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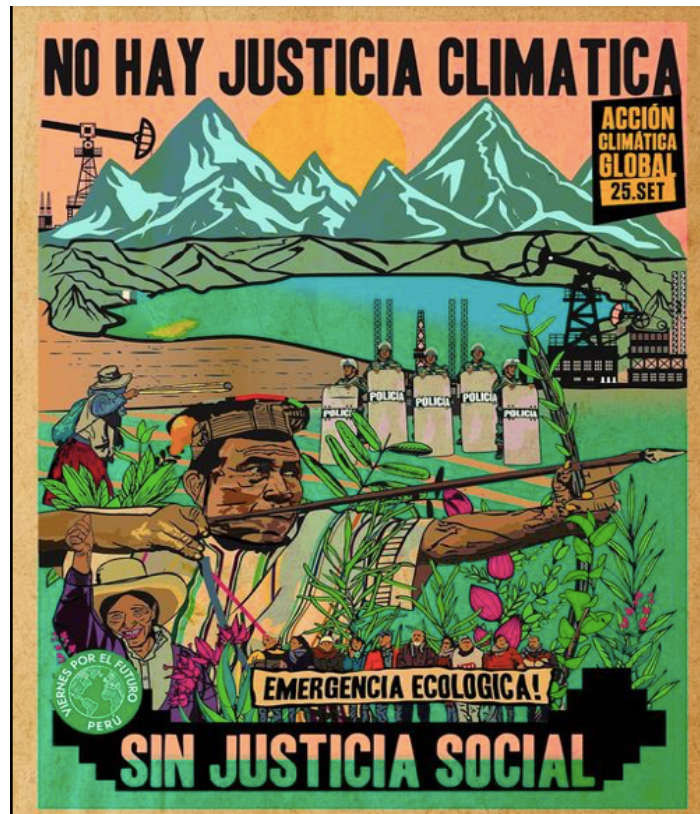Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Fridays for Future in Latin America

An analysis of collective action frame adaptation by the Peruvian
climate movement *Viernes por el Futuro Perú*

Source: Instagram *Viernes por el Futuro Perú,*
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AIDESEP	Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (The Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest)
FENMUCARINAP	La Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Artesanas, Indígenas, Nativas y Asalariadas del Perú (National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Wage-earning Women of Peru)
FFF	Fridays for Future
IPCC	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MAPA	Most Affected People and Areas
NDCs	Nationally Determined Contributions
NGO	Non-governmental organization
POS	Political opportunity structures
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
VPF	Viernes por el Futuro Perú

1. Introduction

> And maybe our inspiration [is] that people take ownership of our movement and that we move away from the idea that Viernes por el Futuro or Fridays for Future is a European movement, or is a movement of young, urban Peruvians who are fans of Greta. Instead, we want to tell all Peruvians that it is a movement for them, that it is a movement in which we want to put the issue of the climate crisis on the agenda and that it is also a movement that is critical of the Global North.
> (Activist #5, para. 42)

Three years after the adoption of the global Paris Agreement on climate change, the Swedish student Greta Thunberg started a school strike outside the Swedish parliament to protest against political leaders' inadequate responses to the climate crisis. Under the Twitter hashtag #FridaysForFuture the school strikes quickly spread not only in Sweden, but all around the world. Millions of young people were inspired to join the protests and to demand climate justice and political action for the climate emergency. The first Global Climate Strike on 15 March 2019 mobilized more than 1.6 million students in 125 countries (Marris, 2019, p. 471). It represented a "historical turn in climate activism" (Wahlström et al., 2019, p. 6) and marked the beginning of the new transnational climate movement *Fridays for Future* (FFF). The transnational dimension of the movement is characterized by an autonomous grassroots structure with networks and groups organized at regional, national and local levels. At the global level, FFF activists unite behind three key demands calling on policy makers to take forceful action: (1) Keep the global temperature below 1.5 °C compared to pre-industrial levels, (2) Ensure climate justice and equity, (3) Listen to the best united science currently available (Fridays for Future, 2019). Scholars have highlighted the novelty of FFF's interpretive framing of the climate crisis as an urgent problem that requires immediate action and of climate justice with regards to intergenerational equity (Neuber et al., 2020, p. 68; Sommer et al., 2020, p. 32).

In 2019, most FFF protest events outside of Europe were organized in North and Latin America (Teune, 2020, p. 133). Inspired by Greta's speeches and the images that went around the globe showing thousands of students protesting in Europe, FFF groups in almost all Latin American countries emerged. However, despite the transnational diffusion of the movement and the existence of FFF groups in almost every country, the widespread international media attention as well as academic interest has focused on the movement and leading activists in the Global North, especially in Europe. Thus, little is known about the protests in the Global South, such as in Latin America, even though young people and other vulnerable groups in these regions are affected the most by the climate crisis (UNICEF UK, 2013, p. 5). Within the

transnational FFF movement there is an increasing awareness that the voices of the "Most Affected People and Areas" – organized in the group FFF MAPA – need to be amplified (Reyes & Calderón, 2021).

In Peru, one of the world's most vulnerable countries to climate change (Avilez et al., 2016, p. 147), several university students in Lima started a national FFF group in February 2019 in order to participate in the first Global Climate Strike. This thesis is concerned with providing a comprehensive understanding of the Peruvian group's participation in the transnational FFF movement and their understanding of the climate crisis. More precisely, it examines the meaning making and interpretations that the Peruvian activists "use to organize their understanding of reality" (Pezzullo & Cox, 2018, p. 62) through the perspective of social movement framing processes (see Benford & Snow, 2000). It furthermore analyzes how the activists have adapted a movement idea from Europe and the Global North[1] to their local context building on the theoretical framework of social movement diffusion and local adaptation.

The transnational FFF movement has been portrayed as a relatively homogenous youth movement whose entire framing is about "young people demanding that adults take responsibility for safeguarding their future" (Wahlström et al., 2019, p. 11). Potential differences and particularities characterizing FFF groups outside of the Global North in the context of different social, political and climatic realities have not been addressed in previous research. Yet, by closer examining the claims and campaigns of Latin American FFF groups, e.g., through their social media accounts, differences in how they frame the climate crisis and their protests in comparison with FFF in the Global North can be revealed. The Peruvian movement *Viernes por el Futuro Perú*[2] (VPF) is characterized by a strong social justice and decolonial perspective and provides an interesting case study for examining why and how movement ideas and frames are "transformed as they travel" (Roggeband, 2007, p. 246).

This thesis aims at advancing research by studying the following research question: *Why do the activists of Viernes por el Futuro Perú frame the climate crisis and their engagement in collective action differently than Fridays for Future in the Global North?*
This main research question encompasses two sub-questions (SQ) that guided the research process:

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[1] The activists refer almost interchangeably to Europe and the Global North when comparing their movement with the European FFF movement. However, they use more often the term Global North to mark differences and to frame their criticism. Therefore, the research question refers to FFF in the Global North.
[2] The Peruvian activists decided to translate the English movement name *Fridays for Future* into Spanish.

- *How do the Peruvian climate activists frame the problem of and solutions to the climate crisis and how do they construct motivation for engagement?* (SQ1)
- *Which explanatory dimensions can be identified that influenced the framing process?* (SQ2)

To answer these questions, this thesis starts by providing an overview of previous research on FFF, climate justice and transnational social movement diffusion. Subsequently, it provides the theoretical background of social movement frame theory, diffusion processes and of local adaptation of collective action frames. Explanatory dimensions for the latter process are derived from the theoretical literature and an analytical framework is presented at the end of this section. Afterwards, the research design and methodology are elaborated. The preceding sections serve as the basis for the analysis that builds on six qualitative interviews with VPF activists from Lima and on complementary primary resources. The analysis takes a twofold approach. Firstly, a frame analysis aims at identifying VPF's problem diagnosis, proposed solutions and rationale for collective action within the core framing tasks of collective action frames. Secondly, VPF's local frame adaptation process and possible explanatory dimensions thereof are examined. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the findings considering existing theoretical and empirical knowledge on the topic of research.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Fridays for Future

FFF is a recent phenomenon, and thus, research is limited but constantly growing. Wahlströhm et al. (2019) provided the first comprehensive research report about the structural dimension of mobilizations, demographically mapping out participants at the 2019 March protests in 13 European cities. Based on survey responses and short face-to-face interviews, they identified a high level of education among protest participants, a large number of first-time demonstrators, a strong reliance on social media and peer networks, and an over-representation across countries of the 14-19 age group (Wahlströhm et al., 2019, p. 5). A second report which covered the global protest week in September 2019 extended the scope of analysis beyond Europe and included cities in Australia, the United States and Mexico (de Moor et al., 2020).

Building on the survey data from Germany presented in Wahlström et al. (2019), Sommer et al. (2019) published a German country report with a more comprehensive analysis of this data and a description of the public resonance to FFF. Emilsson et al. (2020) took a quantitative approach for analyzing which factors explain Swedish FFF protestors' support for an

environmental, economic or social frame. While these studies already reveal a strong academic focus on Europe, the book by Haunss and Sommer (2020) is another example of the gap between the reality of a transnational movement with "hundreds of local groups around the world" (Díaz-Pérez et al., 2021, 22) and scholars' Eurocentric attention to it. Even though the sub-title of the book reads "Contours of the worldwide protest movement", it is mainly based on German case studies and does not include any description or analysis of activists' experiences outside of Europe. However, the authors mention that one can expect differences between protests around the world as most of the mobilization work takes place locally, i.e., within the framework of the respective social, cultural and political conditions and structures (Neuber et al., 2020, p. 68).

Daniel et al. (2020) and Díaz-Pérez et al. (2021) published the most recent scientific studies about FFF. Daniel et al. (2020) conducted a frame analysis of the Austrian FFF movement based on the qualitative analysis of movement texts, press releases and protest surveys. The authors find that the movement's problem definition is based on the ecological, social and economic impacts of climate change and on the scientific diagnoses of the IPCC. The diagnostic frame is constructed in relation to climate justice, understood as the equitable distribution of burdens and costs in the fight against climate change. The authors find it noteworthy that the activists' understanding of climate justice does not address context-specific challenges and vulnerabilities in the Global South and does not link injustices to systemic causes, for example from an anti-capitalist perspective (Daniel et al., 2020, p. 375). The "fossil business model" is identified as the main culprit of the climate crisis, while the responsibility and competence to find solutions is assigned to national political decision-makers and science. Moreover, protest participants give importance to individual lifestyles in solving the climate crisis (Daniel et al., 2020, p. 377). Motivational frames highlight the global dimension of the school strikes, promote global protest days as historical moments and construct a "we" as belonging to the young generation which will be burdened with the consequences of climate change (Daniel et al., 2020, p. 379). Díaz-Pérez et al. (2021) present a mythological-discursive analysis of Greta Thunberg's speeches and an analysis of Twitter and Instagram publications of the local FFF group in Barcelona. They examined how the monomyth of Greta and the related frame of a new youth wave of the climate movement "is constructed at a global level and how it is collected, accommodated, and adapted locally" (Díaz-Pérez et al., 2021, p. 35). They find that even in transnational movements there is a dialogue with local contexts and that FFF represents a "glocal" movement (Díaz-Pérez et al., 2021, p. 35, 41). The authors point to the need for further

research regarding the relationship between global frames and territorialized realities in the Global South.

This part of the literature review makes evident that scholars' interest in the youth climate movement FFF has focused on Europe, particularly Germany and also Sweden. There is a striking absence of scientific studies that analyze FFF groups in other world regions. Several scholars draw attention to the need for further research regarding country-specific concerns, claims and actions in the context of young activist's everyday lives outside of the Global North (see e.g., Han & Ahn, 2020; Marquardt, 2020; Walker, 2020). Therefore, this thesis aims to address this research gap with a case study from Latin America. No previous peer-reviewed research has so far been done on youth climate activism or FFF in Peru. Empirical findings can serve to understand how young people in a country like Peru, in which social realities are different and climate effects are more acute, experience the climate crisis and engage in the transnational FFF movement.

2.2. Frame Research and Climate Justice

Environmental and climate movements are frequently analyzed through the theoretical lens of frame analysis to examine their meaning constructions aimed at mobilizing adherents and influencing political agenda-setting (e.g., Della Porta & Parks, 2014; Emilsson et al., 2020; Taylor, 2000; Wahlström et al., 2013). While environmental justice was an important research focus in past decades, the claim for climate justice has become the dominant subject in recent climate movement frame research (Emilsson et al., 2020, p. 3). Della Porta and Parks identify a discursive shift away from a transnational climate change to a climate justice movement with a more radical and system-critical framing. Almeida (Almeida, 2019, p. 975) finds that the FFF movement has given new momentum to the transnational climate justice movement. According to Neuber et al. (2020, p. 68), FFF emerged with a unique profile within the climate justice movement by emphasizing the intergenerational justice frame and prompting "the formation of a political subject based on generation more than on nationality or class" (Brewster, 2020).

Summarizing various definitions of the climate justice frame, Scholl (2013, p. 134) finds that the frame criticizes the inequality of past and current emissions between the Global North and Global South, highlights the resulting historical responsibility (*climate debt*) and aligns with ongoing indigenous struggles. On a more abstract level, several scholars found that the climate justice frame addresses systemic underpinnings of the climate crisis and is often connected to local-based struggles as it draws attention to the fact that climate change always manifests itself "locally in diverse and unequal ways" (Rasmussen & Pinho, 2016, p. 11; see

also Dietz, 2014, p. 349). Wichterich (2012, p. 18), however, criticizes that claims for climate justice are still very focused on the global level of injustices among countries while ignoring existing inequalities within societies. Similarly, Schlosberg (2012, p. 451) notes that "any thorough notion of climate justice" must account for the effects of climate change on the everyday lives of the most vulnerable people. Rasmussen and Pinho (2016, p. 11) emphasize the relevance of the climate justice frame for Latin America as it could offer interesting insights in how climate change is mobilized in struggles for social justice.

2.3. Transnational Social Movements and Diffusion

With the Global Justice Movement in the 1990s, the post-2008 global anti-austerity protests and new protest cycles[3] in recent years, research has taken a turn to analyze not only the national but the transnational dimension of social movements and the effects of globalization and cosmopolitan culture on them (Della Porta, 2020, p. 123). While in recent decades a rich literature has developed on transnational collective action and movements (Della Porta et al., 1999; Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Flesher Fominaya, 2014; Keck & Sikkink, 1999; Smith & Johnston, 2002; Tarrow, 2005) most of the research focuses on social movements from the Global North (Altmann et al., 2017). Transnational social movement studies have long neglected how activists from the Global South participate in transnational movements and campaigns (Pommerolle & Siméant, 2015, p. 82). According to Della Porta and Parks (2014, p. 20), even though transnational social movements are global in aspiration they are "often divided along geographical lines" as the power and influence of collective actors from the Global North are frequently criticized by those from the Global South.

Consequently, a critical scholarship has emerged raising concerns about the "Northern-centric nature of social movement studies" (Fadaee, 2017, p. 47) and their inability to grasp social movement realities in regions of the Global South. While this criticism does not suggest that existing theories are obsolete, it has been argued that Northern experiences cannot account for the fact that inequalities in the world political and economic order "continue to play a major role in shaping relations of power and patterns of inequality within Southern states" (Thompson & Tapscott, 2010, p. 2). Such inequalities influence the emergence and nature of movements in these contexts and it can be assumed that they also have an impact on the dynamics of transnational movements (Altmann et al., 2017). Thus, a number of scholars aim to develop a

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[3] A "protest cycle" describes as a "period in which innovations in collective action are diffused across different local areas and across different countries" (Gerbaudo, 2013, p. 88; Tarrow, 1993).

more inclusive global social movement paradigm emphasizing the value of Southern social movements and using them as empirical case studies which can inform novel theory (Altmann et al., 2017; Fadaee, 2016, 2017; Nilsen & Motta, 2011). They find that it is important to analyze the "particular socio-political, institutional and economic contexts in which they are rooted" (Polet, 2007, p. 1). Fadaee (2017, p. 54) highlights several characteristics that are apparent in many Southern movement contexts, such as the continuous redefinition of state-civil society relations, the legacy of colonialism in post-colonial societies, the implicit connection of social movements with democratization processes, and an inter-class dimension, representing interests of middle and lower classes in social movements.

An important strand of research in transnational social movement studies focuses on diffusion processes (see section 3.2.) broadening "the understanding of what happens when practices and ideas travel from one context to another" (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 278). A major part of existing diffusion literature analyzes the Global Justice Movement, the Arab Spring and anti-austerity protests (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014; Romanos, 2015, 2016; Wood, 2012). While scholars have examined how these movements developed in different national contexts and how their cross-national and -regional spread was facilitated, existing studies have not taken account of global North-South dynamics and its implications on diffusion outcomes. Moreover, the climate movement has rarely been addressed in this body of literature with the exception of studies by Scholl (2013) and Hadden (2014). Scholl (2013) analyzes the cross-border diffusion of climate camps and the master frame of climate justice in the context of Europe as a "contagious space". Hadden (2014) documents the inter-movement "spillover" from the global justice movement to the climate justice movement through the diffusion of individuals, ideas and tactics. Her study emphasizes the agency of climate activists in adapting ideas and tactics of the global justice movement.

Examination of the diffusion literature shows that research has predominantly focused on the circumstances under which diffusion is most likely to happen and the mechanisms and channels (e.g., media transmission or mediated through movement brokers) by which it takes place (Stern, 2005, p. 423; see e.g., Della Porta et al., 1999; Givan et al., 2010). Most scholars in the field do not pay sufficient attention to the outcomes of diffusion processes and how activists make sense of the diffused content, neglecting the role of political and creative agency (Chabot, 2010, p. 102). Only a few studies analyzed how and for what reasons activists adapted new movement ideas and elements locally (Ciszek, 2020; Marche & Velut, 2016; Renauld, 2016; Shawki, 2013). Therefore, this thesis goes beyond the diffusion mechanism itself and refers more specifically to the adaptation process by which activists act upon the diffused

content. It analyzes how they make sense of their particular social, economic, political, cultural and ecological context within a transnational movement.

3. Theoretical Background and Analytical Framework

3.1. Framing and Collective Action Frames

Social movements can be studied from various theoretical and analytical perspectives in order to understand their course and dynamics. Initially, the two dominant lines of research focused on resource mobilization and political opportunity structures. These approaches, however, were criticized for overemphasizing structural variables and rational calculations while neglecting the role of agency and interpretation (Snow et al., 1986, p. 465). The framing perspective, which emerged in the 1970s and 80s, has strengthened the analysis of "interpretive, constructivist, and cultural dimensions of collective action" (Benford, 2007, p. 410). It reveals how social movement actors are signifying agents who construct reality and the meaning of relevant events and circumstances, such as climate change and social injustice, in order to mobilize supporters and to gain political and media attention (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613). Frames "are not ideas per se, but the ways ideas are presented, justified, and contextualized" (Malets & Zajak, 2014, p. 264). They can be understood as cognitive schemata used to focus attention on what is important at a certain time and place (Della Porta & Parks, 2014, p. 20f.).

According to Benford and Snow (2000, p. 628) framing is an active, dynamic and continuous process, which "does not occur in a structural or cultural vacuum" but is influenced by the socio-cultural context in which it is embedded. Studies of framing as a dependent variable show that political opportunities, the cultural context, collective identity and interactions with other actors all have an influence on activists' framing (Snow et al., 2014, p. 35). In the context of transnational movements and diffusion processes, this implies that the framing of issues and claims transcending cultural and geographical barriers, is not simply adopted by movement actors but embedded in their local context and adapted to their specific realities and concerns. In doing so, social movement activists experiment with and usually change meaning constructions, symbols, ideas or argumentations (Prause, 2018, p. 50; Renauld, 2016). The outcomes of these interpretive framing activities are so-called *collective action frames*, which in the words of Benford and Snow (2000, p. 614f.) are "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings":

> [They] are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions

regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change.

Collective action frames therefore attend to three core framing tasks: *diagnostic* framing, *prognostic* framing and *motivational* framing. Diagnostic framing relates to the identification of a particular problem or event that encourages agreement and that needs to be addressed. It further gives an idea of who is to blame and where the responsibility lies (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 200). Usually, the diagnosis involves an injustice component and refers to a moral outrage. Furthermore, victims or the most affected people are identified within this frame category. Prognostic framing is directed towards finding a solution to the diagnosed problem, identifying strategies and goals for carrying out the "plan of attack" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617) This involves pointing out the weaknesses of antagonists' arguments and can raise an oppositional consciousness in which there is a clearly defined "we" and "them" (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 26). Motivational framing provides a compelling rationale for participating in collective action. The rationale is based on constructing certain vocabularies of motive, i.e., severity, urgency, efficacy and propriety (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 217). This framing task can influence the construction of a collective identity or a feeling of togetherness ("Wir-Gefühl") based on a shared motivation and problem understanding (Daniel et al., 2020, p. 379). It furthermore emphasizes the effectiveness of collective agency.

Another frame category refers to master frames that are wider in scope and influence, going beyond the interests of a particular group or movement-specific collective action frames. A master frame is "inclusive enough so that any number of other social movements can successfully adopt and deploy it in their campaigns" (Benford, 2013, p. 1). Thus, this type of frame is relevant and effective for different issues and contexts (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 618). Typical examples of master frames are rights frames or (in)justice frames. In the transnational network of climate activists, climate justice has been constructed as a master frame (Della Porta & Parks, 2014, p. 23).

The strategic construction of frames with the aim to link them with the interests and values of prospective constituents often involves *frame alignment processes*: frame bridging, frame extension, frame amplification, and frame transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 624). Particularly relevant for this thesis are the former two processes. Frame bridging refers to the connection of "two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames" (p. 624), for instance linking social justice with environmental concerns. Frame extension occurs when a movement reaches beyond its primary goals and expands core ideas to gain a wider appeal.

To be successful, collective action frames must not only identify and analyze problems, responsibilities and solutions but also resonate with potential movement adherents. The concept of resonance „describes the relationship between a collective action frame, the aggrieved community that is the target of mobilizing efforts, and the broader culture" (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 47). In order to increase the frame's intelligibility and resonance, movement activist draw on "the symbols and themes found in the cultural stock of the target audience" (p. 40). This relates to the frame quality of *cultural compatibility* or *narrative fidelity* which describes whether collective action frames synchronize with values, narratives and belief systems of the people that shall be mobilized (p. 54; Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 619). Additionally, the resonance of a collective action frame is affected by its *centrality* – how essential is an idea or value to the lives of the people. Furthermore, the frames' *relevance* including *empirical credibility* and *experiential commensurability* play an important role. Thus, resonant frames correspond with actual events that can serve as proof for movement claims and they are congruent with the everyday personal experiences of the target audience (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 621).

3.2. Transnational Social Movements: Diffusion and Local Adaptation

Transnational social movements as defined by Tarrow (2011, p. 241) are "sustained contentious interactions with opponents – national or non-national – by connected networks of challengers organized across national boundaries." These networks span local, national and international levels and often involve new transnational identities that are constructed around global responsibilities (Pianta et al., 2009, p. 236; Smith, 2013, p. 1). Scholars have been enthusiastic about the capacity of transnational movements to overcome geographical and socio-cultural divides visible in similar claims, actions and common targets (Daphi, 2013, p. 158; Kousis, 2014, p. 162). However, recent studies also underline the significance of local and national dimensions and particularities of transnational activism (Daphi, 2013, p. 158; Marche & Velut, 2016; Uggla, 2006). These dimensions account for differences in movements' cultures, action repertoires[4] and framings across countries. Thus, transnational activists can be understood as "people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts" (Tarrow, 2005, p. 29) drawing on the resources, networks and opportunities of their societies. They often connect global aspirations and framings with local needs because distant targets and "global thinking" risk to detach the activism from the "real-life needs" of local citizens (p. 76). The transnational level

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[4] Movement "repertoires of contention" describe a set of routines of claims making and tools, such as strikes, marches, petitions etc. that are available to a movement at a given time and place (Tilly, 1978).

then provides symbols for collective identification and cross-national solidarity, while the local level is the locus of mobilization power (Vicari, 2014, p. 106f.). Gerbaudo (2013, p. 90f.) highlights the importance of national cultural spheres and world cultural regions as a crucial horizon of experience and reference of identification for social movements. Scholars refer to diffusion processes in order to explain how movement ideas and practices travel across these spheres and regions leading to the transnationalization of social movements.

As a widely used concept in the social sciences diffusion refers to the process by which an innovation spreads through direct or indirect channels among the members of a social system (Rogers, 1995, p. 5). In the field of social movement research, scholars explore how social movements or some component thereof spread across movements or countries (Givan et al., 2010, p. 2). The content that is being diffused can occur along the behavioral (tactics, organizational forms) and ideational (ideas, collective action frames) dimension (Givan et al. 2010, p. 4). New communication technologies play an important role and facilitate the diffusion of movement ideas (Della Porta & Parks, 2014, p. 20). Activists often observe and replicate some elements of social movements because they "do not have to reinvent the wheel at each place and in each conflict" (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 58). Instead, they often find inspiration in other activists' ideas and actions.

Inspiration, however, does not mean imitation. Rather, transnational diffusion, traversing different political, cultural and social contexts, is "a creative and strategic process" (Givan et al., 2010, p. 3). Movement diffusion occurs through instrumental learning as well as through the construction of new meanings and frames. Thus, it involves a process of local adaptation based on the interpretation, translation and transformation of ideas and practices which emphasizes the conscious efforts and creativity of social movement actors (Malets & Zajak, 2014, p. 252; Roggeband, 2007, p. 246). Linking the theory of diffusion with the concept of strategic framing, Benford and Snow (2000, p. 628) argue that adaptation is a process "in which objects of diffusion (…) are framed so as to enhance the prospect of their resonance with the host or target culture". In this context, Tarrow (2005, p. 42) emphasizes the relevance of the activist's linkage to place and the experiences that are bound to this place. Roggeband (2007, p. 248) identifies three aspects that influence the adaptation of movement repertoires and frames to create more locally resonant versions: available opportunities and resources, a cultural critique of the diffused frame or its producers, and learning processes to refine local strategies. Furthermore, the elements of *reception* (how is an innovation perceived and evaluated by activists) and *recontextualization* (how activists manage the differences between the originators and themselves) explain how and why protest repertoires travel and are adopted in different

contexts (p. 246). Roggeband (2007) builds on Chabot and Duyvendak (2002, p. 707) who describe *dislocation* and *relocation* as necessary mechanisms for diffusion to happen. After activists recognize that a foreign innovation might work in their own social context, they can dislocate it from its original context by translating it into familiar terms using local cultural scripts. Experimentation with the new protest ideas and practices then allows them to relocate them within a new context which requires cognitive work and framing efforts by the activists (Chabot, 2010, p. 106; Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 280).

3.3.   Explanatory Dimensions of Collective Action Frame Adaptation

Drawing on the theoretical literature of framing and transnational diffusion, several explanatory dimensions can be derived to understand social movements' framing processes and local adaptation of collective action frames within a transnational social movement. According to Benford and Snow (2000), Tarrow (2005), Roggeband (2007) and Snow et al. (2014) available resources, the socio-cultural context, political opportunities, social networks and interactions with other movements as well as collective identity have an influence on activists' framing activities and induce their adaptation efforts. These explanatory dimensions for the construction and adaptation of collective action frames are operationalized in the following.

Available resources – organizational, material, human, ideational – define to a certain extent what activists "know how to do" (Tarrow, 1993, p. 283) and constitute the basis on which repertoires and frames are created and adapted. Scholars have found that prior participation in protests or experiences with political activism in non-governmental organizations and student associations can have a significant impact on the actions and frames adopted by movement participants (Renauld 2016, 536; Taylor and Van Dyke 2007, 278).

Social networks and interactions with other movements are often discussed in the context of movement alliances. Alliances describe processes of solidarity building among social movements (Teixeira & Motta, 2020, p. 1). They promote the exchange of information and help to create "new issues and categories" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p. 89) as well as to "mobilize diverse constituents into a common framework of identity and action" (Brandy, 2004, p. 416).

Political opportunity structures (POS) relate to the political context and the rules of the game in which activists make their choices about demands and strategies (Meyer, 2004, p. 128). This political context influences the development of social movements (Kitschelt, 1986, p. 58). It is contingent, for instance, on political crises (Renauld, 2016), changes of government (Predelli & Halsaa, 2012, p. 91), protests of other actors (Haarstad & Fløysand, 2007) and on discursive and legal possibilities or constraints (Prause, 2018, p. 58). One important dimension

of POS is the openness or closedness of states "to inputs from non-established actors and the strength or weakness of their capacities to deliver the effective implementation of policies" (Rootes, 1999, p. 76). Political openness can be determined by the effectiveness of NGOs, the ability to circulate information and the degree of democracy (free and fair elections, enforcement of rule of law, and respect for human rights) (Caraway, 2006, p. 280). Often, short-term opportunity structures are events that open windows of opportunity for mobilization and protest (Prause, 2018, p. 45). It has been argued that economic structures should also be considered as part of POS because of a shift of power from politics to the market (Schurman & Munro, 2009, p. 158f.). Neoliberal economic policies have increased the power of transnational corporations while reducing states' capacity to control them (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005, p. 2). Furthermore, political decision-making has increasingly shifted to the international level and social movements face opportunity structures determined by national as well as global political and economic contexts (Claeys & Pugley, 2017, p. 330; Della Porta et al., 1999).

Just as POS facilitate or constrain movement's framing activities, so do cultural opportunities as well as the wider social context (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 630; Snow et al., 2014, p. 35). Culture can be understood as a "product of historical processes that continues to change over time" (Malets & Zajak, 2014, p. 254). Language and education as well as discourses, institutions and outstanding past events and their dominant interpretation are aspects of culture (Britta Baumgarten, 2014, p. 93f.). Activists aim to connect their demands and frames to dominant cultural values, norms and narratives or attempt to establish new ones in order to make their framings culturally resonant. Moreover, civil society and local protest cultures play an important role for mobilization and the resonance of diffused collective action frames (Gerbaudo, 2013). Following Ullrich & Keller's (2014, p. 130) critique of the strategic bias of the term *opportunities* the more open concept of political and cultural *context* in which the movement is embedded will be further utilized in this study.

Collective identity[5] also matters in shaping movements' framing (Snow et al., 2014, p. 35). However, it is not included in the analytical framework (*Table 1*) as it is a complex concept that is difficult to operationalize and measure (Neuendorf & Skalski, 2009, p. 203). Thus, it exceeds the scope of this thesis.

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[5] Collective identity is based on the construction of a sense of shared experience or 'we-ness' (Daphi, 2013, p. 158; Snow, 2001). It can be understood as a group's understanding and definition of its place in a wider social context (Melucci, 1995).

Table 1: Analytical Framework

Category	Description
Collective action frames - Core framing tasks	
Diagnostic framing	Problem definition, attribution of blame and responsibility, expression of injustice
Prognostic faming	Solutions to the problem, movement goals, refusion of antagonists' arguments
Motivational framing	Rationale for taking collective action, vocabularies of motive
Explanatory dimensions of collective action frame adaptation	
Resources	Organizational, material, human, ideational resources
Alliances	Social networks, solidarity-building
Socio-cultural and historical context	Discourses, norms, values, language, education, history, protest culture, civil society
Political-economic context	Openness or closedness of political system, political and economic policies, political crisis, change of government, power of economic actors Multiple scales: global, national

Source: Own elaboration

4. Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used in conducting this research. The research is based on a case study and "entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case" (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). It employs a qualitative research design and as such follows an interpretivist and constructionist approach. Furthermore, it puts "a focus on the discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants" (Harwell, 2011, p. 3). In the following the methods for data collection and analysis are presented.

4.1. Data Collection

The empirical data was collected through six qualitative semi-structured interviews[6] conducted in January and February 2021 with activists of the movement Viernes por el Futuro Perú. For reasons of data and personality protection the interviews were anonymized, and activists' names were replaced with numbers (e.g., Activist #1). The interviewees were all based in Lima as the

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[6] Please consult Appendix 1 for an overview of the interview partners and Appendix 3 for the full transcriptions of the interviews. The interviews were conducted and transcribed in Spanish and cited statements were translated into English.

movement participation of activists from other parts of the country and coordination with them has weakened due to the pandemic of COVID-19. To increase the validity and reliability of the data, a selective "triangulation" as proposed by Meijer et al. (2002, p. 146) was applied. Thus, additional primary sources in form of several Instagram posts – the most used social media channel by VPF – were included into the analysis to cross-check certain aspects that had not become clear in the interviews and to enhance the understanding of VPF's framing. However, this was not a linear process as VPF's social media representation on Instagram was also consulted at the outset of the research process and between interviews in order to prepare specific questions about campaigns or slogans.

The semi-structured interviews were all conducted following a question guideline[7] but varied depending on the information gathered during previous interviews. The contacts with the interviewees were established through one personal contact as well as through VPF's Instagram account, and subsequently via snowball sampling based on recommendations from the interviewees. One interview was conducted via phone and only hand-written notes were taken, while the others were conducted via Zoom and were recorded. They were then transcribed with the software MAXQDA following the rules as proposed by Kuckartz (2010, p. 44): transcriptions were conducted literally and sections that were insignificant or that contained personal information were replaced with (…). Incomprehensible sections were indicated by (?).

4.2. Data Analysis

The empirical data collected was analyzed through a qualitative frame analysis (SQ1) and a thematic analysis (SQ2) with the help of MAXQDA. Frame analysis is a common approach in social movement scholarship for exploring the discursive process of meaning making and the interpretive packages used by the activists to simplify "the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action in one's present or past environment" (Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 137). The approach reveals specific frames and themes within the core framing tasks – diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing – that served as deductive categories for analysis.

Thematic analysis has evolved as a common instrument for analyzing qualitative data such as interviews in order to identify and closely examine patterns of themes and meaning therein (Braun and Clarke 2019, 593; Braun et al. 2014). The thematic analysis followed a six-step

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[7] Please consult Appendix 2 for the interview guideline.

recursive process as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2020): (1) data familiarization and writing familiarization notes, (2) systematic data coding, (3) generating initial themes from coded and collated data, (4) developing and reviewing themes, (5) refining, defining and naming themes, and (6) writing the report. The categories and themes that structure the following analysis were generated both deductively and inductively based on the analytical framework and open coding.

5. Analysis

The following analysis of empirical data is structured corresponding to the categories of the analytical framework. The analysis will first address VPF's collective action frames and core framing tasks (SQ1) before the explanatory dimensions concerning the framing process and frame adaptation are examined (SQ2).

5.1. Collective Action Frames: Core Framing Tasks

5.1.1. Diagnostic Framing

The movement's diagnostic framing gives answers to the questions "What is the problem?", "Who or what is responsible for creating the problem?", "Who is suffering the most?". The salient themes and sub-categories that constitute the diagnostic framing of VPF relate to the local impacts of climate change, its close links to other social and political struggles and the economic model based on a capitalist system and extractivism. Furthermore, oppression and violence, the culpability of transnational corporations and a corrupt government, and the vulnerability of indigenous people are problematized in the diagnostic framing.

Despite the recognition of the global dimension of climate change, local manifestations and direct consequences of climate change for the people in Peru appear to have a strong influence in diagnosing the problem:

> When we talk about climate change, we have to talk about how it affects people's lives, their work, their food, their existence, their way of living. (...) It's a global problem, but we have to act locally and we can only act locally if we understand what happens locally, if we understand our neighbours, the people close to us and how climate change affects their lives, how it brings them death, hunger. So, it is something that has to be grounded in the reality. If not we can't act. (Activist #3, para. 10, 12)

Acute impacts that are mentioned include the threat of melting glaciers in the Peruvian Andes, farmers' crop loss due to changing weather patterns and recent floods in indigenous communities (Activist #2, para. 13). The movement prefers to speak of a climate crisis instead

of climate change in order to go beyond the mere ecological understanding of a changing climate. The crisis framing stresses that "our house is on fire" (Activist #5, para. 12) and that the climate crisis is not only threatening the environment but that it is "a threat to us because we live in conjunction with nature" (Activist #5, para. 14). Activist #4 (para. 6) describes the climate crisis as one of the greatest symptoms in the terminal stage of a disease and thus to "tackle the climate crisis also means to address the whole disease behind it". The activists thereby consider it crucial to connect the climate crisis to different prevailing social problems and injustices that they observe in their country, such as inequality, racism, the oppression of women and precarious employment (Activist #6, para. 13). Hence, "There is no climate justice without social justice" presents the movement's most important premise which is emphasized by several activists and also serves as the introduction to all of their social media accounts.

A holistic perspective and systemic framing are central to the movement's problem definition. All interviewed activists claim that the current model of production and consumption, namely the neoliberal capitalist system, which "depends on extractivism and exploitation, not just of nature but of people as well" (Activist #2, para. 19), is the root cause of the climate crisis. Capitalism together with colonialism and patriarchy are considered to constitute a system of oppression, in which violence against nature and violence against people, especially against indigenous people and women, are closely interwoven. By emphasizing these underlying oppressive structures and "the violence that is not seen, that is made invisible" (Instagram 16 Nov., para. 20) activists implicitly draw on framings of structural violence.

Within the economic system the logic of limitless growth and the development model of extractivism are seen as the primary source of environmental destruction and the climate crisis. A recurrent theme in the activists' reasoning is the pervasiveness of the economic and neoliberal logic of individualism, self-interest and pursuit of personal profit (Activist #6, para. 15; Activist #4, para. 7). The main culprits identified in this context are transnational mining corporations and oil companies. Not only because globally "100 companies emit more than half of the world's emissions" (Activist #2, para. 19), but also because in Peru they create "extreme situations" (Activist #4, para. 4) of conflict, impacting the environment and human rights. In this context, several activists refer to the case of Cerro de Pasco:

> It's a city that is heavily affected by mining, in the middle of the city there is a mining site, and many children and adults have their health affected by it (…) All of this due to the damages caused by a mining company together with a captured state, a state that does nothing more than look after the interests of extractivism and the country's economic elites. All of this because of the damage that this cruel extractivism generates to nature and to the people who live around it. (Activist #3, para. 4)

The activists attribute responsibility both to the international and national level. They refer to the Global North as the beneficiary of resource extraction (Activist #5, para. 38) and explicitly put blame on Canada, whose transnational corporations would "destroy Latin America" (Activist #4, para. 25). Considering the Global North's significant contributions to climate change and the Global South's limited resources to adapt to it, VPF frames the responsibility of Northern countries in terms of an *ecological debt*. Thus, the movement wants the countries of the Global North to pay for their historical debt and to financially support the ecological transitions in the Global South (Activist #5, para. 36; Activist #4, para. 14).

The national and also local governments of Peru are criticized for promoting the country as a mining state ("*Perú, país minero*") and for perpetuating the conditions of exploitation within corrupt political structures (Activist #4, para. 4; Activist #2, para. 22). The movement's diagnostic framing does not include a specific reference to Peru's climate policies. Rather, the activists highlight the country's corrupt political class and complicity in the assassination of environmental defenders because "the exploitation of nature means the murder of defenders and leaders whose voices are silenced" (Instagram 13 March 2021, para. 4).

Overall, the systemic analysis strongly prevails over attributions of blame to humans in general. VPF Perú rejects the framing of the Anthropocene and instead refers to the "Capitalocene" (Activist #5, para. 16). In their view, the Anthropocene would imply that all humans have been equally complicit in contributing to greenhouse gas emissions and the climate crisis. However, it is important for the activists to stress differentiated responsibilities: indigenous people have not only contributed the least to the climate crisis but have long been fighting at the frontlines against extractive industries (Activist #4, para. 24; Activist #5, 24).

When asked about who will be suffering the most from the climate crisis, the activists do not regard themselves, i.e., young people, as the most vulnerable and affected group. While one activist reflects on their own privileged position – living in Lima and not feeling directly affected by climate change (Activist #2, para. 15) – another activist also acknowledges that living in a country of the Global South makes them more vulnerable to the impacts of the climate crisis (Activist #5, para. 14). However, the activists unanimously express their main concern with marginalized social groups. They connect their problem diagnosis to the injustice framing of indigenous and farmer communities in Peru being affected the most by the climate crisis (Activist #1, para. 30; Activist #2, para. 17; Activist #3, para. 20).

5.1.2. Prognostic Framing

The movement's prognostic framing answers the questions "What should be done to combat the climate crisis?", "What are the movement's strategies and proposed solutions?" and "Who should take action?" The identified sub-categories and salient themes that constitute the prognostic framing of VPF Perú include the need for collective action and change based on building alliances, the goal of a *popular environmentalism*, the demand for systemic change and a revolution, and the implementation of a new *Ecosocial Pact* together with a new constitution.

The basic premise for the movement's strategies and solutions is to put the climate crisis on the political agenda (Activist #5, para. 28), especially in the run-up to the presidential election in April 2021, and to forge alliances for collective change. Collective action and organization are considered as instrumental for change because as Activist #3 (para. 46) puts it: "collectivity based on our realities will put a stop to climate change". This frame of collective action is articulated in strong opposition to individual actions, exemplified by "Eco-tips" and sustainable consumption practices which constitute "a narrative that Viernes por el Futuro Perú would never use" (Activist #2, para. 66). The movement views these solutions as a placebo and as a means to individualize the climate crisis. Instead, they find it necessary

> to build a strong movement that can fight and that can put the climate issue on the agenda and make it an issue not only for university students but also for the people. An issue also for adults, for workers, to tell them that it's also something they have to fight against, the climate issue is a form of oppression as well. (Activist #5, para. 26)

Therefore, an important strategy of VPF Perú is to build alliances with other movements and organizations in Peru that "are always in the front line (…) and have the experience of struggle and oppression" (Activist #5, para. 24). This strategy is framed in reference to the concept and goal of a popular environmentalism. As a concept it describes the "environmentalism of the poor" (Activist #4, para. 6), the struggle of poor or indigenous populations defending the environment and their livelihoods against extractive interests. As a goal it aims at constructing an environmentalism for all Peruvians that does not emerge from the privileged classes "but that comes from the classes most in need of radical change" (Activist #2, para. 41). As Activist #2 (para. 38) explains:

> It is understood that environmental problems affect more people in poverty, more vulnerable and oppressed people. So popular environmentalism is part of the existing oppressions, how they are linked and how they are linked to the environmental crisis. Building a popular

environmentalism is part of working with the popular classes, with the oppressed classes, so that they can see that it is important to link this with the environmental crisis.

While mainly focusing on constructing a broad movement at the national level, the activists also point to the importance of building alliances with movements at the regional level of Latin America. Currently, VPF supports the Declaration of Climate Emergency in the Amazon which was published by indigenous communities from several countries in the region (Activist #3, para. 44). A strong collaboration of FFF groups in Latin America is considered important for decolonizing the global movement (Activist #4, para. 15).

In order to foster a movement of collective change and to effectively combat the climate crisis the activists demand a system change and nothing less than "a revolution, and that is something that anyone in VPF can say: we need a revolution in the way we interact, in the way our economy works (…), so we need a post-extractive economy" (Activist #2, para. 30). This framing of structural and systemic change is strongly aligned with the diagnostic framing. The transformation of the economic and energy system must go hand in hand with a broader change of societal relations (Activist #5, para. 54). Thus, an important part of the revolution called for by the activists is to connect the dots of underlying challenges, making the revolution ecological, but also socialist, feminist and decolonial (Activist #4, para. 9). While ultimately, the revolution is envisioned to take place globally, the activists put forward a concrete solution package and vision for the national level – a new Ecosocial Pact (*Pacto Ecosocial*) (Activist #2, para. 30). They understand the pact as a set of minimum agreements that result from renegotiating the terms and the foundation on which society and the state function. It shall put "life and nature at the center" (Instagram 12 Dec. 2020, para. 10) to construct a society that lives in harmony with nature. This renegotiation and construction shall involve the participation of indigenous communities and is closely related to the demand for a new constitution that changes the current "rules of the game" (Activist #4, para. 10-11; Activist #3, para. 36). The movement criticizes the current constitution from 1993 as a social pact which does not guarantee a dignified life, sees nature as a resource whose exploitation is regulated by the state, and which obliges the state not to interfere with private interests (Activist #3, para. 32). Thus, one of VPF's most recent campaigns aims at broadening the debate for a new constitution and to combine an ecological, feminist and labor perspective in the critique of the status quo.

Only if embedded in new societal and state relations, the movement considers it possible to successfully and justly implement other solutions such as a renewable energy transition and an agroecological transition (Activist #4, para. 22). Under the hashtag #NoMásFalsasSoluciones

("No more false solutions") (Instagram 13 March 2021, para. 8) VPF expresses its rejection of solutions as proposed in the agendas of the Global North. In the words of Activist #4 (para. 7):

It's as if they want to propose you medicines without treating the problem (…) they have proposed false solutions for a long time, sustainable development is not new, it has been around for more than 20 years. The same with the circular economy, the theme of the SDGs, the Adichi objectives for example. And in all these times, no considerable progress has been made in addressing the climate crisis. We are worse off than before.

In this context, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are portrayed as being particularly problematic because they rely on the current economic model of growth and even dedicate SDG 8 ("Decent Work and Economic Growth") to it (Activist #4, para. 23).

Compared to the diagnostic framing of responsibility, the prognostic framing is not as explicit about the responsibility to take action. According to Activist #3 (para. 22) "the whole world has to act" and all Peruvians should make the climate crisis a priority. Mobilizing and informing as many people as possible to fight for the envisioned systemic changes is considered more important and effective than political advocacy through formal channels or collaboration with the government (Activist #3, para. 62). By empowering citizens and encouraging them to act the movement aims to get through to the authorities.

5.1.3. Motivational Framing

The movement's motivational framing reveals how new people are mobilized and how motivation for activists' engagement is constructed. It provides a rationale for the question "Why should we care?" The identified sub-categories and salient themes that constitute the motivational framing include the vocabulary of togetherness and the notion of collective power, the vocabulary of urgency and responsibility and the understanding that everything is connected with the climate crisis and that the movement is a continuation of indigenous struggles.

The main motivational framing theme reinforcing the efficacy of collective action is expressed in the statement *"We are together, because the only way out is collectively"* (Instagram 12 Dec. 2021, para. 13). In line with the prognostic framing of collective change, the activists emphasize the importance of telling people that they are not alone, that the individual is not to blame for the climate crisis and "that it all depends on collective action, on mobilization" (Activist #2, para. 50). The movement wants to gain people's support with a collective approach instead of a moral individual approach which they believe pushes people away as they feel attacked or criticized for their consumption habits (Activist #5, para. 10). This collectivity framing is based on a strong belief in the efficacy and success of a growing social

movement uniting various struggles. As Activist #5 (para. 24) maintains: "Real changes are made from below".

A sense of urgency and responsibility is expressed by the activists to explain their own motivation to participate in the movement. One activist refers to the IPCC time frame of 10 years that are left to act on climate change expressing feelings of fear and powerlessness (Activist #1, para. 9). Another activist refers to the image of the planet as a burning house to underline the urgency and seriousness of the climate crisis (Activist #5, para. 12). In terms of mobilizing appeals, the movement refers to a "climate emergency" (Instagram 13 March 2021, para. 4) and indicates the urgency to make climate justice a reality through the recurringly used hashtag #JusticiaClimaticaYa ("Climate Justice Now") (Instagram 01 Dec. 2020, para. 28). Self-responsibility appears as a strong motivating factor expressed by the activists: "someone has to do something" (Activist #5, para. 10) and "If I don't do my part, who else will?" (Activist #2, para. 43).

The aim to build broad and strong alliances with other movements and social groups as expressed in the prognostic framing relates to the motivational framing of the interconnections between various struggles. Staying with the image of the climate crisis as a symptom of a disease, Activist #4 (para. 8) maintains that "we share the same disease" and that therefore it is important to reveal the linkages between different symptoms. The movement wants to mobilize people by raising awareness for how their current problems are related to climate justice and how "on a day-to-day basis we are affected by the climate and ecological crisis" (Activist #5, para. 10). This is strongly related to the goal of a popular environmentalism. In this regard, the motivational framing presents a vision of success:

> One of the great victories in this struggle, at least for Peru, would be that this environmental and ecological agenda ceases to be only ours and becomes everyone's, that the people, social movements, women's movements, trade unions, workers, doctors can feel the need to fight against the climate crisis. (Activist #4, para. 8)

Furthermore, framing the movement as a continuation of past indigenous struggles in Peru motivates a feeling of solidarity and of responsibility to push forward the fight for social justice (Activist #4, para. 13; Activist #5, para. 24)

5.2.   Local Adaptation of Collective Action Frames

The following section examines the factors that influenced VPF's framing process and explain VPF's local adaptation of collective action frames. Firstly, this section summarizes the different phases of adaptation as described by the activists and presents the main differences and particularities that can be identified in VPF's collective action frames compared to FFF in the

Global North (based on the activists' own reflection and the researcher's comparison with the literature review). Secondly, explanatory factors concerning the frame adaptation, i.e., resources, alliances, the socio-cultural and historical context, and the political-economic context, are analyzed.

5.2.1. Viernes por el Futuro Perú: Making the Movement 'their own'

The Peruvian activists describe three phases of an active learning process of learning, exchange and adaptation of movement ideas in order to create their own movement and agenda according to local realities. In the first phase, activists followed a "copy and paste" approach (Activist #2, para. 64) by implementing the "European model" (Activist #6, para. 7) and agenda based on the Paris Agreement, sustainable development, and the need to change individual habits to become more eco-friendly (Activist #4, para. 7). Activist #3 (para. 48) explains how initially FFF was perceived as a "cool" activism imported from Europe which was taken up "just to do something awesome and not to cause disruption" where it is needed. However, the Peruvian activists soon realized that it would be necessary and more strategic to adapt the movement to their local context, starting with translating the movement name from English to Spanish. This decision was not only made out of necessity as many Peruvians wouldn't understand the English name, it was also intended as a decolonial assertion inside the global movement (Activist #2, para. 64). According to Activist #2 (para. 66) it is important to

> build those unique values that we as a local movement have, for example, giving us the name, and we also changed the logo. It is a way of expressing that we are building a movement that is no longer an import from Europe, but a movement that is growing at the Peruvian level, at the local level.

The second phase began with a self-organized national climate school which served as a space for education, critical reflection and debate. The activists realized that their movement approach

> was nothing more than the landing of an agenda that is not proper of Latin America, of our country, and that it is an agenda of the Global North, of the United States, of Europe, of developed countries, which also do not envisage the root problem. (Activist #4, para. 7)

Henceforth, the movement shifted its framing from an ecological understanding of climate change to a more political and systemic perspective based on knowledge exchange with other social movements and organizations (Activist # 6, para. 7; Activist #4, para. 15). As a result, VPF organized the third Global Climate Strike in September 2019 with about 50 other organizations that formed part of the newly created Climate Assembly – a platform for collaboration and exchange (Activist #4, para. 8). The mobilization was larger in numbers,

gathering 15 000 people compared to 2000 in May, and also more diverse uniting people with different socio-economic backgrounds. Activist #4 (para. 8) recalls that during the mobilization "there was already a more Peruvian feeling, more belonging to us". Entering the third phase since then, the activists of VPF have focused on strengthening their own creation of the movement by developing a popular environmentalism that makes the climate debate a priority for all Peruvians. Since the political crisis and impeachment protests in November 2020 in Peru, the current phase also includes combining the quest for climate justice with the demand for a new constitution.

Overall, when referring to the global FFF movement, and specifically to FFF in Europe, the Peruvian activists express both respect and a critical distance. While they assert admiration for the massive mobilizations in Europe and respect for Greta (Activist #1, para. 37; Activist #4, para. 10), they also emphasize the distinct realities of their country and those in Europe or in the Global North (Activist #2, para. 28, 54; Activist #3, para. 42). They criticize the lack of systemic diagnoses and social justice perspectives in the framing of European and also some Latin American FFF groups (Activist #2, para. 66). Thus, a main difference that the activists identify in comparison with the global movement of FFF is their own more radical narrative based on an anti-capitalist stance and the demand for a revolution (Activist #2, para. 30, 75; Activist #5, para. 36). Their framing does not include individual lifestyle changes and goes beyond the general narrative of "Listen to the science" and fighting for 1.5 degrees.

Further differences and particularities that can be identified in VPF's collective action frames include the following: the framing of intertwining oppressions and structural violence, the Global North's responsibility as an ecological debt, historical references to colonialism (diagnostic framing); the emphasis of a decolonial approach[8], the framing of collective action as a goal and strategy in itself, the framing of a popular environmentalism and the demand for a new Ecosocial Pact (prognostic framing); the strong solidarity with the most vulnerable people, especially indigenous communities, and the aim to build upon and continue their long-standing struggles (diagnostic and motivational framing). The absence of an intergenerational justice frame and of a collective identify frame based on youth is also noteworthy. Additionally, while more ambitious Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) of the Peruvian

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[8] Decoloniality "seeks to make visible, open up, and advance radically distinct perspectives and positionalities that displace Western rationality as the only framework and possibility of existence, analysis and thought" (Walsh, 2018, p. 17). Decolonial approaches by social movements and in academia recognize and draw on the knowledge and experience of marginalized communities and of those that have suffered from colonialism (Álvarez & Coolsaet, 2020, p. 52).

government were one of VPF's initial demands, currently the movement does not address the Paris Agreement or climate policies of the Peruvian government directly.

5.2.2. Resources: Prior Activism and Experience

Continuous dialogues and learning from each other based on "the experience of academia as much as of activism and life experience" (Activist #5, para. 47-48) play an important role for the framing activities of VPF. With more and more people joining the movement new topics and perspectives, such as agricultural workers' conditions and ecofeminism, entered the debate (Activist #6, para. 9). Activist #2 (para. 69) believes that "it is more about the kind of people who have formed the movement" and "about what we want to build" than about the social or cultural context when considering the reasons for different movement approaches. Many environmental groups in Peru would face the same reality but nevertheless lack a systemic perspective and follow an individualistic approach.

Several of the activists, including those that initiated the movement of VPF in February 2019, had participated in other protests, movements or university groups before. These trajectories and the associated ideational and organizational resources have been influential in the construction of the frames they have today (Activist #2, para. 69). The two main initiators of VPF had already been active as members of the national *Red Universitaria Ambiental* (University Environmental Network) which in early 2019 decided to collectively address the topic of climate change. When they started to organize the first FFF climate march in Peru, they were joined by one of the interviewed activists. Activist #4 had been involved for many years in different university organizations and movements and brought in the experience of mobilizing across movements and sectors of society. Witnessing the *Baguazo* (Bagua massacre)[9] close to his hometown in 2009 he recounts:

> Up until today I have always had respect for all the fighting and resistance generated by indigenous peoples, because when [they] go out to protest there is no half-hearted compromise (…) but they have a clear position to defend. (Activist #4, para. 4)

This experience, which triggered his interest in social and political issues, has contributed to VPF's strong alignment with indigenous concerns. The mobilizations for the children of Cerro de Pasco[10] are another relevant experience of prior protest engagement shared by several of the

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[9] In a clash between indigenous people and Peruvian police forces several people on both sides were killed near the city of Bagua in Northwest Peru.
[10] Every year, families, whose children's health is affected by the mining operations in their town, travel to Lima in order to protest in front of the ministry of health and to demand justice.

activists. Combined in these mobilizations are demands for social and environmental justice based on the criticism of an economic system that damages nature and people. Activist #3 (para. 4) remembers how this experience of grave injustice due to the extractive economic system backed up by the state and elites gave her a more radical perspective. Wanting to take collective action on systemic matters she joined the movement of VPF.

5.2.3. Alliances: Connecting with Historical Struggles

VPF activists have shaped their collective action frames not only through internal dialogues but also through knowledge exchange and collaboration with other movements and organizations, such as the indigenous organization AIDESEP, the national federation of peasant women FENMUCARINAP and agrarian organizations (Activist #4, para. 15). Cross-movement alliances play a major role for VPF's mobilization strategies and can explain its broad social justice framing as a result of frame bridging. VPF finds that the environmental movement in Latin America but also in other parts of the world is disconnected from other social struggles (Activist #2, para. 75). Thus, VPF constructs alliances with other movements and organizations "from multiple fronts, from events, marches, mobilizations, showing solidarity with their losses [and] demands" (Activist #2, para. 30). Activist #4 (para. 8) explains that "interestingly, bridges are always found" when looking at the intersections between the women's struggle and environmental issues or the workers' and indigenous' struggles and the environmental crisis.

It is important for the activists to acknowledge and learn from other long-standing struggles, especially regarding those movements that have been the "true defenders" of the environment for a long time (Activist #5, para. 44). Thus, besides the strategic value of alliances to build a strong and broad movement that resonates with different parts of society, the continuation of historical movement trajectories of peasant and indigenous movements is another important rationale: „Everything we are building is a historical process. And the only thing we are doing is receiving the torch from those who left it, to continue with that struggle" (Activist #4, para. 13). In this context, the activists criticize the lack of historical awareness of other FFF groups who would mistakenly think that they invented the climate movement:

> This movement, environmentalism or the fight against the climate crisis was not invented by Greta. It was not invented by Europe, it was not invented by Fridays for Future (…) This is a struggle that has been going on for many years, for hundreds of years, where the communities, the most affected, those who have the least, are the ones who have been defending their territories against extractive interests, all over the world and especially in the Global South (…) the environmental movement was born in the Global South. (Activist #4, para. 10)

The activists express not only a strong sense of solidarity but also of responsibility to make the voices of indigenous populations heard. They value indigenous cosmovisions based on the understanding of human beings as part of nature and regard their "knowledge by experience" as equally valuable as scientific knowledge (Activist #5, para. 46). The activists understand themselves as transmitters who can amplify those voices through their social networks (Activist #5, para. 46) and their easier access to the media and the congress as indigenous communities would often be made invisible in society and political institutions (Activist #4, para. 10). With the campaign "Defend the defenders" VPF aims to draw attention to the rights of indigenous, Andean and Amazon communities and to the violation of those rights. VPF's diagnostic framing of oppression and violence against people and nature can be explained by this vigorous engagement with indigenous suffering and with the experience of oppression by marginalized groups. In that regard, one activist explains the difference between FFF in the Global North and the Peruvian context: "Here when you talk about the climate crisis you also necessarily have to talk about the oppression of workers, the oppression of indigenous peoples, assassinations (Activist # 5, para. 42). As this context is similar across the Latin American region, the activists aim to build alliances with FFF groups at the regional level, especially in other Amazon countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador, because they would share the same "reading of reality" (Activist #5, para. 42; Activist #4, para. 17).

5.2.4. Socio-Cultural and Historical Context

Colonialism

The history of colonialism has significantly influenced VPF's framing. Perceiving their activism as a continuation of historical struggles, Activist #3 (para. 26) emphasizes that "for 500 years the indigenous and peasant communities have been fighting for the defense of their territory since colonization." Unequal land distribution, present-day conflicts over land and extractivism are understood as consequences of colonialism. In this context, Activist #3 (para. 54) also refers to the concept of coloniality[11]:

> Precisely the forms of life that we have and that were taken from us are a consequence of coloniality, and also part of coloniality is to adopt what is imposed on us from the hegemony and to disregard what we have from within. And in my opinion, also the approach that VPF

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[11] Coined by the Latin American scholar Aníbal Quijano, the concept of coloniality or 'coloniality of power' identifies a political, cultural, epistemological, and symbolic condition and a pattern of power that prevailed in post-colonial societies. It refers to power that "is ontologically colonial in its origin" (De Lissovoy & Fregoso Bailón, 2019, p. 83f.). In a political and economic sense, it reflects the domination of the extractive sector by the countries of the Global North which leads to dependency and 'underdevelopment' (Estermann, 2014).

would only be a 'light' environmentalism that only exists in hashtags without linking it with the regional struggles is a form of colonialism.

Against this historical backdrop and considering the prevailing consequences, VPF takes a decolonial approach in its agenda highlighting local experiences and struggles. Furthermore, the activists aim to decolonize the structures of the global movement of FFF (Activist #4, para. 15). Firstly, in terms of demands and framings, the envisioned global revolution as well as the Peruvian Ecosocial Pact shall be ecological, socialist, feminist, and also decolonial, which entails to change underlying power structures and to overthrow the system of capitalism and exploitation (Activist #4, para. 9). A decolonial approach also entails not to 'copy and paste' predefined ideas but to build something of their own and to rediscover indigenous knowledge and perspectives. In that regard, the international agendas, including the SDGs and the NDCs, are criticized as hegemonic concepts (Activist #4, para. 17). Some activists use the decolonial indigenous term "Abya Yala" instead of "Latin America" when talking about their continent (Activist #5, para. 18). It is a concept of resistance as renaming the continent means to reject a foreign name that was imposed by the colonizers.

Secondly, in terms of decolonizing the global movement itself, the activists' first step was to rename their movement. English is not the second language for most Peruvians, nor should it be as one activist points out, because Peru has its own languages such as Quechua and Almar which are spoken by more than 30% of Peruvians (Activist #4, para. 9). Activist #4 (para. 15) also criticizes that, at the beginning, information and invitations for global climate strikes were always disseminated in English and decisions about mobilization days were taken in Europe without consulting them. The activist describes this as a problem of power and discrimination within the global movement. As a consequence, VPF has distanced itself from the European and global movement focusing attention more on other Latin American FFF groups.

The state of civil society

The strong emphasis that VPF puts on the power of collective action as a strategy and goal itself can be explained by the state of civil society in Peru and historical factors that shaped it. Civil society organizations and social movements in Peru are rather weak and fragmented, compared to other Latin American countries, because in the 1990s they were dismantled by the Peruvian president Fujimori (Activist #3, para. 28). Fujimori, who in 1992 dissolved the congress and suspended much of the constitution, responded with repressive force to the guerilla movement The Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*); at the same time, he denounced any collective action

and undermined social movements. Leaders of unions and community organizations were systematically persecuted and assassinated. This historical period has left its mark on (civil) society. As Activist #3 (para. 28) puts it: "[Fujimori] is responsible for the individualistic culture we have in Peru now. There is distrust of the other, distrust of collective organization, distrust of collective solutions." Thus, the activists aim to rebuild the culture of activism and civic engagement that once existed in the country and that they observe in other countries, such as Ecuador or Argentina (Activist #4, para. 9, 12). Considering these historical processes that shape the Peruvian context, VPF criticizes that many collectives in Peru and in other countries adopt agendas of the Global North without any critical and historical reflection. According to Activist #4 (para. 13), the problem is that young Peruvians are disconnected from previous generations and that there is no intergenerational collaboration.

The perception of youth

The lack of intergenerational collaboration and an infantilized societal perception of youth can be identified as reasons for the absence of an intergenerational justice framing. The activists want to move away from the idea that VPF is a youth movement in order to make their movement a movement for everyone (Activist #5, para. 42). Instead of emphasizing an intergenerational conflict from a youth perspective they want to

> bring together the generations, the perspectives, the concerns and the ways of acting of everybody in order to build a concise and solid citizen block. So, in VPF it is very important not to concentrate our struggle on youth but to understand that there are people, various comrades who came long before us and who were fighting long before us. And we have to walk side by side. (Activist #3, para. 64)

One activist expresses a critical view of their role as young people because they have less mobilization experience than older generations who even suffered from persecution due to their activism (Activist #3, para. 64). It seems that VPF wants to avoid highlighting a generational identity which is also illustrated in the movement's critique of the media framing of a "new generation" as it would invisibilize long-standing (indigenous) struggles (Instagram 01 Dec. 2020, para. 25). Another challenge that activists mention and that can explain their shift away from a focus on youth is the infantilization of young people in Peru. Activist #2 (para. 57) explains that unlike in Europe in many Latin American countries young people are considered to be adolescents until the age of 30. That would entail that young people are often not taken seriously and are not treated as adults who can take their independent decisions based on their own critical judgement. VPF activists faced the allegation by a member of congress that they

were manipulated by adults and financially supported from abroad (Activist #2, para. 59). Therefore, it is important for the activists to organize their movement professionally and to work together with other adult organizations which also may have reduced the framing based on generational identity.

<u>'Day-to-day' reality</u>

Throughout the interviews, the activists repeatedly refer to the 'day-to-day' reality of the majority of Peruvians to explain the need for adapting the movement to the broader social context (Activist #2, para. 37; Activist #3, para. 24). They describe a reality mainly characterized by inequality, poverty and material needs (Activist #1, para. 31; Activist #4, para. 4). The activists are aware that, therefore, climate change is not a prior concern for many people in Peru. For Activist #3 (para. 42) this is an important difference when comparing the Peruvian context with the Global North where post-material concerns prevail. Furthermore, the lack of environmental education in school is identified as a reason for the lack of environmental awareness (Activist #2, para. 57). Referring to the movement name Fridays for Future, which implies a long-term sustainable perspective, Activist #1 (para. 40) underlines that "the future means the next day for many people here".

While mobilizing on Fridays at the beginning, VPF soon abandoned this particular approach because the activists realized that climate strikes during school time on Fridays did not correspond to their reality; they explain that in Peru education has become more of a business than a universal right and missing classes could be very complicated (Activist #4, para. 20). VPF does not exclude the possibility to change the movement name completely at some point to make it more inclusive and suitable to their local context (Activist #4, para. 15). Against this backdrop, an important premise of VPF is that the climate crisis can only be tackled if it is not considered an elite issue but a concern of everyone. The activists describe environmentalism in Peru as being dominated by privileged classes. Thus, they try to respond to this challenge by framing their activism as a popular environmentalism from below aiming at social justice "because it is a matter of justice everywhere" (Activist #4, para. 11). As Activist #2 (para. 37) underlines:

> You can talk to the poor and vulnerable people and tell them 'the climate crisis is coming, it is going to affect us strongly' and they are going to say, 'Oh yes, ok, I have to work every day to survive and you are going to tell me I have to face another crisis that is coming in the future, I am already living day by day. It can't be worse than this, you understand?' And it is above all about that, to build those links, with the problems that society is already complaining about and to show people that facing the climate crisis is also important.

Therefore, the activists claim that objectives such as the energy transition and sustainable lifestyles must not disadvantage poorer people who "live from day to day" and cannot afford higher prices (Activist #6, para. 21).

5.2.5. Political-Economic Context

Political crisis

In November 2020, VPF was involved in a series of mainly youth-led protests that erupted amid a political crisis sparked by the impeachment of President Vizcarra over corruption allegations. His successor Merino was denounced by the public as the coup's organizer and faced fierce opposition expressed in unprecedented mobilizations that ultimately led to his resignation (Activist #3, para. 30). This political crisis marked the beginning of VPF's third phase of adaptation in which the movement broadened its demands. Amidst the political turmoil VPF activists realized that they could not be indifferent because "the environmental is linked to everything. If you have a person like Merino who was in the government, obviously it is also going to affect the environment, so it is all connected" (Activist #2, para. 73). In accordance with its general critique of an environmental movement that is disconnected from other social struggles, VPF seized the moment to connect the premise of a new human-nature relationship with the demand for a new relationship of Peruvians with the state. The crisis opened a window of opportunity for VPF and other movements to deepen the general criticism of the status quo and to link it with Andean and Amazon communities' long-standing demands for constitutional reforms:

> So, what we want to do is to synthesize these demands that have been made for a long time and broaden the debate (…) and from VPF we understood that this was the moment, we have to further strengthen this criticism because many people are going to mobilize just to overthrow Merino, the coup leader, and once Merino is out, things will go back to normal. And it is not like that. So, from VPF we reflected and came to the conclusion that we have to address the root causes of the November 2020 crisis. (Activist #3, para. 28, 30)

The activists identify the root causes in the political rules of the game which do not benefit everyone and are embodied in a constitution that is the "result of Fujimori's dictatorship" (Activist #3, para. 28; Activist #6, para. 19). They see a direct link between climate change and the constitution which treats nature only as a resource to be exploited by the state and private companies (Activist #3, para. 32). VPF's framing of dignity and of a new Ecosocial Pact as a

social contract that values human life and nature, uniting social justice and climate justice, are direct outcomes of the political events in November 2020.

Subsidiary state and economic elites

The subsidiary role of the state and the strong influence of economic elites can explain why VPF puts greater emphasis on constitutional change and blaming economic actors than on holding the government directly accountable for climate (in)action and for the Paris Agreement. VPF's criticism of the constitution points at Article 60 which explicitly mentions the principle of subsidiarity. Activist #4 (para. 11) explains that, therefore, the state cannot interfere in any business activity or activity where private interests are involved. The activists perceive the state as having its hands tied by private interests, allowing economic elites and transnational corporations to carry out their business activities without government regulations in the public interest (Activist #3, para. 4). Therefore, the negative environmental and social impacts of extractive activities by mining corporations are a recurrent theme in activists' problem definition and a reason for moral outrage. Furthermore, corruption, as identified in VPF's diagnostic framing, undermines the rule of law and the state's capacity to provide public goods and services. It appears that VPF faces a political system that is relatively closed to inputs from non-established actors, especially from young people and indigenous communities. One activist recounts how their strategy of political advocacy, engaging directly with members of congress, was unsuccessful during their campaign for the ratification of the Escazú Agreement (Activist #3, para. 62). This can explain why VPF activists do not primarily seek to work through institutional channels and rarely address the government or politicians in their framing. They find that "it is much more effective to address people, the citizens in general, and from there to build something bigger and this is the best way to make changes" (Activist #3, para. 62).

Inequalities in the global political and economic order

The power of economic actors, especially of transnational corporations, also highlights the importance of the international environment as a dimension of political and economic opportunity structures. The collective action frames of VPF appeared to be informed by the global political and economic order structured by unequal relationships between the Global North and the Global South. The activists are aware of their position in this system as a social movement in the Global South (Activist #5, para. 6, 38) and they critically engage with the

political, economic and social movement dimension of unequal North-South relations (Activist #3, para. 38). Consequently, they hold transnational corporations from the Global North responsible for environmental destruction and injustices in Peru. Furthermore, global solutions or agreements such as the Agenda 2030 or the Paris Agreement are viewed critically as imposed by hegemonic countries (Activist #4, para. 17). VPF's collective action frames are different compared to FFF in Europe because of their perspective on the climate crisis and its solutions from the Global South. The words of Activist #4, when talking about the need for a global transformation, illustrate this perspective:

> And that this change, and this is one of the challenges that at least from the Global South we have to address, that this change does not imply again the sacrifice of us. Because the majority of countries have reached their development because they are practically exploiting us, they have colonized many countries, they have "third-worldized" them (…) One of the things that we have to criticize and begin to build with our own values from the Global South is the issue of the energy transition. (Activist #4, para. 14).

The movement is wary of solutions, such as current ideas for an energy transition, that do not put into question the current global economic system which works to the disadvantage of countries in the Global South. Within the current system, phasing-out fossil fuels could lead to the exploitation of lithium in the region with the same consequences of extractivism as before (Activist #4, para. 14). Peru's position in relation to the Global North is closely related to questions of vulnerability and differentiated responsibilities for causing and solving the climate crisis as problematized by the perspective of climate justice. Therefore, the activists aim to push forward the concept of an ecological debt as a way of articulating climate justice in relation to the "history of destruction" (Activist #4, para. 27) and continuing global inequalities.

Table 2: Summary: Collective action frames and explanatory dimensions of frame adaptation

Category	Sub-category/Theme
Collective action frames - Core framing tasks	
Diagnostic framing	Local impacts of climate change
	Social justice
	Systemic problem: economic model based on capitalism and extractivism
	System of oppression and violence
	Transnational corporations, the Global North and a corrupt government
	Vulnerability of marginalized people, especially indigenous and farmer communities
Prognostic framing	Collective action and alliances
	Popular environmentalism
	System change and a revolution
	New Ecosocial Pact and a new constitution
Motivational framing	Togetherness and collective power
	Urgency
	Responsibility
	Interconnectedness of crises and struggle
	Continuation of historical struggles
Explanatory dimensions of collective action frame adaptation	
Resources	Prior activism, academic and life experiences
Alliances	Knowledge exchange, collaboration and solidarity building with other movements at national and regional levels
Socio-cultural and historical context	Colonialism
	The state of civil society
	The perception of youth
	Day-to-day reality
Political-economic context	Political crisis
	Subsidiary state and economic elites
	Inequalities in the global political and economic order

Source: Own elaboration

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis offers the first analysis of the transnational movement Fridays for Future in the context of the Global South, i.e., in Latin America. The transnational movement had so far been portrayed as a relatively homogenous youth movement with a strong generational identity and intergenerational climate justice perspective. However, particular claims and frames based on local realities outside of Europe and the Global North have not yet received any attention. Thus, this thesis started out with the question: *Why do the activists of Viernes por el Futuro Perú*

frame the climate crisis and their engagement in collective action differently than Fridays for Future in the Global North?

As the interpretative frameworks and claims of FFF activists in the Global South were understudied hitherto, the first purpose of this study was to identify the collective action frames articulated by Viernes por el Futuro Perú. The analysis of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framings has contributed to a fuller understanding of the movement's meaning construction of the climate crisis and their mobilization work. It has further shed light on how the activists relate their demands and relevant events to the local and global level. While the activists relate to the global level in terms of the systemic problem of capitalism, the responsibility of the Global North and the need for an ecological revolution, they mainly frame their problem analysis and solutions in reference to the Peruvian context, highlighting what is important at their time and place (Della Porta & Parks, 2014, p. 21).

The framing analysis shows that VPF establishes a strong link between the climate crisis and other social, economic and political concerns, which can be understood as a form of frame bridging. Moreover, the collective action frames appeared connected with several references to understand the climate crisis as a question of social justice. The diagnostic framing focuses on the injustices, not between generations, but between the Global North and the Global South as well as between social groups *within* the Peruvian society. The latter is an interesting finding considering Wichterich's (2012) criticism that discourses on climate justice often fail to account for social differences within societies. Thus, in direct comparison with Daniel et al.'s (2020) analysis of FFF's collective action frames in Austria, the Peruvian activists managed to construct a more comprehensive climate justice frame: it encompasses a global and local dimension, taking into account the historical injustice of colonialism and the climate debt of the Global North as well as gendered, racial and class dimensions of climate injustices in Peru. Their perspective of climate (in)justice also broadens the political subjectivity and provides agency to less powerful populations in the Global South instead of mapping the lines of power revealed by the social justice perspective primarily generationally.

Moreover, VPF recognizes that ultimately all societal and climate issues are expressions of structural violence and stem from the same root causes: colonialism, capitalism, extractivism, racism and patriarchy. In accordance with Benford's (2013) description of a master frame, VPF's climate justice frame is broad and inclusive enough to appeal to different social movements in Peru and to be adopted by them. This becomes evident in the movement's strong focus on building alliances under the framework of 'climate justice as social justice' by pointing out that the climate crisis affects everyone and exacerbates existing injustices. Furthermore, it

can be argued that the social justice frame, uniting various struggles and addressing different segments of society, enhances the resonance of VPF's collective action frames which largely depends on their capacity to adapt to local realities (Díaz-Peréz et al., 2020, p. 41; see also Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 627).

The second and primary purpose of this study was to contextualize which factors affected the framing process of VPF explaining frame adaptation and local particularities in resultant collective action frames. The findings reveal two main explanations for VPF's strategic framing activities that account for differences between the collective action frames of VPF in Peru and FFF in the Global North. Firstly, as outlined in the theoretical framework, the activists have actively engaged in the interpretation, translation and transformation of diffused frames in order to adapt them to local realities, i.e., resources, alliances, the socio-cultural, historical and political-economic context, and to enhance their resonance with the target audience, i.e., the Peruvian society at large. Secondly, the findings reveal that the activists articulate a strong decolonial approach against the backdrop of the historical and international political-economic context, and have deliberately sought to differentiate their agenda and framing from the FFF movement in the Global North. This high level of "creative and political agency" (Chabot, 2010, p. 102), which aims for a self-assertive differentiation from the original movement based on a critique of colonial legacies and of the power and influence of Northern activists, goes beyond the theoretical framework outlined in this thesis. Thus, the results offer a valuable empirical and theoretical contribution.

Referring to the first explanation, the empirical findings confirm that collective action frames are not static, but dynamic. They are influenced by and adapted to the context in which they are embedded (Benford and Snow, 2000). The strong relevance of indigenous struggles as reflected in activists' prior experiences, in their alliance building and in the historical context, as well as the recent political crisis are particularly noteworthy as contextual factors with great impact on VPF's framing. The latter factor has opened a window of opportunity for the frame extension of connecting climate and social justice with reference to human dignity and demands for a new constitution. Moreover, VPF activists show a strong awareness for "non"-climatic local issues and the everyday reality of the average Peruvians as well as for the socio-economic disparities in the country. This explains their strong emphasis on social justice and their approach to create a popular environmentalism which is particularly insightful from the perspective of resonance. One can argue that framing their activism in terms of a popular environmentalism enhances the centrality and experiential commensurability of their messages in a society where material concerns prevail over post-material values. Instead of framing

climate change as an abstract global issue, they aim to show poor and vulnerable people how environmental destruction and climate threats are intimately linked to poverty, exploitation, oppression and diseases, and how environmental and climate injustices are part of their daily lives. As VPF considers environmental education in Peru as deficient and criticizes an individualist society, the movement wants to raise awareness, mobilize as many people as possible and empower them to act collectively. This is seen as a means to facilitate social change from below and to get through to the political authorities. Furthermore, it is important to note that by referring to a popular environmentalism as well as to an ecological debt and a new Ecosocial Pact, the activists draw on Latin American concepts. They thereby amplify the cultural compatibility and resonance of their frames.

Along the lines of the diffusion processes of reception and recontextualization (Roggeband, 2007), the activists have continuously experimented with the new FFF movement elements from one global strike day to another realizing that certain ideas and practices would not resonate with their local context. Thus, despite the centrality of school strikes on Fridays and of the intergenerational justice and the 1.5-degree framing in the Global North, this protest form and these frames were quickly transformed or abandoned. Regarding the Paris Agreement and the goal of keeping the global temperature rise below 1.5 °C compared to pre-industrial levels, it can be argued that the activists consider this "global thinking" (Tarrow, 2005, p. 75) as being too distant from the everyday life of the people. Instead of focusing on a global political framework to combat climate change, they emphasize the need for a new Ecosocial Pact in Peru which serves as a closer reference point to work towards to. Regarding the intergenerational justice frame linked to a collective youth identity, it is interesting to observe how a seemingly universal global frame of the transnational movement becomes less significant in a specific social-cultural context. While in the Global North the youth climate activists focus on how generations before them have been aware of the climate crisis without taking the necessary steps to solve it, the activists in Peru are primarily concerned with how generations of indigenous and peasant communities before them have been fighting for the protection of the environment. According with their decolonial approach, VPF aims to counter the invisibilization of these long-standing struggles, both in Peru and on a global level.

The second explanation – the activists' decolonial approach – is an important finding of the case study which contributes important novel insights about the role of Global North-South dynamics in transnational diffusion and adaptation processes and about Southern activists' critical engagement therewith. By framing their activism in reference to (de)coloniality, a school of thought that originated in Latin America, the activists problematize the uncritical

adoption of Northern concepts and the patterns of power and inequality which prevail globally and within their country and can be traced back to colonial times (De Lissovoy & Fregoso Bailón, 2019; Walsh, 2018). It becomes clear that these patterns are also reflected within the transnational movement organization of FFF: VPF criticizes how decisions about global strike days were initially taken in Europe and communicated in a top-down manner. The activists' decolonial approach reveals how concepts and agendas of Europe or the Global North have invisibilized other world views and ways of knowing and being. Therefore, the activists repeatedly refer to not simply replicating the European model of FFF and emphasize that the fight against the climate crisis was not invented by Greta or by Europe but has been led by indigenous communities for a long time.

The findings reveal that transforming or linking diffused frames with local realities is not only a question of resonance for the activists, but also a question of decoloniality in order to build a movement from below based on the experiences of the marginalized and not on pre-perceived ideas from the hegemony. This entails that VPF is not only critical of certain ideas and frames of FFF but questions the whole underlying political framework of sustainable development which is rooted in Northern or Western paradigms. In that regard, it could be argued that VPF's hashtag and claim "No more false solutions" is the transformed version of FFF's global hashtag "No more empty promises" (Fridays for Future, 2021) which refers to the international agreements criticized by VPF.

VPF's decolonial approach goes beyond the cultural critique of the original movement as mentioned by Roggeband (2007). The case study reveals how the diffusion and adaptation process includes questions of power structures on an ontological and epistemological level along the lines of global North-South relations, which has thus far not been adequately examined in the literature. With the above in mind, it is interesting to consider the case study in relation to the critical scholarship about the shortcomings of Northern-centric social movement studies. The findings are consistent with Fadaee's (2017) framework of Southern movement characteristics as firstly, VPF's decolonial approach and aim to create counter-hegemonic discourses takes account of colonial legacies. Secondly, VPF's participation in the protests against the Merino government and their demands for a new constitution links their climate movement with calls to build a better democracy. Thirdly, material issues are present in their mobilizations and the representation of the interests of different classes, especially of lower classes, is an important concern of the activists. Lastly, the space for civil society has been contested in the recent history of Peru and the redefinition of state-civil society relations plays an important role in VPF's framing and mobilizations. It can be argued that the present

study contributes to "de-provincializing canonical social movement theory" (Fadaee, 2017, p. 47) by using an empirical case study from the Global South that informs existing theory.

The theoretical literature of transnational movement diffusion should take account not only of "what happens when practices and ideas travel" (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 278) but what happens when they travel from North to South and are adopted in post-colonial settings. Further research about FFF in Latin America and about transnational movements in general should take post- or decolonial perspectives as a starting point in order to overcome the Eurocentrism in academic studies, to highlight the diversity within transnational movements, and to reveal possible tensions between local and global thinking, framing and belonging. With their strong agency and decolonial approach as presented in the findings the activists of VPF are "contributing to build a world in which many worlds will coexist" (Mignolo, 2012, p. 54) These worlds of diverse experiences of climate (in)justice are increasingly recognized by FFF activists in the Global North who use their (social) media reach to make the struggles of their Southern counterparts more visible. However, Southern activists' agency, their demands and visions for the future have not been adequately recognized in Northern media and academia. It is crucial to add inductive insights from other parts of the world to counter the dominance of Northern concepts and experiences. Furthermore, only when people in the Global North know about the struggles for climate justice in Peru and in other countries of the Global South, they can show solidarity with them and pressure their governments to adopt more ambitious climate policies as well as to take responsibility for their historical climate debt.

The presented findings are subject to certain limitations. Firstly, the positionality as a researcher from the Global North who writes about the Global South must be acknowledged. It risks reinforcing unequal power relations and undoubtedly shapes the researcher's interpretation, especially when conducting interviews. Secondly, due to the limited scope of this thesis, a detailed account of the local research context regarding specific climatic vulnerabilities, Peruvian climate politics or socio-environmental conflicts could not be provided. This makes the transferability of the findings from Peru to other Latin American countries and the comparability more difficult. Nevertheless, future research could comparatively explore FFF activism in other Latin American countries with thicker descriptions of the socio-cultural and political-economic context to understand how local realities shape the perspectives and framings of the activists. The final words of this thesis belong to the movement Viernes por el Futuro Perú:

> There are people who think that environmentalism is a luxury for the rich, that we should only worry about nature when we have everything at home. But there is a popular

environmentalism, and it is the poorest and most vulnerable populations who are committed to a real solution to the climate crisis, to a frontline struggle against capitalism, to a new Ecosocial Pact that is embodied in a new constitution that lays the foundations of a post-extractive society for everyone and that puts life and nature at the center. From Peru, from Abya Yala, from the Global South we will continue organizing and fighting in the present, so that the future is ours. (Instagram 01. Dec 2020, para. 26-27)

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Appendix

Interviewee	Interview Type and Date	Length of interview
Activist #1	Phone call, 06 January 2021	01:05 h
Activist #2	Video call, 30 January 2021	02:07 h
Activist #3	Video call, 03 February 2021	01:33 h
Activist #4	Video call, 06 February 2021	01:42 h
Activist #5	Video call, 13 February 2021	01:23 h
Activist #6	Video call, 16 February 2021	01:16 h

Appendix 2: Interview Guideline

Topic	Open questions	Possible in-depth questions
Collective action framing		
Settling in	Can you tell me how your interest in climate change began? When and why did you join FFF/VPF?	*Are your family and friends also interested in climate change?* *What role did Greta play in your motivation to join FFF?* *What is your position in the movement group?* *Why is it important to do climate activism in Peru?*
Diagnostic framing	How would you describe or explain climate change? What are the impacts of climate change? What are the causes of climate change? Who or what is responsible? Who is most affected by climate change?	*Do you experience it personally? What does it mean in relation to your family, nationally, globally?* *What are the greatest threats of climate change?*
Prognostic framing	How do you think climate change should be tackled?	*What are the best solutions to combat climate change?*

	Who is responsible to take action?	*Whom do you target with your activism?*
	What is VPF's goal? What are your strategies?	*How do you consider VPF as part of the solution?*
	What are your visions for the future?	*What should the world look like in 10 years?*
Motivational framing	What motivates you to participate in VPF?	*What do you like the most about being a climate activist?*
		Do you feel like you can make a difference?
	How do you motivate other young people in Peru to join the movement?	*Has it been difficult to motivate/mobilize people?*

Local adaptation		
General/Introduction	Can you tell me about the process of starting and developing the movement in Peru?	*How did you create the agenda of VPF?*
	Do you see differences between the FFF movement in Europe and VPF in Peru?	*How did you deal with these differences?*
	Why do you think these differences exist?	*What are the differences regarding demands and strategies?*
Resources, Alliances	How has your prior activism or participation in other (environmental) groups influenced your participation in VPF?	*Do you have certain experiences/skills/knowledge that had an impact on choosing tactics/topics in VPF?*
	Do you collaborate with other organizations or movements?	*How have these contacts influenced VPF/your agenda?*
Political-economic context	How would you describe the political situation in your country?	*And more specifically, regarding climate politics?*
		What about the economic situation of your country?
	How does it influence your activism?	

	What role did the recent political crisis in November play for your activism?	
Socio-cultural and historical context	How would you describe the environmental awareness and education in your country? What do you think, how is (youth) climate activism perceived in your country? When you think about the history of Peru, do you think it has an impact on your activism today?	*Are there any narratives, beliefs, habits in Peruvian society that you engage with in VPF?*
Further questions	How would you describe the relationship between your movement VPF and the global movement of FFF? In your opinion, why is it important to be a climate activist in the Global South? What does climate justice mean to you?	