emotions like anger, frustration, and worry in relation to climate change. For other emotions like anxiety, fear, powerlessness and hopelessness, protesters tended to cluster in the middle of the spectrum, around the ”somewhat” response.

As can be seen in figures 1.15 – 1.18, a large proportion of the respondents in both Malmö and Stockholm acknowledged the role of Greta in influencing their general interest in the topic of climate change. Yet her impact on decisions to join the climate strike was much more outspoken, thus indicating that many were already concerned but needed a figure like Greta to turn concerns into political action. Not surprisingly, Greta generally tended to be more important for school students than adults. However, a quite high number of participating adults also found Greta important.

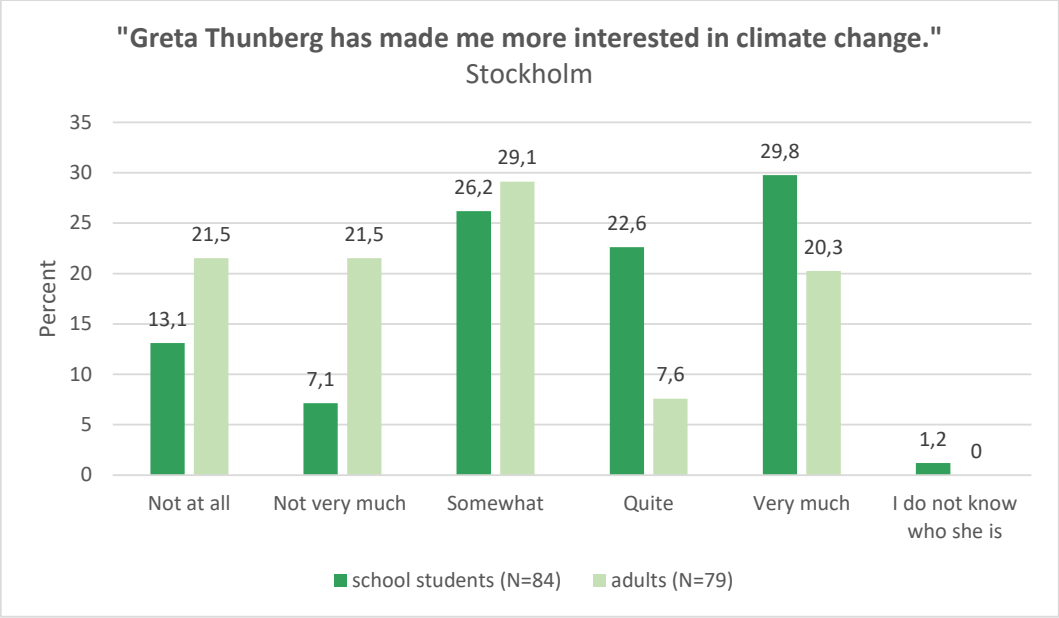


Figure 1.15: Greta's effect on climate change interest, Stockholm

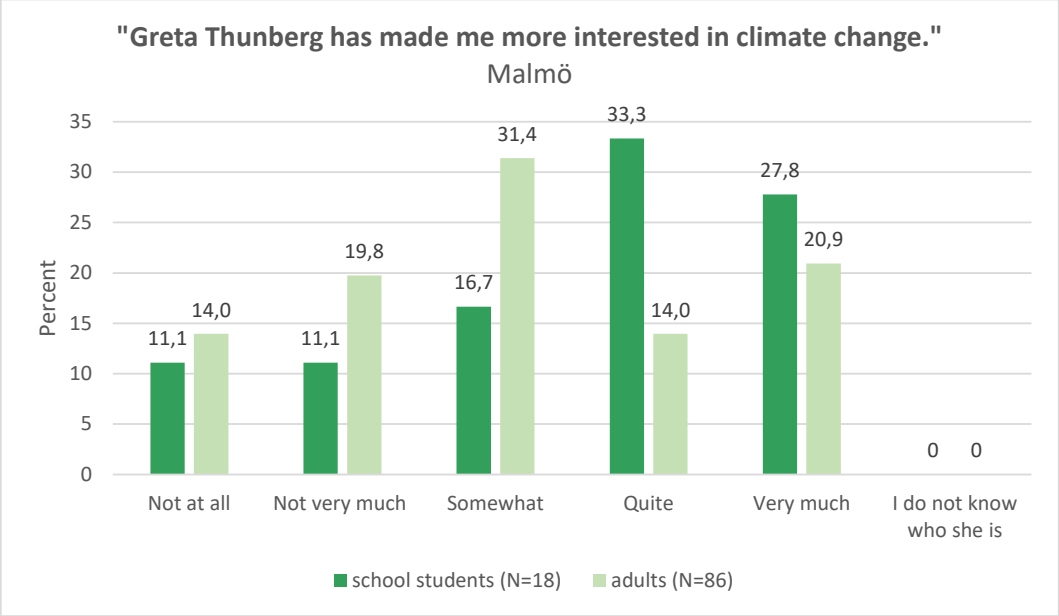


Figure 1.16: Greta's effect on climate change interest, Malmö

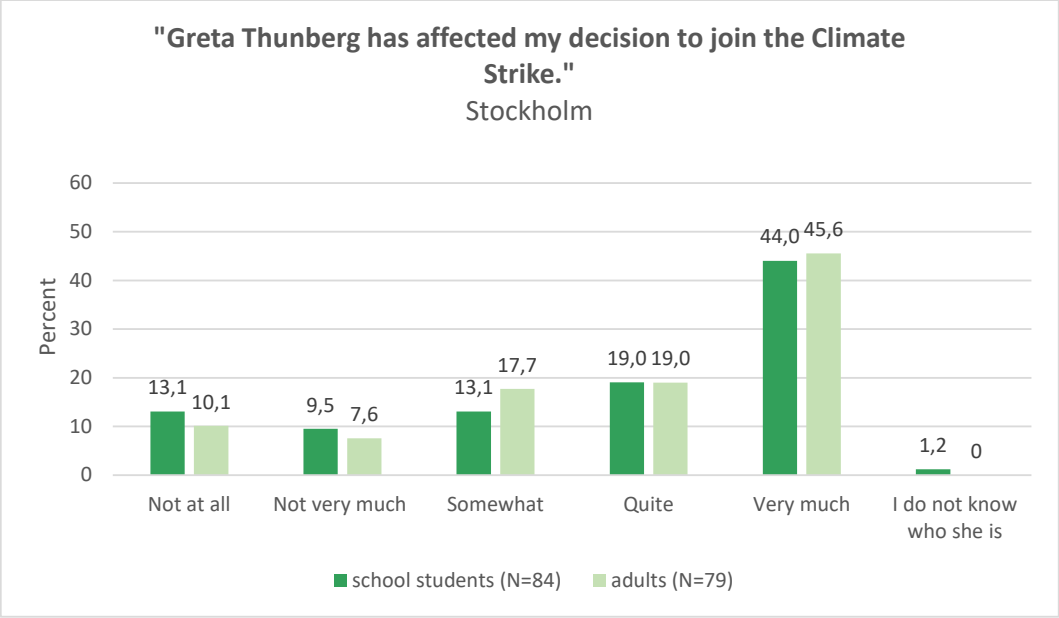


Figure 1.17: Greta's effect on intention to participate, Stockholm

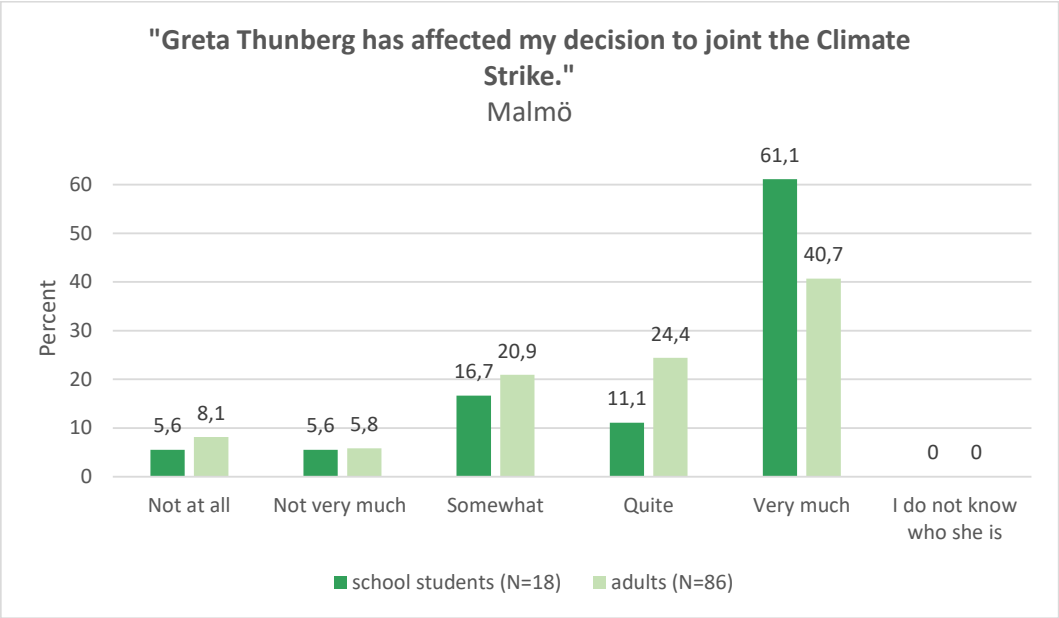


Figure 1.18: Greta's effect on intention to participate, Malmö

What do they want and who should do it?

In terms of suggested solutions among the Swedish protesters, the broad tendency seems to be to advocate changes on the political level (as opposed to the individual level), but far from everyone (and fewer among the adults) thought that governments could be relied on to solve climate change. Adults also tended to be notably more suspicious of private companies and the market in relation to solving the climate issue. As can be seen from figures 1.19 – 1.22, large proportions of the respondents expressed the need to address climate change even if such policies negatively affected the economy,

and large shares thought that politicians had to be prepared to follow the advice of climate scientists, even if a majority of the people were to be opposed.

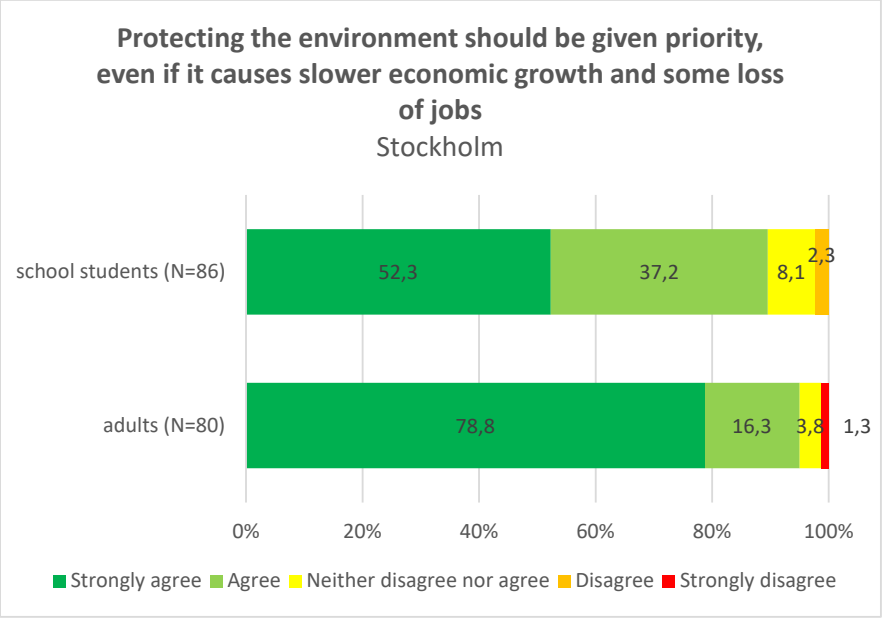


Figure 1.19: Statement – priority over economy, Stockholm

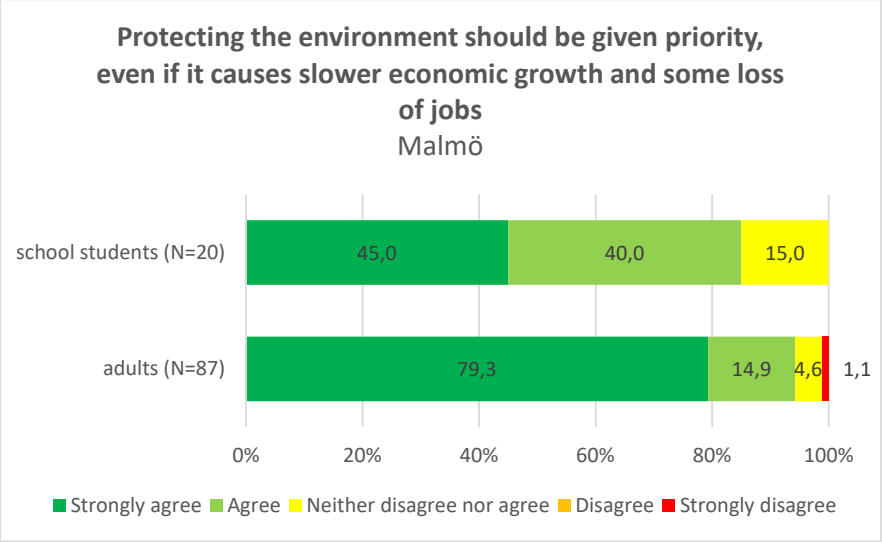


Figure 1.20: Statement – priority over economy, Malmö

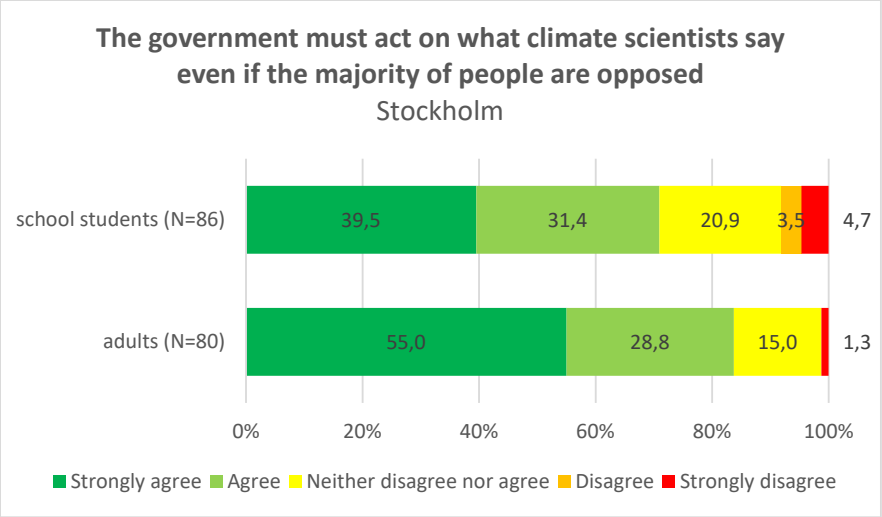


Figure 1.21: Statement – act on science, Stockholm

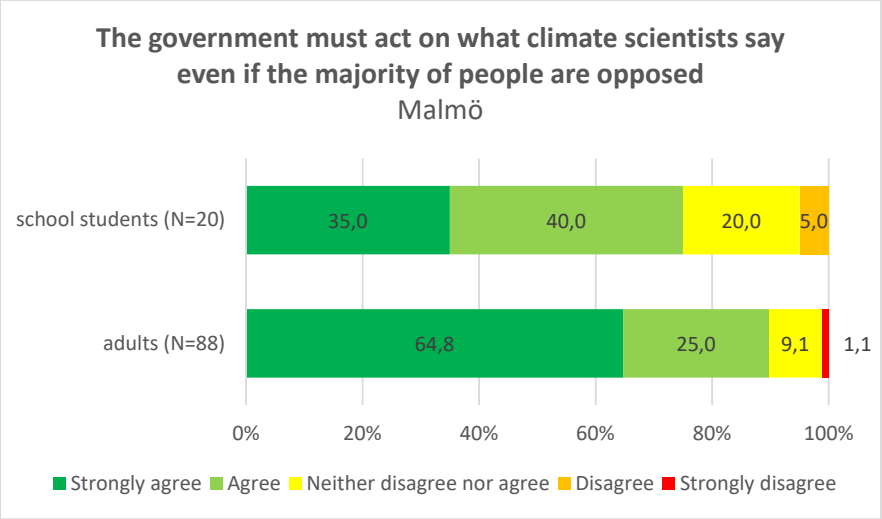


Figure 1.22: Statement – act on science, Malmö

In slight contrast to the scepticism directed at governments in their capacity to solve the climate issue, large proportions of the protesters tended to express at least cautious trust in the national government. In many respects, school students appeared to have somewhat higher trust in political institutions, especially in the supranational ones, compared to the adults.

In three open questions, we also asked respondents to elaborate on why they participated, who they considered responsible for the climate crisis, and what solution they envisaged. While open questions are often skipped in surveys, we found that most participants were eager to express their views. A few examples of their responses (translated from Swedish) demonstrate the level of thought young protesters have already given to climate change. They underline the role of consumers as well as companies and governments, and the interaction between them. A 16-year old explained:

> Why did you participate? *I want to have a future. I don't want to sit down and wait until someone else solves the problem, because if everyone does that, nobody will do anything.*
>
> Who is responsible? *Partly individuals (traveling, eating habits, etc.) but the biggest part of CO2 emissions comes from companies and factories.*
>
> What should be done? *I believe that renewable energy sources that do not pollute the atmosphere are a large part of the solution. Companies must be put under higher pressure to strongly reduce their emissions. Private persons must think differently about eating less meat, eat more local, and travel more collectively.*

A 19 year-old said: "*I have long known a sense of powerlessness and loneliness in my climate fear. This was a way to find community in climate anxiety, a way to find hope. Furthermore, it is very important to support good initiatives. To make politicians realize that we are not satisfied with today's environmental politics.*" And about the solutions we need: "*Rationing or much higher prices, so that it becomes more difficult to over-consume. Ban fossil fuels, introduce tax on flying in all of the EU, put a ban on chemical pesticides.*"

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United Kingdom

Clare Saunders and Brian Doherty

Background

We surveyed two climate change marches in the UK – in Manchester and Truro. In both cities there were previous demonstrations (similar in size to the ones we surveyed) on 15th February. In Truro, the county council had already declared a Climate Emergency by the end of January 2019. The Declaration of a Climate Emergency commits Truro City Council to preparing a report by June 2019 in which it will detail how Cornwall will reduce greenhouse gas emissions in line with a target to prevent more than 1.5˚C of global warming. In Manchester there is a petition to get the local authority to declare a climate emergency. A poll of candidates in the forthcoming local elections by Friends of the Earth showed almost universal support for this demand across the political spectrum. Manchester City Mayor Andy Burnham has committed to a five year plan with the longer-term aim of making the city-region carbon neutral by 2038. In Manchester the city Mayor was criticised later by local green activists for what seemed a very tokenistic attempt to appropriate the strikes by inviting some of the climate strikers to his second 'Green Summit' held shortly after the March 15th rally (personal communication).

In general, climate change activism in the UK has gone through peaks and troughs. In the early 2000s, climate change activism was popular, as illustrated by the Camps for Climate Action (2006-10), which were attended by thousands willing to engage in direct action against industrial infrastructures identified as significant contributors to greenhouse gas emissions. These Camps folded in 2010. There were also direct action protests at airports by Plane Stupid and elsewhere by Rising Tide, mainly targeting corporates.

In December 2009 the largest ever UK-based climate change march took place in London with around 52,000 participants. Annual climate change marches continue to take place and routinely attract over a thousand protesters. Until the Global Climate Strikes and Extinction Rebellion movement, more radical climate actions tended to be less frequent and smaller – albeit that there is a network of direct action campaigners called Reclaim the Power that has regularly undertaken a number of site occupations. Extinction Rebellion (XR) emerged in 2018 as a new network that seeks to engage people in civil disobedience to encourage the government to take seriously the very real threat that climate change poses to the extinction of humanity. It carried out a number of direct action protests leading up to its 'international rebellion' launched in London in the week beginning April 15th. We carried out a parallel survey of XR activists on Monday April 15th, which hopefully will be useful as a comparison (results forthcoming).

Nationally the political establishment has been broadly positive about the climate strikes – the right-wing Conservative Party Environment minister – Michael Gove praised them as did another Government Minister – although the PM – Theresa May criticised them as wasting lesson time. Party leaders, with the exception of Theresa May also met Greta Thunberg on her visit to London on April 23rd.

The protest events

We estimated that there were around 800 participants in Manchester and 350 participants in Truro. The Truro demonstration took place outside County Hall – on the pavement, by the traffic lights, and on the Hall's grass lawn. The demonstrators repeatedly activated the pedestrian crossing to hold up cars and also encouraged motorists to honk their car horns in support. Students were chanting 'whose future, our future', and there was one short speech from the organiser. In addition, there were a few 'study groups' within which school pupils and students completed their classwork and homework. It was reported in the press that the demonstration consisted of only 150 participants and that angry

students threw eggs at County Hall. We handed out 260 flyers (excluding many people under the age of consent), so we are certain that this is an underestimation. Moreover, the research team did not witness the egg-throwing so we presume only a minority of participants did this. Many of the slogans on placards referred to the need to address climate change urgently, for instance 'protest now or swim later', another warned that 'the climate change kids are coming'. All of the banners appeared to be homemade by the protesters themselves.

The Manchester demonstration was very similar. It was held at St Peter's Square in relatively confined area – between a tram stop and the 1920s part of the town hall. The space meant that the shape of the crowd was stretched – long rather than circular. Students made speeches with a megaphone – standing on benches. Manchester Climate Action had a banner, and Socialist Workers' Party activists were giving out stickers – 'system change, not climate change' 'one solution - revolution' superimposed on the Hokusai 'wave' print. There was also an invitation to join a Workers' Liberty meeting to discuss the relationship between capitalism and climate change – but in general the presence of Left groups was small and much less visible compared to most UK protest events. Some replicated slogans seen at previous demonstrations – e.g. 'there is no Planet B' – a few also referred to Brexit – e.g. 'I have seen smarter cabinets at IKEA' – though that could also apply to climate. There was an excited youthful atmosphere – lots of chanting – mainly of 'climate justice' – but perhaps the main characteristic was the moral framing of climate – rather than anything that could be positioned in left-right terms.

Police tried to ensure that protesters did not use the tram platforms to get a better view of the action but later on around 100 demonstrators sat on the tracks to block the trams. That was still going on when most of us left around 2.30pm – but there were no reports of arrests. Extinction Rebellion activists had encouraged blocking the trams (personal communication). It was later realised that the tram service was one of Manchester's most sustainable forms of transport, hence the strike on April 12th blocked a major road, instead. Symbolic and temporary blocking of transport seems to have become part of the protest repertoire. The April rally also involved sit down blockades of bus routes – although again only for an hour or two. The coverage of both events in the one local daily newspaper – the Manchester Evening News tended to focus on this and put the Manchester rally in a national and international context.

Who participated?

Nineteen (22%) of the 87 (of 100) respondents for whom we have valid data are school students. Ten of them are from Manchester (19% of Manchester respondents) and 9 are from Truro (26% of Truro respondents). Most of our survey respondents are above the age of compulsory education – aged 18 (72% are 20 years of age or older). Just under one-third were aged 15-19 and only two were below the age of 15 (Figure 2.1). However, the age distributions vary across the two cities. In Truro, there were proportionally more young people (34% of Truro demonstrators) than in Manchester (25%). In Manchester, the proportion of those aged 20-35 was much higher (44% compared to 24%), and this is most likely explicable by the fact that Manchester is a city with three universities, but the proportions of those over the age of 36 were similar in both places.

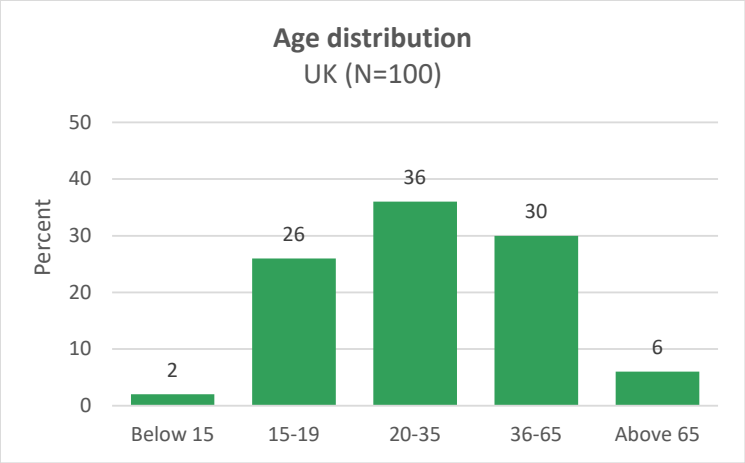

Figure 2.1: Age distribution of protesters in the UK

A clear majority of our survey respondents are female (64% in total, 62% in Manchester, 66% in Truro). They are also very highly educated: 64% have or are studying for a degree or higher. Thirteen% claimed to be educated (or studying) to PhD level – higher in Manchester (15%) than Truro (9%), again, likely to be a reflection of the proximity of universities in Manchester. Our Truro respondents were, on average, less well-educated, but this is a function of their relatively younger age. Our respondents' parents are also relatively well educated. Over 60% of parents were educated to university level in both cities.

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Unsurprisingly, the school student participants were less seasoned activists (Figure 2.1). Most of them had never or only a very few times previously participated in demonstrations (ever and in the past 12 months). Just under a quarter of our adult participants had participated in many demonstrations (at least 11), although they had not participated in that many demonstrations within the past 12 months. For adults, the differences across the cities are small for participation in demonstrations in the past 12 months, but more notable 'ever'. There are a higher proportion of relative novices (1 to 5 times) in Truro (53%) compared to Manchester (38%) and fewer stalwarts (11 or more times) (24% compared to 38% in Manchester).

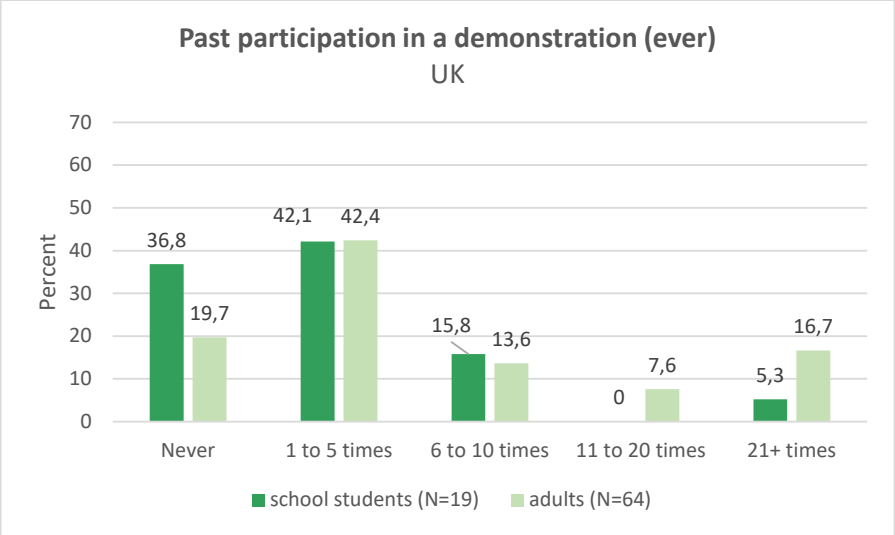

Figure 2.2: Previous demonstration participation (ever)

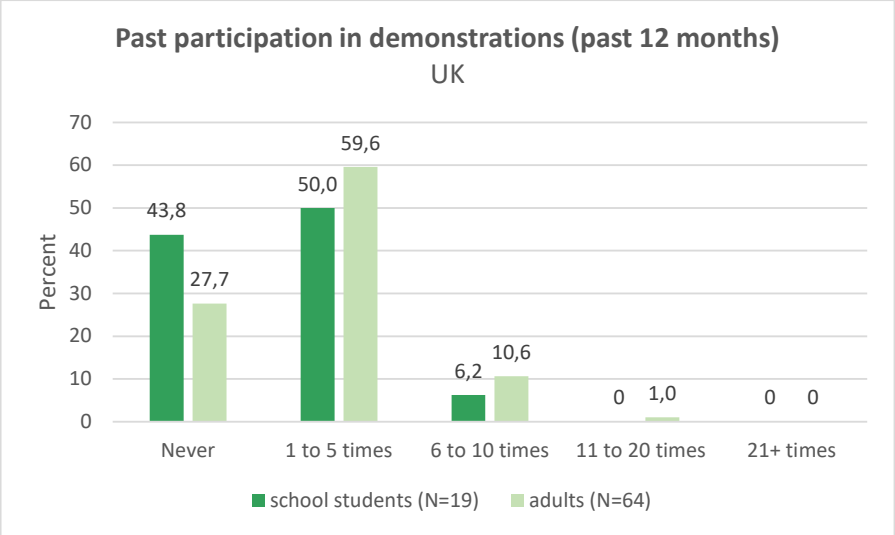

Figure 2.3: Previous demonstration participation (past 12 months)

Membership of political parties (or their youth sections) is remarkably similar for school students and adults. But adult respondents are considerably more likely to be active members of environmental organisations compared to school students (Figure 2.4). In Truro and Manchester, similar proportions of respondents are *not* members of a political party or its youth faction (72% Manchester, 74% Truro), but in Truro, more are members of environmental organisations (47%) compared to Manchester (39%).

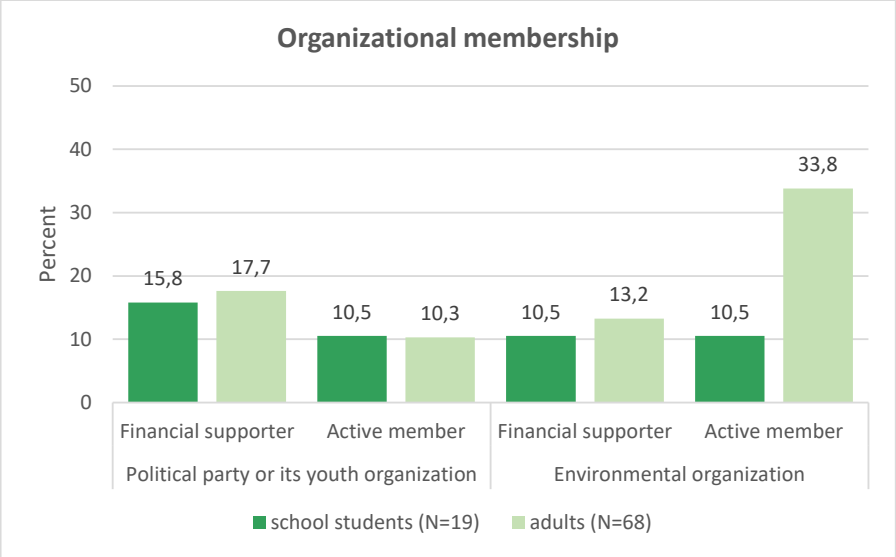

Figure 2.4: Organizational membership of protesters in UK

School student and adult GCS demonstrators in the UK have surprisingly similar profiles of political participation, with adults slightly more inclined to participate in most forms (Figure 2.5). The biggest difference between school students and adults is in terms of 'changing diet for political, ethical or environmental reasons'. School students are markedly less likely to do this than adults.

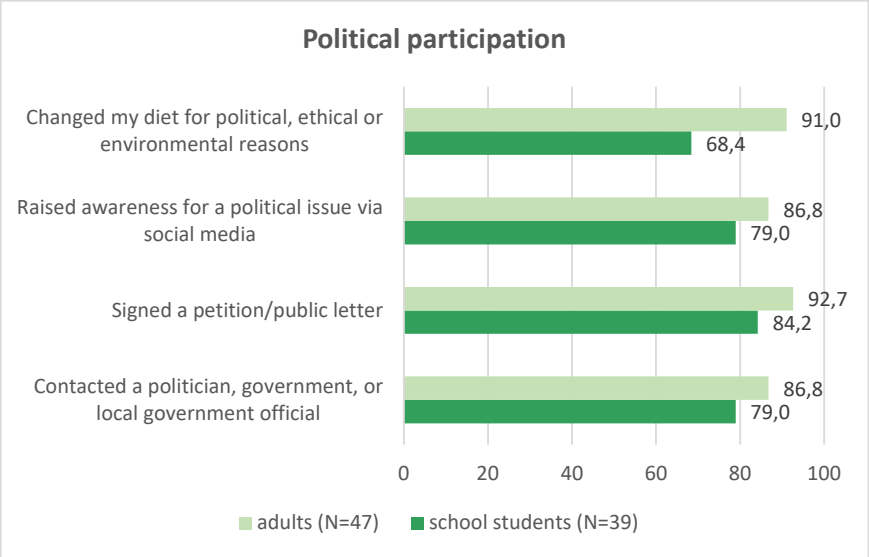

Figure 2.5: Previous individualized forms of political participation

The proportion of respondents that claimed to have raised awareness on social media and to have contacted a politician for social and political reasons is similar in both cities. Petition-signing is more common among the Manchester demonstrators (94%) than the Truro ones (85%), whereas changing diet for ethical reasons is more common in Truro (91%) than Manchester (83%).

Political interest is slightly higher among adults compared to school students, although the clear majority of respondents in both sub-samples are quite or very interested in politics. There is a notable difference between those from Truro and Manchester. 57% of Manchester respondents are 'very interested' in politics, compared to only 38% of the Truro ones.

Why did they protest?

Motivations to participate are similar across the two cities as well as among school students and adults. The biggest motivating factor, of those listed in the survey, was 'to pressure politicians' (see Figure 2.6), followed by 'to express my views' (for school students) and 'to express my solidarity for adults'. An 18 year old male demonstrator told us that he was participating in the demonstration 'Because I wanted to take part in a national and international wake-up call for politicians in the UK and world-wide'. Another 17 year old told us that:

As a 17 year old I think if our government won't take responsibility for what is happening to the earth than I have to, because ultimately it is my future that will be ruined.

Most agreed that they were protesting because they felt a sense of moral obligation, but less than half strongly agreed with this and very few disagreed. 'Defending my interests' was strongly agreed with by only around a third of respondents in each sub-sample (school, adult; Truro, Manchester). Attendance 'because someone asked me to' was a weak motivator. Only around 10% of adults agreed or strongly agreed with this, and 25% of school students. Truro respondents were slightly more likely to disagree that they participated because others had asked them.

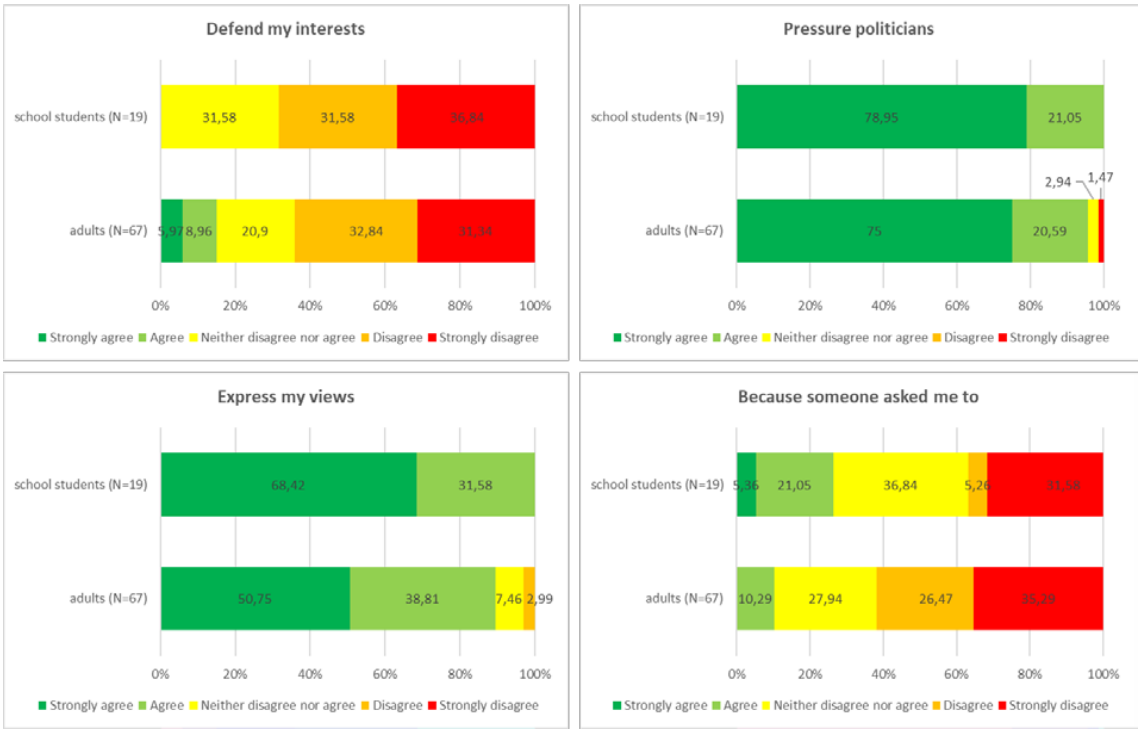

Figure 2.6: Motives

Despite similar motivations, school student and adult respondents expressed different emotions. On balance, the school students were angrier (68% very angry compared to 59% for adults), more anxious (47% versus 25% were very much so), more worried (61% compared to 56% were very much so), and more fearful (53% versus 29% said very much). However, they felt less hopelessness (8 adults felt very hopeless, compared to 0 school students) and less powerlessness (20.6% adults felt very hopeless, compared to 6% of school students). Emotions are similarly distributed among Manchester and Truro respondents, but with slightly more hopelessness, fearfulness and powerlessness in Truro. The importance of emotions is strongly corroborated in responses to the open/qualitative questions. A female 21 year-old in Manchester told us that her reasons for

participating in the demonstration were thus: 'Because I'm terrified for the future of the planet, and the opinions of those who will be affected (us!) need to be heard'.

Adults were more likely to protest alone (18%) compared to school students (11%). Those in Manchester were less likely to participate alone (11%) compared to those in Truro (22%). For school students, friends (84%) and school mates (79%) were the most common protest companions. Friends were also the most common companions for adults, but adults were much less likely to be in the company of friends (50%) (Figure 2.7). Although networks are usually considered crucial for recruitment into activism, surprisingly few participants were asked by someone to attend (16% for school students, 15% for adults). Recruitment networks were more important for the Manchester demonstrators than the Truro ones. In Truro, only 11% were asked by others to attend, compared to 19% in Manchester.

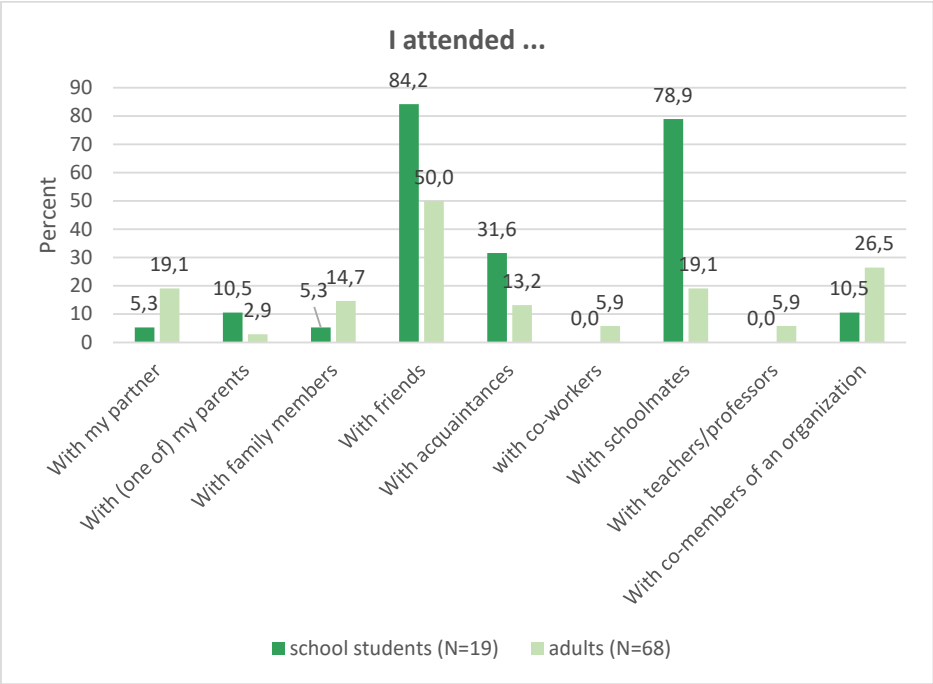

Figure 2.7: Company

For both school students and adults (Figure 2.8) as well as across cities, Greta Thunberg has motivated some of our respondents to take more interest in climate change and to attend the climate strike. Only a few participants had never heard of her, all adults.

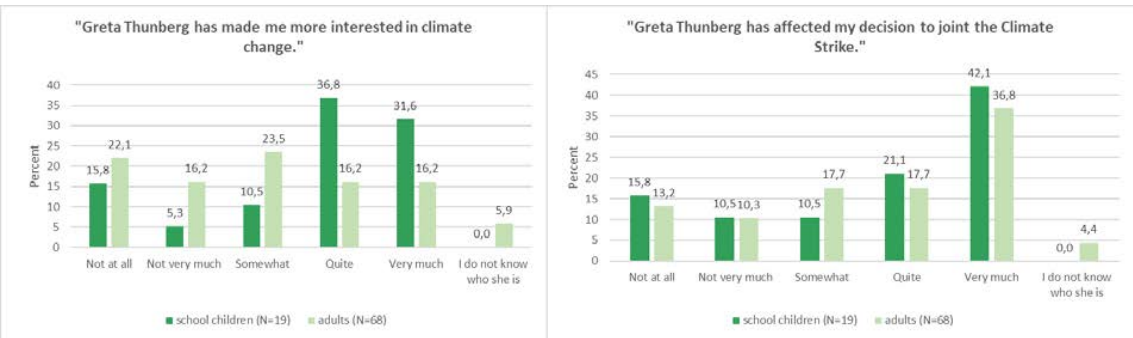

Figure 2.8: Greta's effect on interest and mobilization

What do they want and who should do it?

A very clear majority of respondents in both cities agree or strongly agree (over 95%) that 'the government must act on what climate scientists say even if the majority of people are opposed'. Several commented in response to an open question about 'what can be done' about governments working more closely with scientists, for example: 'I think governments should listen to scientists and make the environment first priority, and make large companies take responsibility for their impact'. They are, however, more ambiguous in relation to the role of science (alone), governments, companies and the market and lifestyle changes (Figure 2.9). One notable difference was that school students were much more supportive than adults of the claim that 'modern science can be relied upon to solve our environmental problems'.

A lack of trust in businesses is evident in responses to open questions asking respondents to tell us who or what is to blame in climate change. Adults, in particular, are sceptical about the role of companies and the market and governments. Aggregate differences across the two cities are small. The following quotes are illustrative:

> *I believe that the main cause is global greed, driving the big corporations to ever more destructive ways to extract profit from our earth, irrespective of the consequences for people and planet. (61-year old male from Truro).*
>
> *The major gas and oil companies making a profit off the destruction of the planet and the killing of people, animals and the environment. (20-year old female from Manchester).*

When we asked them 'what can be done', respondents' open answers often referred to the need for drastic government action, recognition of the state of crisis and of the need to scale up all efforts to mitigate greenhouse gases. This quote is illustrative:

> *Recognise it as a crisis and put the country on a war footing to tackle it. Introduce evidence based policy and have unelected technocrats set the policy agenda to deal with the crisis. (29 year old male from Manchester).*

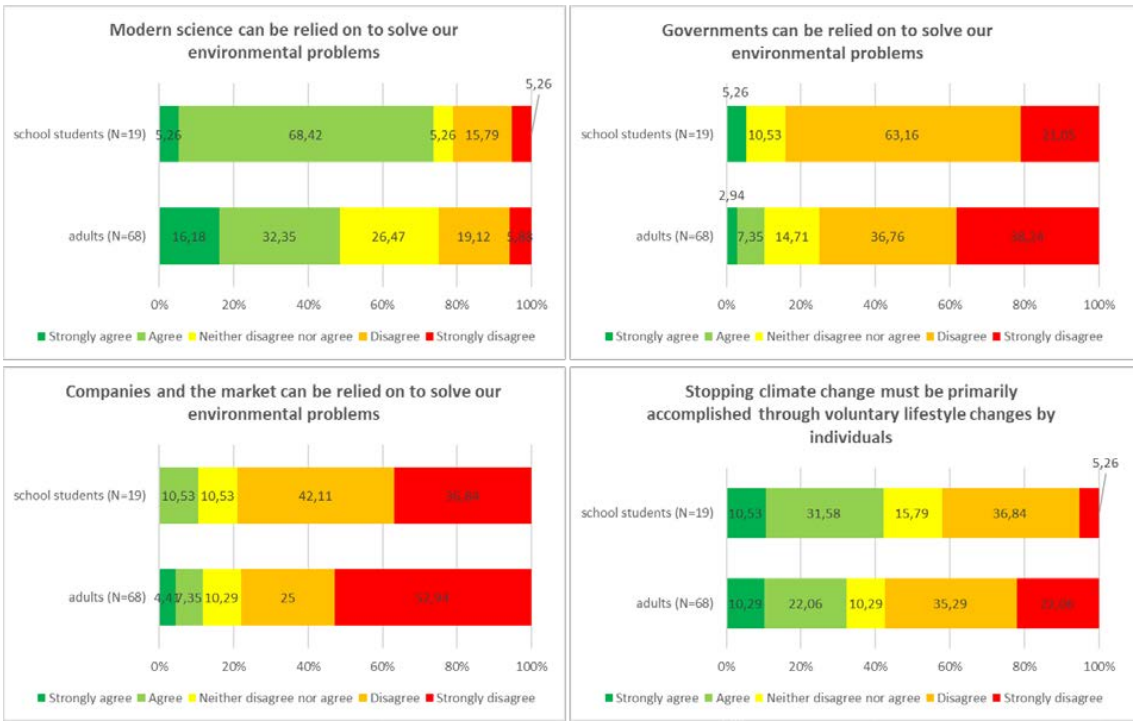

Figure 2.9: How to solve environmental problems

In general, UK respondents have very little trust for political institutions. The differences between school students and adults, and between the two cities are negligible. On average, respondents are least trusting of mass media (mean 1.91 on a 1-5 scale) and national government (mean 1.95) and most trusting of environmental organisations (mean 4.10). The comparison between trust in national government and trust in environmental groups is shown in Figure 2.10. Note the similar judgement of school students and adults, illustrative of their trust in other institutions, too.

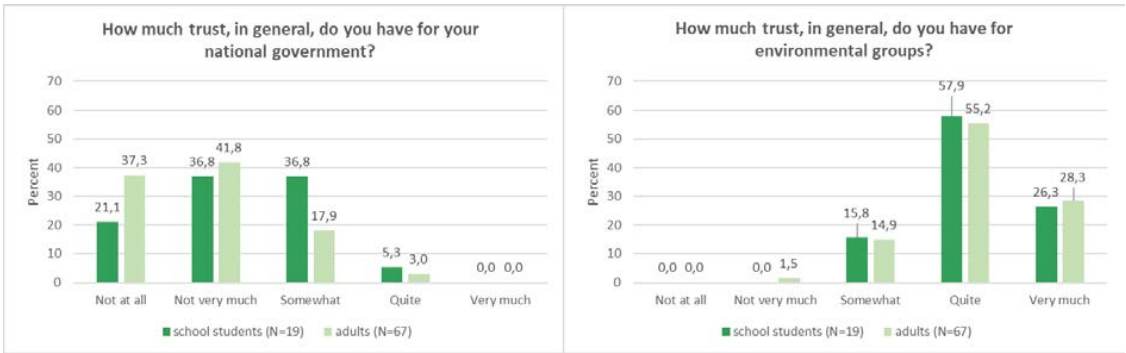

Figure 2.10: Trust in national government and environmental organizations

The views of our respondents reflect general disenchantment with politics among the British population. Especially for school students, politicians are seen to make promises that they do not keep. By-and-large, our respondents have faith in the democratic system, with only small proportions of respondents agreeing that voting is pointless. School student respondents have a sense of their own personal efficacy that is absent from adult participants, but both adults and school students believe in the efficacy of organised groups of citizens to bring about policy changes (Figure 2.11).

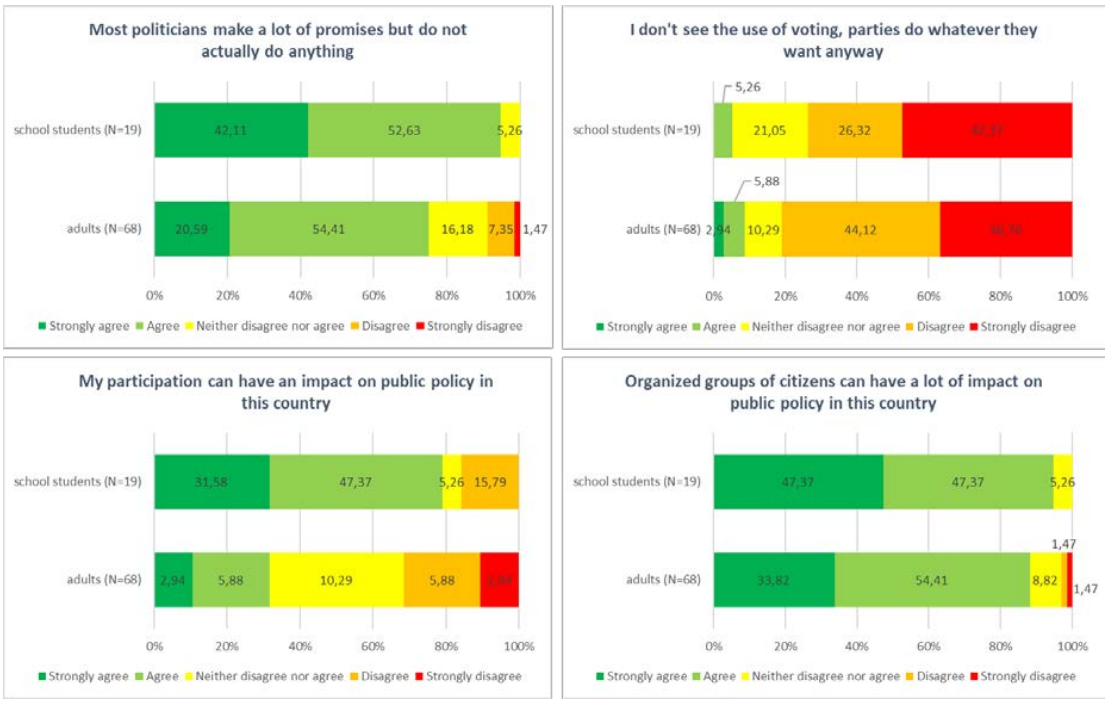

Figure 2.11: Views on politics

Technical information

Approximately one in every five of those given a flyer were interviewed. In Manchester, we gave out 398 flyers and completed 76 F2F-interviews and collected 17 consent forms for those aged 12-15 years (with perhaps some under-sampling of those under the consent age). In Truro, we handed out 260 flyers and conducted 62 interviews and collected 19 consent forms for those aged 12-15. We were unable to survey a significant number of 12-15 year olds because their parents were not there to sign consent forms. In both places, the refusal rate was very low - probably only 2%. Our response rate to the online survey overall is 15.2% (15.6% in Manchester, 14.6% in Truro). Given the low response rates, comparison of these results with the face-to-face data is essential to test the representativeness of the data.

Belgium

Michiel De Vydt and Ruud Wouters

Background

In Belgium, a remarkably consistent and growing protest cycle had already arisen during the months leading up to the Global Climate Strike for Future (GCS) of March 15th.[19] The protest event can therefore best be described as a third peak or a renewed impetus within the already established domestic protest wave.

The first peak of Belgium's climate protest cycle was achieved on Sunday December 2nd; one day before the start of the Katowice Climate Change Conference (COP24). On that day more than 65.000 people demonstrated in Brussels at the *Claim the Climate* demonstration, organized by the SMO *Climate Express*. This was the biggest climate mobilization up until then.

Disappointed by Belgium's refusal to join the High Ambition Coalition at the COP24, but inspired by Greta Thunberg's speech, two Belgian girls (Anuna and Kyra, aged 17 and 20) launch *Youth for Climate* (YfC) around the end of 2018. Their goal is to protest every Thursday during school hours until an actual change in climate policy is made, or, if needed, until the Belgian elections of May 26th (which they eventually did end up doing). The first YfC demonstration of 10 January 2019 draws an unexpected large crowd of a little over 3.000 pupils. One week later, 12.500 pupils show up. In the third edition, joined by high school and university students who have now finished their exams, over 35.000 participants mobilize on Thursday 24th. Three days later, the pupils and students of YfC join causes together with the *Rise for Climate* campaign organized in Belgium by *Klimaatcoalitie.* An estimated 70.000 people (both students and working adults) demonstrate in the streets of Brussel during the *Rise for Climate* demonstration. The two large demonstrations towards the end of January constitute a second peak in the national protest cycle.

During each of the following weeks, Youth for Climate continued to organize demonstrations, now also in cities other than the capital. The weekly turnouts slowly diminish with each week, but the demonstrators continue to grasp the media's attention, especially when Greta herself joins the 7th (21/02) and 8th (28/02) YfC demonstration. The 9th-in-row protest event (7/03) draws around 8.200 combined participants. The Global Climate Strike for Future of Friday, March 15th is the 10th-in-row school strike protest event. With at least 30.000 demonstrators in Brussels (more than 40.000 combined participants all over Belgium), the global demonstration has given a new, third impetus to the Belgian climate protest wave.

The protest events

According to the estimate of the police, at least 30.000 people demonstrated during the first Global Strike for Future in Brussels. The demonstration started in the afternoon. During the morning, smaller-scale protests were organized in other cities all across Belgium, of which Ghent (around 3000), Antwerp (2000), and Hasselt (1500) are most noticeable regarding the turnout. In the main demonstration in Brussels, demonstrators marched along a well-established demonstration path of circa 4,5 kilometres (starting and ending in the vicinity of the Brussels North and South train stations respectively). The rather broad streets of this well-trodden demonstration path minimizes the risk for bottlenecks.

[19] Wouters, R. and De Vydt, M. *Youth for Climate Belgium: The narrative of an exceptional protest wave.* Mobilizing Ideas, 12/04/2019. Online.

A remarkable attendee at the Strike was Anuna's grandmother (sitting in a wheelchair, well wrapped up with blankets) symbolizing that climate justice is not an exclusive concern of the young. Also striking were the many clothespins attached to the jackets and placards of demonstrations: each pin to symbolize a supporter of the climate movement who was unable to attend the Strike. The pins thus serve as a symbolic amplifier of the protest's turnout. At around the halfway point of the march, a politician of Belgian's most left-wing socialist labour party greeted the moving demonstrators with passionate soundbites. No violent incidents occurred during the demonstration.

Who participated?

Whereas the participants during the weekly YfC demonstrations were predominantly school-going youngsters and higher education level students, the majority of participants in the Belgian Global Climate Strike were actually (adult) non-pupils or non-students: less than 1 in 3 (51/166 = 30.7%) respondents indicated to be pupil/student. Of these 51 pupils/students, 36 are school students (school students, as operationalized in this country report, as well as the other eight country reports, are younger than 20 with an ongoing education not higher than secondary education), which means that about 1 in 5 participants (36/166 = 21.69%) was a school-going student. The actual share of school-going youngsters at the GCS was probably a bit higher, as we find a (typical) negative response bias by pupils and students to the online survey (in the F2F-data, we find a share of 36/140 = 25.7% school students).

As the status of being a pupil/student is strongly correlated to age, figure 3.1 confirms that the GCS was mostly populated by adults: only 22.9% of the demonstrators is younger than 20. However, comparing this distribution to the F2F sample data (where those under 20 represent a share of 27%) we observe that respondents aged under 20 are somewhat underrepresented in our online survey data.

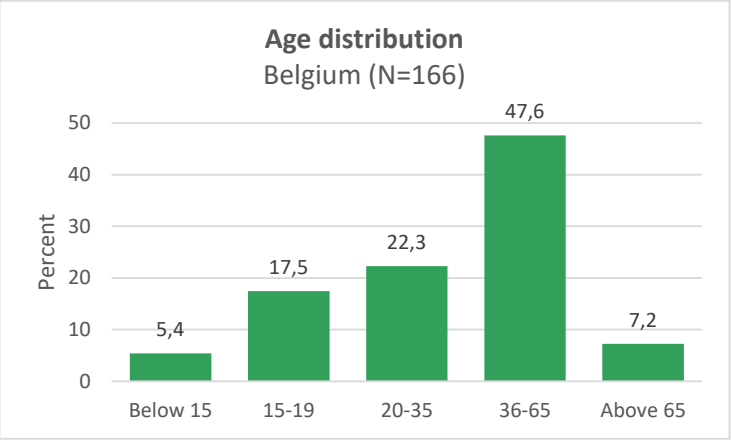

Figure 3.1: Age distribution of protesters in Belgium

Interestingly, the majority (23/31 = 74.2%) of the demonstrating school students is enrolled in general secondary education (ASO), as compared to a minority (5/31 = 16.1%) of technical/ professional secondary education (TSO) school students (the remaining 5 school students were still enrolled in primary education). This uneven distribution suggests that the climate protest wave enjoys more visibility and a stronger sense of urgency in school environments that prepare for higher education, as compared to TSO school environments. Protesting for post-materialist values such as climate justice is rather – although certainly not exclusively – a concern of higher educated people: over 60% of the adult participants has enjoyed a university education: 11/123 = 8.9% has a Bachelor's, 55/123 = 44.72% has a Master's degree, and 12/123 = 9.76% has a PhD as their highest level of education. Only 12/123 (9.76%) participants have not enjoyed higher education. The remaining

participants have enjoyed post-secondary, non-university higher education of some sort. To the participants born in 1999 or later (max. 20 years and 3 months old), we have asked whether their parents studied at the university. For 25/45 (55,55%) young participants, this is the case for both parents.

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

The participants in the Belgian edition of the GCS are experienced demonstrators. More than 3 in 4 have, during the past 12 months, participated in at least one demonstration other than the Global Strike for Future.

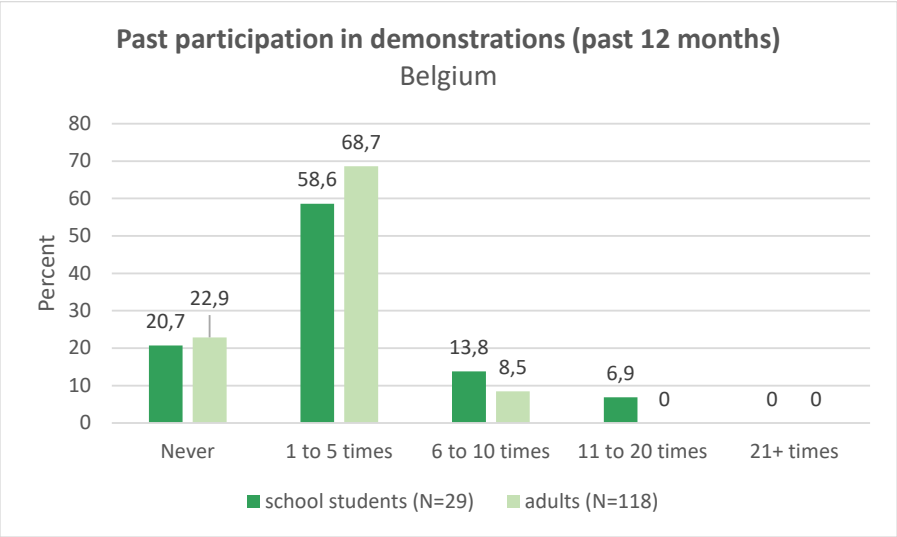

Figure 3.2: Previous demonstration participation (ever)

Still, the GCS clearly managed to attract many first-time participants. Figure 3.3 shows that among the school students, a bit more than 1 in 5 had never (ever) demonstrated before (although, compared to other countries described in this report, this is still relatively low – probably due to the fact that sympathizing youngsters have already had multiple opportunities to protest at a *Youth for Climate* demonstration during the nine weeks before the GCS). For these youngsters, the GCS was their first taste of civic engagement in the form of demonstrating. As scholars have noted before, this is the broader importance of the climate strike protests: it is creating a new cohort of citizens who will be active participants in democracy. "We know from research on civic engagement over the life-course that people who become engaged at a younger age are more likely to stay engaged in volunteerism and politics throughout their lives" (Fisher 2019: 430).

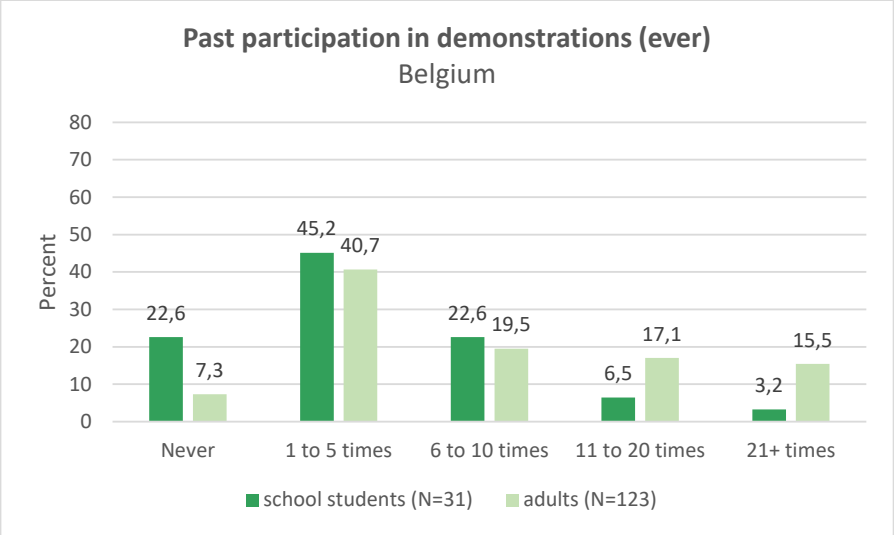

Figure 3.3: Previous demonstration participation (ever)

Figure 3.4 compares between adult and school student demonstrators on four other forms of individualized political participation.

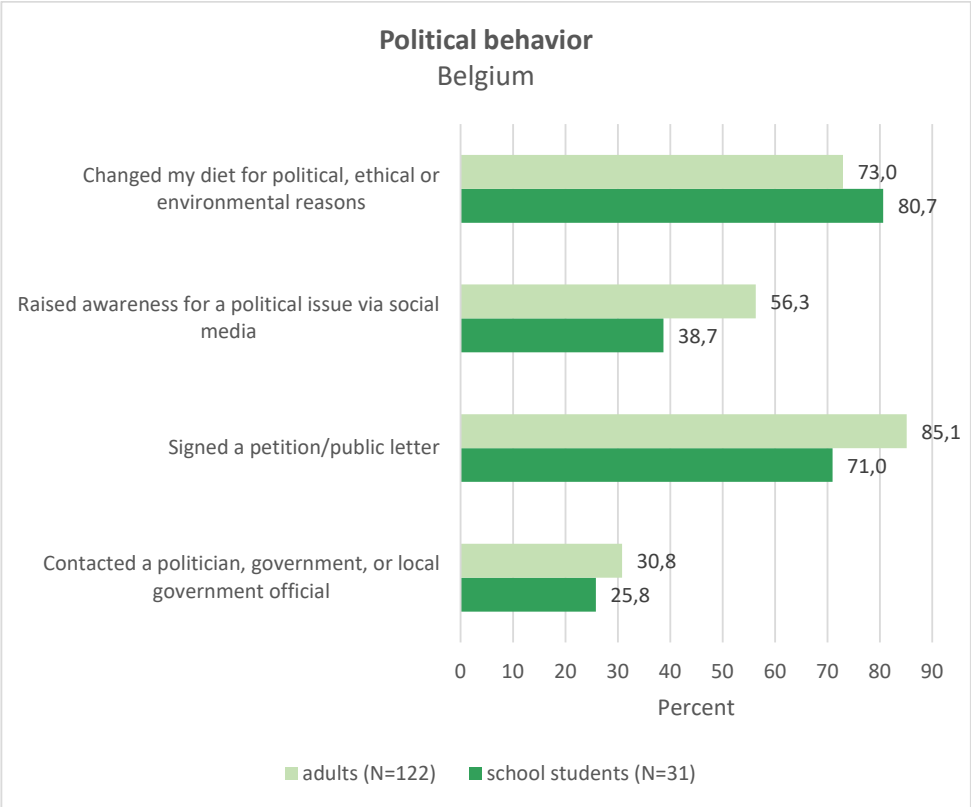

Figure 3.4: Previous individualized forms of political participation

When asked how interested they are in politics, adults on average score significantly higher (3.18/4) than school students (2.67/4). School student participants discuss climate change with their parents on average 'quite often' (mean: 4 on scale of 1-5). School students also indicate that their

parents care 'quite much' (mean: 4.1) about climate change. In contrast to the school students, adult participants at the GCS systematically score lower when evaluating the climate engagement of their parents. This pattern points to the generational aspect of increasing climate change awareness.

Just 1 of the 31 surveyed school students (3.23% in Figure 3.5 below) is a member of a political party or its youth organization. This low share among school students points to the overall party-politically neutral character of *Youth for Climate* in Belgium. Among the adults, almost 20% is either passively or actively tied to a political party. About 1 in 5 of the protesting school students is an active member of an environmental organization (ENGO). Compared to other country reports, this is a high share, but comparisons should be made with caution, given the relatively small sample sizes for school student group. Adults are mostly engaged with ENGOs as financial contributors.

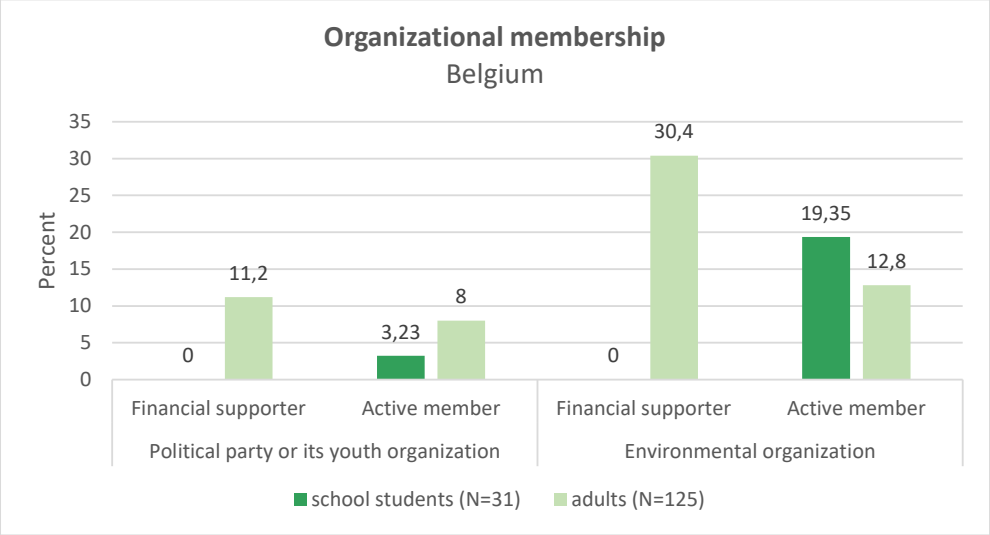

Figure 3.5: Organizational membership of protesters in Belgium

Why did they protest?

Just as Greta Thunberg's speeches make it quite clear that she feels anxious about climate change and angry about the overall inadequate political response, anger and anxiety are also present in the weekly speeches by Anuna and Kyra; the leading entrepreneurs of the Belgian *Youth for Climate*-movement. This opens the question to what extent anger and anxiety (and related emotions) are not just rhetorical instruments, but are heartfelt emotions shared by the rank-and-file participants of the Belgian climate movement. Our survey gauged (on a 5-point Likert scale) to what extent participants felt angry, hopeless, anxious, worried, fearful, frustrated, and powerless. The results show that Belgian respondents feel most of all worried (4.55), angry (4.02) and frustrated (4.03). Feeling hopeless scores lowest of all, with an average score of 2.81. Interestingly, school students on average feel significantly more fearful about climate change than adults do (3.63 vs. 3.05). In the context of the Belgian school strike climate protests, one of the oft-heard objections by sceptics is that youngsters should not paint a too gloomy picture of the climate future; that they should not be fearful but rather stay in school and trust science. If anything, our survey makes clear that school students *do* indeed feel (self-report) more fearful when thinking about climate change.

We also inquired about the specific motives of the demonstrating participants. The vast majority (about 95%) of both adults and school students (strongly) agreed with the statement "I participated in the demonstration in order to pressure politicians." Similarly, about 90% of both adults and school students (strongly) agreed with the statement of having participated "in order to raise public awareness." 8 in 10 school students, and almost 9 in 10 adults, indicated to participate to "express my views." We presented respondents with four other potential motives in the same fashion

(defend my interests, express my solidarity, because I felt morally obliged to, because somebody asked me to). We highlight two motives for which school students and adults diverge.

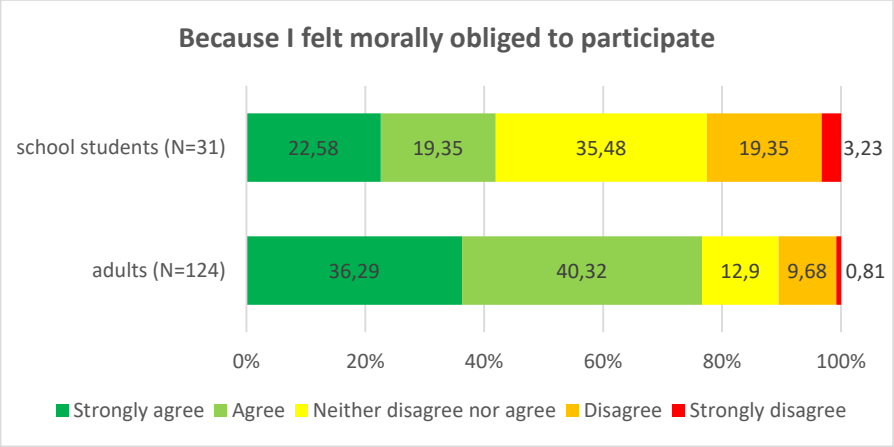

Figure 3.6: Motive – moral obligation

It is remarkable that relatively fewer school students agree with the moral obligation-motive as compared to adults (Figure 3.6). A likely interpretation of this result is that adults feel more *responsible* for the climate policies up until now, whereas school students feel less personal responsibility, which translates into fewer youngsters experiencing moral obligation.

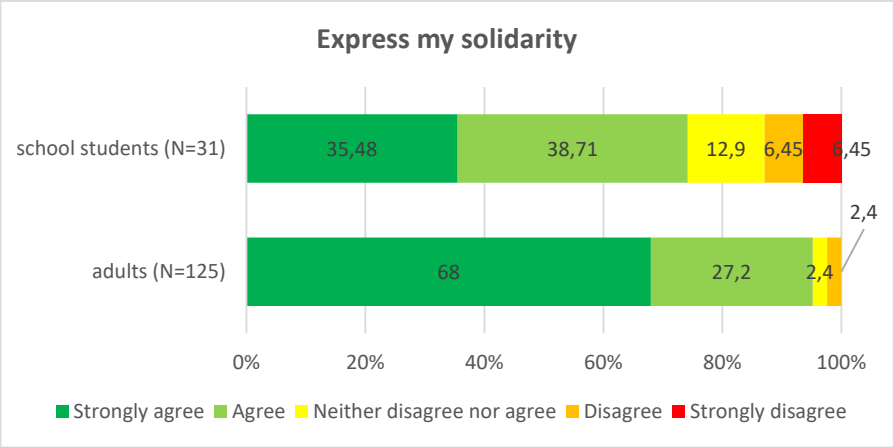

Figure 3.7: Motive – express my solidarity

Figure 3.7 shows that the vast majority (over 95%) of adults participate in order to express their solidarity. For students, this share is lower at 74%. As the current climate protest wave in Belgium started as a series of school strikes by young students, showing solidarity towards a different group becomes a more obvious motive for adults than for school students who are showing solidarity to their peers.

Research on micromobilization has consistently shown that 'being asked' is one of the strongest predictors for individual protest participation. As political scientist Sidney Verba famously summarized much of the micromobilization literature: "People participate because they want, because they can, and because somebody asked." Want refers to the motives discussed above. Can refers to the 'supply' of protest events (the fact that an SMO is organizing an event). Here we briefly focus on the being asked part. Figure 3.8 shows that about 3 in 10 participants were personally asked

by someone to participate in the demonstration. Significantly more GCS demonstrators, however, have invited others themselves. This makes sense: people generally don't like to demonstrate alone; without company. Those who are motivated to demonstrate, i.e. the participants we surveyed (whose motivation is evidenced by the fact that they actually demonstrated), will therefore invite others to have company.

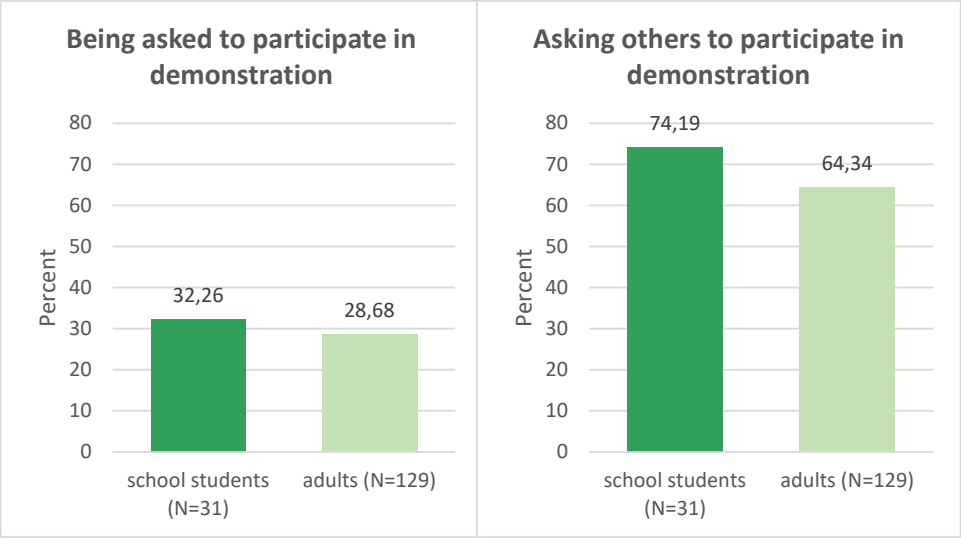

Figure 3.8: Interpersonal recruiting behaviours: being asked & asking others

As a final point of attention, we compare the stance/attitude towards Greta Thunberg between school students and adults. Figure 3.9 shows that for 55.5% of the demonstrating adults who participated in our survey, Greta has made them *at least* somewhat more interested in climate change. For school students, this percentage is higher, at 68.8. Figure 3.10 shows that, if we draw the positive pole at the 'somewhat' answer option, adults are divided in equal groups when it comes to Greta having affected their decision to join the GCS: 50% of the adults answers negatively, 48.4% of the adults answer positively. For school students, we find a slightly different pattern: here, more students answers positively (59.4%).

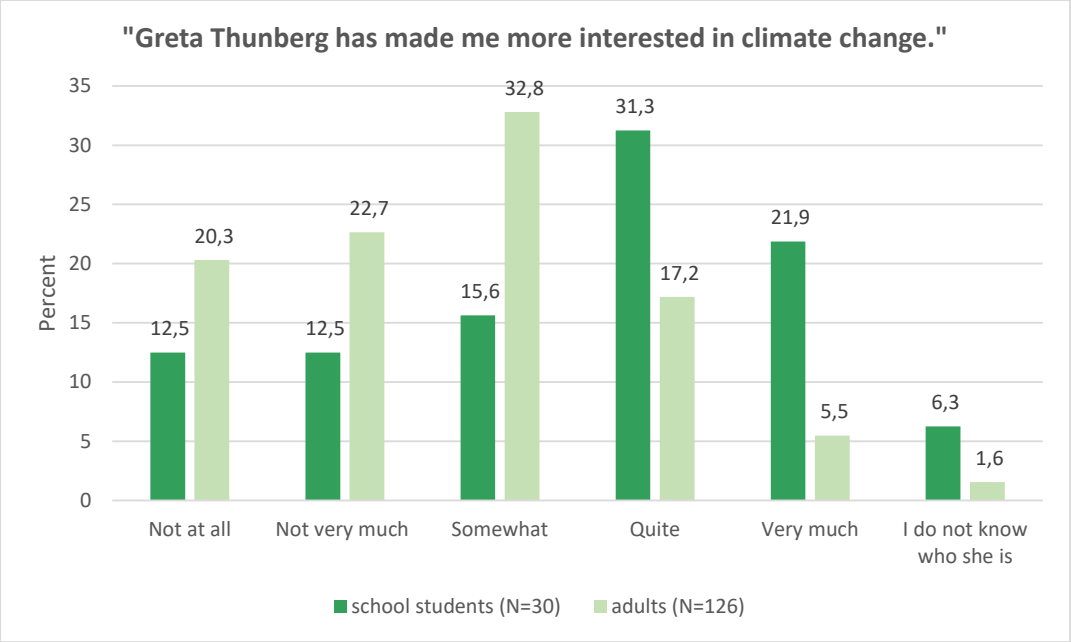

Figure 3.9: Greta's effect on climate change interest

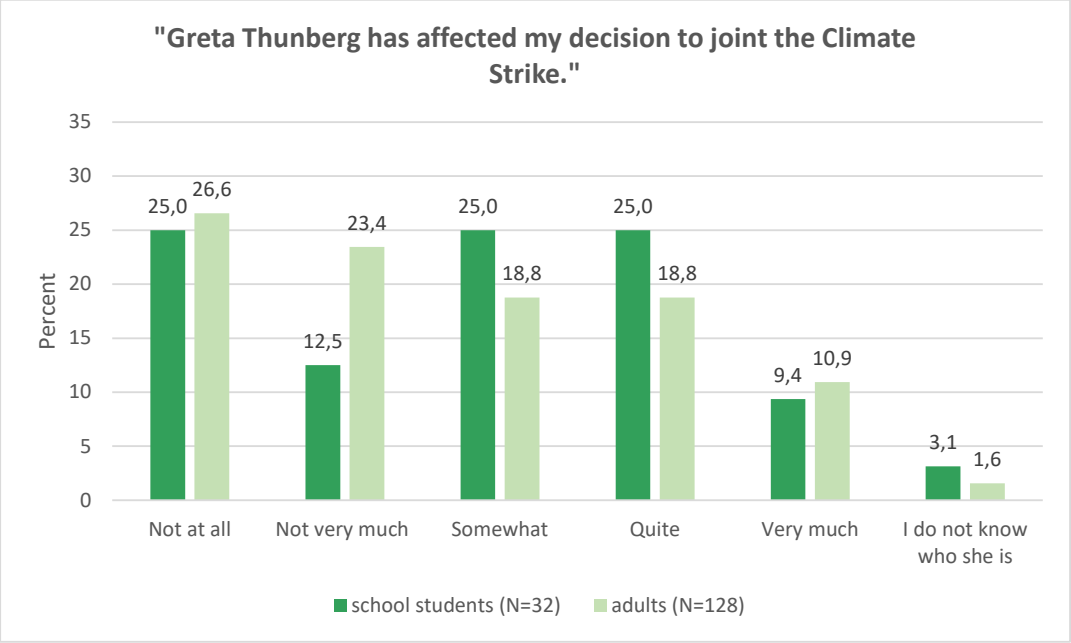

Figure 3.10: Greta's effect on intention to participate

What do they want and who should do it?

Although the precise goals of demonstrating can ultimately be as unique as each and every individual that participated, what most (if not all) demonstrators want, in general, is a more ambitious climate policy that addresses climate change effectively. In their answer to the open-ended question "Why did you participate in this protest event?", several Belgian demonstrators indicated that they realize that such political measures to address climate change might still prove unpopular. By demonstrating loud and clearly and in large numbers, these protesters want to signal that a sufficiently large enough part of the population *will* accept such dire, but necessary, climate measures. Two quotes illustrate this point:

A school student, aged 18, enrolled in higher general secondary education explains why he participated:

> *"To focus more attention on the issue of climate change in the run-up to the (European) elections in May. I hope that parties realize that by investing extra in climate policy, many votes can be earned. Consequently, the climate will hopefully also benefit from this."*

A male adult, aged 30, with an educational level of post-secondary, non-university of the short type writes:

> *"Because I want to show the government that a large part of the Belgian population expects an ambitious climate policy. It is up to the government to draw up more strict climate regulations, still this year! I do not think the described scenario's (by climate scientists) are overly pessimistic. We as humans must now protect our species. Now."*

Figure 3.11 shows to what extent adults and school students believe we can rely on science, governments, and companies to address climate change. A majority of both adults and school students clearly don't agree we can rely on governments to solve our environmental problems.[20] However, in their answers to the open-ended question "What should be done to address climate change/global warming?" governments and individual politicians are commonly named as crucial *mediators* of the solution. According to many of our respondents, the solution itself lies multiple bits of change that constitute 'systemic change'. This systemic change is being studied, evaluated and carried forward by science, but politicians need to do more to act on science. 83% of adults and 81% of school students at the Belgian GCS (strongly) agrees with the statement that "The government must act on what climate scientists say even if the majority of people are opposed."

[20] In the recent Belgian public (media) debate on climate change, it has often been pointed out that 'the environment' is something different than 'the climate'. In the Belgian version of the survey, we therefore translated 'environmental problems' broadly, as 'klimaat- en milieuproblematiek'.

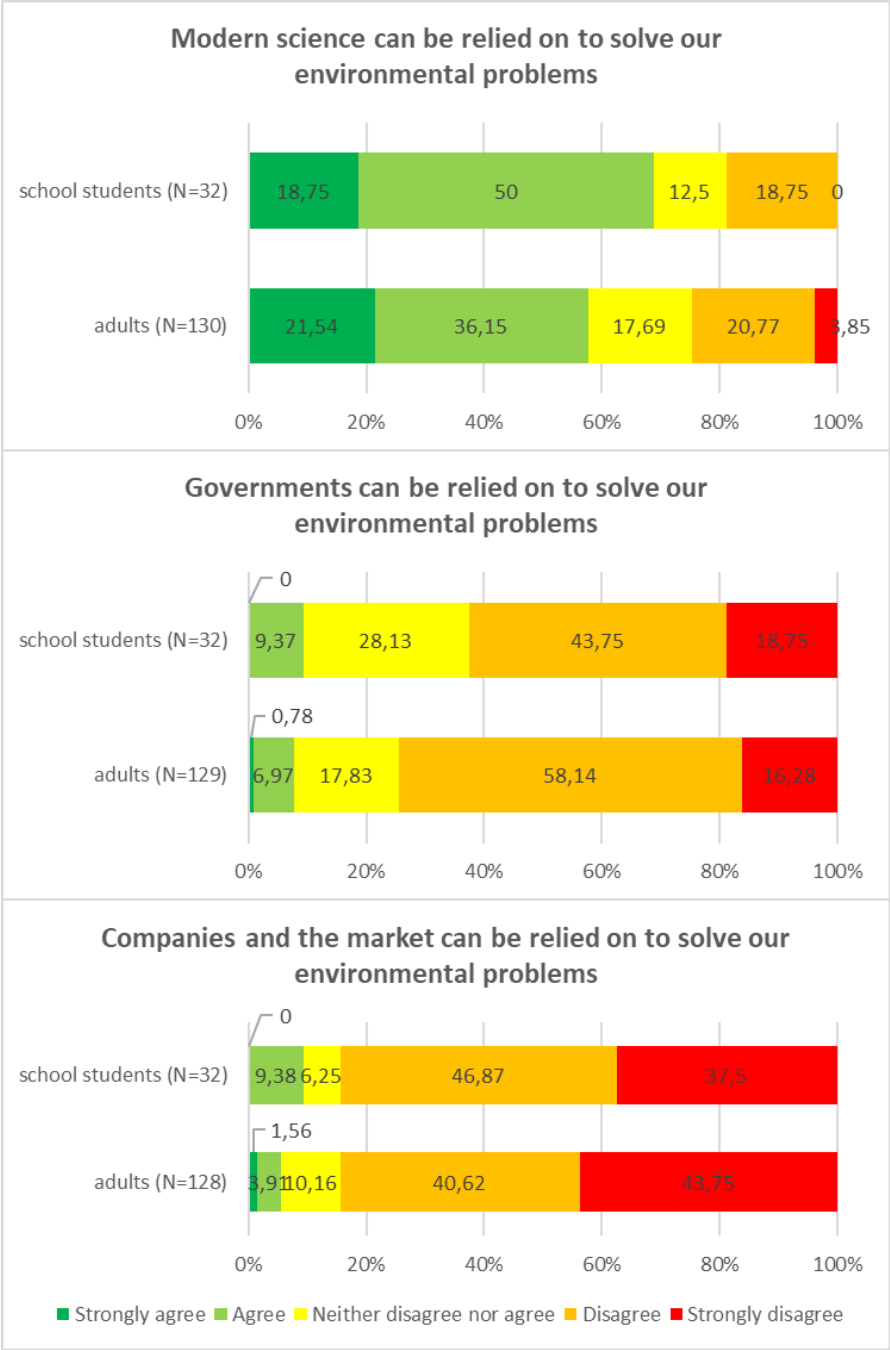

Figure 3.11: Solve attribution

Concerning their trust in various political actors, we find that more respondents trust the European Union and the United Nations (both supra-national institutions) than they trust national institutions (national government, national parliament, national political parties). This pattern applies for both school students as adults. For example, 54.8% of the school students and 47.5% of the adults at least 'somewhat' trust the Belgian government (see Figure 3.12), whereas for the European Union, these scores are higher: here, 74.2% of the school students, and 75.6% of the adults trust the institution (Figure 3.15).

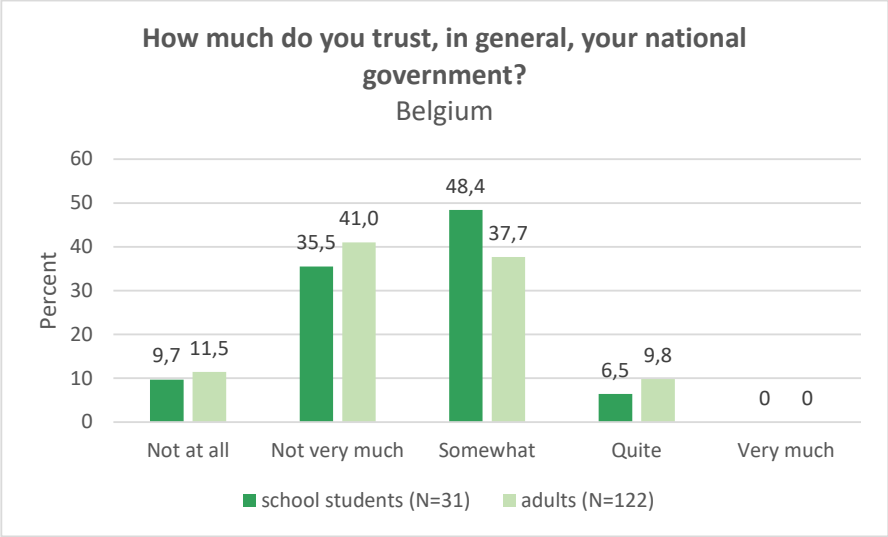

Figure 3.12: Trust in government

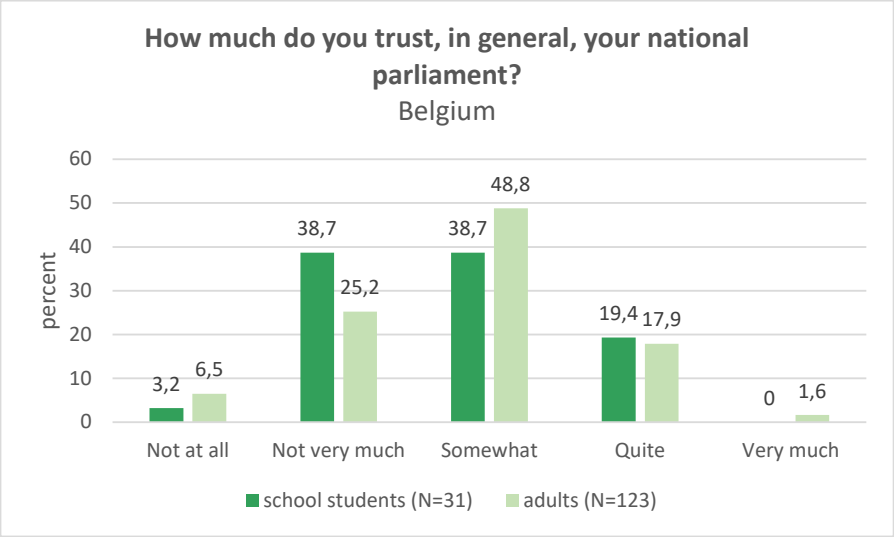

Figure 3.13: Trust in parliament

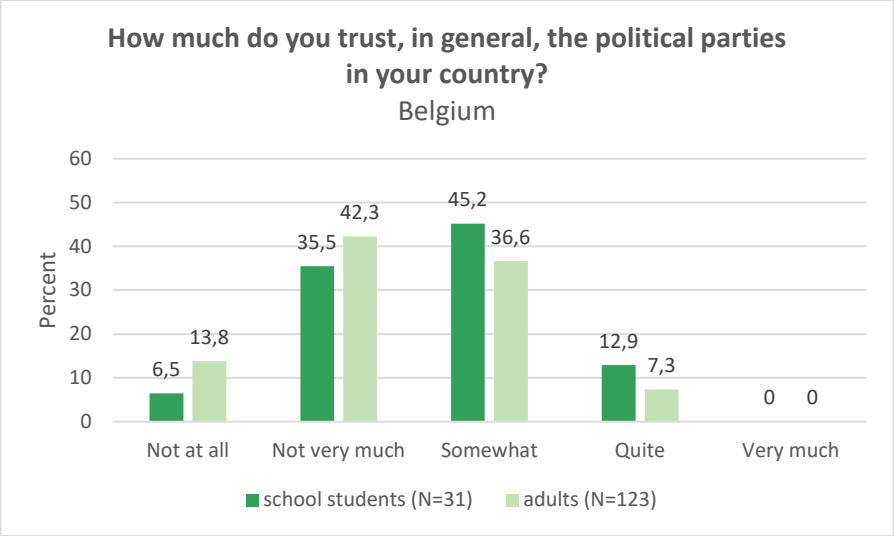

Figure 3.14: Trust in political parties

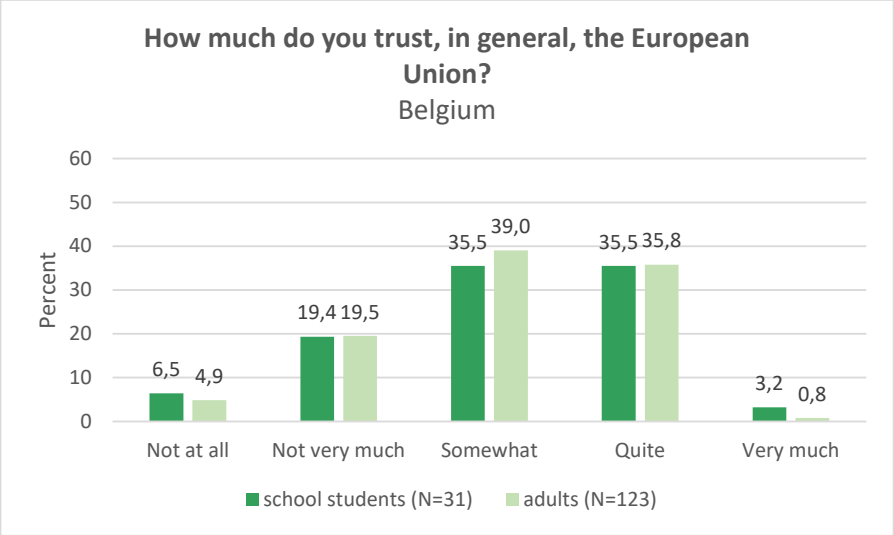

Figure 3.15: Trust in EU

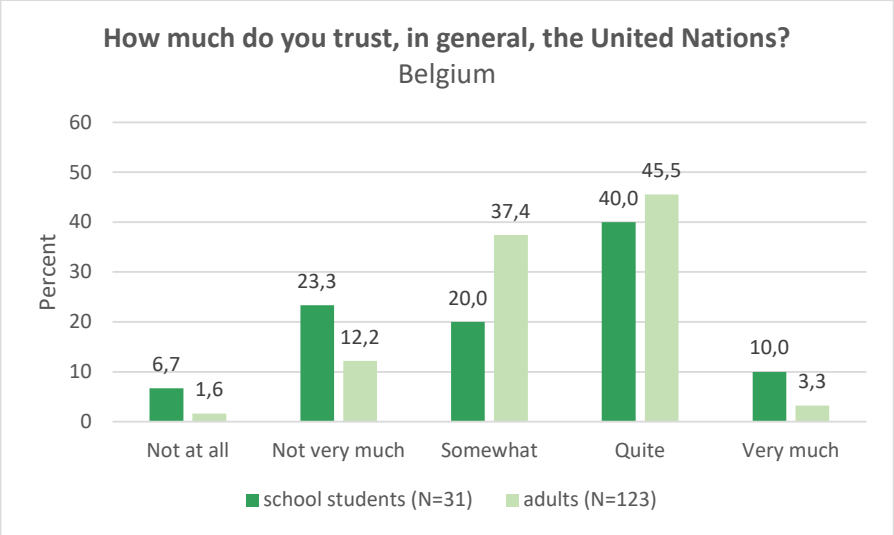

Figure 3.16: Trust in UN

References

Fisher, D. (2019) "The broader importance of #FridaysForFuture", *Nature Climate Change,* 9, pp. 430-431.

Technical information

We distributed 760 flyers of which 27 were refused (3,6%). 166 survey responses were collected (which means we have a response rate of 166/733 = 23%). 140 F2F-interviews were completed.

The Netherlands

Jacquelien van Stekelenburg and Teodora Gaidyte[21]

Background

We observe a strong increase in demonstrations in The Netherlands (requested demonstrations in Amsterdam increased from 200 to 1081 from 2014 to 2018). The Climate Event on 14 March (one day earlier in NL compared to other countries), took place in a week in which we observed four (for NL) big demonstrations (Women's March, Climate March, Students protest) all with a larger turnout than expected and all in very bad weather circumstances (it was very windy and rainy). For instance, the Climate March taking place the Sunday before the Students Climate March attracted 14.000 to 15.000 people.[22] Note that we had a Climate March for the general public, and a Climate Strike specifically focusing on youth within 5 days, which might explain why there were nearly no adults in the Climate Strike action. Specifically around Climate, we had some smaller actions, but on 7 February we had a Students for Climate Strike in The Hague that showed an unexpected high turnout of 15.000.[23] The last weeks we see other happenings organised by Extinction Rebellion (e.g. Die-ins) and 25 April another Students for Climate demo is organised.

The protest event

According to the media, the police and our own estimations, there were around 5000 to 6000 demonstrators in the Climate Strike.[24] The demonstrators initially gathered at the Dam Square at 13.00 and after about half an hour the crowd started to move down the streets to the Museumplein. The protesters walked 2.5 kilometres holding banners and shouting slogans against the government. Some of the slogans were quite general, for instance, insisting the cabinet to resign ("Weg met het kabinet"). There was a lot of police securing the demonstration, also the helpers in green jackets who collected the garbage around and helped the police to control the traffic and maintain the order. Note that the core group of the demonstrators that started marching from the Dam Square was subsequently joined by the smaller groups from the side streets during the whole march (the protesters were adding up to the marching crowd in the main streets (Rokin and Vijzelstraat) from the smaller side streets).

In about 2 hours the March arrived at the Museumplein, there the speeches were given by the people from the organization and a performance of De Jeugd van Tegenwoordig. The protesters in their speeches insisted that the Dutch government would do more to prevent CO2 emissions. They concluded that the politicians do too little to prevent the climate change and the youth, who gathered in the protest, want to break that cycle. A quote from one activist summarizes the main message of the protesters well: "We think it is important to make our voice heard, because it is about our future."

The atmosphere in general was very friendly and cheerful. The music was playing loud at the Museumplein (it was even difficult to interview the protesters), the demonstrators were dancing and enjoying themselves. Although it was not raining (luckily; it was raining heavily just before and after the Strike), there was a very strong wind, making it sometimes hard for the interviewers to fill in the

[21] Note that we did not calculate school students/adults differences as we had only 2 'adults' (20-35) in the sample.

[22] See https://milieudefensie.nl/doe-mee/klimaatmars

[23] See https://nos.nl/artikel/2270896-klimaatspijbelaars-volgende-week-willen-we-jullie-weer-zien.html

[24] See https://www.nu.nl/klimaat/5790087/enkele-duizenden-klimaatspijbelaars-demonstreren-in-amsterdam.html

questionnaires and to distribute the flyers. Thus the whole interviewing process took a bit longer than expected.

Who participated?

The absolute majority (more than 90%) who participated in Amsterdam March Strike were school students. Most of our survey respondents fall in the age category between 15 and 19 (almost 85%). Only a very insignificant part of the protesters were older than 20 (Figure 4.1). A clear majority of our survey respondents are female (70%). Most of them claimed to be learning at school (Table 4.1).

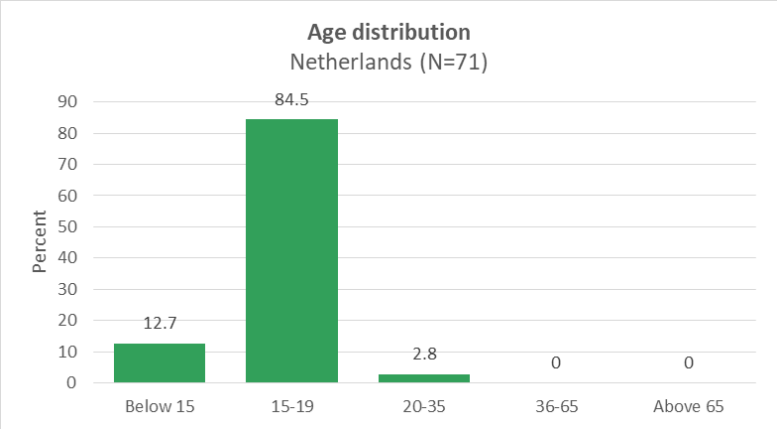

Figure 4.1: Age distribution of Dutch participants

Dutch (ISCED)		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1 (0)	2	4.0	4.0
	4 (3)	3	10.0	6.0
	5 (3)	40	90.0	80.0
	10 (7)	2	94.0	4.0
	12	3	100.0	6.0
	Total	50		100.0

1= primary education, 4 = HAVO
5 = vwo, atheneum, gymnasium
10 = university, 12 = other

Table 4.1: Education distribution of Dutch participants

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Most of the school student participants (69%) reported have ever participated in a demonstration before (Figure 4.2). Moreover, given their young age and the 'supply' of protest on this issue, not surprisingly most of them (64%) have participated in demonstrations in the past 12 months. One third of the demonstrators answered that they participated in a demonstration for the first time.

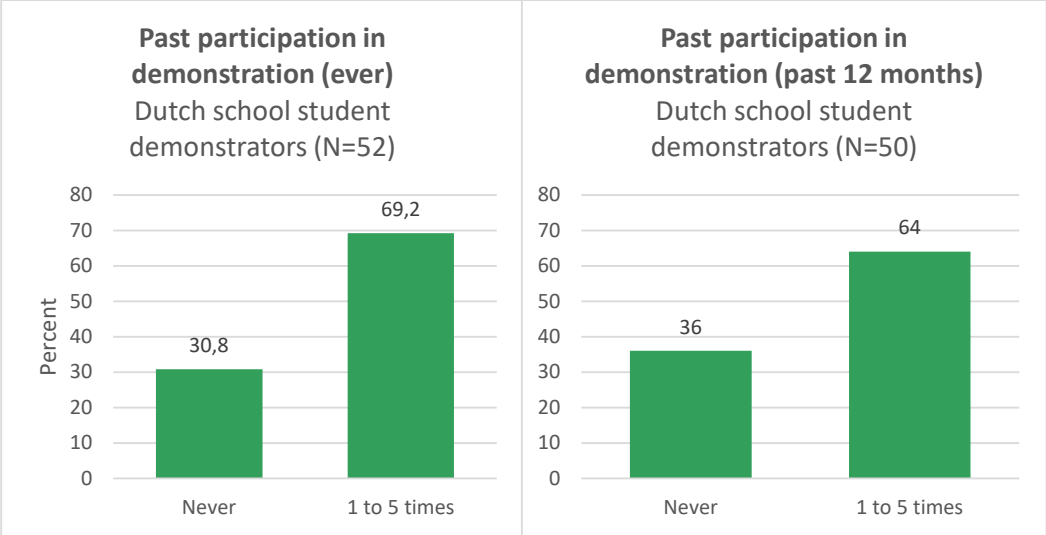

Figure 4.2: Previous demonstration participation – ever and past 12 months

Membership of political parties (or their youth sections) of the respondents is relatively low – around 2% (Figure 4.3). That could be explained by the fact that most respondents were school students. However, almost 4% of them declared that they are financial supporters of a political party. When it comes to environmental organizations, the membership level stays the same as for political parties, but the financial support is higher – around 6% of the demonstrators reported that they donate money to at least one environmental organization.

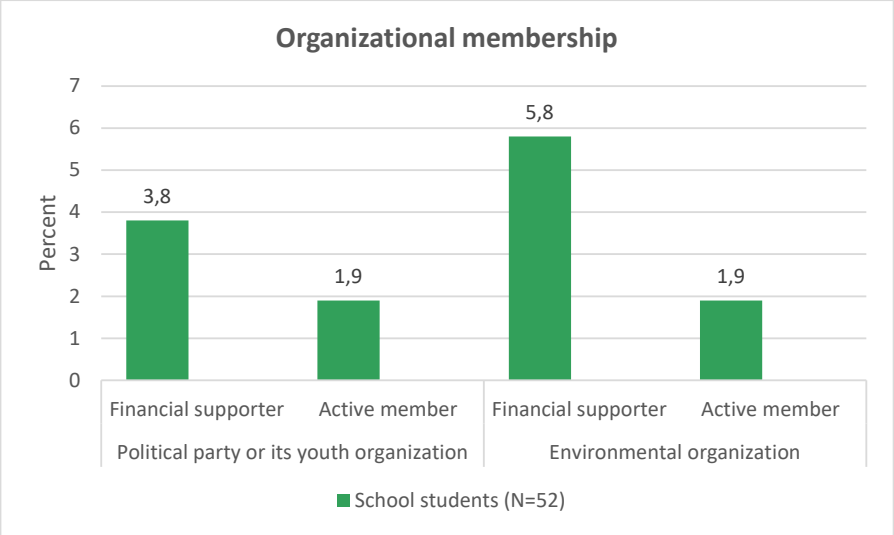

Figure 4.3: Organizational involvement

For the overview, we add a table (Table 4.2) which specifies the organizations of which the respondents are the active members or financial supporters. From the table we see that most of the respondents are members of sport or cultural organization. Some of them belong to school council or (not-specified) youth organization.

	Pass member/ Fin. supporter	Active member	Not a member	total
School council	1	5	46	52
Youth organization	1	3	47	51
Church or religious organization	1	1	50	52
Student organization	1	0	50	51
Trade union or professional association	0	0	52	52
Political party or its youth organization	2	1	49	52
Women's organization	0	1	51	52
Sport or cultural organization	0	22	30	52
Environmental organization	3	1	48	52
Lesbian or gay rights org.	3	2	47	52
Community or neighborhood association	0	0	52	52
Charity or humanitarian org.	2	0	50	52
Third world, Global Justice or Peace organization	1	2	49	52
Anti-racist or migrant org.	1	0	51	52
Human or civil rights org.	4	0	48	52

Table 4.2: Organizational involvement, all

Involvement of the respondents in different types of political participation is showed to be much higher than organizational membership (Figure 4.4). Most of the respondents (96%) claimed to have reused products like bottles and plastic bags for environmental reasons, changed their diet for the same reasons (almost 77%), joined another strike (78%), did boycotting (65%), and signed a petition (65%). The fewest of the respondents took part in a direct action or contacted a politician (each group makes up to 4%). None of them got involved in the violent action.

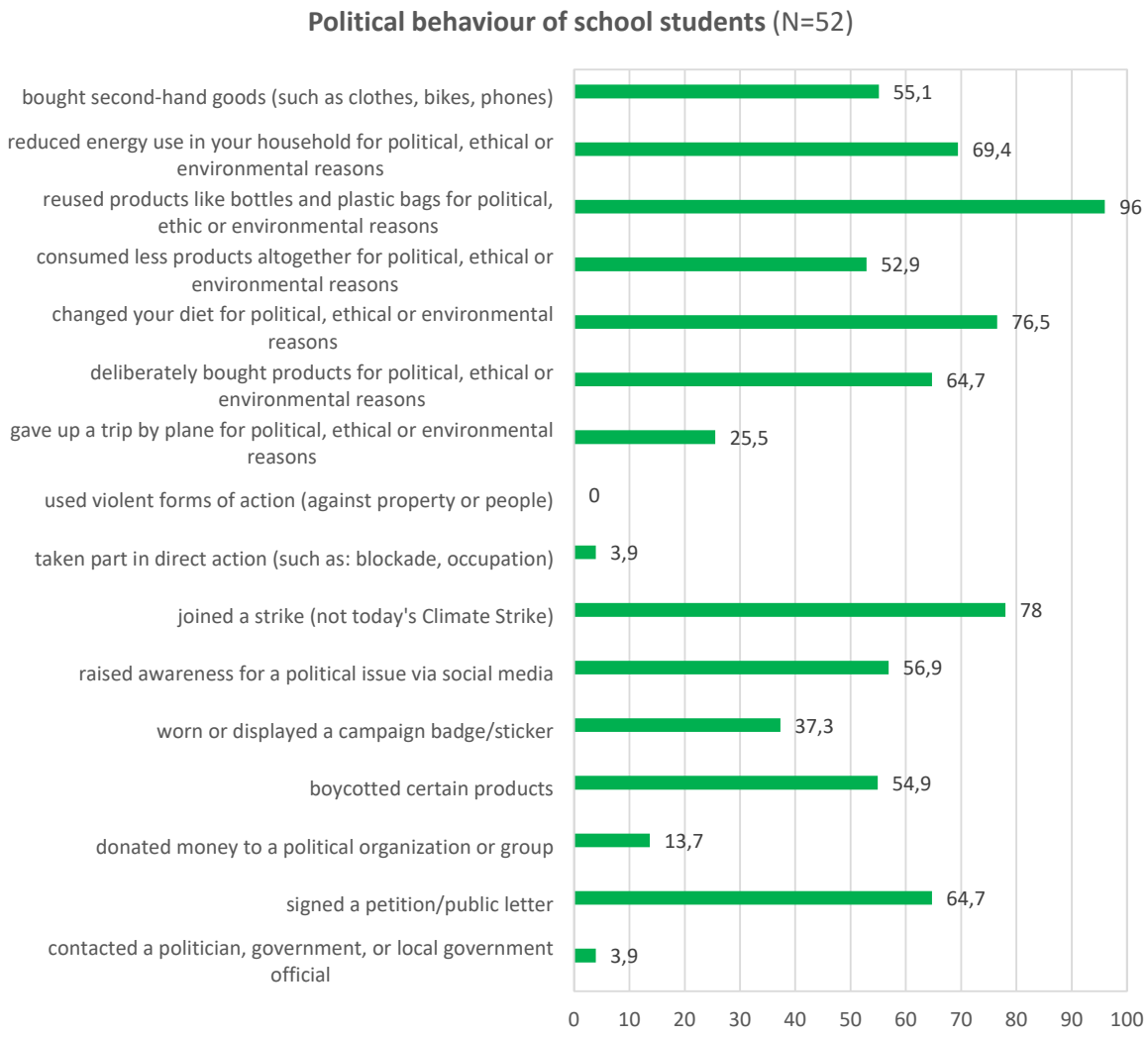

Figure 4.4: Types of political behaviour by respondents

Political interest among Dutch school students is quite high: almost 60% of them responded to be quite interested in politics, and even 23.5% indicated that they are very interested. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they discuss politics "sometimes", whereas one fourth of them discuss politics "often" or "rarely".

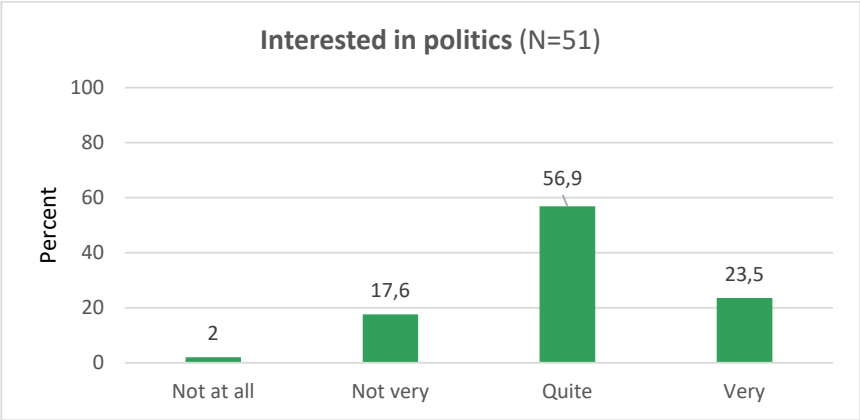

Figure 4.5: Political interest

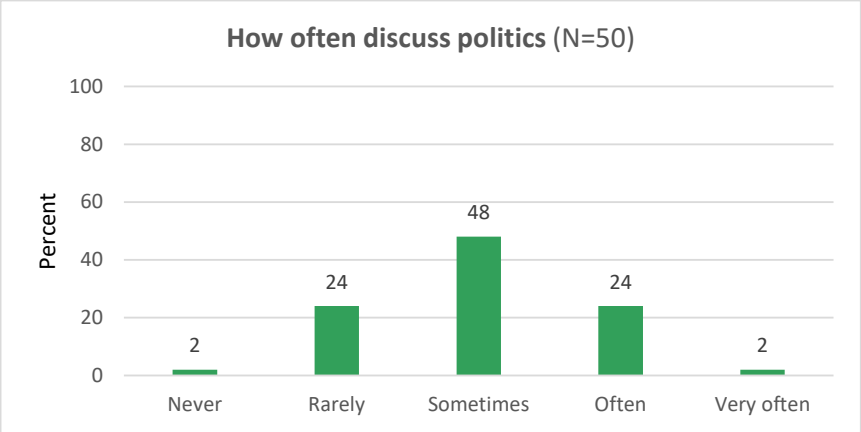

Figure 4.6: Talking politics

Our respondents are socialized in an environment where climate issues are often discussed, in fact 85% discuss climate issues with their parents from somewhat to very often (Table 4.3). Consequently, they know that their parents care about the climate change too, another 80% know that their parents care somewhat to very much about climate issues (Table 4.4). And they do not only talk about these issues, they also act on it, around 70% of the parents undertake climate actions (Table 4.5). And finally 65% of them undertake collective action aimed at climate issues too (Table 4.6). Our respondents are clearly socialized in environments where parents not only talk and discuss these issues, but also act on them, they put their mouth where their money is.

	Frequency	%
Not at all	3	5.9
Not very	5	9.8
Somewhat	8	15.7
Quite	15	29.4
Very	20	39.2
Total	51	100.0

Table 4.3: Discuss climate change with parents

	Frequency	%
Not at all	3	5.9
Not very	7	13.7
Somewhat	16	31.4
Quite	13	25.5
Very	12	23.5
Total	51	100.0

Table 4.4: Parents care about climate change

	Frequency	%
Not at all	5	9.8
Not very	10	19.6
Somewhat	11	21.6
Quite	12	23.5
Very	13	25.5
Total	51	100.0

Table 4.5: Parents active in doing something

	Frequency	%
Not at all	8	15.7
Not very	10	19.6
Somewhat	13	25.5
Quite	15	29.4
Very	5	9.8
Total	51	100.0

Table 4.6: Parents take political action

Why did they protest?

Politics, and especially politics of protest, are full of emotions. Not different so for our young respondents. Around 90% feel at least somewhat to very angry, worried, and frustrated. Interestingly, only about 35% feel not at all hopeless, combined with around 25% who feel some agency (not powerless) in relation to climate change issues. Especially anxiousness and fearfulness are more spread.

	Frequency	%
Not at all	1	1.9
Not very	4	7.7
Somewhat	17	32.7
Quite	12	23.1
Very	18	34.6
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.7: Emotions – Angry

	Frequency	%
Not at all	6	11.5
Not very	12	23.1
Somewhat	16	30.8
Quite	15	28.8
Very	3	5.8
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.8: Emotions – Hopeless

	Frequency	%
Not at all	9	17.3
Not very	7	13.5
Somewhat	17	32.7
Quite	15	28.8
Very	4	7.7
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.9: Emotions – Anxious

	Frequency	%
Not at all	0	0
Not very	0	0
Somewhat	7	13.5
Quite	15	28.8
Very	30	57.7
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.10: Emotions – Worried

	Frequency	%
Not at all	6	11.5
Not very	7	13.5
Somewhat	20	38.5
Quite	10	19.2
Very	9	17.3
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.11: Emotions – Fearful

	Frequency	%
Not at all	1	1.9
Not very	3	5.8
Somewhat	4	7.7
Quite	21	40.4
Very	23	44.2
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.12: Emotions – Frustrated

	Frequency	%
Not at all	2	3.8
Not very	11	21.2
Somewhat	15	28.8
Quite	13	25.0
Very	11	21.2
Total	52	100.0

Table 4.13: Emotions – Powerless

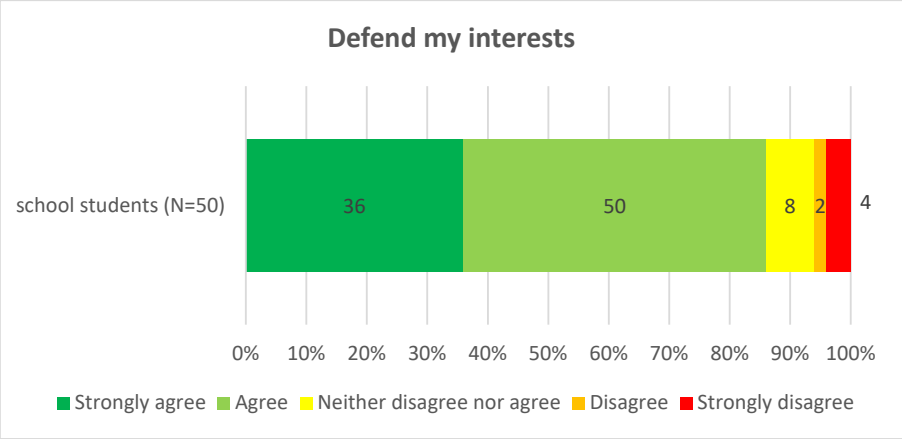

Figure 4.7: Motive – Defend my interest

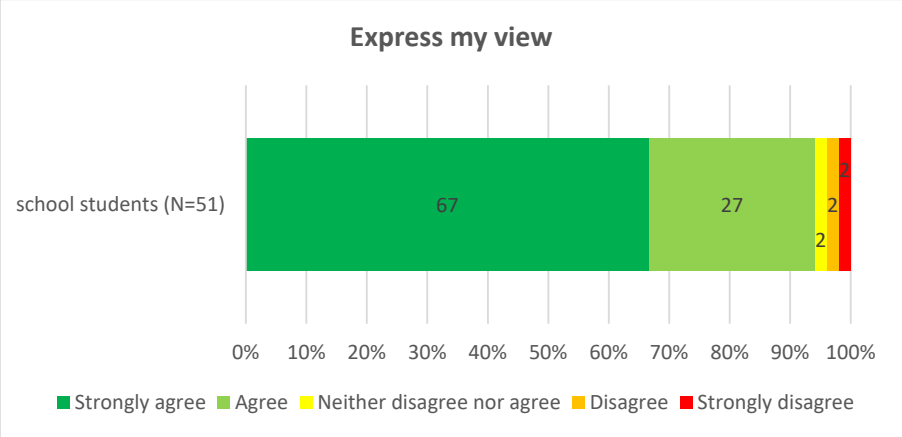

Figure 4.8: Motive – Express my views

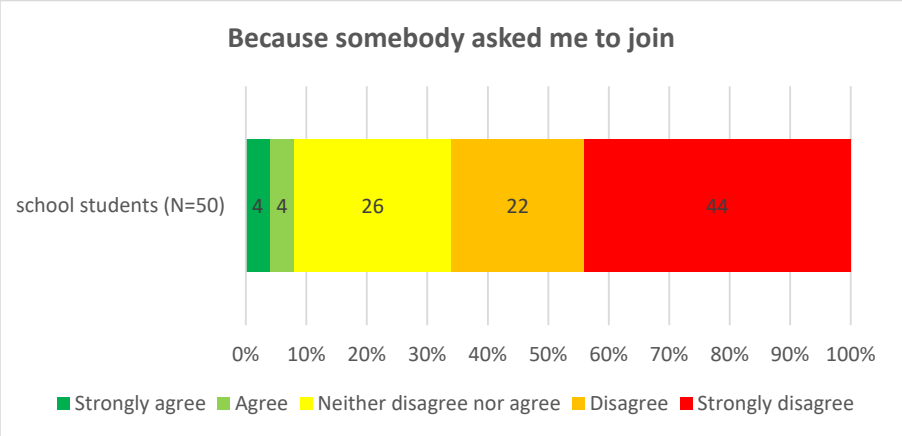

Figure 4.9: Motive – Because somebody asked me to join

Our climate protesters protested mainly to express their view, nearly 95% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed to have participated in the demonstration in order 'to express my view'. A remarkable large share also protested to defend their interests, namely 86%. This might explain why they were so angry and relatively powerful. The famous 'being asked' shows the opposite of what we would expect, only 8% of the respondents agreed to this. Hence, 66% claimed that this played no role (at all) in their motivation to attend the demonstration.

The large majority of the school students attended the demonstration with others. In fact only 3 out of 55 respondents attended the demonstration alone (5.5%). Figure 4.10 shows that the large share of companions is either friends (63.9%) or schoolmates (47.2%).

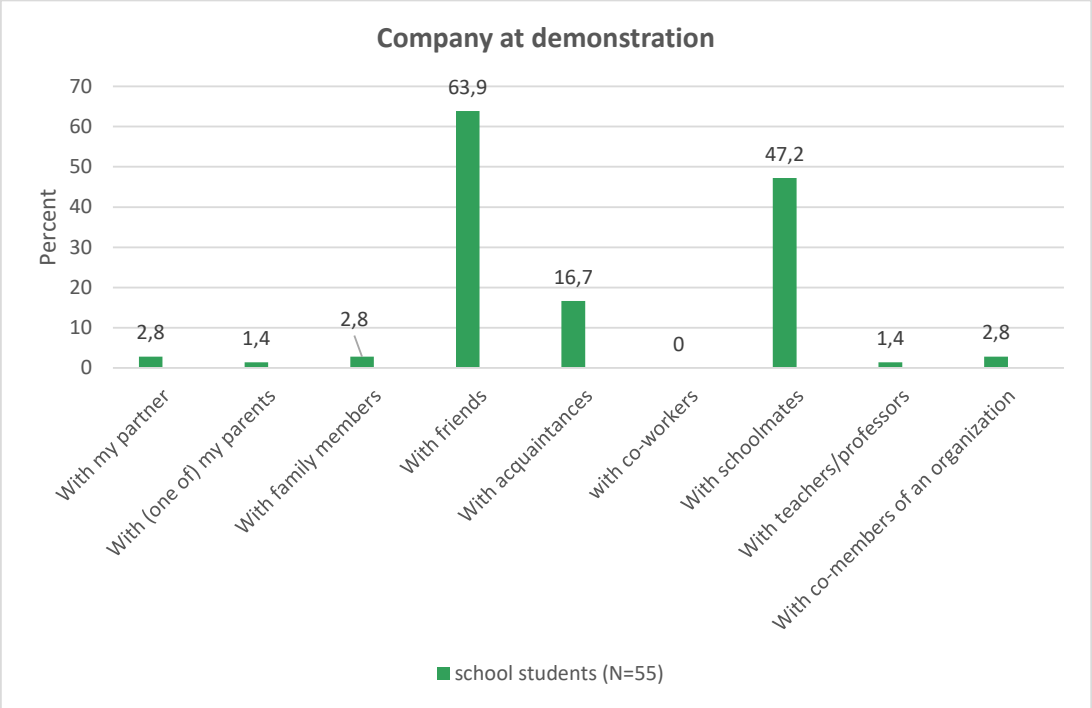

Figure 4.10: Company at the demonstration

Figure 4.11: Interpersonal recruiting

In terms of second order mobilization, school students were more active in asking others, than they were asked themselves.

Most of our respondents were motivated to take more interest in climate change because of Greta Thunberg (Figure 4.12). The majority admitted that the Swedish activist 'somewhat' or 'quite' boosted their interest in this issue. One fourth of the respondents admitted that she did not influence their decision to attend the strike, whereas the rest noted that she had some, quite or very much influence (Figure 4.13). Yet, quite a few participants did not know who she is.

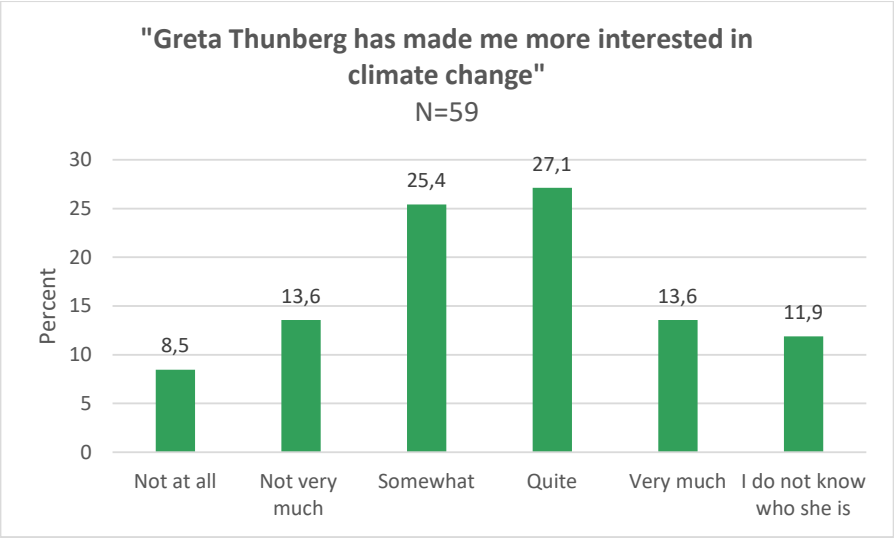

Figure 4.12: Greta's effect on climate change interest

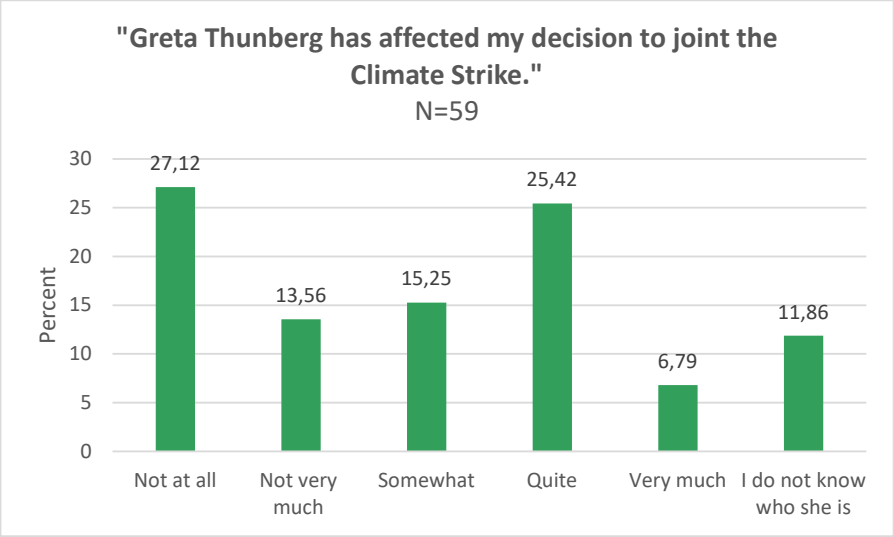

Figure 4.13: Greta's effect on intention to participate

What do they want and who should do it?

As Figure 4.14 shows, a majority of respondents agree or strongly agree (over 60%) that 'Modern science can be relied on to solve our environmental problems'. At the same time almost 64% of the demonstrators were sceptical about the government and disagreed or strongly disagreed that 'Government can be relied on to solve our environmental problems'. Even more respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed on the role of companies in helping to solve the environmental issues. When it comes to the effect of personal lifestyle changes, one third of the respondents tend to disagree, although more than half of them agree or are neutral.

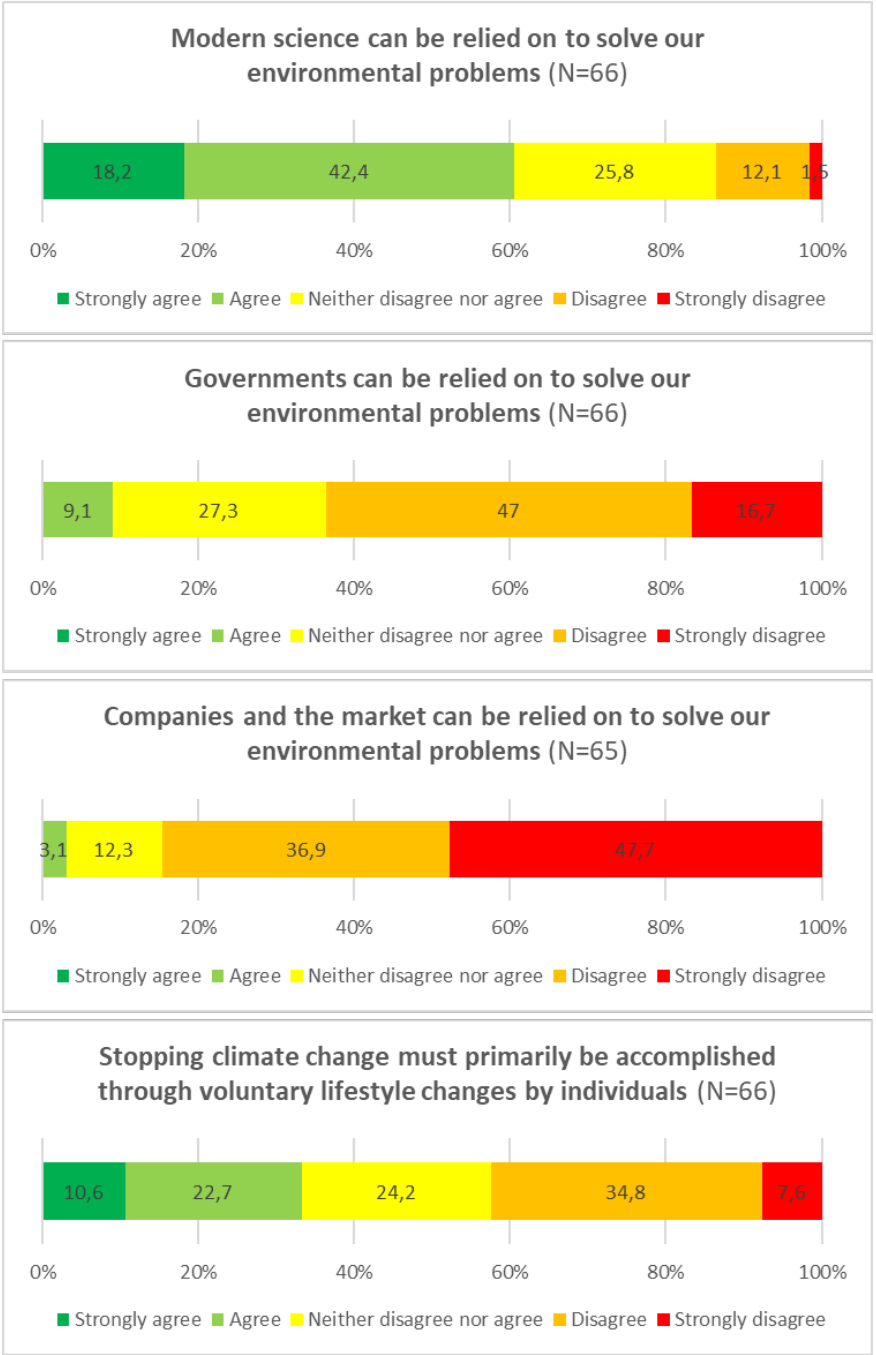

Figure 4.14: How to solve environmental problems

Figure 4.15: General trust in different political institutions

Most of the respondents 'somewhat' or 'quite' trust national government, the parliament and political parties (Figure 4.15). Trust in European Union is much lower – around 48% of the respondents indicated that they do not trust the EU. At the same time the respondents indicated much more trust in the United Nations (84% are more or less on the trusting side). The police and the environmental organizations are trusted by the demonstrators, while the views over the media split almost in half of who trusts and who does not.

Our respondents are cynical about politicians, nearly 75% find that most politicians make a lot of promises, but don't actually do something. Yet, interestingly, the majority sees the use of voting. Moreover, they large majority (about 78%) feels efficacious, namely they think that their individual contribution has an impact on public policy in The Netherlands. Moreover, not only their individual contribution, but they also deem collective efficaciousness very high, 85% think that organized groups of citizens can have an impact on politics and yet another 92% belief in international collective efficacy, interesting in the context of this international Climate Strike!

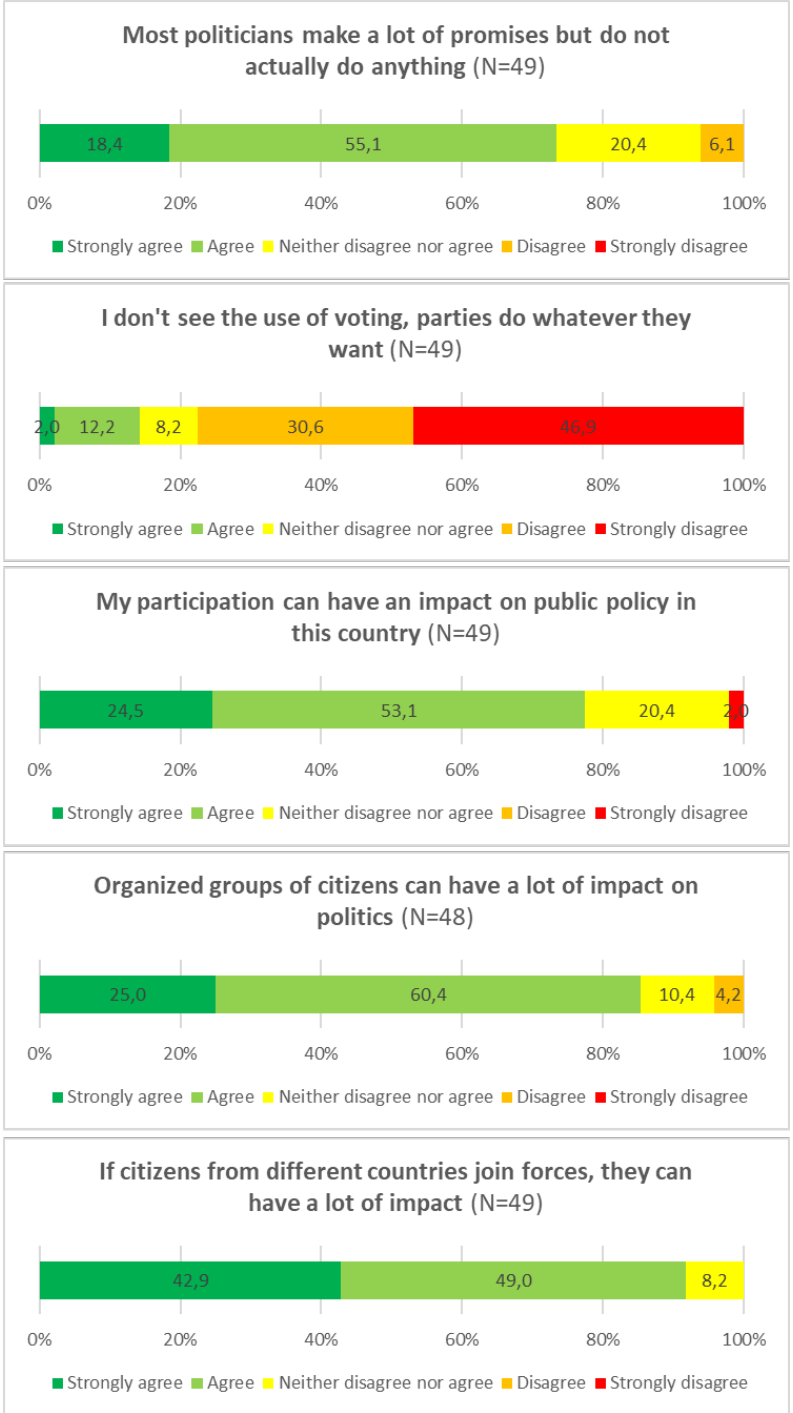

Figure 4.16: Political efficacy perceptions and cynicism

Germany

Sebastian Haunss, Dieter Rucht, Moritz Sommer and Sabrina Zajak

Background

Since decades, energy policy is a widely debated issue in Germany that – for purely economic reasons – led to the closure of all black coal mines, the decision to phase out nuclear power, the development of non-fossil ways of energy production, and a series of measures to reduce energy consumption. Against this backdrop, climate change was intensively debated in both the general public and among political elites during the last few years. While before and during the 2015 Paris Summit on Climate Change Germany was still perceived as a vanguard in matters of preventing climate change, more recently the country has become a laggard and will miss its declared goals of CO2 reduction in 2020 and afterwards. Though the government rhetorically stuck to its commitments made in Paris, in practise, and thanks to the influence of powerful pressure groups ranging from big farmer alliances to the automobile industry, it made only modest efforts to keep its promises. This half-hearted policy provoked a strong critique from scientists, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups. Especially the continuing exploitation of brown coal has become a hot issue because it is rightly perceived as the "dirtiest" source of electricity generation. Very intensive struggles focused on surface mining of brown coal in the Hambach area (close to the city of Cologne). There, massive protest activities took place, including several occupations of the Hambach forest that was going to be cleared by the RWE corporation, a major producer and provider of electricity. These protests started in 2012 and continue until the present, mobilising up to 10,000 participants in September 2018. In a way, these and other but smaller protests against lignite mining and energy-related issues and climate change paved the way for the rise of the climate strike movement in Germany.

Nationally, the responses were quite mixed. The green party and some individuals from the governing parties spoke highly of the pupils. German chancellor Merkel, after having expressed some reservations, eventually praised the protestors. The liberal party (FPD), parts of the conservative party (CDU) and right-wing actors strongly criticized the participants and devaluated the latters' knowledge. Christian Lindner (FDP), for example, labelled the pupils as stupid pushing the debate on "absenteeism" or the alleged control of the movement by organized interest groups. In contrast, the support by public intellectuals and scientist is overwhelming. By May 2019, over 2,600 scientists signed the written statement of the scientists for future.

The protest events

In Germany, the first protest in the context of the Climate Strike Movement (mostly coined by the English notion Fridays For Future in Germany or by the acronym F4F) took place in Berlin on September 14, 2018 but was hardly publicly noticed. With the perception that a cross-national movement was on the rise, the weekly protests attracted more participants and media coverage. On December 14, protests not only took place in Berlin but in ten more German cities. Still, the turnout was low with around 50 participants in Berlin.

On January 18, 2019, rallies and marches of the movement were registered in 50 German cities with an estimated total of 25,000 participants. In the following period, similar levels of participation were reached on some Fridays, for example on February 8 and 15. The rising movement was not only discussed because of its claims regarding climate policy but also because of its surprisingly young constituency and the fact that a national law obliges all pupils and high school students to go to school. The very idea of a politically motivated strike of pupils provoked strong and critical reactions especially from conservative politicians. This critique, in turn, was countered by mostly liberal and leftist supporters of the movement.

Accordingly, it did not come as a surprise that the idea of organising an international action day on March 15 would also be a major event in Germany. Demonstrations were announced in 225 cities (https://fridaysforfuture.de/march15th/). The organizers claim that on this day 300,000 persons participated (no official count is available). The protests on March 15th thus were by far the largest F4F activities both in terms of participants and in terms of the number of concurrent protests that Germany has seen so far. The two surveyed protests drew 20,000 in Berlin (according to the police but 25,000 according to the organisers) and 5–6,000 (our own count) in Bremen. In both cities they significantly exceeded participation in earlier F4F protest and also the organizers' expectations about this protest (in Bremen they had expected about 1,000 demonstrators, in Berlin 5,000 demonstrators were expected in the permitting procedure). In Berlin, the event started in a public park with some speeches, followed by a march to the Bundestag and the Federal Chancellery and back to the park with further speeches and music performances.

Protests were clearly dominated by pupils, many of them carrying self-made cardboard signs with slogans like "There is no Planet B", "Kohle löst unsere Zukunft in Rauch auf [Coal dissolves our future into smoke]" or "Weil es unsere Zukunft ist [Because it is our future]". The atmosphere was very cheerfull and participants were often chanting slogans like "Wir sind hier, wir sind laut, weil ihr uns die Zukunft klaut [We are here, we are loud, because you are stealing our future]". Both protests were peaceful and the policy was staying in the background. Logos and banners from political parties or environmental organizations were rare.

Who participated?

We did not query pupils under the age of consent. Only demonstrators older than 13 years were invited to participate in the online-survey. In the direct contacts during the demonstration, we also registered a significant proportion of younger participants of which those in the age group from 11 to 13 were by far dominant. In addition, also parents with very young children and even babies participated.

Among the 355 respondents who took part in the online-survey, the largest age cohort is from 15-19 years, though with a remarkable difference between Bremen (almost 59%) and Berlin (close to 41%). Next comes the age cohort from 20 to 35 years with a reverse difference between Berlin (38.2%) and Bremen (19.2%). The proportion of school students is 42.2% in Berlin and 58.9% in Bremen (figures not displayed). The mean age of the respondents in both cities is around 26 years which, compared to demonstrations on other issues, is very young.

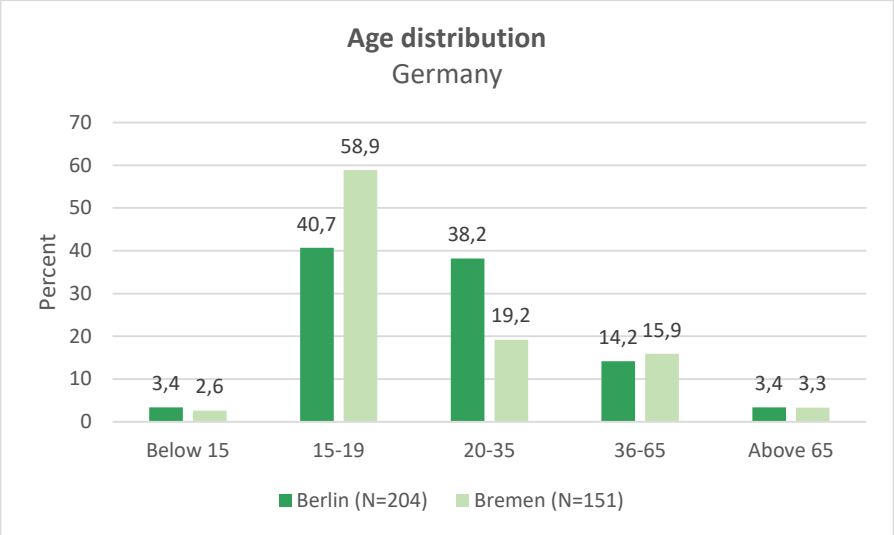

Figure 5.1: Age distribution of protesters in Berlin and Bremen
Note: due to legal restrictions, only protesters at the age of 14 or older took part in the online survey

In both cities, a clear majority of the participants is female (55.6% in Berlin and an even higher proportion in Bremen: 58.9%). Again, this is quite unusual when compared to many other protests, obviously with the exception on women-related issues. The strong presence of female protesters marks a stark contrast to the right-populist protesters of the so-called PEGIDA-movement we have surveyed in 2015 in Dresden. Among these, less than 20% were female.

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Given the relatively young age of most protesters, we can also expect a fairly low proportion of protesters working in political organisations. Indeed, there are fewer active members among school students when compared to adult demonstrators. Surprisingly, even among the school students the proportion of active members in a political party or a party-related youth organisation is higher (Berlin 4.7%; Bremen 3.4%) when compared to the average of the overall population of the age group of 18 years or more (below 2%).

Regarding financial support and active membership in environmental organisations, we find much higher proportions, when compared to party-related activities, especially among the group of adult protesters. A remarkable high share of these (22.9%) financially support one or more environmental organisations.

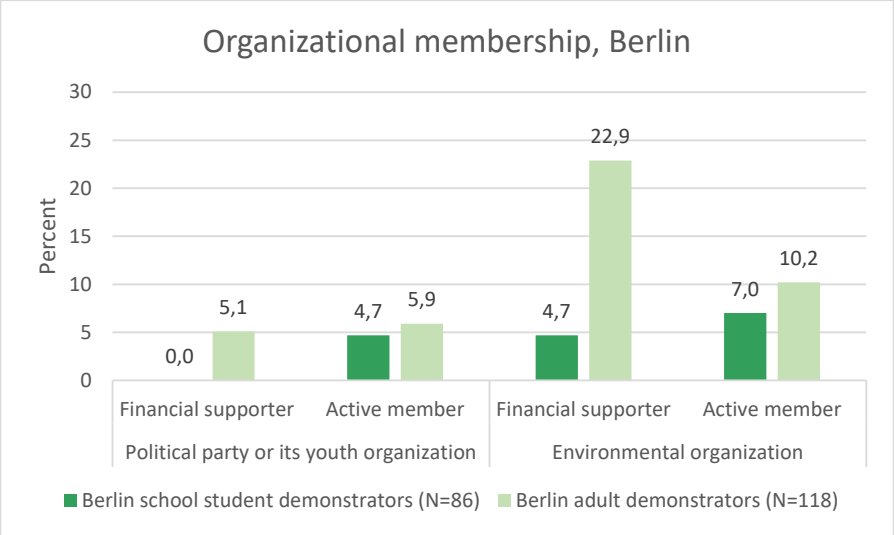

Figure 5.2: Organizational membership of protesters in Berlin

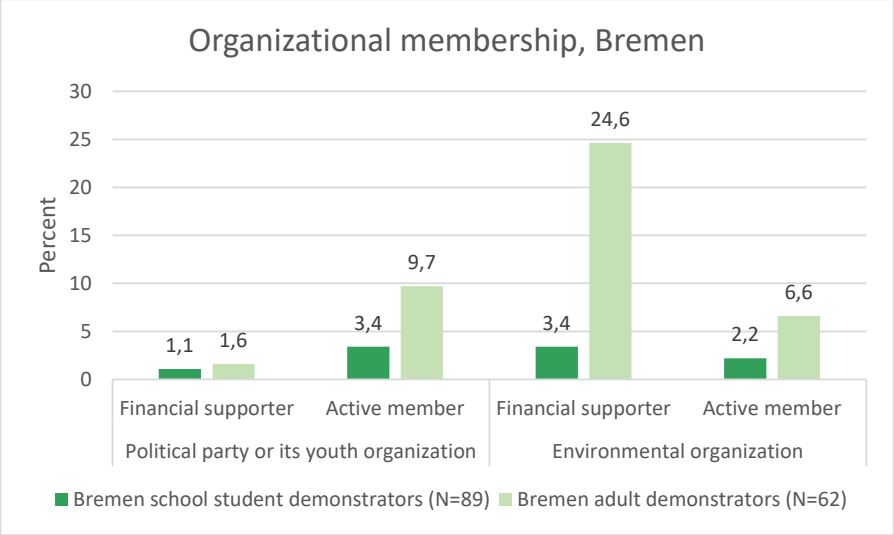

Figure 5.3: Organizational membership of protesters in Bremen

Especially among the school students we can expect high proportions of those who have not, or only rarely, participated in previous demonstrations. Indeed, there is a remarkable gap between this group and the group of adults. In Berlin, the respective proportions for those who have never demonstrated before are 28.2% (school students) and 7.1% (adults); in Bremen, at a remarkable higher level, the proportions are 51.1% and 16.7%, respectively. Corresponding gaps also exist among those who previously demonstrated at least once up to five times. Among the frequent protesters (more than 20 times in the past), the gap between the younger group (2.4%) and the adults (32.7%) is extraordinary in Berlin and still remarkable in Bremen.

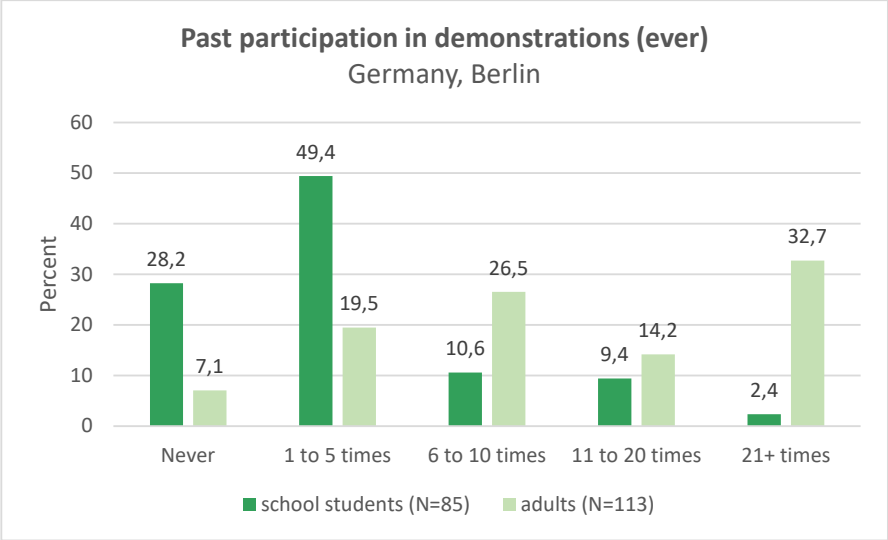

Figure 5.4: Previous demonstration participation (ever) (Berlin)

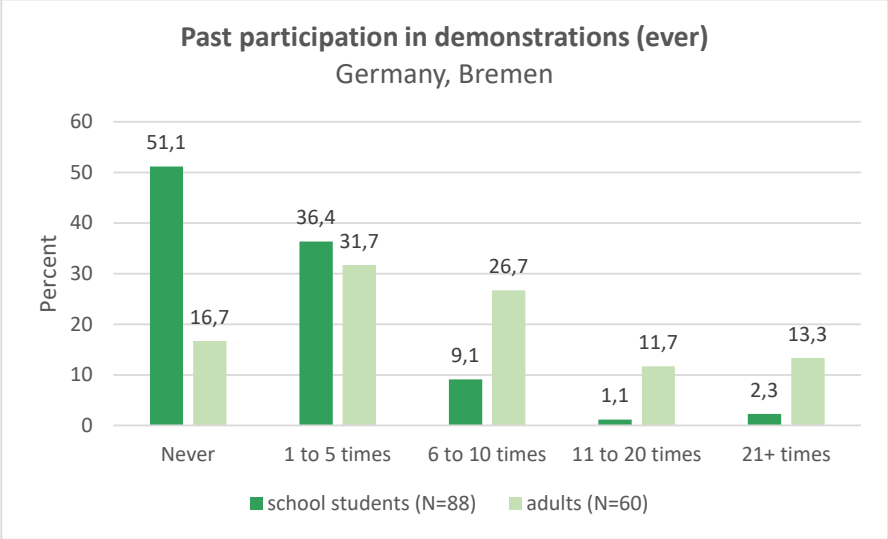

Figure 5.5: Previous demonstration participation (ever) (Bremen)

The involvement in different forms of political participation is high among adults and school students (Figure 5.6 and 5.7). While the overall level of political participation is higher among adults, there are interesting differences between the different types of behaviour. School students' primary political behaviour is a change of lifestyle practices (change of diet for political reasons: 69.2%), addressing politicians through public letters comes second (with 58.9% of the respondents have done that in the past. The most frequent political activity among adults is signing a petition (84.6%). This suggests that for the young politics starts with politicising everyday social practices and actions.

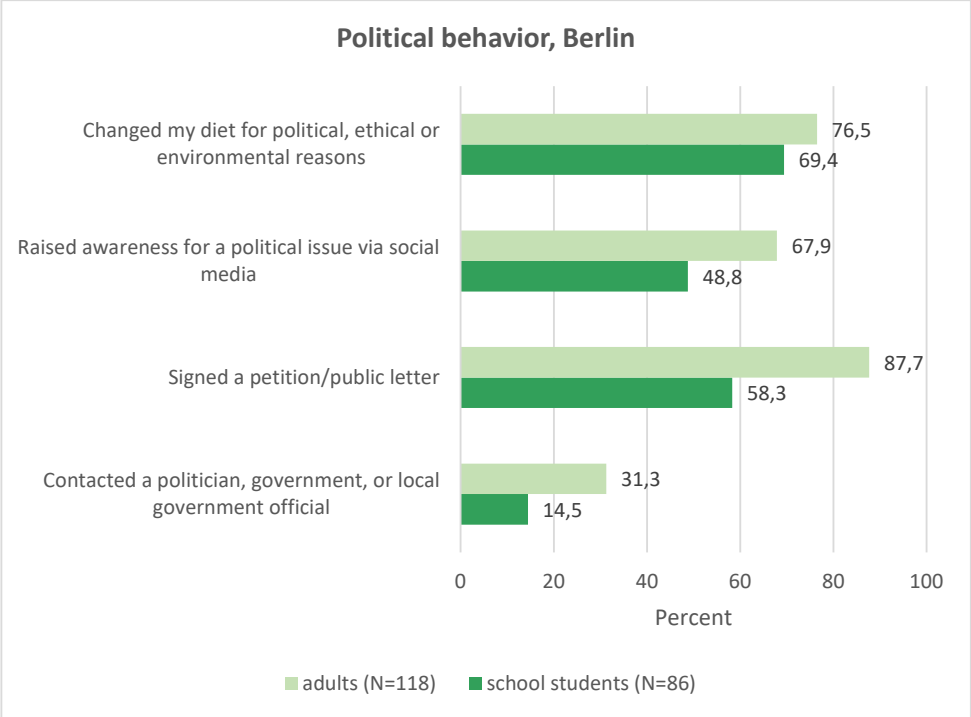

Figure 5.6: Previous individualized forms of political participation (Berlin)

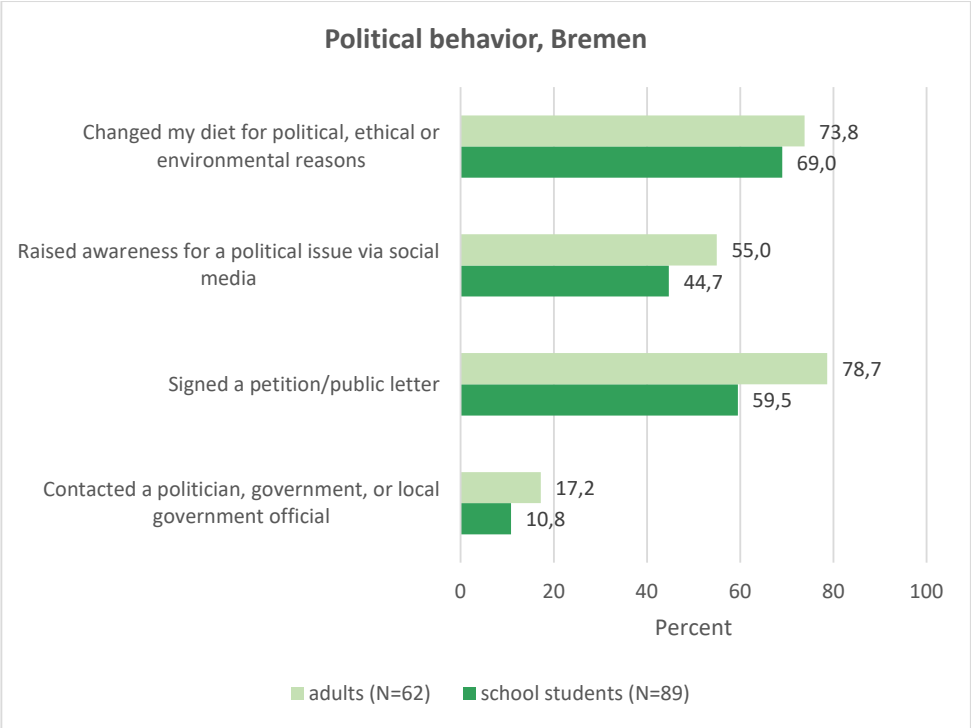

Figure 5.7: Previous individualized forms of political participation (Bremen)

Why did they protest?

The answers to the open question about the reasons for participating in the demonstration show that especially the pupils see climate change as both an urgent and a long-term problem. Statements like: "Because something has to change in politics, and if they don't tackle it or if they not even realize, then we have to fight for our future!"[25] express a concern about one's own future. In the statements of the older protest participants, solidarity with the pupils is often mentioned as a motive for taking part in the protest. Answers to both the open and the closed motivation questions show that protesters want to put pressure on the government and politicians to take concrete steps against climate change. For adults, this seems to be a slightly stronger motive than for school students. Interestingly the only item that receives more and stronger support from school students is "defending our interests" which 86% of the school students support in Berlin (compared to 81.8% of the adults; Bremen: 79.8% vs. 77.6%).

The obvious gap between governmental promises and actions in terms of climate policy is a major motive for demonstrators to take to the streets. When asked about the general strategy to pressurise political decision-makers, we find an overwhelming support among both the demonstrating school students and the adults. When combining the answer categories of agreement and strong agreement, almost 90% in Berlin (for both age groups) and an even higher proportion of the school students in Bremen (93.3%) agree that this is a core motivation.

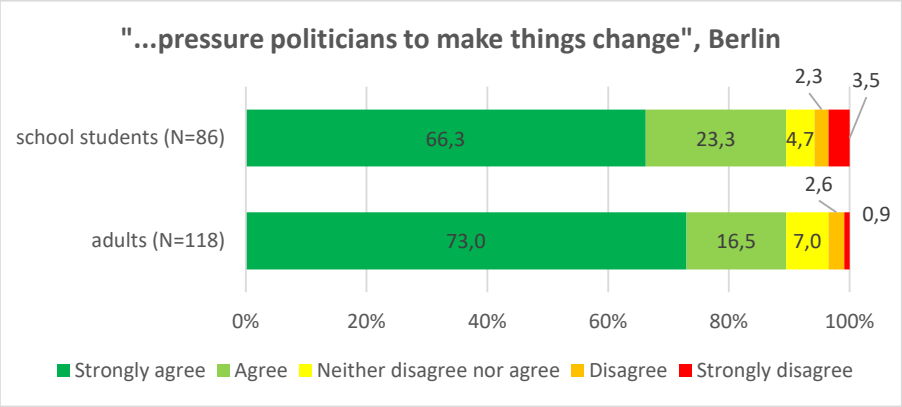

Figure 5.8: Motive – pressure politicians (Berlin)

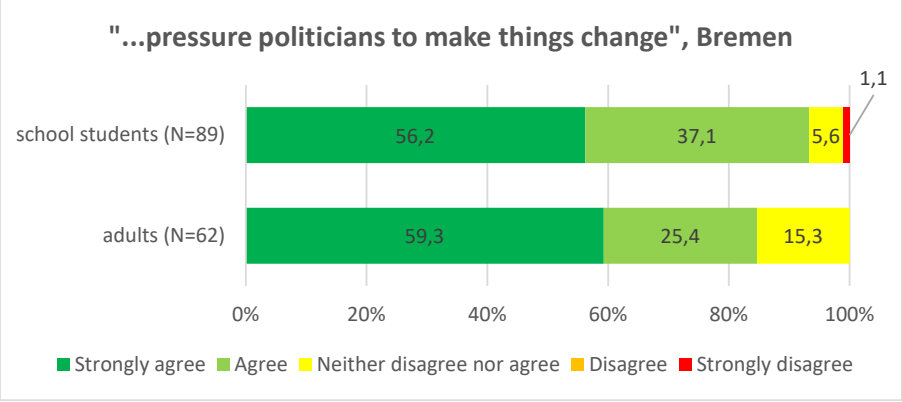

Figure 5.9: Motive – pressure politicians (Bremen)

[25] *„Weil die sich in der Politik etwas ändern muss und wenn die das nicht angehen oder merken müssen wir halt für unsere Zukunft kämpfen!"*

For the large majority of protesters, participation was a collective and not an individual act. Only 3.5% of the school students in Berlin and only 1.1% in Bremen went alone to the demonstration. For adults, these proportions are much higher (Berlin: 18.6%, Bremen 11.7%). But also most adults went to the demonstration together with other people they know. For school students this is mostly the overlapping categories friends, schoolmates and acquaintances. Adults were mainly joined by friends and family members.

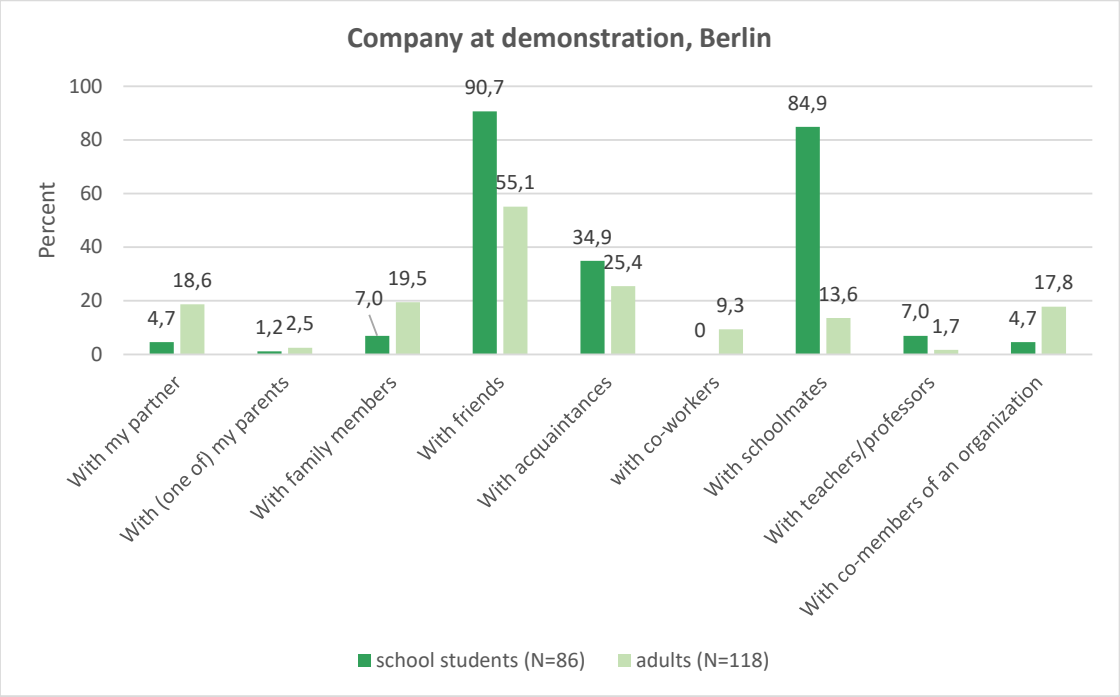

Figure 5.10: Company at the demonstration (Berlin)

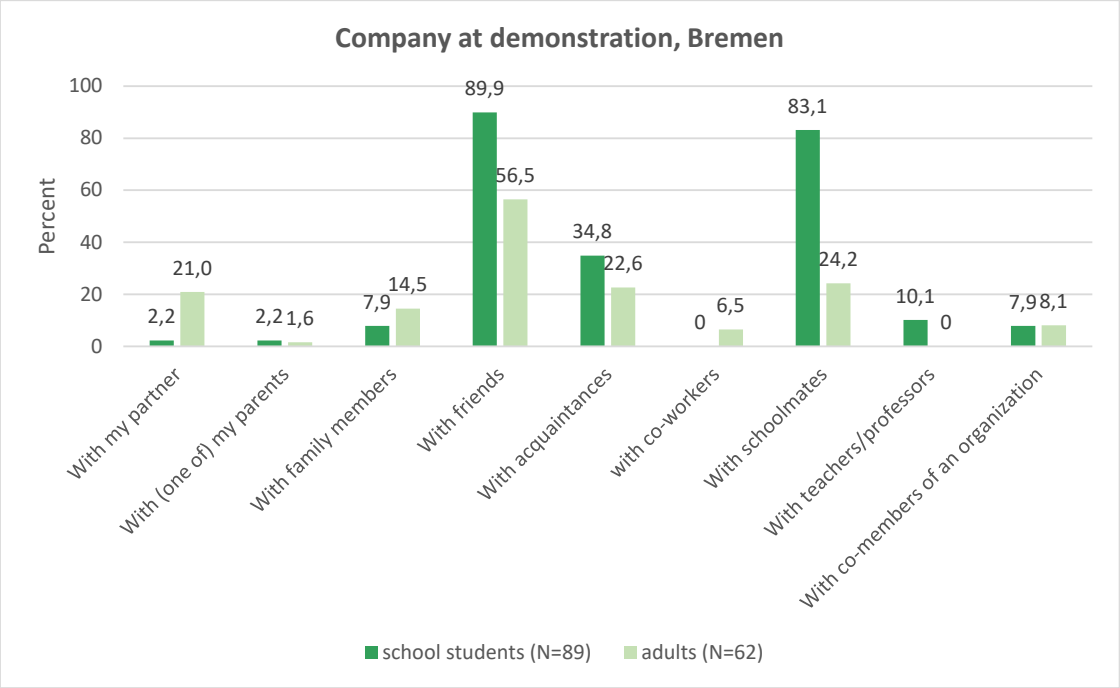

Figure 5.11: Company at the demonstration (Bremen)

Similar to other countries, also German media tend to identify Greta Thunberg as the initiator but also as the key factor to motivate many young people taking part in the F4F movement. Though the importance of Greta cannot be denied, her role for the activists was and is probably overrated. When protesters were asked whether Greta has made them more interested in climate change, almost 10% of the school students said “not at all”, another 10% “not very much”, and a significantly higher proportion opted for “somewhat”. For adult protesters in Berlin, percentages in all three answer categories are much higher, whereas in Bremen the picture differs for the third category (“somewhat”) from proportions in Berlin.

Greta Thunberg clearly has an impact on the participants’ interest in climate change. This effect is stronger for school students than for adults and markedly stronger in Berlin than in Bremen. Definitely positive answers (“very much”) among school students were less frequent in Bremen (21.2%) when compared to Berlin (30.2%). Across the board, Greta was less influential for adults when compared to school students.

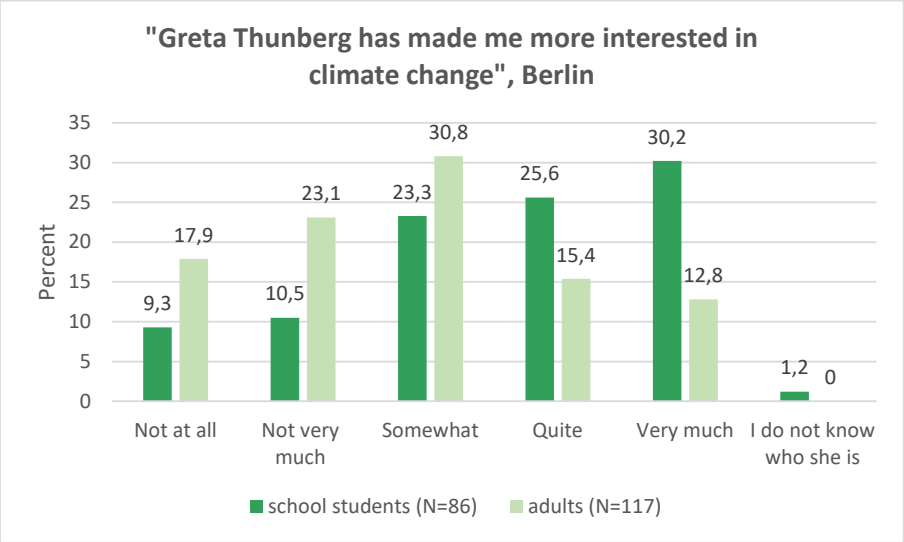

Figure 5.12: Influence of Greta Thunberg in interest in climate change (Berlin)

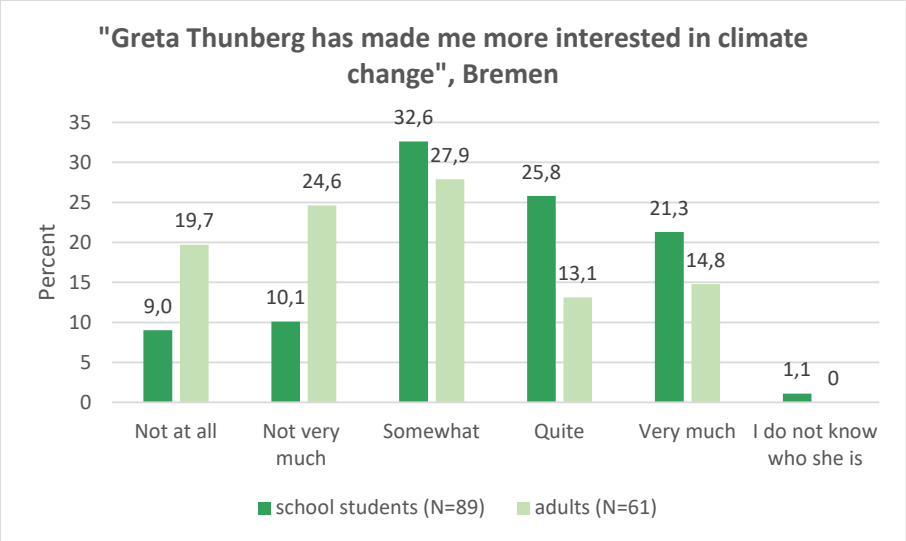

Figure 5.13: Influence of Greta Thunberg in interest in climate change (Bremen)

What do they want and who should do it?

People who take to the streets in order to criticise governmental policies cannot be expected to exhibit high levels of trust in governments. No wonder that the protesters expressed high levels of distrust in governments to solve environmental problems. In Berlin, 83.7% (school students) and 91.4% (adults) do not believe that the government can be relied upon to solve environmental problems. Almost equally high level of disagreements (disagree and strongly disagree) are expressed by protesters in Bremen (school students 82.1%, adults 85.5%).

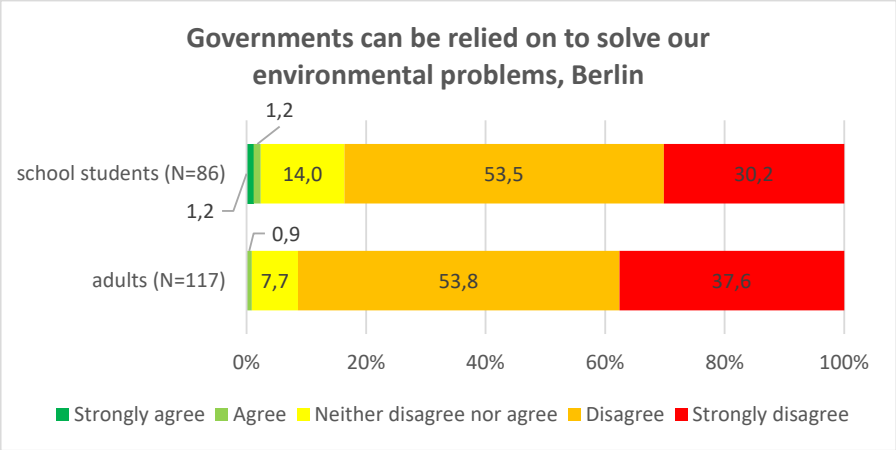

Figure 5.14: Reliance on governments to solve environmental problems (Berlin)

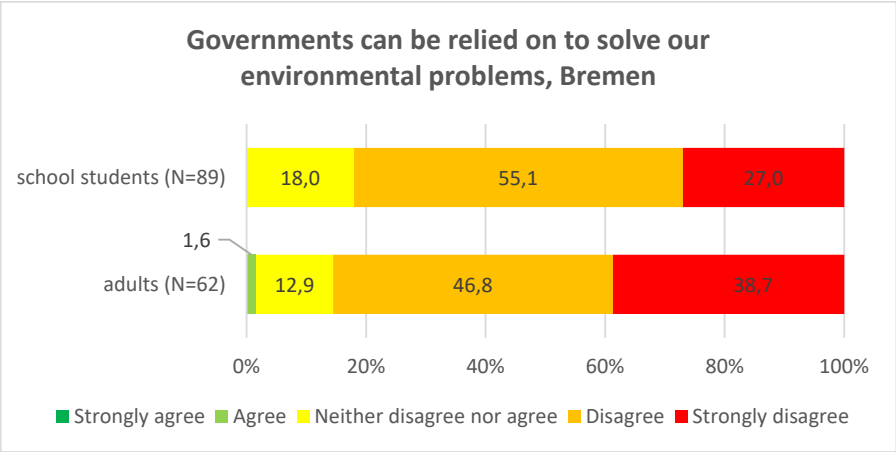

Figure 5.15: Reliance on governments to solve environmental problems (Bremen)

This is in stark contrast with the believe that modern science can contribute to the solution of environmental problems. Almost half of school students in Berlin and Bremen and even more of the adults in Berlin agree or strongly agree with that opinion.

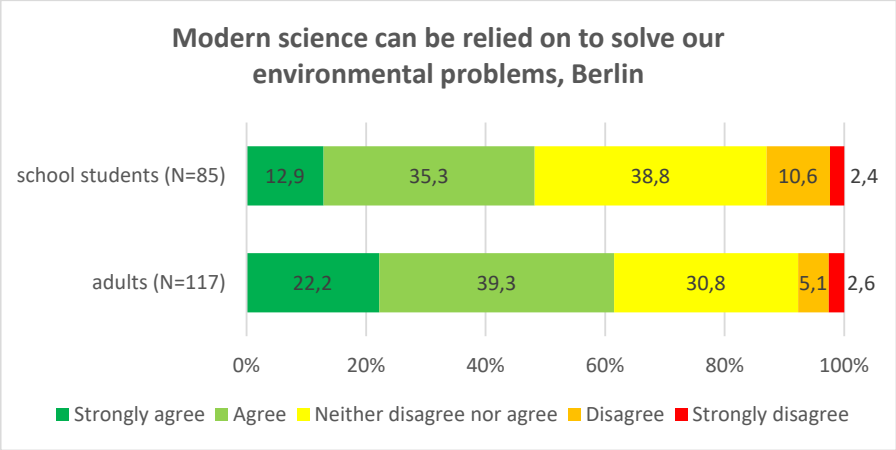

Figure 5.16: Reliance on modern science to solve environmental problems (Berlin)

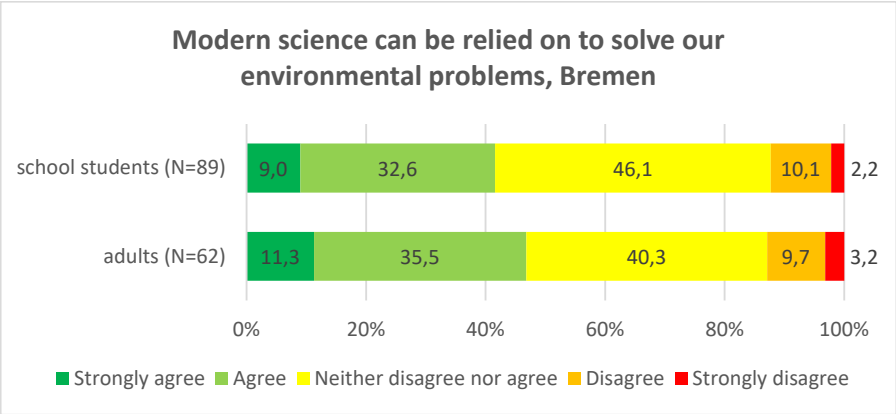

Figure 5.17: Reliance on modern science to solve environmental problems (Bremen)

High level of distrust can also be found with regard to actors in the realm of economy. In Berlin, only 2.4% of the school students and none of the adults agree with the statement "We can rely on companies and the market to solve our environmental problems." 16.5% and 10.3% are undecided and the rest does not trust them at all. In Bremen the results are similar. There, none of the school students and 1.6% of the adults put some hope in companies and 4.8% respectively 21.3% are undecided. In a nutshell, neither the established political actors nor the private companies are perceived as agents to solve environmental problems. However, a vast majority of the respondents in both cities agree that each individual has to change his/her own lifestyle practices to stop climate change. In sum, science and society are attributed competence to solve the problem whereas confidence in governments or businesses is low.

Beyond the domain of environmental policy, protesters were also asked about their general trust in various institutions. Also, in this regard, the picture for governments does not looks positive, though less grim than for environmental matters.

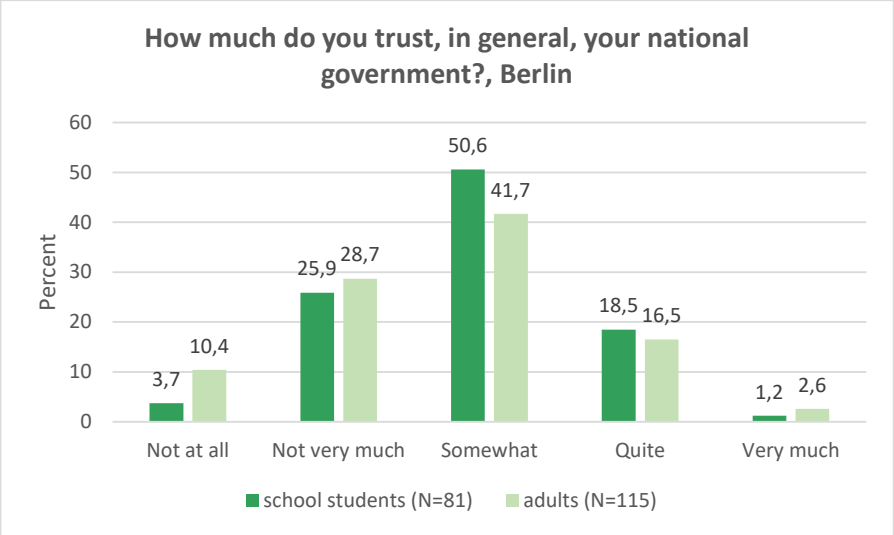

Figure 5.18: General trust in governments (Berlin)

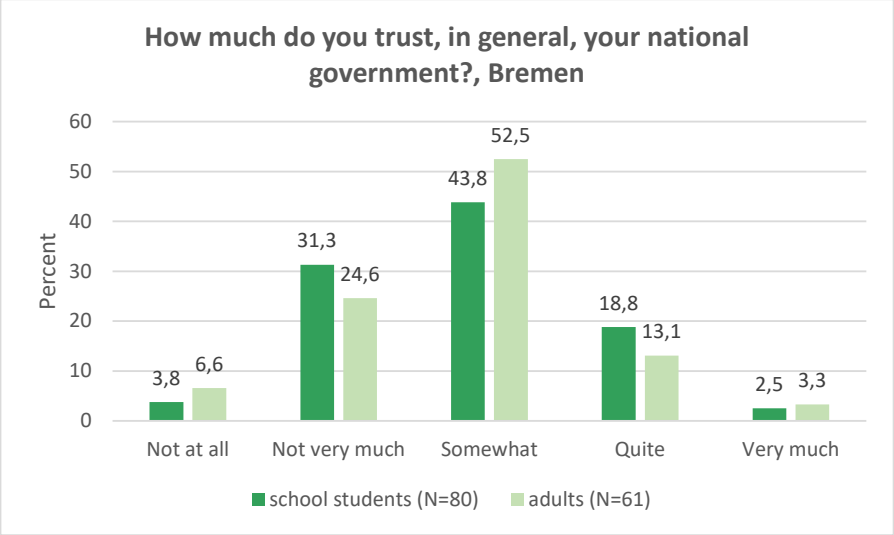

Figure 5.19: General trust in governments (Bremen)

Considering other institutions, trust in political parties (a bit more than 10%) is even lower than in the federal government (almost 20%) for all protesters in Germany (figures not displayed here). Higher levels or trust are expressed for the Federal Parliament, the media, the UN and the EU. On top of trust levels range the police and, far ahead, environmental groups which are trusted by almost 80% of the German protesters.

Technical information

In Germany, when combining Berlin and Bremen, we have distributed 2,200 flyers (asking potential respondents to complete the online-questionnaire). In the end, 355 protesters filled the questionnaire (respondents who completed less than 50% of the questions were excluded). Accordingly, the response rate of those who had received/accepted a flyer is 16.1%. Based on an estimate of 25,000 protesters (Berlin and Bremen combined), 1.4% of all protesters completed their questionnaire online. In Berlin, flyers were distributed during the initial gathering in the park, the march through parts of the city, and the final gathering in the same park. In Bremen, flyers were distributed during the initial gathering at the public place in front of the main station and during the protest march that ended at the city hall. Taking both cities together, 5.4% of those asked to take a flyer refused to accept. Overall, protest participants were open and friendly towards the interviewers.

In addition to distributing flyers, we also had direct and short interviews on the spot based on the commonly agreed list of 12 questions (including one open question). In addressing potential interviewees, we strictly followed a random principle. In Berlin, the answers of the interviewees were noted on paper; in Bremen, they were directly entered on tablet computers. As in the online-survey, only interviewees aged 14 at minimum were accepted. We conducted 354 interviews in Berlin and 89 interviews in Bremen.

When comparing the results on identical questions from both surveys, the answers were surprisingly similar (figures are not displayed here). From this we conclude that the results received by the online-survey are approximately representative for all protesters in the two cities under study.

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INSTYTUT FILOZOFII I SOCJOLOGII POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

Poland

Stephen Davies, Piotr Kocyba, Małgorzata Łukianow, Viktoriia Muliavka

Background

The Polish Youth Climate Strike (Młodzieżowy Strajk Klimatyczny) is quite a new phenomenon. Despite the developing activism around specific infrastructure projects or policies, environmental issues have not functioned as a mobilization trigger for major demonstrations in Poland. The same is true for young demonstrators – until recently Poland's youth did not mobilize for their own demonstrations and strikes and no events (like Fridays For Future) were organized.

At the same time, the issue of environmental protection has become an urgent one due to the serious ecological problems Poland is currently facing. For instance, the air in Polish cities is the worst in the whole European Union (36 of the 50 most polluted EU cities are in Poland). Regular smog alerts are having an impact on the quality of life by essentially making outdoor activities a health hazard. Despite these serious problems, the right-wing government is introducing regressive policies in the field of environmental protection by safeguarding the Polish coal industry, for example. This policy, which allows for further CO^2-emissions, became starkly obvious during the 24th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP24), hosted by Poland in Katowice in 2018. Polish officials at the conference repeatedly and openly denied the fact of climate change or emphasized their opposition to the "killing" of the Polish coal industry. Greta Thunberg also gave a speech at the event, making her a well-known figure in Poland. Faced with the everyday consequences of a detrimental environmental policy on everyday life and with a heightened awareness on the issue of climate change after the COP24 climate summit and in particular by Greta Thunberg's speech, a new climate movement has evolved in Poland.

Despite the positive reception of the strike by liberal and opposition media, politicians of the mainstream parties did not comment extensively on the events. The ruling party, responsible for a sceptical discourse on climate change and policies in line with this regressive discourse, did not criticize the events. Some right-wing journalists did, however, question the level of environmental knowledge of the young demonstrators.

The protest events

The Youth Climate Strike organized in Warsaw was by far the largest of such events in Poland. Although climate strikes were organized in many other cities, such as Białystok, Częstochowa, Gdańsk, Katowice, Lublin, Poznań and Wrocław, the events usually attracted no more than a few hundred participants. In Warsaw, we counted - despite the rainy weather - around 6,700 protestors. Unusual for protests, most of the participants arrived at 10.00 sharp (shortly before 10.00 there were far fewer than 1,000 participants). The march started shortly after 10.00 and followed a route through Warsaw city centre. The participants of the strike marched very quickly, and it took them less than 60 minutes to complete the 1.7 km route. At the post-march rally, held in front of the Ministry of Energy, some speeches were made (mainly by pupils and students) criticizing politicians for their lack of effort in saving the climate. As the number of protestors quickly declined, the rally was transformed into a dance party with loud popular music.

The atmosphere was cheerful, the march itself was very well organized, and the participants followed all requests and rules laid down by the organizers and the police. Most of the demonstrators appeared to be school students. This is also true for the organizers, who represented a very young age group (pupils and students). Very few adults participated in the event. Since many groups came from schools, we suppose the adults were usually teachers who came to the march with the classes they supervise. Many protesters brought self-made banners with slogans like "Make love, not CO^2" or "There is no Planet B". The demonstrators often chanted slogans like "Don't raise our temperature",

“Don’t take our future away” or “First nature, then school”. The organizers specifically asked participants not to display any political symbols (especially party ones).

Who participated?

The majority of participants (87.7%) are school students (96% are pupils or students). This differs substantially from the general cross-national sample in which school students constitute only 40.3% of respondents. Considering the huge proportion of school students, the largest age group among the protestors consists of 15-19-year-old participants (85% compared to 42% in the cross-national dataset). By contrast, participants in the 36-65 age-group make up less than 4% of the protest population and those above 65 are absent. The number of representatives of the highest educational level also reflects the engagement of predominantly school-students. Only one respondent graduated from university. The largest group of respondents have lower (67%) and higher (19,7%) secondary technical/vocational qualifications. 7% of respondents have not completed primary school education. These results also differ considerably from other protest surveys conducted in Poland, where around 80% of participants of progressive as well as regressive demonstrations hold a tertiary (or higher) education qualification. Thus, the educational level of the parents seems to be similar to that of other (adult-) demonstrators (80% hold a university degree).

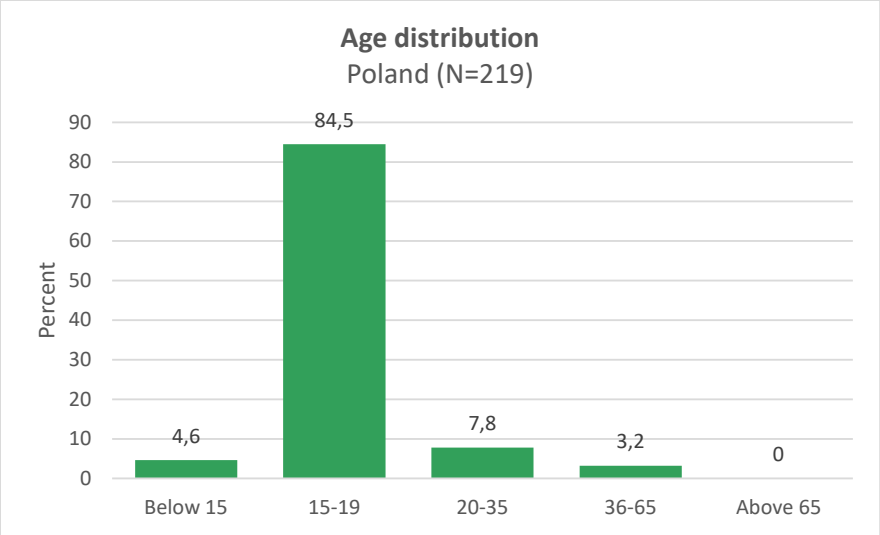


Figure 6.1: Age distribution of protesters in Poland

The majority of the protestors were female (almost 70%). This not only differs from the cross-national data, according to which females made up around 60% of the surveyed events, but differs from protests in general, where the gender distribution is more or less equal (with the exception of feminist events, which over-represent females, and right-wing events, which over-represent males).

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Considering the age of the school students, a significantly high number of protest novices and those who did not participate more than 5 times in a demonstration was to be expected (both groups represent around 88% of the school students). Compared to this, the adult participants are more experienced with demonstrations, even though this is not a highly engaged group.

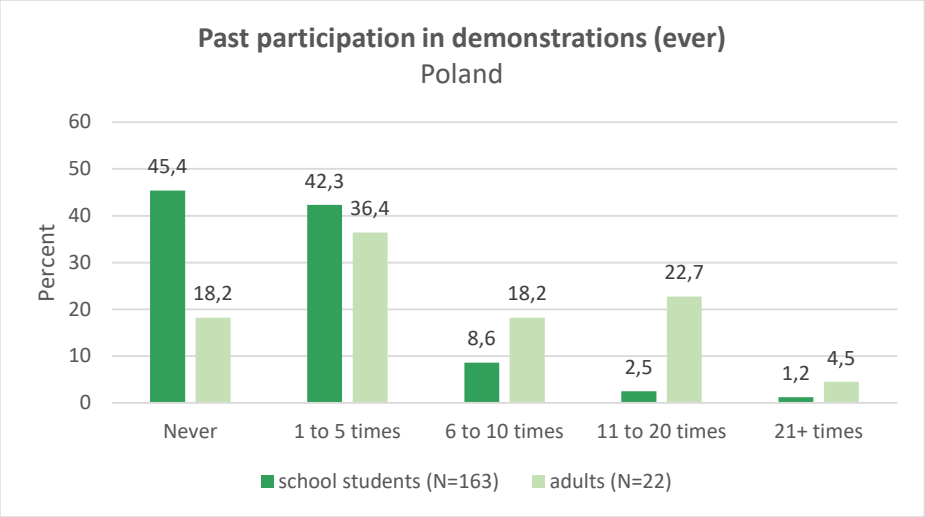


Figure 6.2: Previous demonstration participation (ever)

It also does not come as a surprise that organizational membership differs for adults and school students. This is especially true for environmental organizations, where adults are nearly 4 times more likely to financially support them or be active members than school students. This finding supports the assumption that for the Youth Strike Climate in Warsaw previous environmental activism plays only a minor role. Involvement in political parties, for both school students and adults, is strikingly low. The number of financial supporters is already very low, at 3% and 4.3%, but there is no noteworthy active engagement in parties.

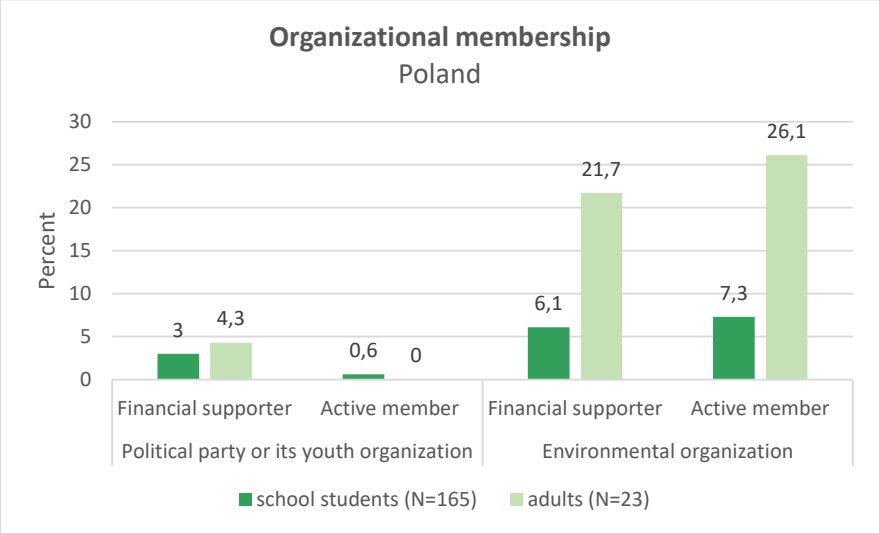


Figure 6.3: Organizational membership of protesters in Poland

A clear and striking lack of engagement in politics is also visible when it comes to questions concerning political behaviour. By far the smallest number of protestors had any kind of contact with a politician, government or local government official. This number included only 36.4% of adults and – unsurprisingly due to their age – only 6.3% of school students. There is also a big difference between adults and school students in signing a petition or a public letter (81.8% adults vs. 43.5% school students) and with the use of social media to raise awareness of a political issue – it may seem unusual that school students use social media for this purpose less often than adults (90,5% vs. 51.2%) but it should be borne in mind that the adults in the Polish sample are still a very young age-cohort, representing mostly university students. The most popular political behaviour among school students is changing their diet for ethical reasons (57.9%). More adults change their diet than school students (63.6%) – in their case, however, it is the third most popular type of political behaviour. Overall, the difference between both groups is the smallest here. These results show that school students are focusing their activism mainly on their individual responsibility as consumers.

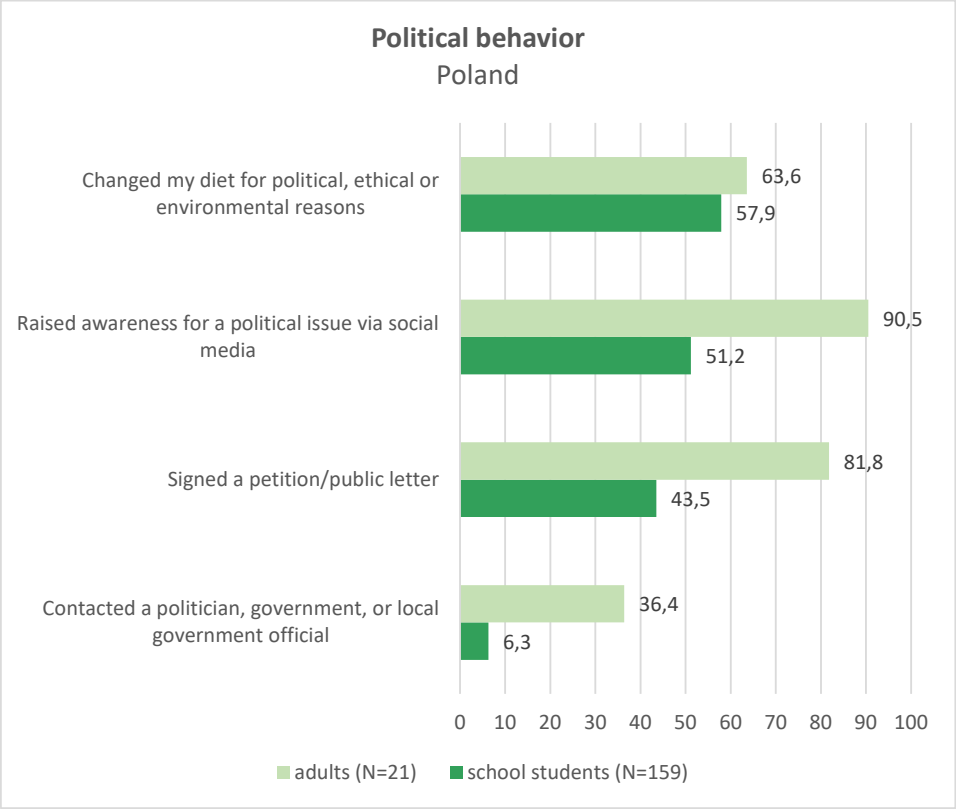


Figure 6.4: Types of political behaviour

Why did they protest?

The motives for participation are most often surprising. Only the motive of expressing solidarity was answered in a way that could have been expected. More adults joined the Youth Strike for Climate to express solidarity (78.3% strongly agreed + 13% agreed among adults vs. 61.5% strongly agreed + 27.2% agreed among school students). With only one exception, where the motives were similar (in the case of raising public awareness), in all other cases the motives of the adults were more explicit. Adults more often wanted to express their views (69.6% + 21.7% adults vs. 56.8% + 30.2% school students), put pressure on politicians (78.3% + 13% vs. 67.5% + 23.7%) and more often felt a moral obligation (95.7% vs. 61.9% + 24.4%). Most surprisingly, adults state more often than school students that they want to defend their own interests:

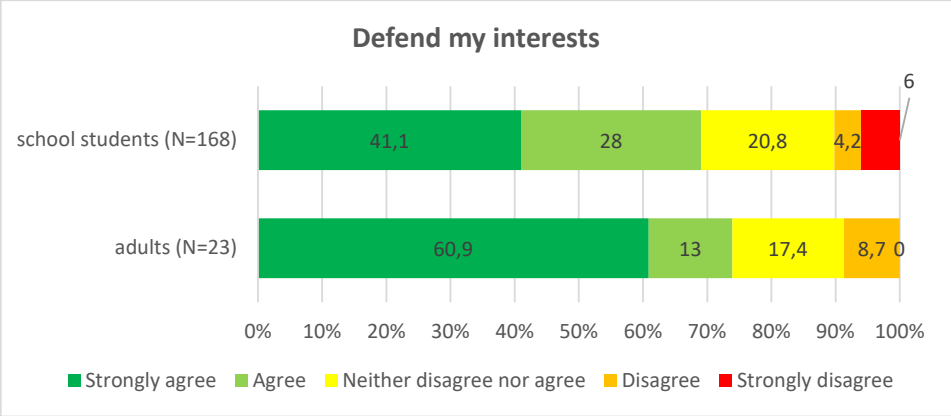


Figure 6.5: Motive – defend my interests

Youth Climate Strikes were meant to express the fears of school students for their future. Against this background, the more explicit commitment by adults to defend their own interests is an unexpected result (an explanation may be, again, the young age of the adults in the Polish sample).

Indeed, looking at the emotions expressed by the protestors, only in the case of fear did school students agree more (33.7% very much + 27.2% quite school students vs. 8.7% very much + 34.8% quite among adults). Both groups were similarly angry, anxious and worried. However, the adults were more frustrated (54.2% + 20.8% adults vs. 37.6% + 32.4% school students) and more often felt powerless (29.2% + 29.2% adults vs. 15.3% +24.1% school students) and hopeless (25% + 29.2% adults vs. 8.2% + 15.9% school students). Thus, school students seem to feel - despite their fears - less sceptical about climate change and their power of influence.

Greta Thunberg plays a minor role for adults but a considerable one for school students. Slightly more than one-third of the adults and less than two-thirds of the school students (the sum of 'very much' and 'quite') indicated that they participated because of her. Surprisingly, compared with the cross-national data, a significant percentage of the protestors do not know who she is – which is true for school students as well as for adults (4% of adults in Poland vs. 1.9 in the cross-national sample and 16.9% of school students in Poland vs. 7.6% in the cross-national sample do not know her).

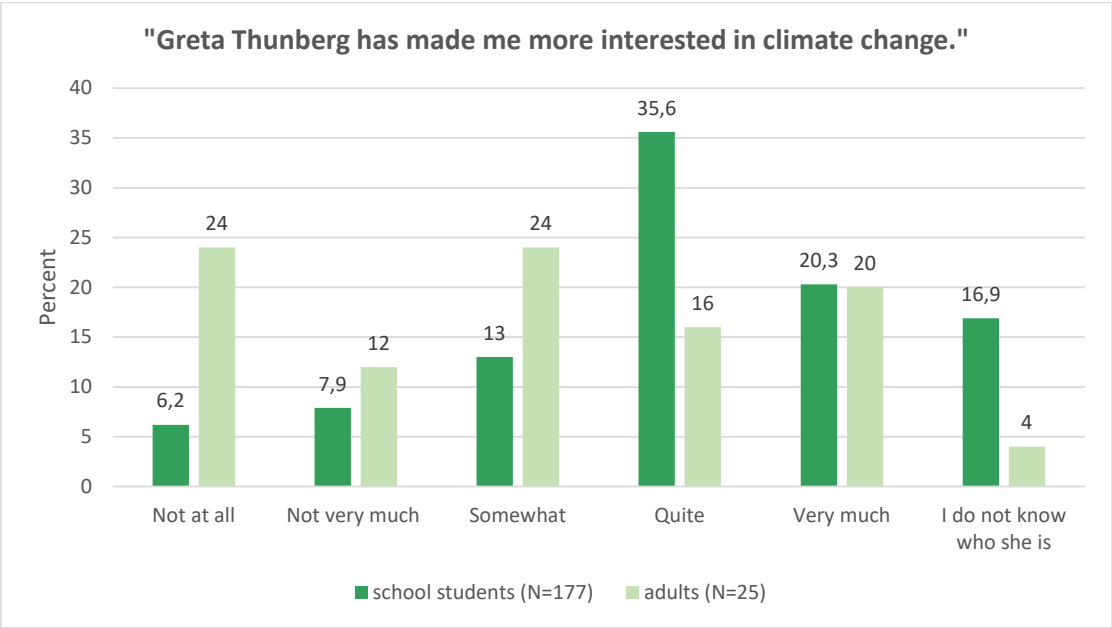


Figure 6.6: Influence of Greta Thunberg in interest in climate change

Not surprising for a school strike, only 4% of school students participated in the event alone. This is very different for the adults, 20% of whom joined the strike on their own. Also, school students more often asked others to participate in the demonstration (83.9% school students vs. 64% adults). The indicated difference here in social networks mobilized for the protest becomes obvious when looking at the figure with an overview of companions at the demonstration:

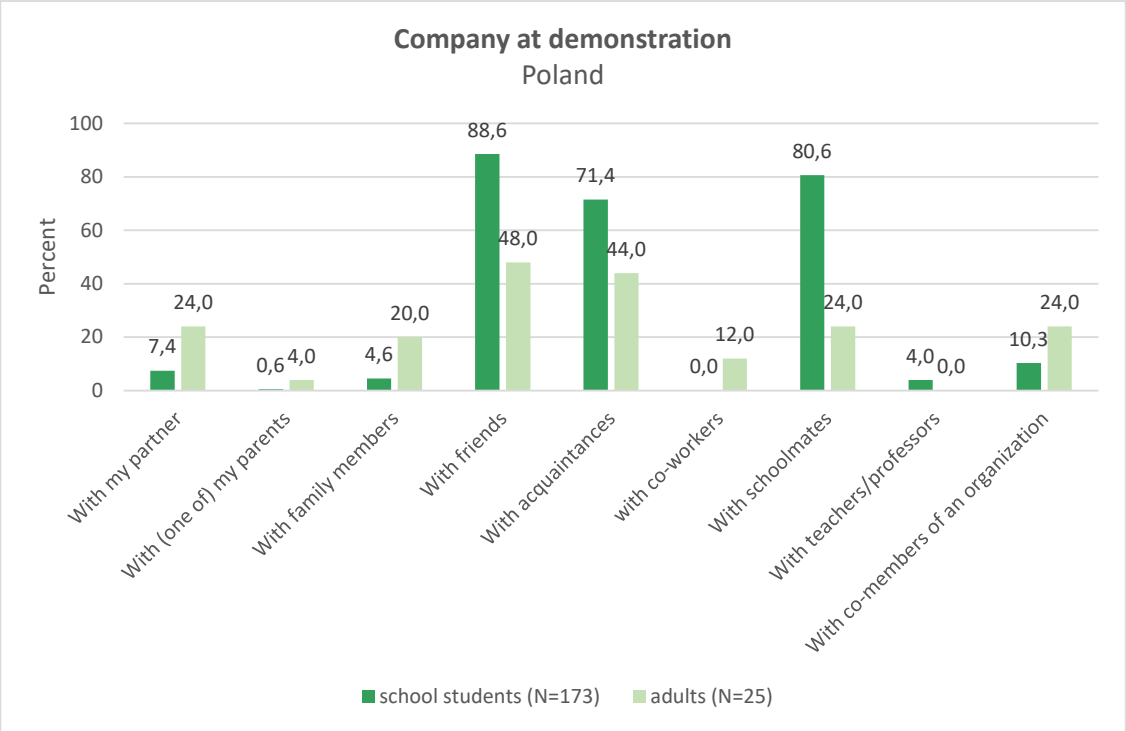


Figure 6.7: Company at the demonstration

For the school students, by far the most important companionship consisted of friends, schoolmates and acquaintances – categories which most probably significantly overlap and are centred in a particular school. By contrast, adults were more often than school students participating in the strike with partners, family members, co-workers and co-members of groups they are involved in (even though the numbers were low).

What do they want and who should do it?

The distrust of political actors in Poland is significant – this is true also for the participants of the Warsaw Youth Climate Strike. No one, in any age cohort, trusts the national government, in general, quite or very much. However, it seems that school students are slightly less distrusting than adults:

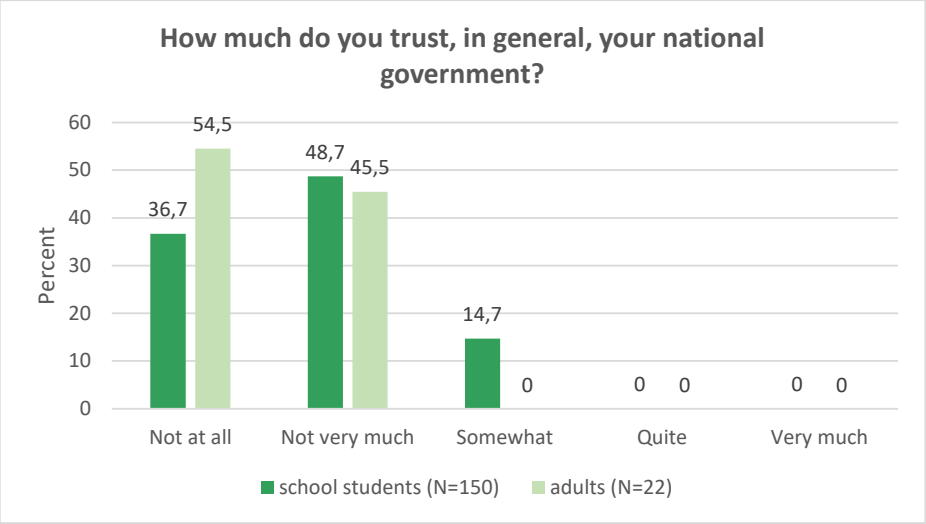


Figure 6.8: General trust in government

Bearing the low trust in the government in mind, it is to be expected that Warsaw's Youth Climate Strike participants do not trust in their government to solve the environmental problems. But, here again, adults are more sceptical about the government's ability to find a solution to environmental problems: 34.6% strongly disagree with the statement that the government can be trusted to solve environmental problems. School students, on the contrary, only strongly disagree here in 24.6% of cases:

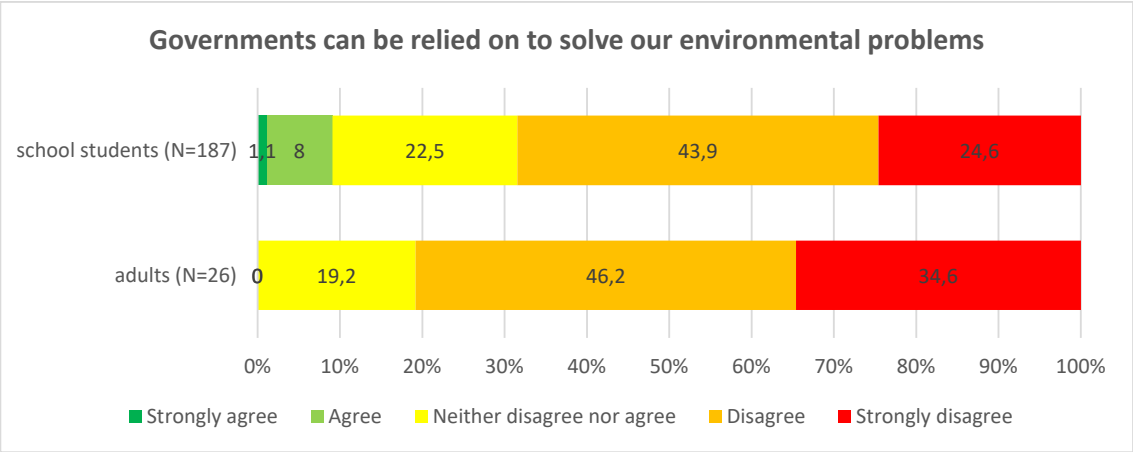


Figure 6.9: Reliance on governments to solve environmental problems

At the same time school students are less sceptical when it comes to the role of capitalism. Only 28.7% disagree and strongly disagree that we can rely on companies and the market to solve the ecological challenges. The level of disagreement (disagree and strongly disagree) among the surveyed adults is, at 53.8%, much higher here. It seems that also in comparison with the cross-national sample, Polish youth is less critical about the role of the market (55% of the school students in the cross-national sample do not believe in the solving power of the free market and companies):

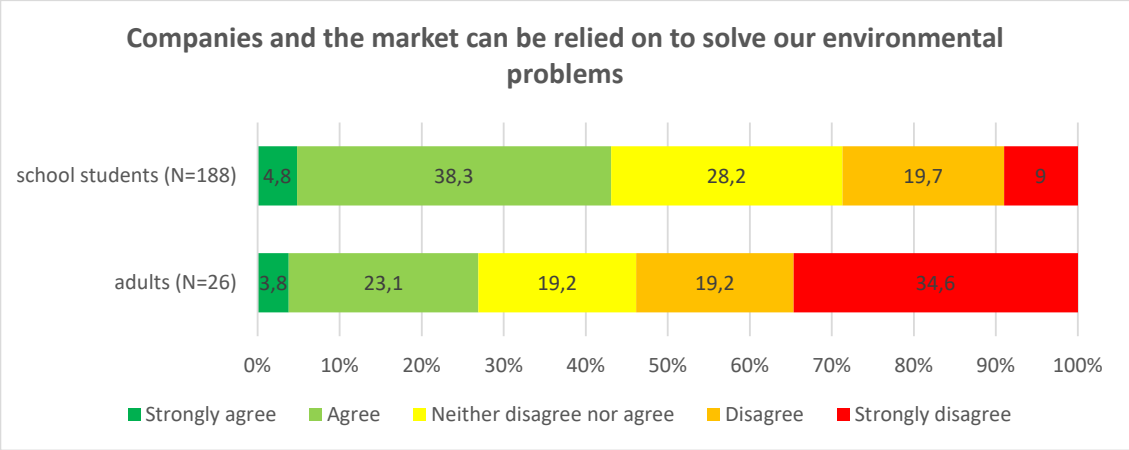


Figure 6.10: Reliance on the market to solve environmental problems

A very high level of agreement among young people can be observed for the change in individual lifestyle. 77.6% school students agree or strongly agree with the statement that stopping climate change can be primarily accomplished through voluntary lifestyle changes by individuals. In the case of adults, the level of agreement is only 46.1%:

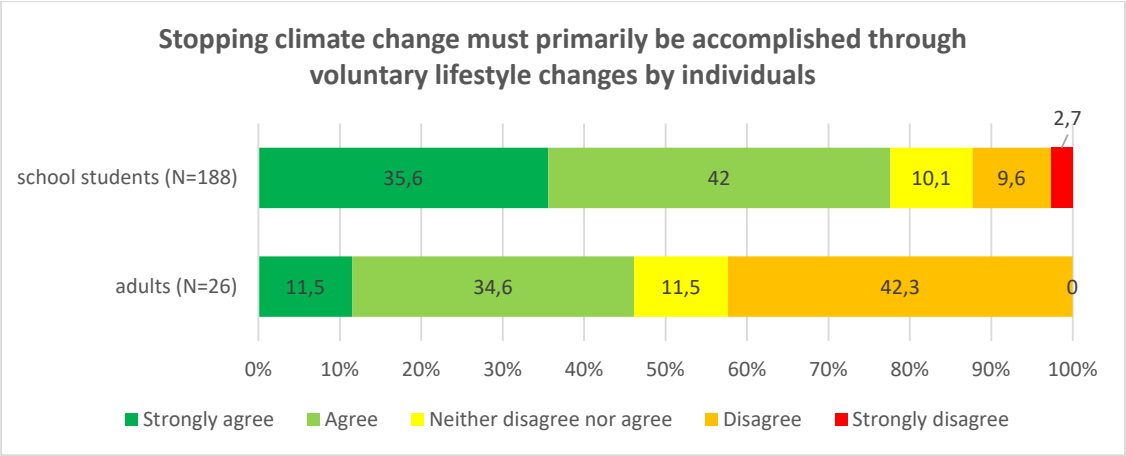


Figure 6.11: Reliance on individual lifestyle to solve environmental problems

To summarize, the Polish school students participating in the Youth Climate Strike are extraordinarily distrustful towards the government in general as well as in the government's capacity to solve environmental problems. At the same time, they are less sceptical about the power of companies and the free market to solve these problems and very optimistic that their individual lifestyle can have a constructive influence on the aims of stopping climate change.

Something that appears to be special in the Polish case

The Polish sample has many specifics. The significantly younger age and the higher share of females have been already mentioned and has an impact on the responses (a significantly younger population will be differently engaged in politics simply due to the fact that most of our respondents are minors and thus have not participated, for instance, in any elections). However, despite the question about whether the differences in the sample are more a cause of the socio-demographic composition of the sample or the political culture of Poland (or both), we can see that the participants in Warsaw are

considerably less involved in party politics. Only slightly more than one-third in the Polish strike identifies closely with a political party (36.6%), while nearly two-third (61%) in the cross-national sample identifies with a political party. An explanation here could be that we do not have any influential green parties in Poland and that party-politics is very much considered to be "dirty". As a consequence, 76.7% (N=132) do not trust at all or do not trust very much in political parties – in the cross-national sample only 48.4% (N=804) share this mistrust towards parties. Other dimensions of this distrust towards political institutions have already been mentioned above. In addition, Polish participants do not identify well with the left-right political scale. 32% (N=55) of the Polish participants either do not know how to answer this question or do not explicitly identify with the left-right division – in the cross-national sample this applies to only 18.2% (N=303). Both elusive answers – even considered separately – represent the biggest responding groups in the Polish sample (with 14% who do not know, N=24, and 18% rejecting the categorization, N=31). Therefore, we are dealing here with a population more distrusting of and less affiliated to political parties, as well as identifying less with the classic left-right scale. The consequence is, unsurprisingly, that young Poles believe that it is their lifestyle in particular that can help save the planet. Furthermore, they are, in comparison with the cross-national sample, less sceptical about the role of companies and the market.

Technical information

The Polish team surveyed the event not only during the march but also during the post-march rally, due to the fact that the march took less than one hour, which is why we used both sampling strategies described in the CCC handbook (for a march as well as a rally). The debriefing questionnaires showed that we had no problems with covering the whole event, either with specific socio-demographic or political groups refusing to cooperate with the interviewers. Also, the high on-the-spot cooperation rate of 95.8% lowers the significance of a potential non-contact bias.

We contacted 1,091 protestors in total. Of these, 105 were approached at least a second time (due to the rising saturation rate at the end of the event), 40 did not speak Polish and 7 were younger than 13. As a consequence, 957 were asked to participate in the online survey – 917 accepted our flyer with the QR-Code and link. This constitutes a cooperation rate of **95.8%**. In the case of the short screener interviews, 170 of the 184 approached were willing to cooperate with our team. Thus, we had a cooperation rate of **92.2%** in the case of the face-to-face interviews. 198 participants of the Warsaw Youth Climate Strike filled in at least 50% of the online questionnaire. The response rate in Poland is **21.6%**. Considering the experiences with protest surveys conducted so far with age cohorts this young, in light of the post-communist context and with the online questionnaire administration mode, the response rate is surprisingly high.

Comparing the results from the responses with those from the screener interviews, there is an untypical non-response bias. While the age seems not to be distorted very much, less educated participants tended to fill the questionnaire in more often. Furthermore, there are differences in the cases of satisfaction with democracy, past demonstration participation and political interest.

Austria

Aron Buzogány and Dániel Mikecz

Background

According to longitudinal protest surveys, environmental issues (including nuclear power, GMOs or animal rights) are historically among the issues with the highest mobilisational capacity in Austria. The number of all types of protest has steeply increased during the current electoral term, with a high number of demonstration directed against the policies introduced by the ÖVP-FPÖ coalition government that was in office since 2016.[26] Established environmental organisations, such as Greenpeace, WWF or Global 2000 have initiated a number of events, e.g. protests against the weakening of the environmental impact assessment (EIA) procedure and of the legal standing of the regional environmental ombudsmen (*Umweltanwaltschaft*). These actions were, however, mostly activist-oriented and thus attracted far lesser numbers compared to those who took it to the streets during the Fridays For Future Protests in 2019. While the first Viennese Climate Strike on 21st of December 2018 has attracted only few participants, participant numbers increased by February 2019 rapidly and there were protest activities of pupils all over Austrian larger cities mushrooming. In the weeks before the March 15 Global Climate Strike high media attention was given to FFF protests and particularly the question of school attendance became controversially discussed in the media. School authorities and the Ministry of Education have warned that participation in FFF protests might have disciplinary consequences even if they also greeted the increased attention to climate change in general terms. In order to avoid conflicts regarding school attendance, Vienna schools and individual teachers have found creative solutions and claimed to be participate in the protests as part of biology or art education classes. This combination of education and school protest has continued also after the Global Climate Strike on the 15th March with teach-ins called “Striking Classrooms” ("*Das streikende Klassenzimmer*") taking place during and in the aftermath of demonstrations and involving researchers specializing on different aspects of climate change.[27]

The resonance within the political field was mostly positive and enthusiastic in the left and green segment, with President Alexander van der Bellen (who is elected on a Green Party ticket) repeatedly speaking enthusiastically about the protests. Scientists working on climate-related issues in Austria and other German-speaking countries and several universities have issued supporting statements and offered their expertise for the youth movement. On the other side, government parties have mostly remained silent. The day following the protests, Minister for Sustainability and Tourism Elisabeth Köstinger has posted a video praising the protests as a positive development, and promised to include climate change into the curricula of forestry schools which are under the Ministries subordination.[28] Media has also reported about some negative voices particularly on the radical right.

The protest events

According to the Austrian Police, the Global Climate Strike in Vienna was attended by ca. 10.500 participants, with some organizers claiming much higher numbers, reaching up to 25.000. In any case, the expected number of 5-6000 participants was significantly exceeded.

The difficulties to determine the number of participants at the Vienna event, the one which we have surveyed, also stem from the quite long time frame of the demonstration, its decentralized

[26] There were 8123 registered street activities, including demonstrations, in Vienna during 2016 and over 20,000 in 2017.

[27] See e.g. https://boku.ac.at/news/newsitem/54023

[28] https://derstandard.at/2000099666875/Demo-Organisatoren-kritisieren-Koestingers-Klimaprotest-Video-Wir-lassen-uns-nicht

nature and the combination of “marching” and “standing” parts. Participants gathered from 10:30 on at five central places in Vienna (Hamerlingplatz, Karlsplatz, Stiftskirche, Schottentor, Wien Mitte) and then started marching on the city’s main avenues towards Heldenplatz, where the mass rally took place. Some speeches and musical performances took place here between 12 and 1 pm but these could not be heard well on the square due to weak amplification. Despite the cloudy weather, the general atmosphere was very joyful and festival-like. School students and young university students were by far the largest group present with most of them gathering and socializing in larger groups. There were also some younger pupils present, attending with their parents. There was a very impressive number of banners, with a high share written in English. Around 1:30 the participants started marching from Heldenplatz around the central district, stopping in front of the Federal Chancellery on Ballhausplatz and other political institution to request more climate action.

It is to be mentioned that similar strikes involving several thousand participants took place also in Bregenz, Innsbruck, Graz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg and Linz. The main form of coordination was through Fridays For Future Austria’s Facebook site and homepage, which provided information on goals and aims of the FFF protests, on the logistics of demonstrations, but also gave legal advice on dealing with the school attendance issue (https://fridaysforfuture.at/faq), including pre-formulated parental consent letters.

Who participated?

The responses to the online survey support the general impression of the demonstrations being dominated by school students and students at universities. The largest group of those taking part in the survey were under 20 and within the age cohort 20-35 those being aged between 20-25 have dominated. The mean age of all respondents was 28.4 years, which can be considered young compared to other protests in Austria. As mentioned in other reports as well, there is a gender gap with 65% female participants in the youngest two cohorts in Austria, but these draws close to a balanced representation (51-52%) in the older cohorts.

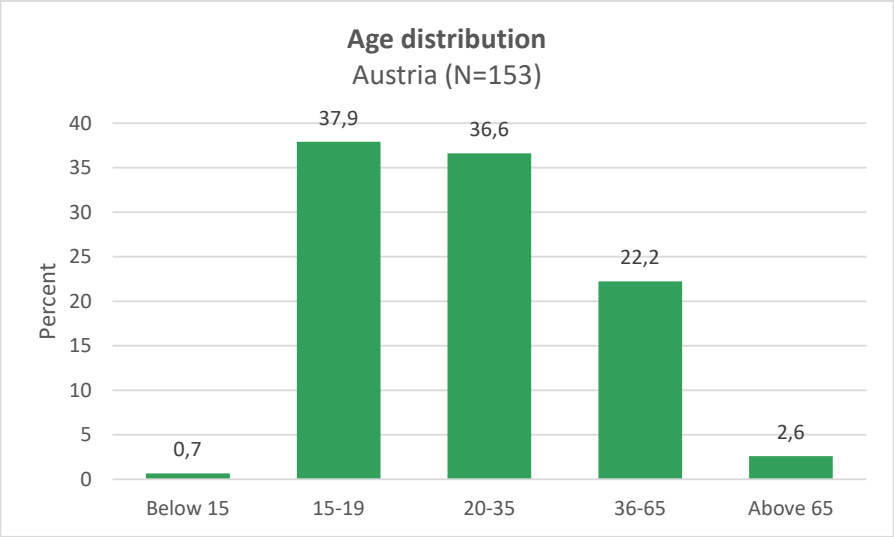


Figure 7.1: Age distribution of protesters in Vienna

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Figures 7.2 and 7.3 show the participation of school students and adults in previous demonstrations. As expected, due to their younger age, students report lower numbers of participation in demonstrations than adults. Among the school students, those claiming not to have participated in demonstrations during the last year is 52%, showing the high mobilisation capacity of the Global

Climate Strike. Students show higher numbers of participation in 1-5 protests during the past year than adults, indicating probably participation in previous Fridays For Future events.

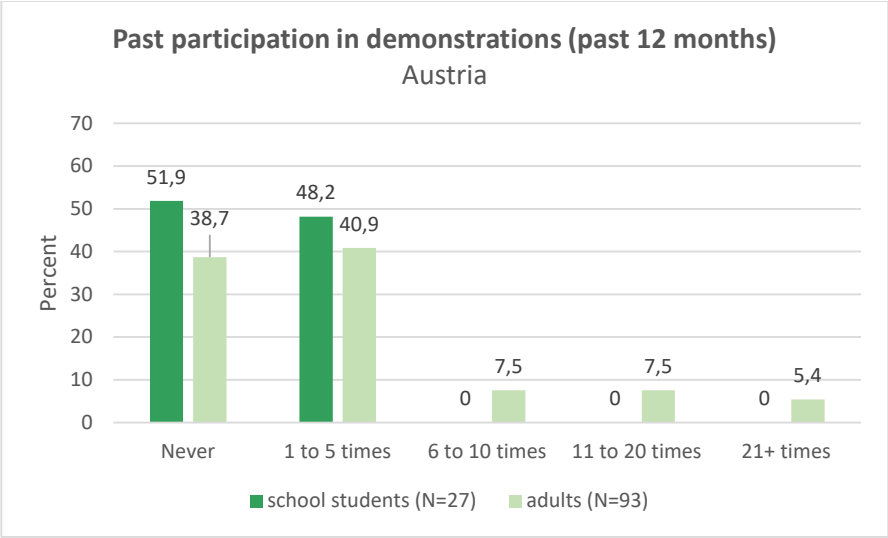


Figure 7.2: Past participation in demonstrations (past 12 months)

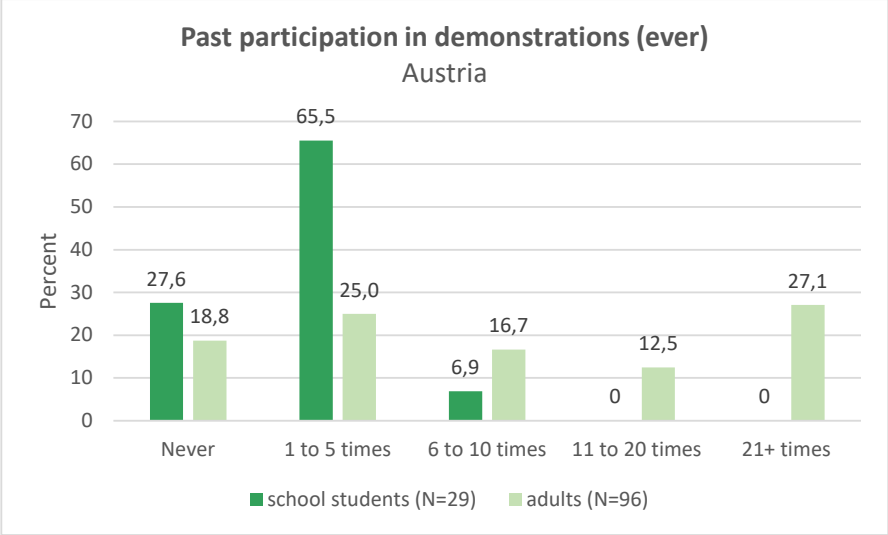


Figure 7.3: Past participation in demonstrations (ever)

Concerning political behaviour, Figure 7.4 shows high levels of political activism among the respondents. This includes both questions related to everyday lifestyle-related social behaviour and more targeted political participation, such as signing petitions or contacting politicians. Most participants have signed petitions and public letters (95% of adults, 69% of students) or claim to have changed their diet due to ethical or political reasons (72% and 64%, respectively). As was to be expected, adults show in general higher levels of political activism.

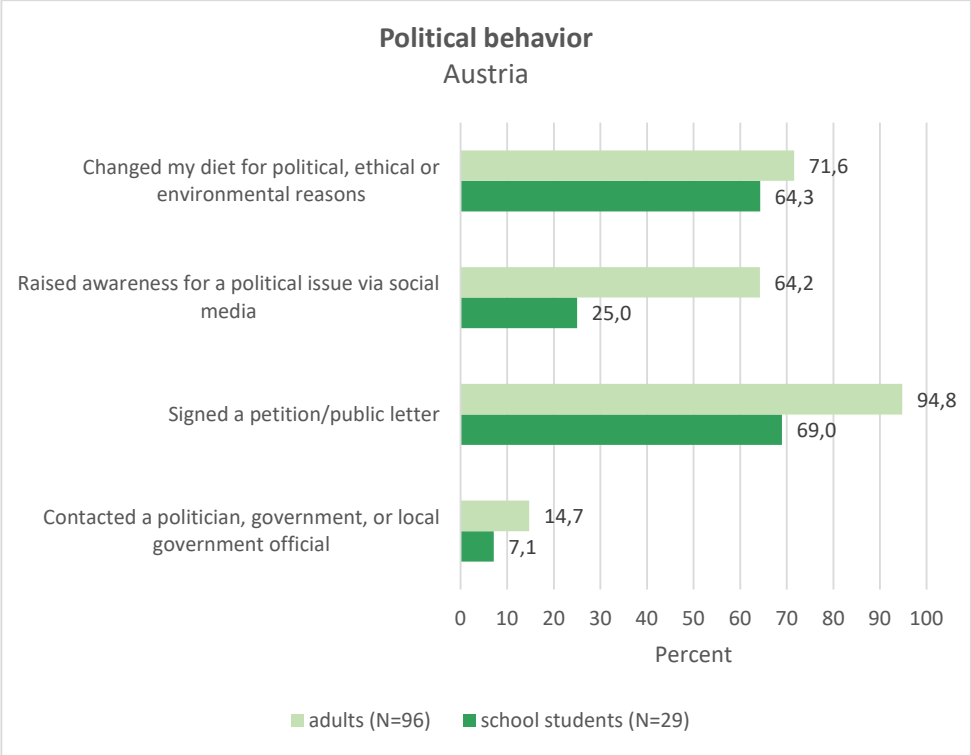


Figure 7.4: Type of political behaviour by respondent group

School students do not report membership in political parties (or their youth organizations) or environmental organizations. Only 1 surveyed school student claims to financially support an environmental organisation. Adult participants' level of party membership is at 4%, which needs to be seen before the background of historically quite high (but steeply declining) party membership in Austria when seen European comparison. With 16% of the adult population claiming to financially support environmental organisation and 5% being active members, we have an indication that at a least a share of adult protest participants has joined the protests because of environmental concerns.

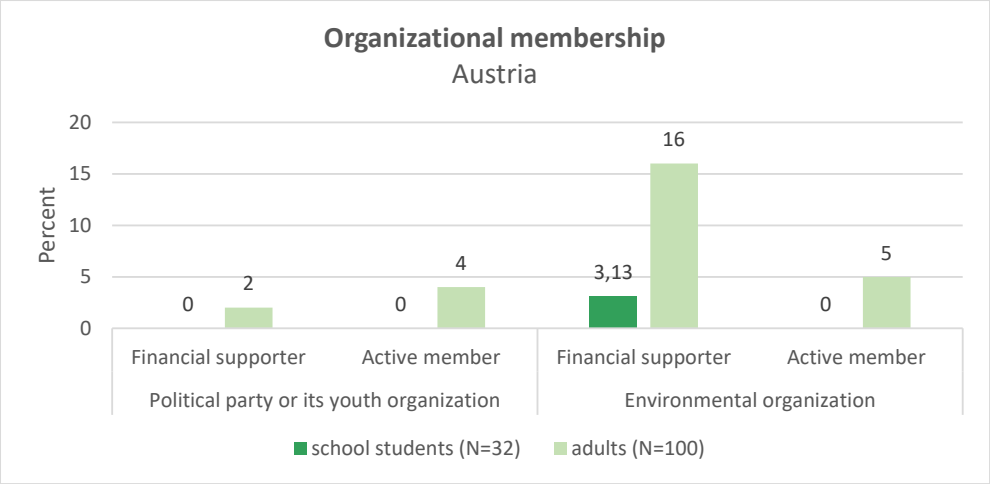


Figure 7.5: Organizational membership

Why did they protest?

The survey has also asked about emotions, motives and networks mobilising the protest participants. In general, school students tend to report stronger emotions, such as being angry, worried and fearful. When asked about their motives to participate in the Climate Strike, the predominant reason both school students and adults mentioned was to put pressure on politicians. If we combine agreement on these issues (strongly agree and agree), over 80% of the students and 90% of the adult participants agree on this being the main factor for mobilisation.

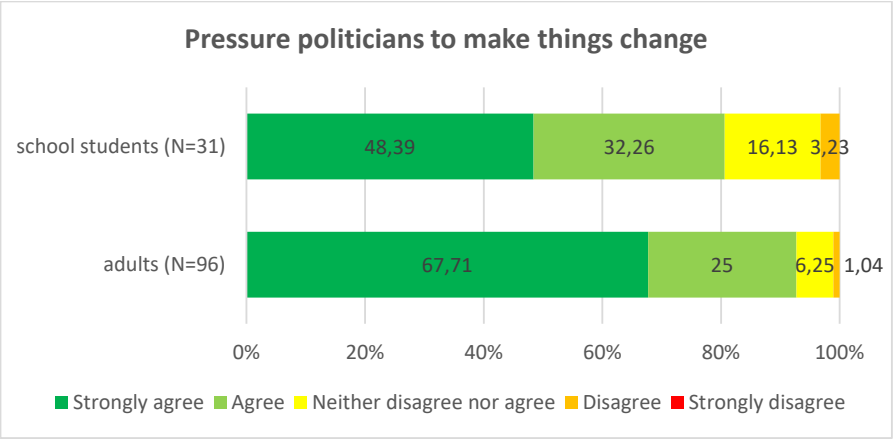


Figure 7.6: Motive – pressure politicians

When looking at other items concerning motivations to participate in the protests, adults seem to support in general strategical aspects of the demonstration, such as raising public awareness or mention "moral obligations". In contrast, school students' responses emphasize issues like "defending interests" more, which receives higher support from school students than from adults.

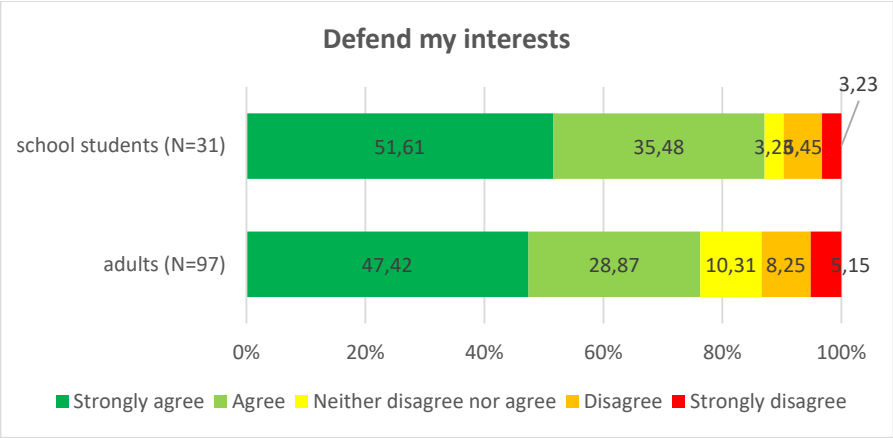


Figure 7.7: Motive – defend my interests

Peer group pressure was often mentioned as a reason for participation in the FFF demonstrations and there where claims in the public discourse that suggested that skipping school was a main motivation for a substantial group of "free riders" among the school students. Figure 7.8 shows that a very large group of respondents strongly disagrees with this statement, countering perhaps this commonly held prejudice. At the same, Figure 7.9 clearly shows that the demonstration was a collective event. Over 90% have attended with friends or classmates, while 6% were accompanied by their parents and 6% by teachers or professors.

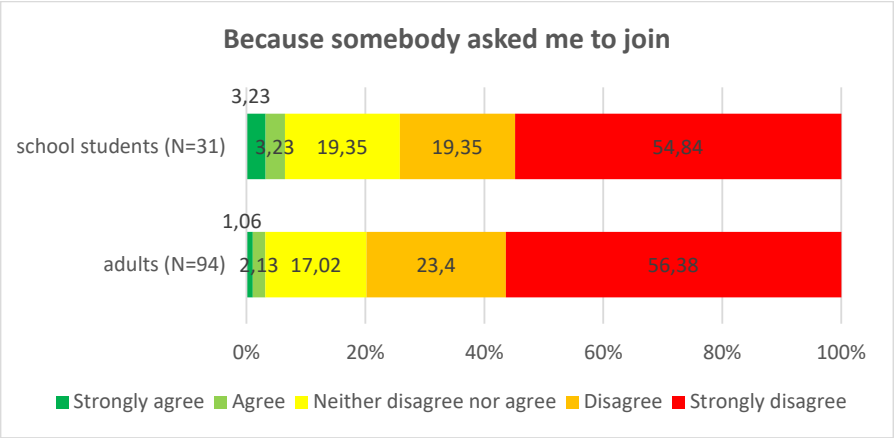


Figure 7.8: Motive – because somebody asked me to join

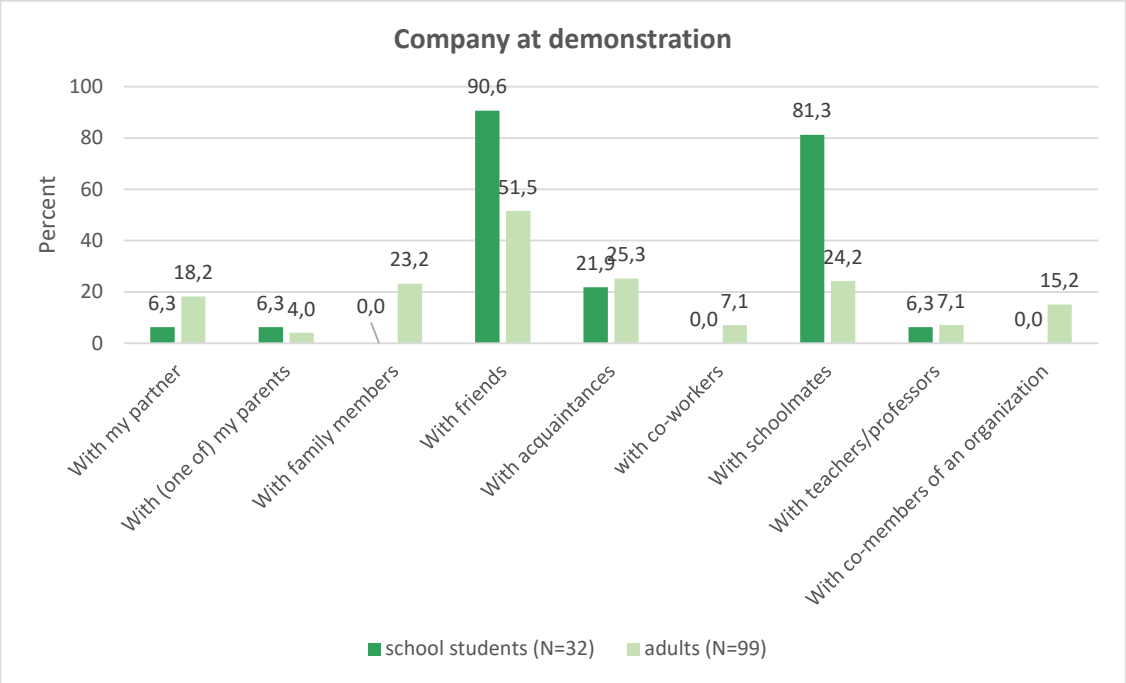


Figure 7.9: Company at the demonstration

The Fridays For Future protest wave has clearly profited from having Greta Thunberg as a prominent face and figurehead of the movement. Partly in contrast to the media image that has emerged in Austria and also worldwide, we find relatively balanced attitudes both concerning the question whether there was a "Greta-Effect" regarding interests in climate change or concerning the decision to take part in the demonstration. The mobilizational effect was clearly stronger among school students, where over 44% have indicated that Greta Thunberg example has affected their decision to participate in the Climate Strike, while 17% were at least "somewhat influenced" and 34% have rather denied this effect. Regarding increased interests in climate issues, 29% indicated no increased interest, while 45% were motivated by Greta in being more interested in climate change. A positive Greta-Effect is lower among adults, who had more previous opportunities to become acquainted with climate change relevant information prior to FFF protests.

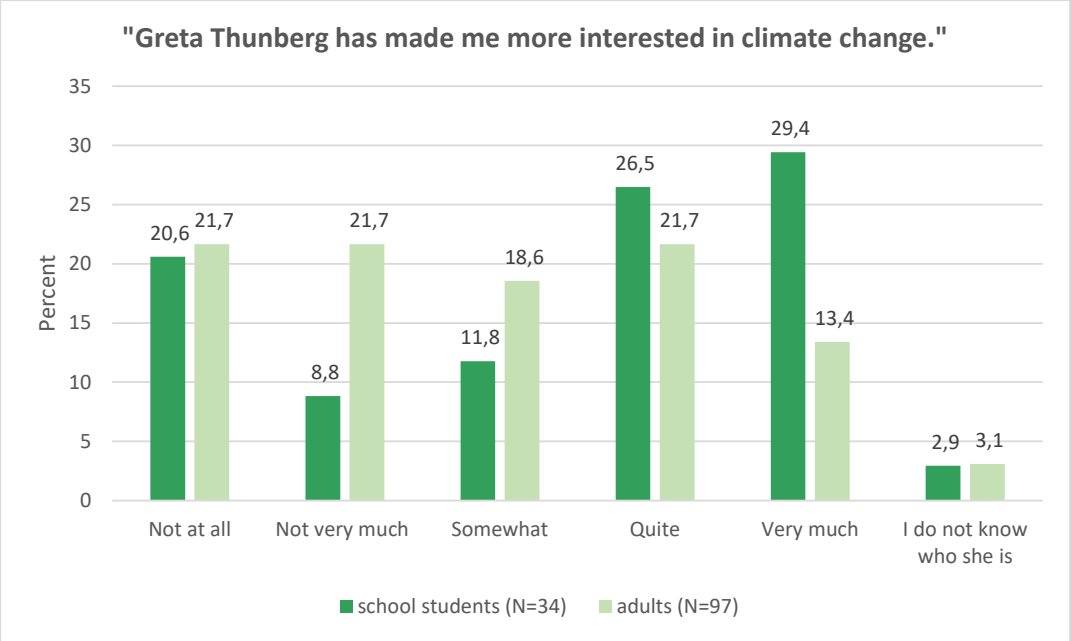


Figure 7.10: Greta's effect on climate change interest

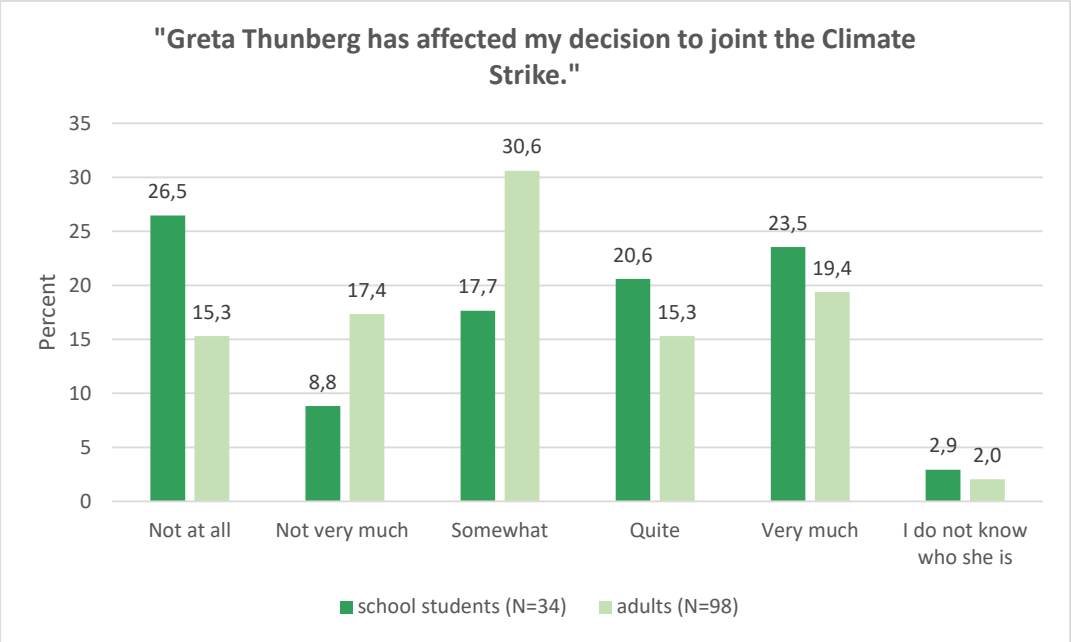


Figure 7.11: Greta's effect on intention to participate

What do they want and who should do it?

The online survey also included a number of questions about the perceived ability of different political, economic or academic actors to solve the current crisis. Figure 7.12 shows that only 15 % of the school students support the idea that modern science can solve environmental problems, while others are more ambivalent, with 36% saying "somewhat" and about 46% disagree. Surprisingly, adults are much more positive, with over 50% agreeing strongly or partly. 87% of the school students are negative about the national government's ability to solve environmental problems. In similar way, business actors are also very sceptically evaluated: 77% of the school students have no confidence in their ability

to solve environmental problems. Regarding differences between school students and adults, it is notable that school students' confidence in state actors is somehow lower while they economic actors still somehow more when compared to adults. Respondents were also asked about their general trust in political institutions (see Figure 7.15). While the vast majority of adults (60%) indicates not trusting the government, similar number are "only" at 50% for the pupils. At the same time, levels of trust in the parliament, the European Union and environmental organisations are much higher among all types survey respondents.

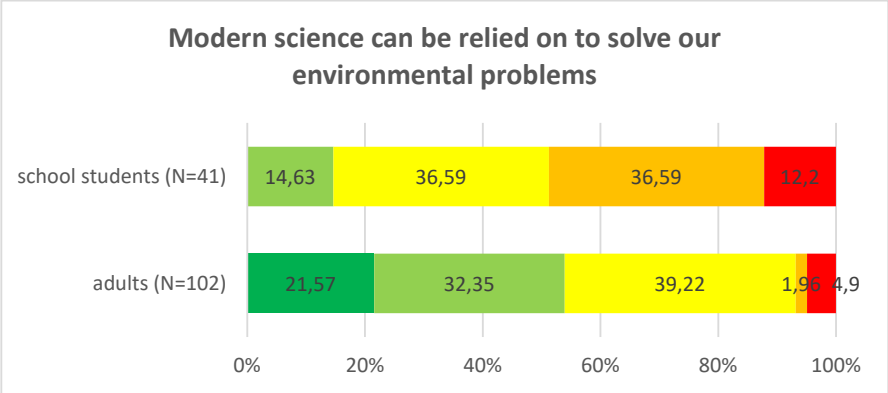


Figure 7.12: Reliance on modern science to solve environmental problems

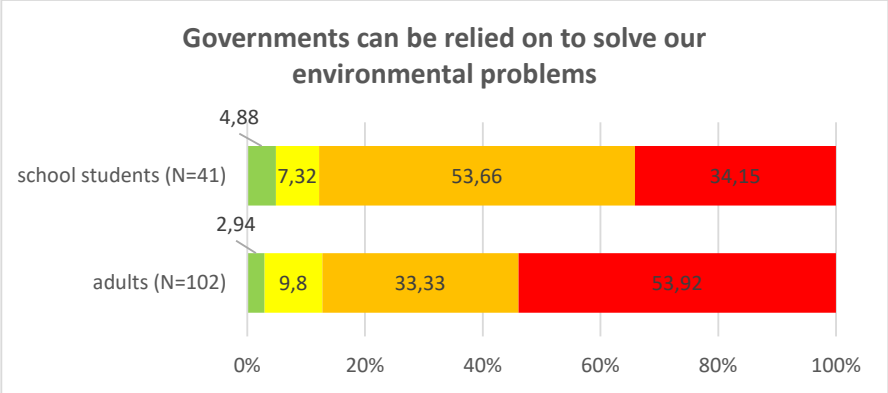


Figure 7.13: Reliance on governments to solve environmental problems

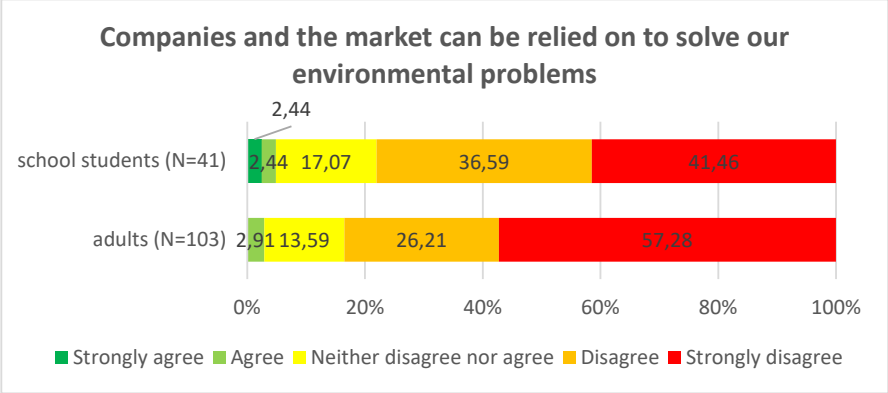


Figure 7.14: Reliance on markets to solve environmental problems

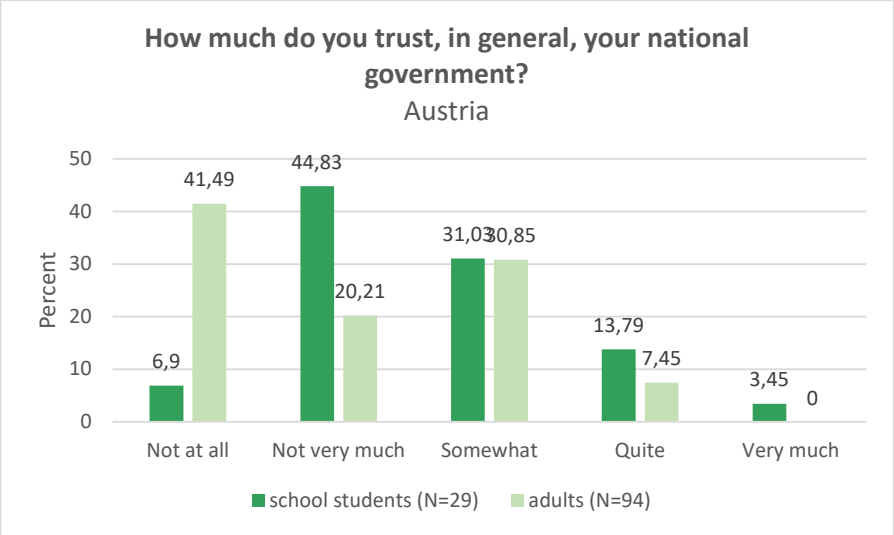


Figure 7.15: Trust in national government

Technical information

We have surveyed with a group of 22 students of the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences (BOKU). There were 6 pointers, 16 distributors. Surveying took place at the mass rally on Heldenplatz, therefore labour division pointer distributor did not really work. 930 flyers were distributed, 234 F2F interviews were made. Refusal rate for F2F was low, between 1-2%. 153 have filled out the online survey at least partially, 127 completely. Response rate is ca. 16%.

Switzerland

Marco Giugni & Jasmine Lorenzini

Background

Youth protest and especially school strikes are not very common in Switzerland. Youth protest in the past have often dealt with issues relating to urban autonomous centres. Here Switzerland, and more specifically Zurich, was one of the strongholds of the autonomous movements in particular in the 1980s. Ecological concerns, however, have a long tradition in Switzerland, and the environmental movements is quite important, albeit more in terms of organizations and less in terms of participation in street demonstrations. Prior to March 15th, there has been another climate march on January 18th, where thousands of protesters participated in several Swiss cities.

There has been a lot of reactions from the political establishment, but also from the economic milieus sometimes, to the climate-strike demonstrations. Since March 15th, many politicians, including members of the government, have declared in the press that more should be done against climate change and its negative effects. So, at least discursively, the climate-strike demonstrations, not only that of March 15th, are having a strong impact.

The protest events

Both events covered took place within the city. The demonstration in Geneva had an estimated 5000-6000 participants, the one in Lausanne an estimated 12'000-15'000 participants. Other demonstrations were held in other Swiss cities on the same day, but with less participants. Other events occurred prior to March 15th, most notably the first climate-strike on January 18th. The two demonstrations were peaceful and cheerful, with only a minor intervention by the police when a small group of demonstrators were heading to the local government and parliament.

Who participated?

In Switzerland, due to legal reasons, we did not survey demonstrators younger than 14 years old. However, with the exception of children who demonstrated with their parents, there were few participants younger than 14 years old. Looking at the age distribution in the figure below shows that among the sampled participants in Lausanne we find that, among the different age categories, roughly a third belonged to the three largest categories. We have a third (30.6 percent in Lausanne) and a quarter (25.5 percent in Geneva) of very young participants corresponding to those who have just finished school but would still be in training or education (aged 15 to 19 years old). The other participants are a third of young adults aged 20 to 35 years old (33.3 percent in Lausanne and 31.4 percent in Geneva), 28.4 percent in Lausanne and 36.6 percent in Geneva of adults (36 to 65 years old), and a few older participants (7.1 and 6.5 percent of 65 years old or more in Lausanne and Geneva respectively). The retired persons represent only a small share of the demonstrators. The composition of the demonstrators is very similar in the two cities.

Regarding the composition in terms of sex, in Lausanne about half of the surveyed participants were women and the other half men. In Geneva, the composition in terms of sex differs with 58 percent of women.

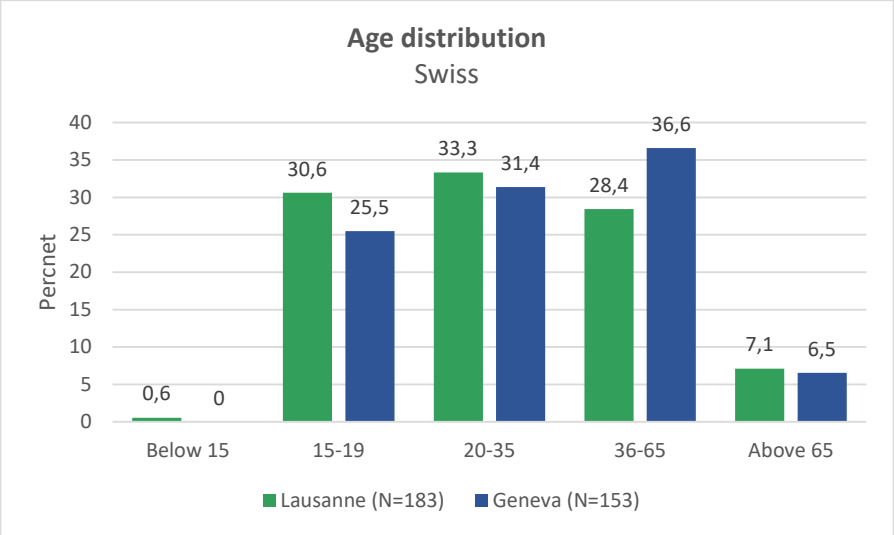


Figure 8.1: Age distribution of protesters in Switzerland
Note: due to legal restrictions, only protesters at the age of 14 or older were surveyed

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

Given the young age of some of the participants, it is interesting to look at their prior political experience. Are they engaged in civil society organizations, such as parties and green organizations? Have they ever participated in other demonstrations before? Are they active in politics through other means?

In figure 8.2, we present the organizational membership of the climate strike demonstrators that we surveyed in Lausanne and in Geneva. It is important to note that we observe very little difference among the two cities with regard to organizational membership (specific city figures presented in appendix, see figure 2bis). Hence, we present the figure combining the two cities. We observe that the climate strikers we interviewed have few connections with political parties or their youth branches. Less than 3 percent of the school students support them financially and only 6.3 percent of the older participants do so. When considering active membership, we also find that young climate strikers are seldom engaged in political parties (2.6 percent). However, for the older climate strikers 6.6 percent are active in a political party.

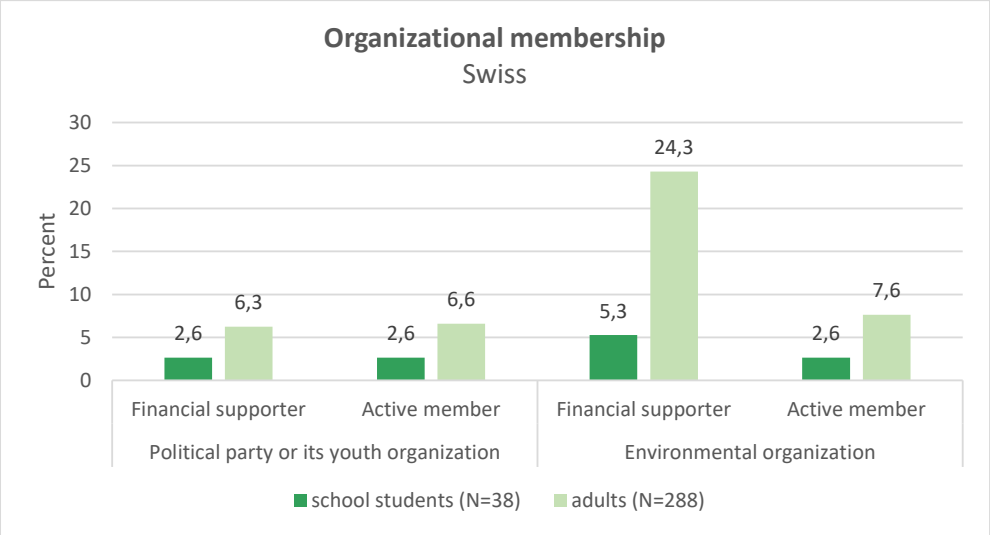


Figure 8.2: Organizational membership

Turning to environmental organizations, we see that young school students are more likely to support them financially (5.3 percent) but are not more likely to be active members (only 2.6 percent are active members). Here, we also notice an important difference among the adult demonstrators, 24.3 percent support environmental organizations financially. However, they are equally likely to be active in a political party and in an environmental organization (7.6 percent are active in one).

Next, in figure 8.3, we turn to past participation in demonstrations. Not surprisingly, we observe that school students in Lausanne have seldom participated in a demonstration prior to this one. We find that 52.4 percent have never participated in a demonstration and 47.6 percent did so less than 5 times. Surprisingly, the proportion of first time participants in Geneva is much lower among the school students. In Geneva, only 26.7 percent of the school student have never participated in a demonstration. For those who already participated 53.3 percent participate to less than five demonstrations, very close to what we observe in Lausanne. These differences could be explained by two contextual elements. First, the demonstration is Lausanne was much larger with 15’000 participants (which is a big demonstration for Lausanne) and therefore it is likely that it attract many new or first-time participants. Second, in Lausanne, students from many smaller towns in the canton came to the “capital” for this event, they might have had fewer prior opportunities to demonstrate than people living in the city-canton of Geneva.

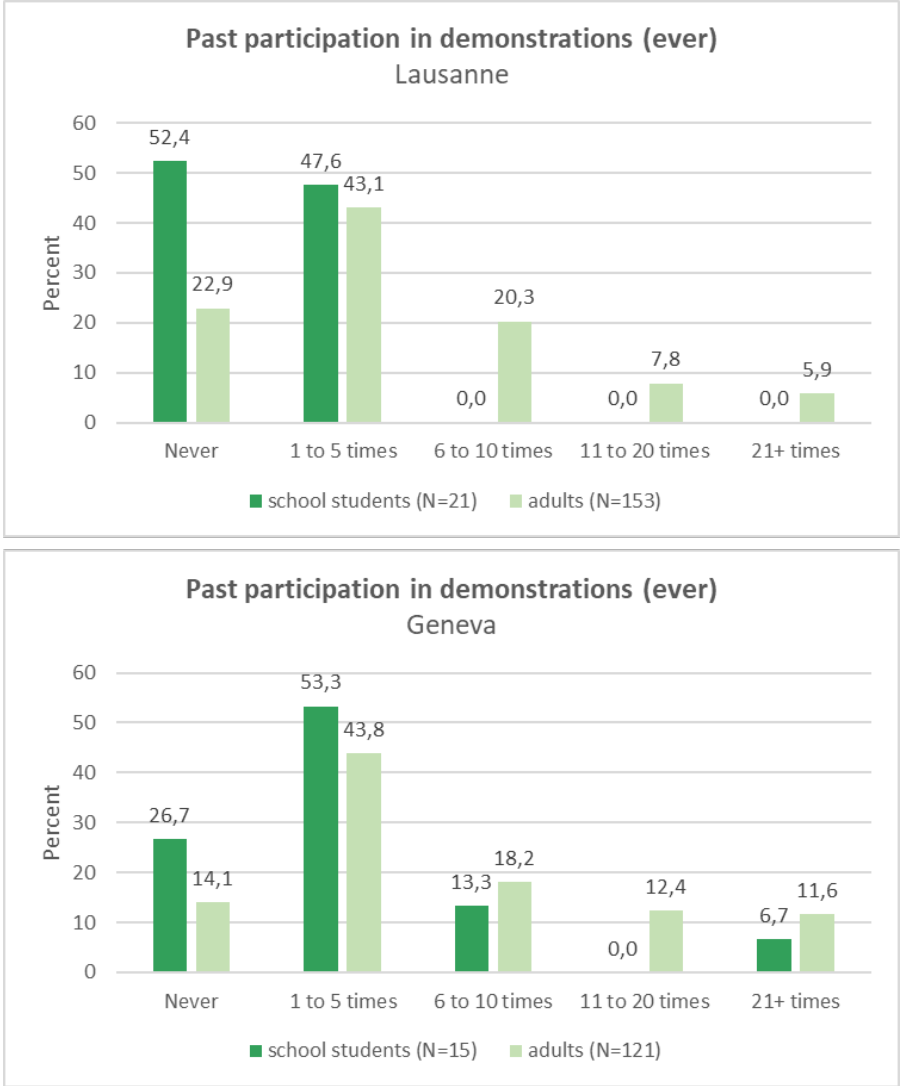


Figure 8.3: Past participation in demonstrations in Lausanne and Geneva

Regarding adult participants, they are more likely to have participated in demonstrations in the past. Only 22.9 percent in Lausanne and 14.1 percent in Geneva declare that this is their first demonstration. Close to 50 percent of the adult participated to less than five demonstrations in the past (43.1 percent and 43.8 percent respectively for Lausanne and Geneva). Nevertheless, there are also some more experienced protesters. Adding up the last two categories (11 to 20 and more than 21), in Lausanne, 13.7 percent of the respondent participated in many demonstrations in the past and the percentage even goes up to 24 percent in Geneva.

In figure 8.4, we consider other forms of political participation related to lifestyle politics (changing diet for political reasons), on-line activism, signing petitions, or contacting elected representatives. We observe that climate strike protesters are also active in politics through other means. Yet, important differences appear with regard to the form of participation considered. A large share of climate strike participants is engaged in lifestyle politics (60 percent or more changed their diet), while only few contacted their elected representatives (14.7 percent of the adults and only 5.4 percent of the school students). A large majority of adult (81.9 percent) and a tiny one of youth (52.6 percent) have signed petitions in the last 12 months. They are also active on-line, with close to half of the respondents mentioning that they try to raise political awareness on-line (44.4 percent for youth

and 49.0 percent for adults). In this case, school students and adults are equally likely to participate. We also observe few differences between the two cities.

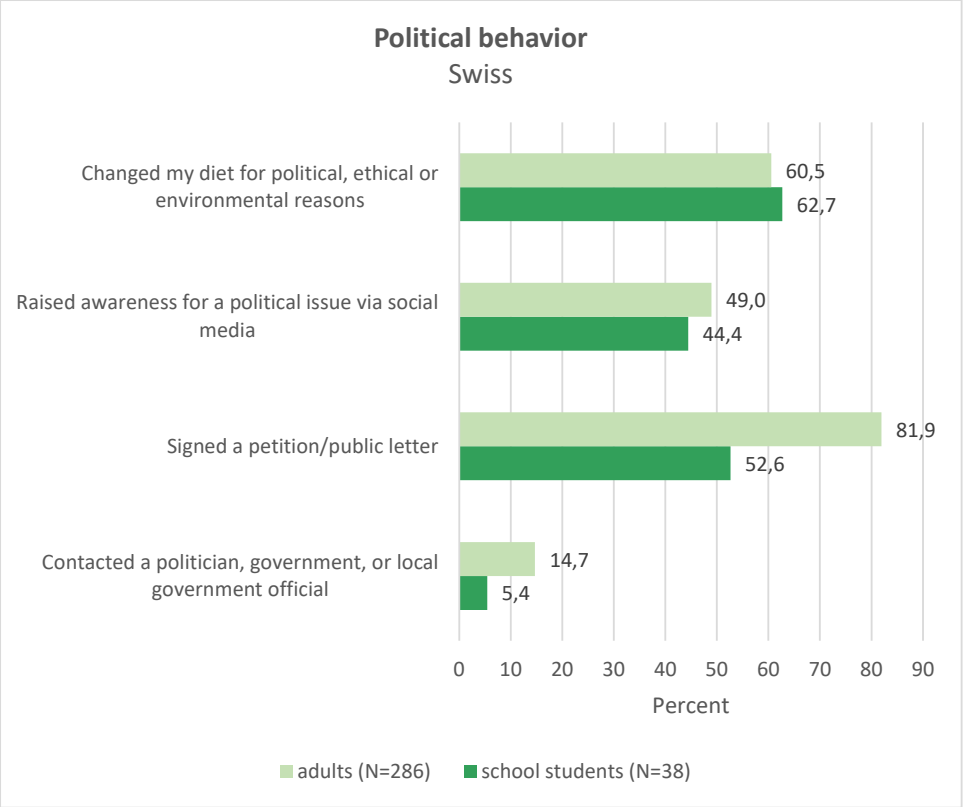


Figure 8.4: Political participation in other forms

Why did they protest?

In the next section, we consider the motives to participate in the demonstration. Whether they want to influence politicians and if they follow the lead of friends, colleagues, or the young activist Greta Thunberg?

We start in figure 8.5 with the motives they express. In particular, we asked them whether they participate to put pressure on politicians and we find that a majority of both school students and adults agree that they participate for this reason. Among the school students, in Lausanne, 52.4 percent strongly agree with this idea and, in Geneva, 66.7 percent does so as well. Considering those who strongly agree or agree, we reach 85.7 percent of school students in Lausanne and 93.4 percent in Geneva. The proportions are even higher among adults with 94.2 percent in Lausanne and 90.1 percent in Geneva.

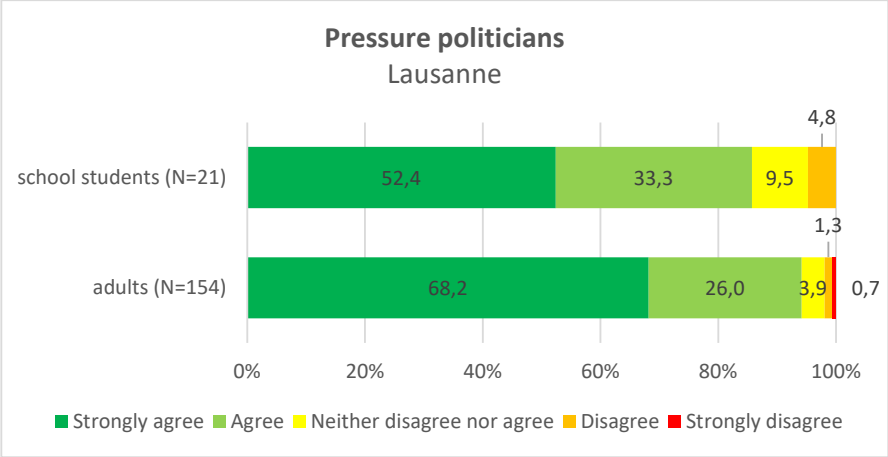


Figure 8.5: Motive – pressure politicians, Lausanne

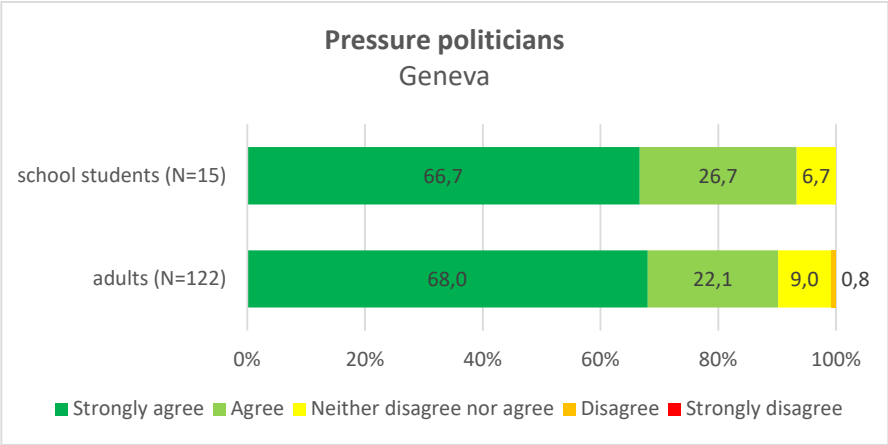


Figure 8.6: Motive – pressure politicians, Geneva

Next, we consider with whom they come to the demonstration. First, it is important to note that in Lausanne, a clear majority came with someone. Only a minority came alone, especially among pupils. In Geneva, the situation differs importantly with more persons coming alone, almost 50 percent among the adults. This difference might be due to the fact that in Lausanne many people came from other parts of the canton thus reducing the changes that one would come alone. Furthermore, we had slightly more experienced protesters in Geneva this could also account for the high proportion of adults who came alone in Geneva. In figure 8.7 we present the networks of climate strike participants. The persons with whom they came to the demonstration. Among the school students in Lausanne, many came with their friends (86.4 percent) and/or with their schoolmates (72.7 percent). In Geneva, the situation is very similar with regard to pupils coming with friends or schoolmates. For the adult, in Lausanne, almost a third came with their family (27.9 percent) or with schoolmates (29.9 percent), two thirds came with friends (66.9 percent), and 20.1 percent with their partner. In Geneva, fewer came with someone – most frequently friends (47.5 percent), schoolmates (24.6 percent), only 14.8 percent came with their partner, and 10.7 percent with their family.

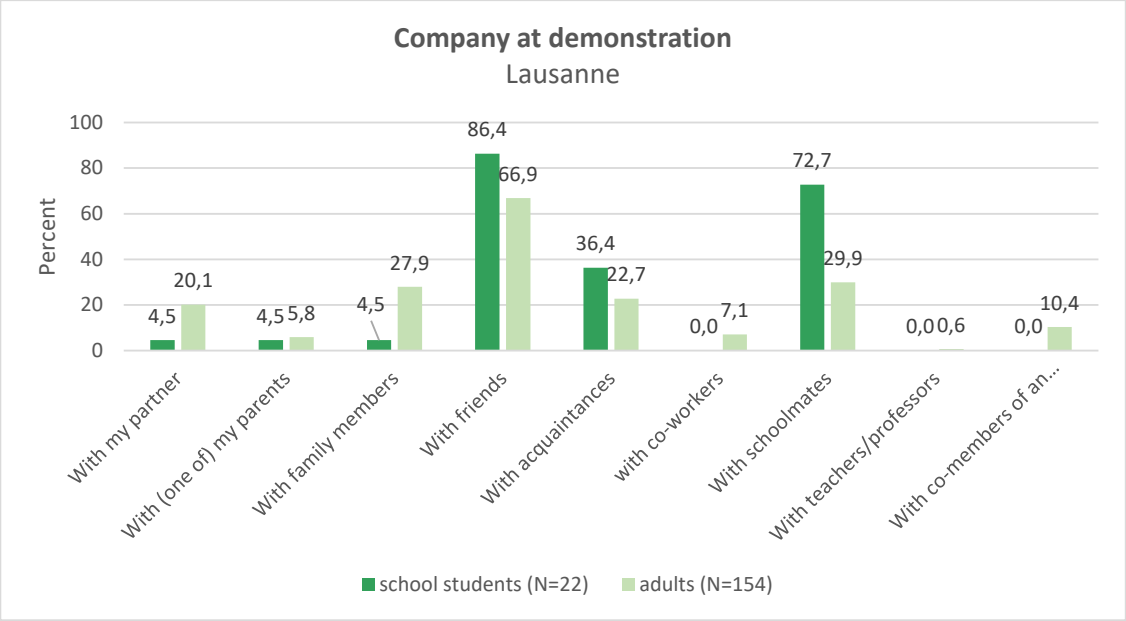


Figure 8.7: Networks of climate strike participation, Geneva

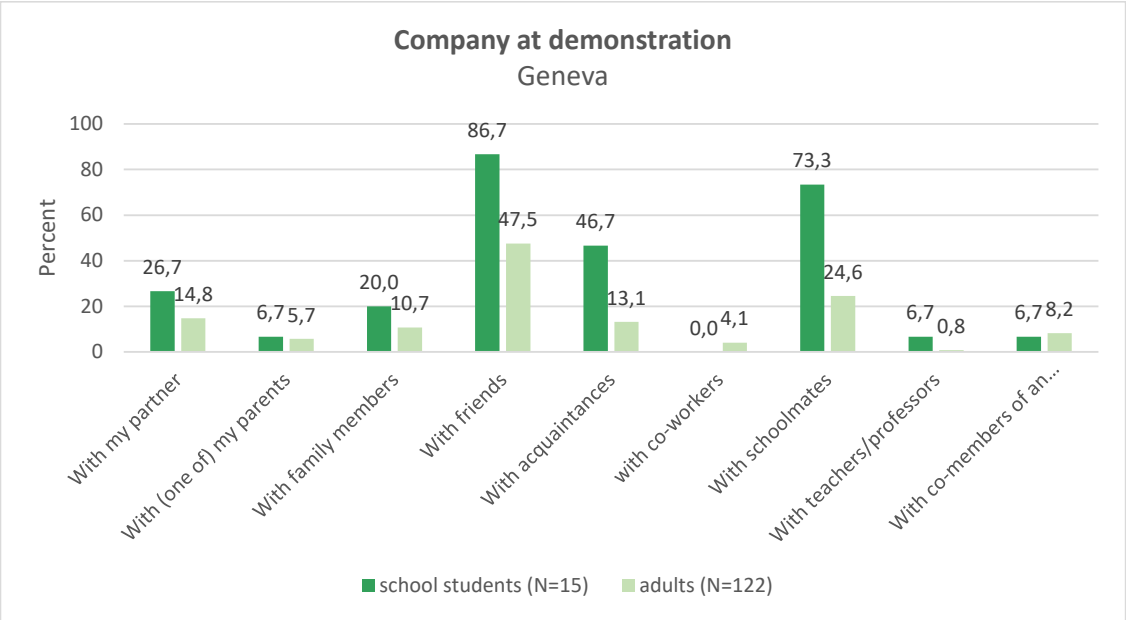


Figure 8.8: Networks of climate strike participation, Lausanne

The influence of Greta Thunberg is more limited in Switzerland than in other countries. Although she came to Davos for the World Economic Forum and everybody talked about that in the media, it appears that she does not play an important role when it comes to the climate strike demonstrators. Among the school students in Lausanne, 17.4 percent declare that she did not raise their interest for climate change (adding up the two categories not at all and not very much). This is more important among adults, with 52.0 who declare that she did not raise their interest on this issue. These percentages are very similar in Geneva, respectively 12.5 and 50.0 percent for school students and for adults.

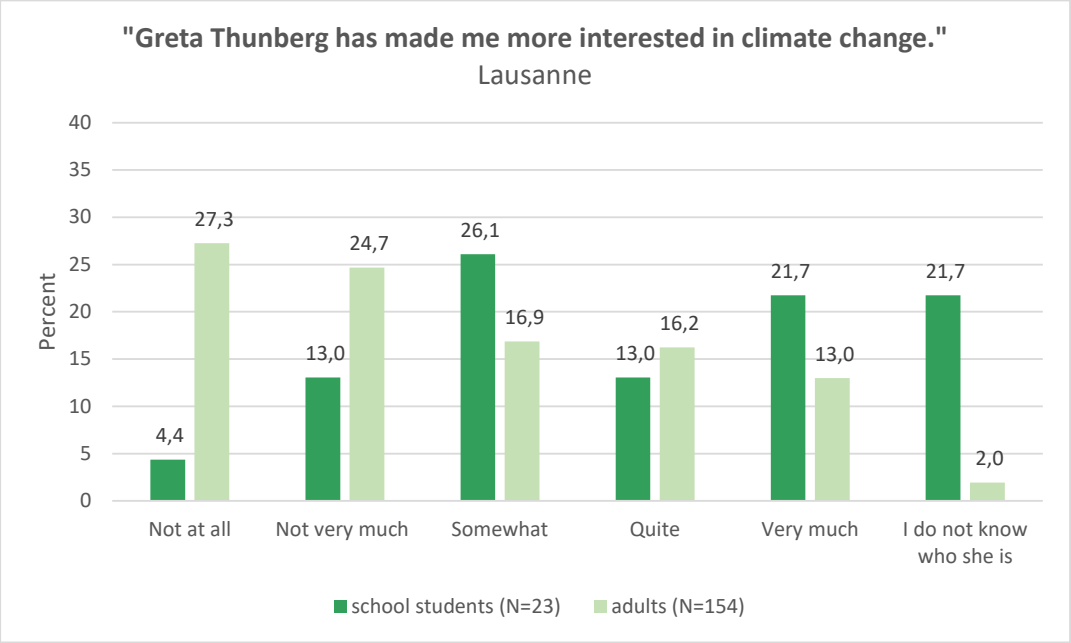


Figure 8.9: The influence of Greta Thunberg, Lausanne

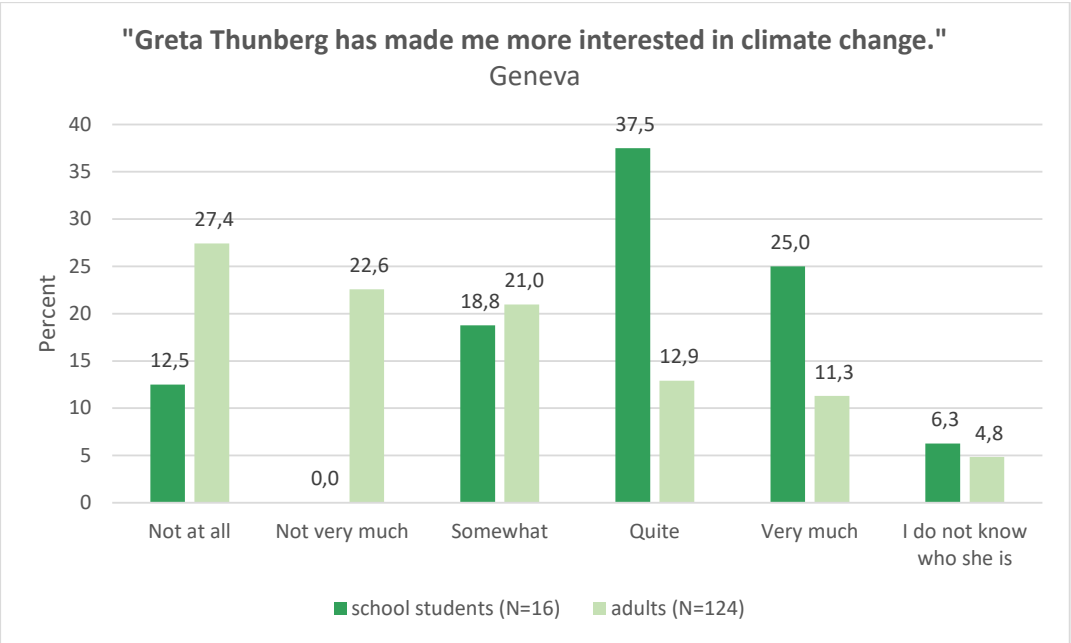


Figure 8.10: The influence of Greta Thunberg, Geneva

What do they want and who should do it?

Lastly, we turn to their confidence in the ability of governments and science to solve environmental problems. We start with their assessment of their national governments. Can it be relied on to solve environmental problems? Figures 8.11-8.12 show that citizens who participated in the climate strike protests display very low agreement with this idea. In Lausanne, 90.3 percent of the adults disagree with this statement and in Geneva 91.4 percent of the adult do so. The share of school students who

disagree with this statement is lower, but it remains very high with 87.5 percent in Lausanne and 88.8 percent in Geneva.

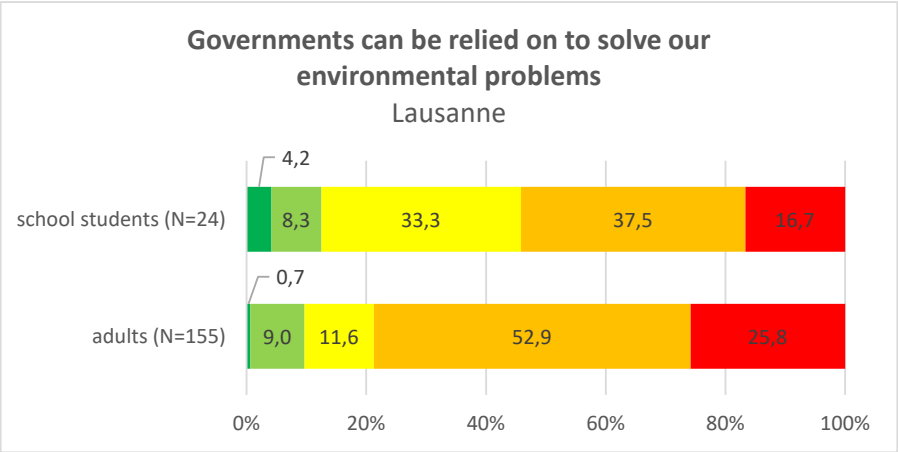


Figure 8.11: Reliance on the government to solve environmental problems, Lausanne

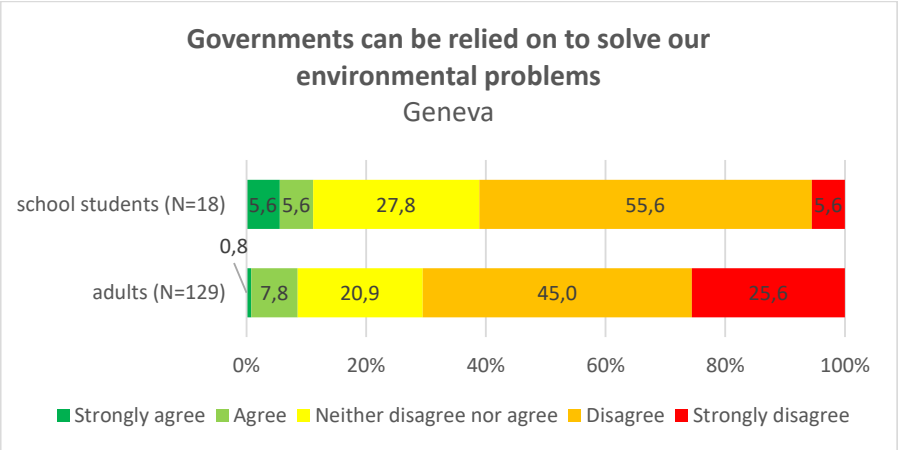


Figure 8.12: Reliance on the government to solve environmental problems, Geneva

This can be related to how much citizens trust their government. In figures 8.13-8.14, we see that climate strike demonstrators display a mixed level of trust in their government. In Lausanne, a majority of school pupils (60.0 percent) say they somewhat trust them. But the share of school students who trusts their government in Geneva is considerably lower (26.7 percent). In Lausanne, among school students 20 percent trust the government, while 20 percent does not trust it. Whereas in Geneva, 40 percent of school students do not trust the government and 33.3 percent does so. Some recent scandals with the management of public money may explain in part this finding. It appears that adult's trust in government might have been less affected by these scandals since the share of adults who somewhat trusts the government is very similar in Lausanne (39.9 percent) and Geneva (40.8 percent). This is also the case for those who trust the government (34.6 percent in Lausanne and 36.7 percent in Geneva). This finding appears a bit contradictory with the idea that the government cannot resolve the climate challenge. The government can be trusted, but it cannot be relied on for this specific issue.

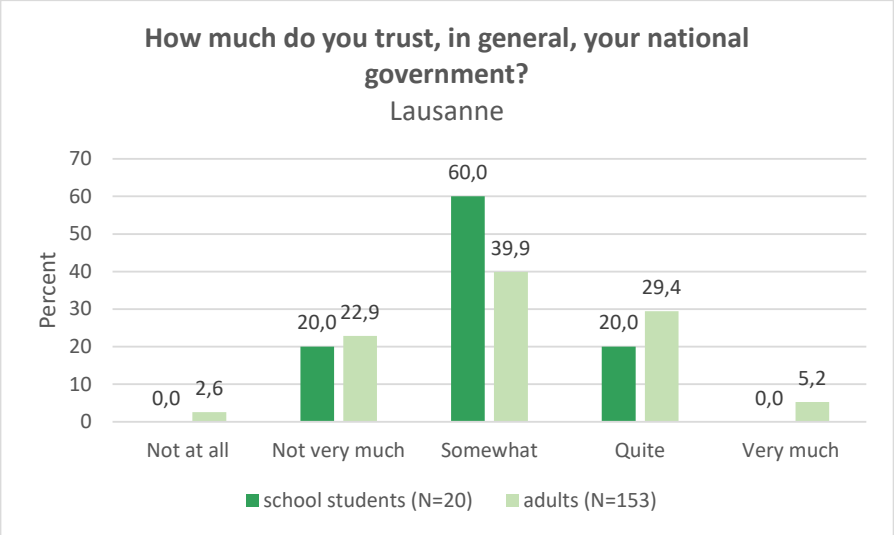


Figure 8.13: Trust in national government, Lausanne

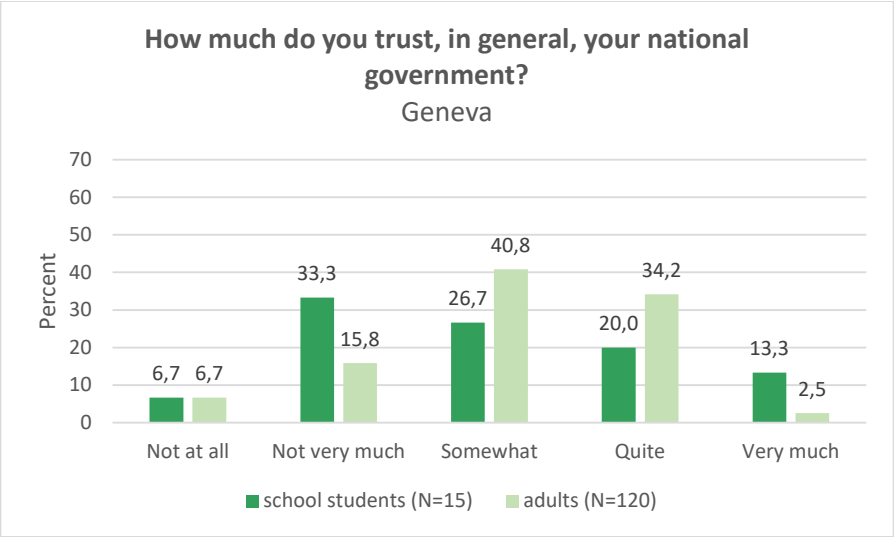


Figure 8.14: Trust in national government, Geneva

Then, the important question is who can be relied on to solve the climate challenge? Swiss citizens place a high fate in the role of modern science. In this case, 42.9 and 44.2 percent of the adult in Lausanne and Geneva respectively agree with the idea that modern science will solve environmental problems. Young school students are similarly confident in the ability of science to solve environmental problems with 41.7 percent in Lausanne and 47.3 percent who agree with the idea that it will.

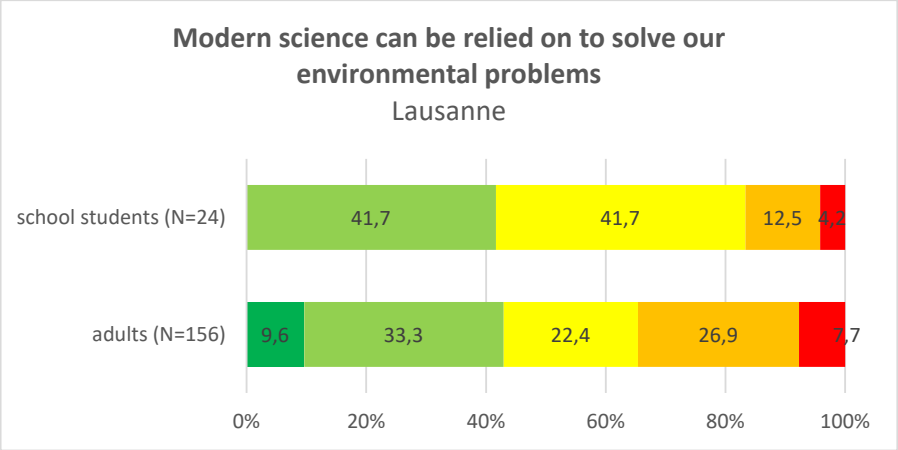


Figure 8.15: Reliance on modern science to solve environmental problems, Lausanne

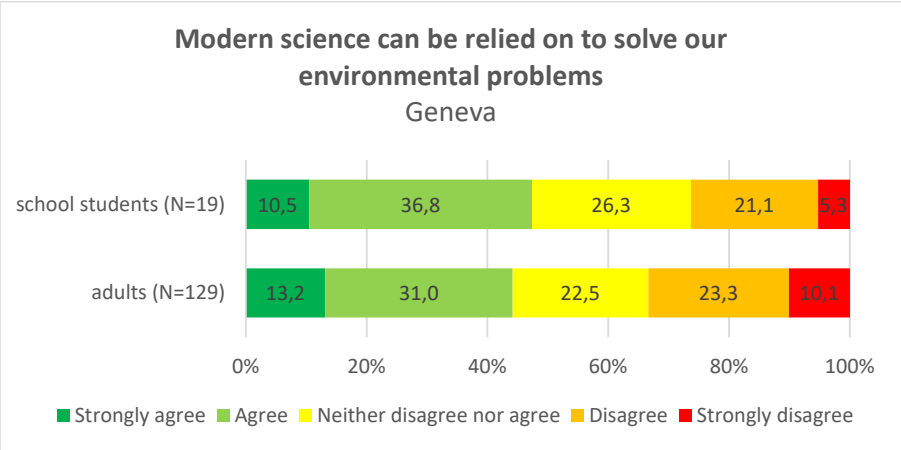
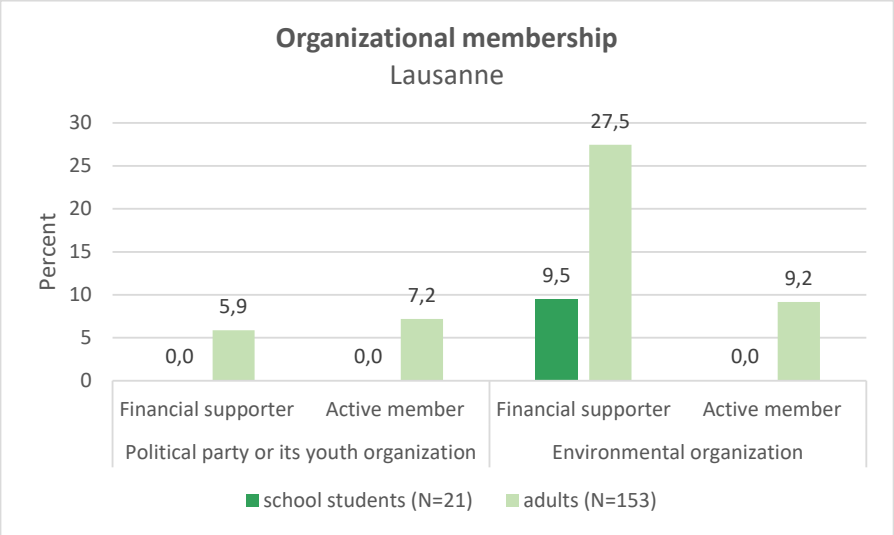


Figure 8.16: Reliance on modern science to solve environmental problems, Geneva

Technical information

Geneva: 1000 flyers distributed, 154 survey responses collected, 103 F2F interviews conducted.
Lausanne: 1000 flyers distributed, 183 survey responses collected, 152 F2F interviews conducted.

Appendix



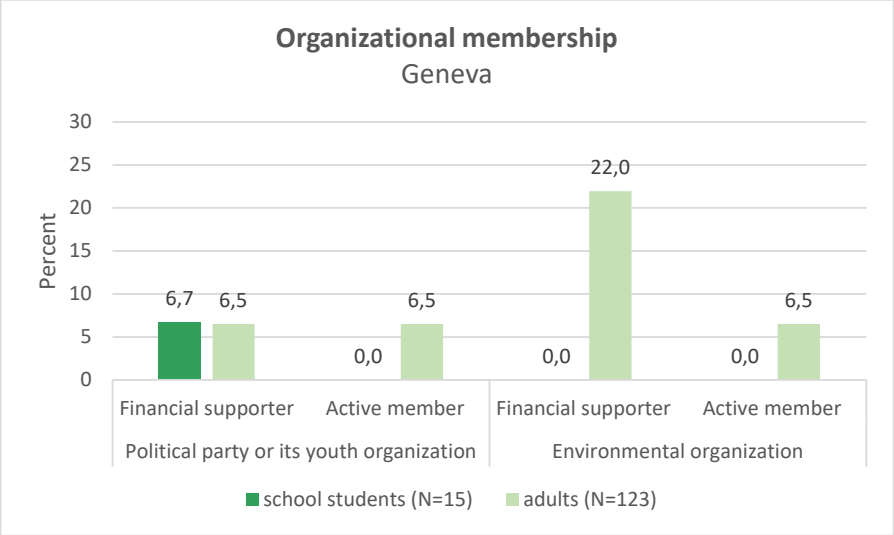
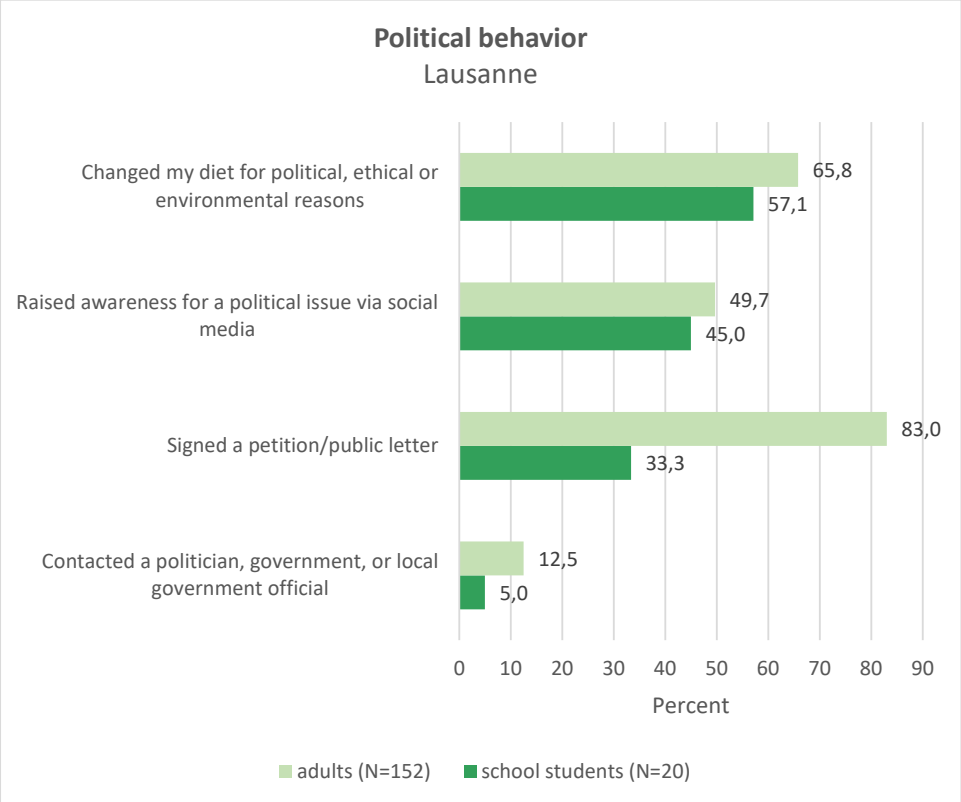


Figure 8.2b: Organizational membership in Lausanne and Geneva



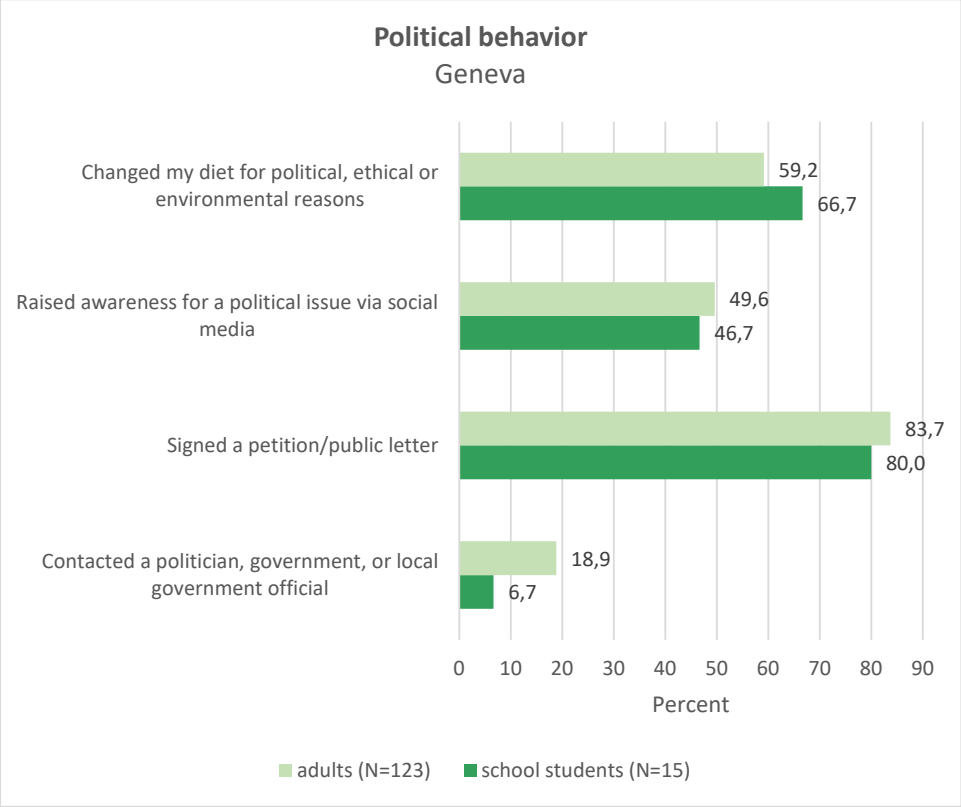


Figure 8.4b: Political participation in other forms in Lausanne and Geneva

Italy

Lorenzo Zamponi, Donatella della Porta, Martín Portos, Niccolò Bertuzzi, Daniela Chironi and Anja Baukloh

Background

Environmental protests in Italy are especially conducted by territorial movements. They had a karstic path in recent years, strictly connected to the (national) political opportunity structure. During Berlusconi's governments, numerous protests occurred, in particular against the bridge supposed to connect Calabria and Sicily, and the high speed train (Tav) supposed to connect Italy and France. Between latency and visibility, another relevant contentious period followed the Sblocca Italia reform (2014) launched by the Democratic Party, and consisting in various measures aimed at simplifying the development of new construction sites. Two other important episodes of previous years, also involving popular protests, were the referendum against the privatization of water (2011) and the one against oil and natural gas drilling concessions (2016).

Going to the recent past, the Five Star Movement supported many of these protests. However, the new governmental position changed its approach, abdicating years of propaganda. This involved an increase in protests during the months prior to 15M. Such "new wave" must be framed within a generalized national climate of social conflict, consisting in numerous huge demonstrations on the feminist, trade unionist, youth, and anti-racist fronts. Insisting on the intersectional nature of these issues, the territorial movements participated in such initiatives, and at the same time mobilised other movement areas on different occasions. Particularly relevant as domestic precursors to the 15M were the protests occurred in Taranto during the summer 2018 related to the environmental impacts of the Ilva steel mill, and the students' protests of October 12th and November 16th characterised by a critical stance towards the Italian government and its educational but also social and environmental politics. However, the biggest event on the territorial/environmental side has been the No-Tav demonstration held in Turin on 2018 December 8th, few days after a pro-Tav demonstration. A huge participation has been registered, as it did not happen since several years.

In this situation, a strong national Green Party is absent, and the large NGOs are limited to lobby activities, leaving out protest (even if they were present in the squares on March 15th).

Political reactions to the 15M have been initially convergent: all the main parties declared on the side of the FFF movement. After a few weeks, however, the positions are more diverse, with some right-wing parties becoming more cautious when it was clear that the issue should actually be taken seriously and it would last over time. On the contrary, the moderate left (and the main unions) continue to declare close to the FFF, but at the same time favourable to big infrastructures, underlining the inability to grasp the effective message of environmental, climate but also social justice proposed by the FFF.

The protest events

The protest in Florence took place in the city centre, starting in the early morning with a gathering in front of the Santa Croce cathedral. The square was crowded with young people, mostly at high school age or university students, with some younger kids, accompanied by their parents, middle and high school teachers with students and some older people and activists. Some protesters were holding drawings and slogans like "Give us back the earth", "This is our future", "Stop climate change". Estimated around ten thousand people attended the protest event in Florence. As the organisers had requested there have been no speeches and no party or trade union banners. At some point the crowd started moving, inviting bystanders to join and for two hours a long march evolved through the old city centre, bypassing peacefully tourists, shops and renaissance monuments, until reaching the Santissima Annunziata square.

On the 15th of March there have been climate protest events in the whole country; the biggest ones in Milan and Naples. Following the March mobilization Friday For Future Italy hold a first national assembly in Milano on the 12th and 13th of April in order to start a process of self-definition and to build up an organisational structure. A second assembly will follow in September in Naples.

Just one week after the 15th of March protests another important national mobilization took place in Rome on the 23th of March: a march for the climate and against contested infrastructural projects with a significant environmental impact, like the high speed train connection Tav between Italy and France in the Val di Susa valley (contested by the "No Tav" movement), a tunnel contested by the "No Terzo Valico" protesters, the transadriatic gas-pipeline ("No Tap"), the US military infrastructure in Niscemi, Sicily ("No Muos"), the offshore plattforms for gas extraction ("No Triv") or the steel mill ArcelorMittal (former Ilva) in Taranto, just to name the most prominent causes and respective movements.

Who participated?

The vast majority of those who protested for environmental justice in Italy are young people. School students between 15 and 19 years old are the most visible group covering 32.6% of the whole sample. If we consider school students and young adults together it emerges that around 63% protesters were under 35 years old citizens. Conversely, the "productive" segment of the population, between 36 and 65 years old, represents only 32% of the protesters, somehow proving that for regular workers the "climate" issue was not yet perceived as enough a threat in order for them to strike. Finally, it is important to note that in Italy pensioners are substantially absent, with less than 5% of participants.

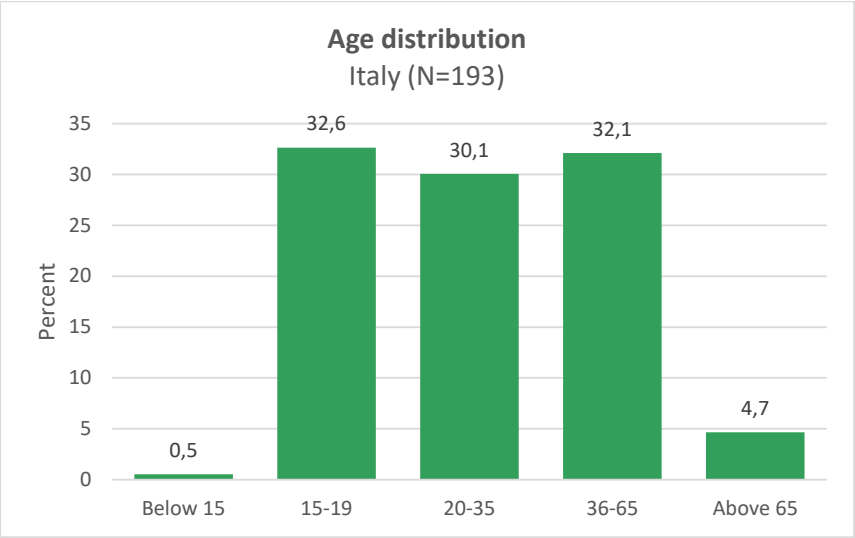


Figure 9.1: Age distribution of protesters in Italy

As far as gender is concerned, the FFF's day of action seems to have involved far more women than man. Probably moved by a greater enthusiasm, women are in fact 68% of the respondents among the young students, and around 60% among the adults. Male respondents are 30% among the young students and 39% among the adult protesters. A very small minority of the general sample (around 2%) refused to identify.

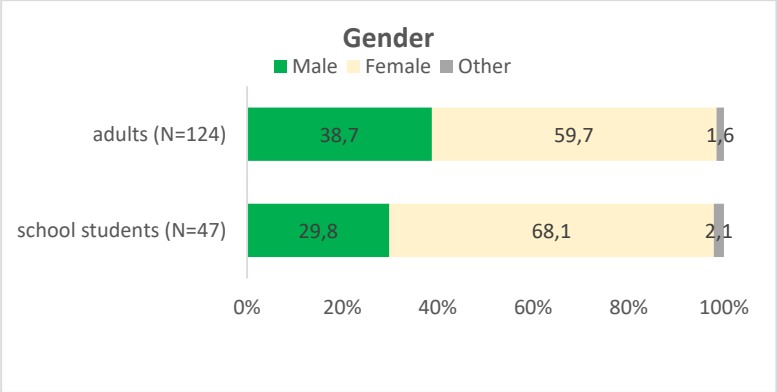


Figure 9.2: Gender distribution of protesters in Italy

Prior experiences of political participation and formally organized activities

The demonstration was characterised by a significant component of first-timers and, in general, of participants that did not have a strong history of prior participation in protest activities. This is particularly true for school students (one out of five had never participated in a demonstration in the previous year and one out of three never once before last year), but also for adults.

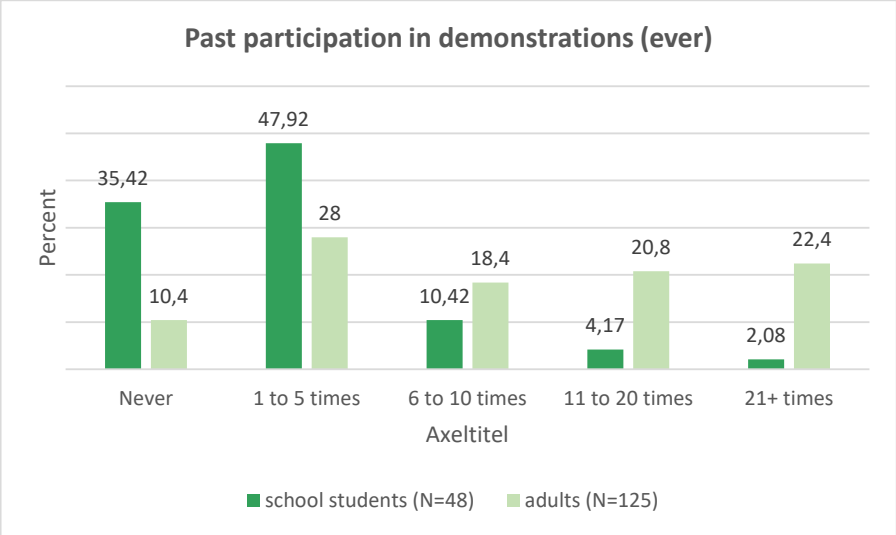


Figure 9.3: Previous demonstration participation (ever)

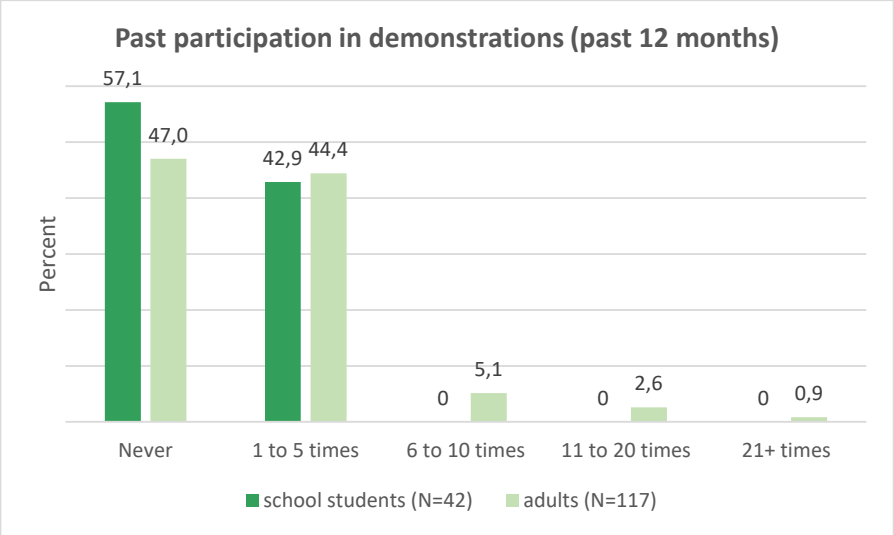


Figure 9.4: Previous demonstration participation (past 12 months)

Organisational membership is where significant differences between school students and older people appear. While party membership is generally low, 15% of adults are passive members of environmental organisations, and 10% are active members. From this point of view, the climate strike seems to be the meeting of two different generations: traditional environmental activists and a new wave of students that discover environmentalism through the lens of the climate emergency.

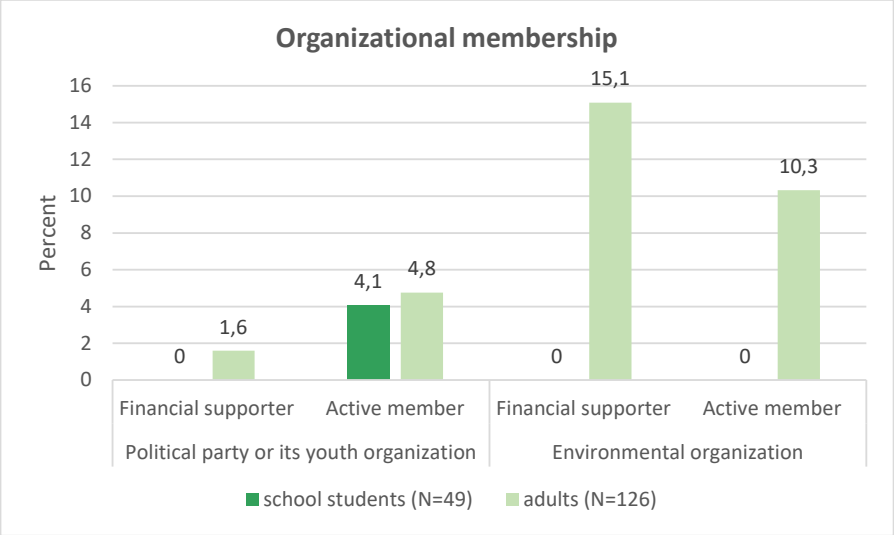


Figure 9.5: Organizational membership of protesters in Italy

The same difference emerges regarding political behaviour, with adults showing higher level of activities across the board. Interestingly enough, the difference is much stronger regarding conventional forms of participation (signing a petition or contacting a politician) than on lifestyle changes and social media activism.

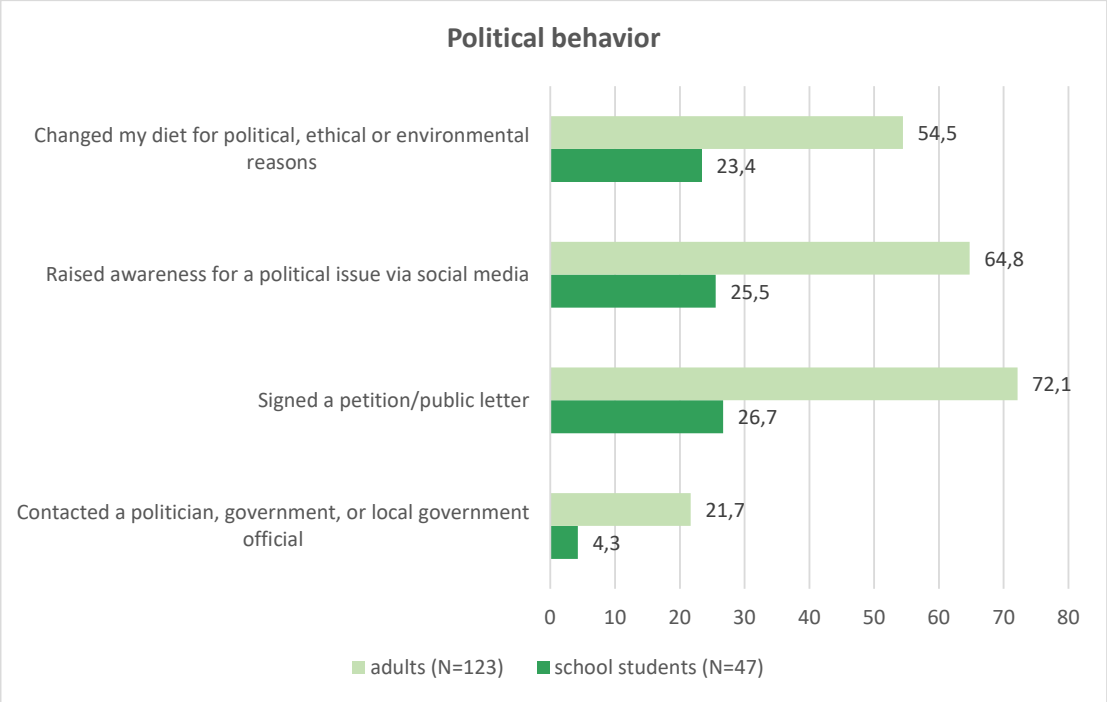


Figure 9.6: Types of political behaviour

Why did they protest?

Regarding motives to protest, almost 80% of interviewed school students declare to have joined the FFF strike to "defend their own interests". The figure of Italian adults who participated in the FFF march and strongly agree/ agree with this statement decreases to 62%. In sharp contrast, 57% of school students disagree/ strongly disagree with the statement "I participated in the protest because somebody asked me to join". This percentage increases to 83% among Italian adults. Delving deeper into network availability and protest engagement, the vast majority of Italians demonstrating in Florence however says not to have participated alone — 0% among school students and, importantly, only 9.8% of adult participants in the FFF strike joined on their own. The charismatic figure of Greta Thunberg seems particularly relevant at persuading and contributing to school students' engagement: 46.8% declare that "Greta Thunberg has affected my decision to join the Climate Strike" very much. Although this figure is still high, it barely reaches 22% among Italian adults. In a similar way, a minority of approximately 30% of school students and adults reckon Great Thunberg has affected not at all/not very much their decision to join the FFF protest.

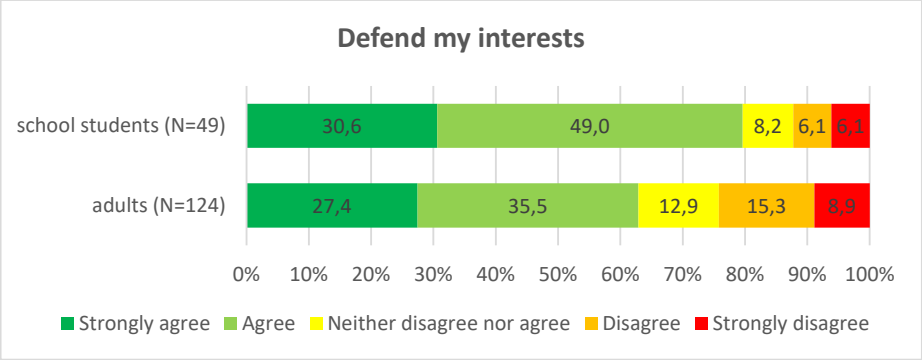


Figure 9.7: Motive – defend my interests

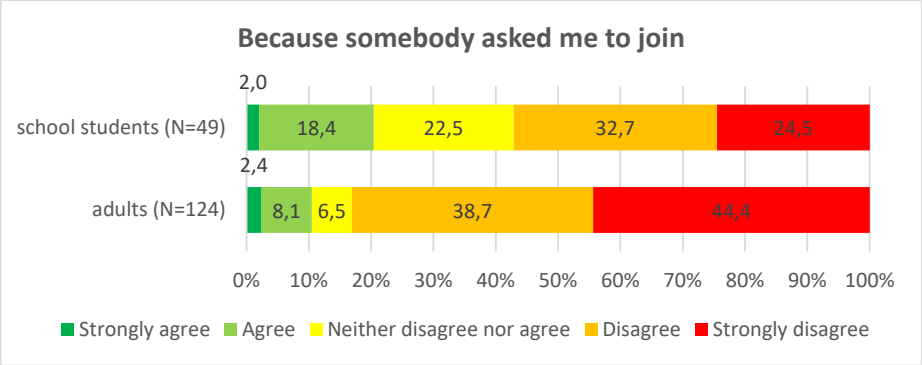


Figure 9.8: Motive – because somebody asked me to join

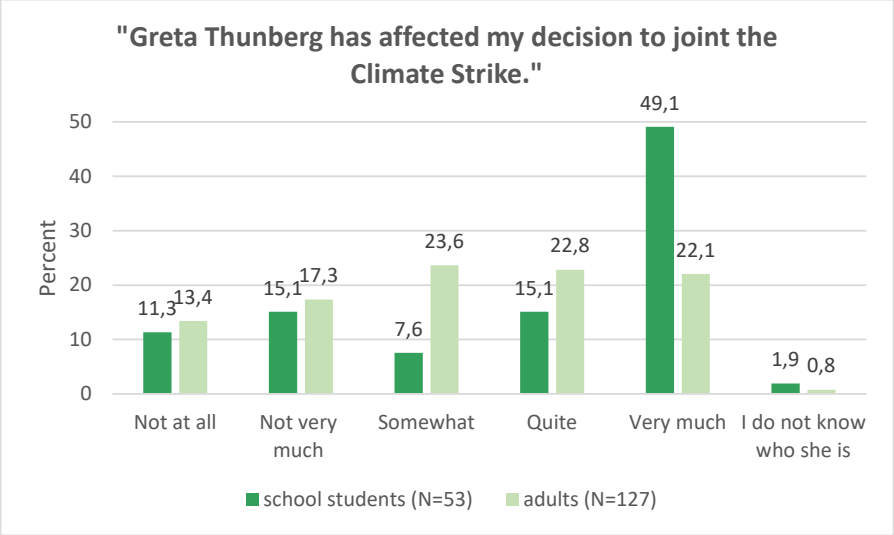


Figure 9.9: Greta's effect in intention to participate

What do they want and who should do it?

The Fridays For Future movement has pointed out the urgency of political intervention that could contrast climate change, expressing in general a strong critique of the apparent lack of concern by institutions that are accused of not considering environmental crisis. Research on young protestors tend to consider them as more radical in their views and, especially, more critical of institutional politics. In addition, Italy is a country in which institutional trust, already tendentiously low, dropped dramatically during the Great Regression. Our data qualify these expectations. In general, those who trust their national parliament and political parties 'quite' or 'very much' are a very small minority, with young people following the trend (6.5 quite trust parliament among both age groups, a very low 4,3 trust it very much among the teens and 0 among the older cohorts, with even lower results of about 4% between 'quite' and 'very much' for political parties). Significantly higher is trust for the EU, with 43.5% of young people who 'quite' trust EU institutions and 10.9 who trust them very much (respectively, a lower 35% but higher 13% among older groups).

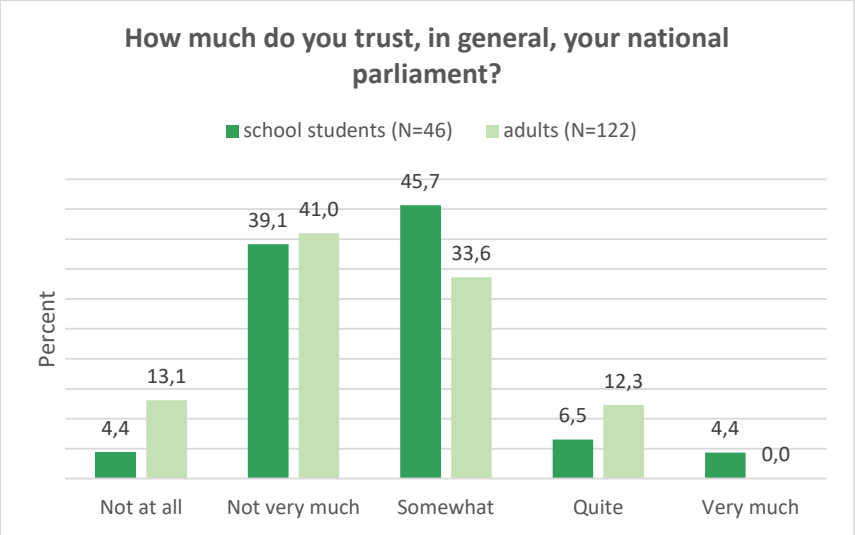


Figure 9.10: General trust in parliament

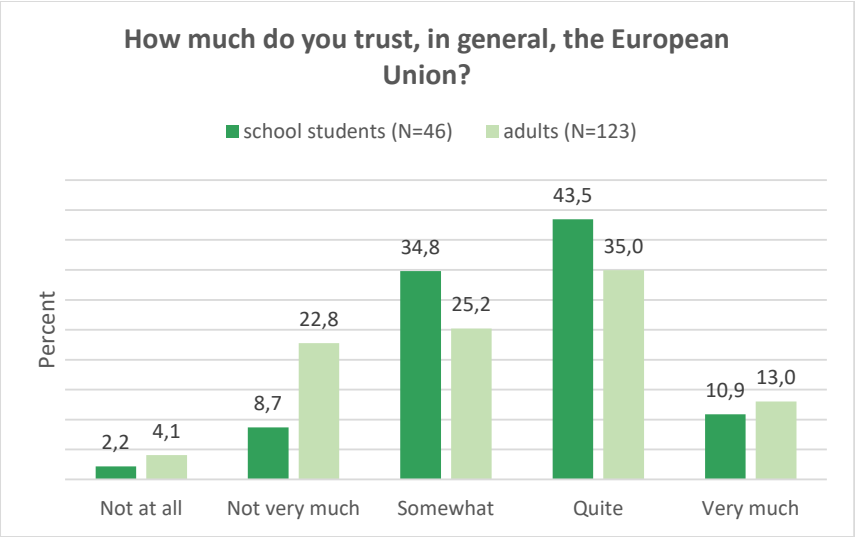


Figure 9.11: General trust in the European Union

Technical information

Distributed surveys: 1000
Response rate: 19.5

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