Antje Daniel, Frank Adloff, Juneseo Hwang,
Philipp Jacobi, Luis Poscharsky (Hg.)

Unruly Climates, Contested Futures I

Imaginaries and Politics of Climate Resistance in Europe

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Unruly Climates,
Contested Futures I

Futures of Sustainabilty

Edited by Frank Adloff, Stefan C. Aykut, Christine Hentschel, Sighard Neckel

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Introduction: Unruly Climates, Contested Futures

Antje Daniel, Frank Adloff, Juneseo Hwang, Philipp Jacobi and Luis Poscharsky

When Greta Thunberg began a climate strike in front of the Swedish parliament in August 2018, it was not foreseeable that it would give rise to a new wave in climate activism, such as Fridays for Future, Extinction Rebellion and Letzte Generation (Last Generation), as well as breathing new life into existing ones. These activist groups have established climate issues as a central area of social and political contestation. Eight years later, some of these groups and climate movements have dissolved, while others have strengthened their position as active agents of civil society, continuing to highlight the deepening multiple crises (Haunss et al. 2022; Wahlström et al. 2019; Walzenbach/Meyer 2025). Thereby, these groups also serve to uncover that the fundamental pillars of European modernity, like liberal democracy, progress, and solidarity, are under threat (Blühdorn 2024; Reckwitz 2019).

Debates on the climate crisis have evolved alongside changing social and political conditions. Initially, in 2018 and 2019, dystopian imaginaries of the future motivated young people and many others to become politically active, transforming emotions such as fear, anxiety and anger into hope and a sense of agency (Kleres/Wettergren 2017; Neckel/Hasenfratz 2021; Pihkala 2020). Climate activists had hoped that appropriate political measures are taken to at least slow down the climate crisis. However, due to the lack of political success in climate policy and ongoing negative forecasts for the future, debates are increasingly focusing on how to cope with climate collapse and the shrinking space for climate activism (Beckert 2024; Cassegård 2024; Rossdale et al. 2025; Adloff 2024, 2026).

The climate movements have played a significant role in raising public awareness of the climate crisis and encouraging the adoption of sustainable, eco-friendly practices in everyday life (Daniel/Deutschmann 2020; de Moor et al. 2017). However, recent studies, such as the Environmental Awareness Study (2025) by the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection, show that, although the majority of people in Germany continue to attach great importance to climate protection, the importance of this issue in public perception continues to decline: In 2020,

65 per cent rated environmental and climate protection as very important, compared to 54 per cent today. The respondents of this study consider issues such as health and education, economic development, public safety and war to be more urgent, even though they increasingly experience the impact of the climate crisis in their daily lives. This trend has been evident since the outbreak of the pandemic, with social issues overshadowing the climate crisis and pushing it out of public debate (Daniel 2023; Hunger/Hutter 2021). Furthermore, according to the Environmental Awareness Study, only just under a third of the study participants are convinced that Germany can adequately cope with the consequences of climate change. This is the lowest figure in this series since 2002 (Environmental Awareness Study 2025).

Trust in the government's ability to address the climate crisis is waning among both the public and among climate activists (Grande/Saldivia Gonzatti 2024), which is an emerging global trend (Corry 2020; Marquart-Pyatt 2018). This decline is also linked to the shrinking space for civil society. For instance, Germany has been downgraded in the CIVICUS Global Report (2025) on civil liberties. While the scope for civil society was considered 'open' up to 2023, it was downgraded from 'narrowed' to 'obstructed' in December 2025. Germany's downgrade is due to an increase in police raids and budget cuts, as well as police violence against demonstrators, especially regarding the Palestine solidarity demonstrations and the civil disobedience of the Last Generation (see also Knopp et al. 2025; Struck/Kemme 2024). The impairment of civil society's scope for action restricts fundamental rights.

At the same time, the political balance of power is shifting, and climate-sceptical or climate-denying positions have become increasingly prominent in the public sphere as well as in politics (Gruber 2025; Leka/Furnham 2024). The anthropogenic nature of the climate crisis is being questioned, and climate policy is being denounced as exaggerated and as detrimental to prosperity. In some cases, these positions are linked to conspiracy narratives and right-wing ideologies (Knasmüller et al. 2023; Leka/Furnham 2024). Not only against this backdrop, climate activists increasingly are publicly denounced and vilified. Contemporary climate denial and scepticism are widely amplified and capitalised by right-wing parties, which are gaining political power in German-speaking countries and around the world (Decker et al. 2022; Lubarda 2020).

Beyond these denialist and sceptical attitudes towards climate policy, right-wing parties and also related civil society groups contest dominant imaginaries of climate justice and/or enlarge the public and political space. The increase of *Völkisch* settlers, the Anastasia movement and the revival of right-wing eco-nationalist organisations (Allen et al. 2024; Geden 1996; Salzborn 2017) demonstrate that climate and environmental issues have become a central element of societal

and political contestations. This reveals a multi-layered conflict: not only is there contestation between the state and civil society over interpretations and future strategies, but there are also significant fault lines within civil society itself. These internal divisions exist, for instance, between different climate movements and between these movements and actors who oppose sustainability – so-called 'spoilers of sustainability,' including those promoting a right-wing ecology.

However, these changes in civil society and the realms of social and political action should not lead us to assume that climate issues or climate movements have lost their momentum. They remain active in various ways to realise climate justice. They are fighting for recognition and sovereignty of meaning in the public sphere and in politics, while those promoting unsustainable futures and right-wing ecology are gaining ground. This growing dispute over the meaning of the climate crisis involves controversy and overlaps in how futures are imagined.

Whereas academic analysis of the climate movements and spoilers of sustainability – such as climate change deniers, and right-wing and eco-nationalist organisations – have largely been considered separately, we aim to take into account the multitude of actors involved in the contestation of climate futures. In this book we address disputes over hegemony in understanding the climate crisis and resulting desired futures. With regard to climate futures, our first focus will be on the imagined futures that inform the actions of the various actors. Second, we will analyse their strategies for achieving their desired futures and putting their ideas into practice. Third, we will consider the political spheres of action as contextual conditions that shape the imaginaries and actions of the actors.

While Adloff et al.'s *Imaginationen von Nachhaltigkeit* (2020), which appeared also in this book series, broadly examines how society envisions sustainable futures, *Contested Futures* specifically focuses on the political conflicts surrounding these imaginaries *within* civil society. Its unique contribution is the explicit analysis of how future imaginaries are not only shaped by progressive social movements (like climate activism) but are also fiercely contested and reappropriated by right-wing and far-right actors within civil society, framing the future as a sort of battlefield between these opposing forces.

Contested Climate Futures Imaginaries

In principle, the future is open and unforeseeable, no matter how hard we try to determine and predict it (Adam 2005; 2008). Modern societies are characterised by the perception that the future is open, malleable and accelerating. Modern societies are also constitutively linked to the idea of progress, which emerged

in Western Europe and assumes a fundamental break between past and future (Koselleck 1979). As Reckwitz (2024: 20) summarises, this progressivism is defined by the core belief that the future will be better than the past for society and individuals in various respects. Adam (2005: 2) is right when she points out: "Futures are created continuously, across the world, every second of the day. They are produced by the breadth of social institutions: politics, law and the economy, science, medicine and technology, education and religion." However, the belief in progress – and in the fundamental openness of the future – is eroding significantly. Increasingly, the future is understood not as a promise but as a coming catastrophe (Adloff 2026). While catastrophic and apocalyptic thinking has been widespread for years (Horn 2014; Stümer 2023), the apocalypse is no longer a distant scenario (e.g. Cassegård in this volume). It has become a tangible reality in the present: species are dying out, forests are burning, oceans are poisoned, microplastics pervade our bodies, and the nuclear threat endures.

Thus, the understanding of the future has changed over time (Hölscher 2016). At least four understandings of the future can be distinguished (Adam 2008; Delanty 2021). To begin with, the *temporal* understanding highlights that the future follows on from the present and is connected to the present and the past. In this sense, the future is a time period produced in the present. A second *epistemic* understanding focuses on the future as an object that can be known and perceived differently. Accordingly, studies analyse perceptions of the future, individually, in social configurations, and in society as a whole, and investigate whether they are shaped by socio-demographic or socio-cultural considerations. Another more *normative* understanding of the future holds the present responsible for improving the future. Here, the future is a time period in which well-being is ensured. For a long time, future-making meant the improvement of a present situation, not just since Beck's (1986) book *Risikogesellschaft* (Risk Society). Lastly, the future is also seen as a *threat* to be averted, or as a way to minimise the negative consequences of the present (Delanty 2020; Urry 2016). This understanding of the future draws attention to imaginaries of the future, and raises the normative question of what the future should look like. Analysing future imaginaries is important because they significantly structure social action, political decisions, technological developments as well as social movements (Adloff/Neckel 2019). They have the potential to drive social transformation when debated, agreed upon, and employed by social movements. Imaginings of the future act as a framework of orientation, articulating expectations, hopes and fears, and legitimising or limiting current options for action. They reduce uncertainty by stabilising expectations, even though they are not empirically verifiable (Beckert 2016; Daniel 2026; Castoriadis 1984 [1975]; Taylor 2002). Imaginaries of the future are shaped by experiences of the present and past (Adam 2008; Koselleck 1979). Analysing these

imaginaries reveals the implicit normative assumptions and cultural patterns of interpretation that have shaped collective actions of social movements. This approach is therefore an important and promising way of understanding the actions of social movements. In social movement studies, the study of future imaginaries is a relatively new academic field (Gillan 2020; Schulz 2016; Yates et al. 2024). Although social movements have long been associated with new ideas, alternatives and change, there has been little systematic analysis of the relationships between them. Current dominant perspectives on social movements are based on assumptions about future-oriented attitudes that are analysed using the analytical perspectives of strategy, demands, or the framing of social movements' discontent and ideas about how to solve existing problems. To complement these academic debates, we focus on imaginaries that shape the collectivity of social movements, as well as their strategies and practices.

By 'imaginaries of the future', we mean a performative set of visions, stories, shared ideas and cultural assumptions that groups of people hold about how the future could or should look like. In the context of the climate crisis, a multitude of climate-related imaginaries of the future have emerged. These range from dystopian scenarios of ecological catastrophe, destruction, collapse, climate barbarism and democratic regression, to green modernisation, degrowth and various other versions of sustainable futures and climate justice (Brand 2022; Dörre 2021; Schmelzer/Vetter 2020; de Moor 2022; Fücks/Manthe 2022, Latour/Schultz 2022). These imaginaries reveal how the climate crisis is perceived, how responsibilities are seen to be distributed, and how options for action are legitimised. Although social movements generate these imaginaries, this does not mean that they are not also controversial internally (Daniel 2021). To understand the climate crisis and the resulting possibilities to act, it is important to analyse these diverse imaginaries of the future. However, the images of the future are also controversial among climate justice activists (della Porta/Parks 2013), and at the same time, the futures envisioned by the climate justice movement are increasingly being challenged by climate deniers and sceptics, right-wing activists and far-right as well as from actors imagining non-sustainable futures (el-Ojeili 2018; Leka/Furnham 2024; Lubarda 2020; Rhein 2023).

The authors in this volume examine a broad spectrum of future imaginaries, ranging from notions of justice to fantasies of collapse and destruction. Underlying this spectrum is a fundamental dispute about the nature of justice and the role of human agency: will the future be actively shaped, or will it be fatefully awaited as a dystopia? As the contributions in this volume show (e.g. Colombo/Rebughini; Kaiser/Fankel; Starodub/Garbe and Wahl), these imaginaries manifest differently across the political spectrum. While progressive movements focus on positive transformation through human action, right-wing and far-right

activism (e.g. Rhein; Korak and Virchow in this volume) can paradoxically turn apocalyptic or identitarian prospects into a starting point for their own political projects.

The multitude of imagined futures shows that these are politically negotiated and highly contested. Futures are therefore plural, controversial, and a field of social and political negotiation processes (Daniel 2026; Delanty 2021; Urry 2016). To give an example of a controversial future, the European Union's recent adoption of the Green Deal has attracted both applause and fierce resistance. With a goal to make Europe climate-neutral by 2050, a set of 'green' policies implemented by the EU was viewed as the achievement of 'ambitious' leadership (Pollex/Lenschow 2025). However, a continent-wide wave of farmers' strikes against the EU Green Deal's restrictions on nitrogen use suggests that the EU's vision for a green future was class-insensitive and provoked backlashes from those below, which found a common ground with right-wing Eurosceptics (Selwyn 2021; Zuk 2025). It is important to note that the development of future imaginaries must be seen as a cultural skill that is unevenly distributed across society. The ability to imagine the future is therefore a social resource that enables agency and political participation (Appadurai 2013).

Traversing between the present and the future

Based on the premise that we have three defining temporalities, the present, the past, and the future it is important to note that different relationships between the present and the future emerge in the imaginaries of the future as well as in the future practices of social movements. Moreover, for creating future imaginaries also the past plays a role. However, in this edited volume the articles will only lightly touch upon the relationship between the past and the future while the relationship between the present and the future is in the spotlight. The relationship between the present and the future is often described as linear, with the future being an extension of the present. In this sense, forecasting is also viewed as an extension of the present that can be predicted to a certain extent (Hölscher 2016; Adam 2005). This perspective is enshrined in modernisation theories, in which the logic of progress determines social change (Rostow 1971; Smelser 1973). The future appears to be both determined and controllable. The term 'acceleration' is often used to conceptualise modern society's constant compulsion to reinvent itself at an ever faster pace to fulfil its promise of progress (Rosa 2016). The future is under constant pressure from the present.

Against such linear and causal conceptions, it is often argued that the future should be considered as a realm of possibilities involving both a radical departure from the present and a variety of larger and smaller processes of transformation (McAdam et al. 2001; Damhof/Gulmans 2023). While the future is seen as malleable, it also encompasses coincidences, unpredictability and uncertainty. Social movements are seen as the epitome of civil society who want to shape the future. In doing so, they highlight current problems and grievances, demand transformation and devise alternative imaginings that differ from the present in part or in whole, thereby serving the normative demand for future change. Even though social movements often fail to realise their demands for alternative futures (Beckwith 2015), they are central actors that develop and demand futures. Their future imaginaries provide legitimation for the actions of social movements. These imaginaries of the future often become the normative reference point for the strategies and actions of social movements. This also includes dystopian imaginaries of the future or expectations of collapse, since nostalgia for the past – or retrotopias in Bauman's (2017) words – is also used as a way of imagining futures. The polarisation of temporal perspectives in the climate debate, as identified by Hanusch and Meisch (2022), not only pits long-term sustainability against short-term political interests but also opens the door to retrotopian thinking. As a reaction to the uncertainties of current futures, these nostalgic and often right-wing imaginaries offer a retreat into an idealised past rather than engaging with the complex task of shaping a just future. This creates a fundamental conflict: progressive social movements strive to actively shape the future, while retrotopian narratives seek to resurrect the past. In recent years, the merging of the future into the past by exploring the future in the present has gained significance as another imagination of the relationship between the present and the future. This concept is encapsulated by terms such as 'future practice' (Krämer 2019), 'lived utopias' (Daniel 2026) and 'prefiguration' (Maeckelbergh 2011; Yates 2015; Monticelli 2022), the latter having received a particularly great deal of academic attention. These notions all situate the future in the present by practising now what is desired for the future. By employing these concepts, scholars emphasise a form of activism that transcends public protests. It is a means of achieving the desired future through present-day action (Yates 2015). According to Maeckelbergh (2011, 4): "Practising prefigurative politics means removing the temporal distinction between the struggle in the present and a goal in the future; instead, the struggle and the goal, the real and the ideal, become one in the present." Prefiguration involves building or creating "the new within the shell of the old" (Swain 2019, 47). It means embodying or prefiguring the kind of society we want to bring about. It is when social movements base their practice on imaginaries that they are not only demanding, but also enacting. This includes

exploratory practices and improvisation when there is no clear definition of the desired imaginary or of how to materialise it (Jeffrey/Dyson 2020).

This relationship between the present and the future unpacks the actions of actors such as social movements, the strategies they employ, and their attempts to influence the future or incorporate it into the present. The climate movements see themselves predominantly as political pressure groups through which ideas for climate-friendly futures are developed with the aim of implementing them politically (e.g. Colombo/Rebughini; Kaiser/Fankel and Commelin in this volume). However, prefiguration also dominates climate movements, as demonstrated by the article written by Starodub and Garbe, and is exemplified by the numerous occupations, such as those in the Hambach Forest, as well as the emergence of lived utopias and eco-villages. These initiatives explore an alternative future in the present, primarily through everyday practices or experimental spaces (Andreas 2013; Daniel/Exner 2020). By contrast, ecological right-wing actors (Rhein 2023) describe the relationship between the present and the future in terms of a break with the present or a return to and romanticisation of a supposedly ideal past. Ideas of the destruction of the present and apocalyptic visions also play an important role here (e.g. Rhein, Korak, and Virchow in this volume).

Activism and its conditions

The relationship between the present and the future is not solely constituted as an abstract category of time; it is also experienced, organised and symbolically anchored in concrete spatial orders. As Koselleck (1979) emphasised, time structures are always bound to social and political spaces, where spaces of experience and horizons of expectation arise and con- or diverge. Time is therefore also mediated spatially. Similarly, Lefebvre (2016 [1968])argues that social spaces themselves are produced temporally; cities, infrastructures and institutions store past actions and structure future possibilities. In this sense, the present emerges as a spatially condensed intersection of various temporalities (Massey 2005). Time relations therefore structure spatial hierarchies, while spaces simultaneously enable or limit different futures. Therefore, the analysis of time relations remains incomplete if their spatial embedding is not considered.

As Lefebvre (2016 [1968]) emphasises, social movements are essential for shaping spaces. According to their ideas of time, social movements design spaces, mostly urban ones. The concept of prefiguration acknowledges this, as future practices occur in physical spaces such as occupation and protest camps, which are established by social movements (Daniel 2025; Feigenbaum/Frenzel/McCurdy

2013). Spaces also shape social movements in their actions. Research on social movements has focused on the political and social context of activism (Almeida 2019; Baumgarten et al. 2014; Giugni 1999).

Firstly, the social and political context influences how the future imaginaries produced by social movements are perceived, and to what extent they are considered legitimate and compatible. Dominant political narratives about progress, security or crisis act as discursive frameworks within which movements formulate or consciously question their imaginaries of the future (Polletta 2006). As Jasanoff (2015) demonstrates, these imaginaries are always politically situated and closely linked to collective notions of order, responsibility, and controllability.

Secondly, social context, and social structuring in particular, influence social movements. Research on intersectionality and social movements has demonstrated that social categories such as *race*, income and gender influence perceptions of inequality and the demands of social movements (Davis 2008; Crenshaw 1989). These social categories also influence actions and internal dynamics of social movements (Daniel 2021; Chun et al. 2013; Laperrière/Lépinard 2016), as demonstrated in the articles written by Colombo and Rebughini or Kaiser and Fankel.

Thirdly, political opportunity structures determine the actions of social movements, including the strategies they employ and the ways in which they interact with political actors and institutions. Thus, political institutions, power relations and legal opportunity structures influence the actions of social movements (McAdam et al. 2001; Tilly 1999). These structures determine whether social movement demands are adopted by political actors, whether they form coalitions, and whether they are turned into reforms. Alternatively, due to limited political scope for action, social movements may see themselves as opponents of the government (e.g. Commelin in this volume), or act against the backdrop of epochal upheavals such as modernity (e.g. Ahrens in this volume). However, as discussed earlier with reference to the shrinking spaces for civil society (e.g. Hummel in this volume), the political landscape is dynamic and changeable. This provides a new political space for right-wing and right-wing actors (e.g. Virchow in this volume). Since its inception, the reconstruction of the climate justice movement has focused on identifying favourable political spaces for action (de Moor et al. 2021). However, the pandemic and the current political climate have limited these actions (Daniel 2023). The criminalisation of the Last Generation movement has also impacted the connectivity of the climate justice movement's political demands (Buzogány/Scherhaufer 2024). Conversely, new spaces are emerging for ecological rights, whose rhetoric has become mainstream and achieved connectivity (Ekman 2022).

The American sociologist Fisher (2022; 2024) offers a strategic imaginary for the future of climate protest, arguing that social movements can generate significant societal pressure through targeted, radical, and local actions. Central to her concept is the idea of 'moral shocks' – events or disruptive protests that make the risks of the climate crisis viscerally and urgently felt, potentially triggering a societal tipping point. Fisher places particular hope in the increasing frequency and severity of actual 'climate shocks' (extreme weather events, ecological disasters), which she believes will inevitably lead to substantial growth in the climate movements and pave the way for a fundamental societal value shift she terms the 'AnthroShift' (Fisher/Jorgenson 2019). She draws on radical flank theory, suggesting that more confrontational, less peaceful forms of activism may be necessary to make the moderate wings of the movement appear more acceptable by comparison (Fisher 2024: 19). However, while Fisher's model identifies a genuine potential for mobilisation, its application to the current conjuncture reveals significant limitations. At present, the climate movement's actual political influence remains limited; the 'pressure from the streets' has demonstrably waned since its peak around 2019, and movements like Fridays for Future struggle to translate intermittent mass protests into sustained institutional power. Moreover, the strategic reliance on shocks is fraught with uncertainty. As research on radical flank effects shows (Simpson et al. 2022; Chamberlain et al. 2025), disruptive tactics can just as easily backfire, polarising public opinion rather than building support – a dynamic evident in the contrast between the legitimacy granted to Fridays for Future and the widespread rejection of the Last Generation's road blockades (Walzenbach/Meyer 2025). Ultimately, Fisher's hope that escalating climate shocks will automatically catalyse a powerful and unified social movement veers toward a questionable determinism. It underestimates the deeply ambivalent nature of societal responses to crisis, which can just as readily produce denial, resignation, apathy, or a backlash toward right-wing and far-right retrotopias. The future of climate movements is thus profoundly open: their trajectory depends less on the occurrence of catastrophe and more on their capacity to build strategic alliances, creatively combine diverse protest forms, and link ecological struggles to social justice – in short, on their own political agency, not on a hope for disaster that borders on cynicism.

Outline of the book

This book covers three sections which refer to the conceptualisation developed in this introduction: The *first section* – "Thinking the Future" – serves as a theoretical

starting point on how future imaginaries are understood, which dominant imaginaries the authors are witnessing, and how this affects social actors. **Jörn Ahrens** argues that the present is shaped by the Anthropocene, leading to a "closure of the future". This pessimistic future imaginary radically challenges modernity and particularly the modern idea of the future as an open one. Against the backdrop of such bleak future imaginaries, **Carl Cassegård** analyses actors in times of eco-pessimism. He identifies three different types of climate heroisms. They range from the archetypical 'hero' who endorses violence (even against civilians, children, elderly people and women like Malm does) to a heroism based on caring and peaceful modes of action (as can be found in Kingsnorth or Macy).

Against the backdrop of macro analysis on the future, the *second section* "Climate Activism: Imagining and Enacting the Future" provides empirical case studies of activists who do not seem to have given up on the idea of a future that could – to a certain degree – be shaped, claimed for or enacted by prefigurative politics. In the heart of this section are those activists imagining and striving for a climate-just future. What this climate-just future should look like is by no means uniform. The various articles present different future imaginaries of climate justice, partly also highlighting divergences in the imaginaries and actions of activists. **Enzo Colombo** and **Paola Rebughini** interviewed young climate activists in Italy to analyse how they develop a creative force for social imaginaries to critique the established order – and rework it. The authors highlight that climate justice, care and intersectionality are at the core of their imaginaries, but also that there is no agreement, rather a battleground over future imaginaries. Against the backdrop of the increasing visuality of digital public spaces, **Johanna Raphaela Wahl** applies a sophisticated mixed-method approach to analyse the self-representations and visual languages of Fridays For Future Germany and Last Generation. Visuals of these social movements are creating meaning and communicate future imaginaries. Fridays For Future uses predominantly images of mass protests and young people with protest signs that also feature green elements and the logo, as well as infographics in green. Last Generation uses visuals of individuals with serious expressions, with orange safety vests or posters. Fridays For Future spots on the crisis, but it also underscores the future as hopeful, communal and achievable. The Last Generation highlights the dangers. One of the key impediments with regards to climate-just futures is the climate movement's inability to genuinely connect to labour struggles.

Julia Kaiser and **Johanna Fankel** unpack that imaginaries and actions towards climate-just futures are interrelated with worker's struggles. The authors examine the exceptional case of the Italian car manufacturer GKN, where this was successfully achieved and explain how. Likewise, this chapter also shows how the activists collectively started an experimental process of realisation of climate-just

futures. That social movements not only imagine and advocate change, but rather enact their future imaginaries is also part of the chapter on the forest occupations of the 'Danni' and the 'Banny' in Germany, where **Alissa Starodub** and **Sebastian Garbe** conducted (auto)ethnographic more-than-human research. The authors show how activists imagine recursive future imaginaries and how they prefigure the future they want. These empirical cases of forest occupation reveal lived alternatives in which the desired future is part of present practices. The distinction between the present and the future is dissolved in the practice of occupation. Even the memory of lost struggles can be part of a different future.

Future imaginaries and practices are shaped by the societal, political and economic conditions in which climate movements act: **Solange Annaik Commelin** concludes the section by highlighting the very different social conditions for climate activism in Japan and Germany. Using a comparative approach extending beyond the European context this chapter provides insights into Fridays for Future activists' subjective experiences in both countries. The author shows that both social movements advocate similar overarching goals, but that they vary in what they deem acceptable for achieving those imaginaries of the future.

Academic studies considered climate movement and climate change deniers, right-wing, far-right and eco-nationalist organisations largely separated. To bring these actors into dialogue with progressive climate movements illuminates the contestation over climate issues in contemporary societies. Hence, the *last section is on* "Shrinking Civic Spaces and Future Imaginaries from the Right". Lately, conservative and far-right actors in Germany are increasingly framing climate protests and civil disobedience as illegitimate (just think of the term "climate terrorism"). **Siri Hummel** conducts a framing analysis in the German Bundestag to provide insights into how climate protests were executed and discussed. She identifies six dominant negative frames, most prominently the depiction of climate protest as an attack on law and order, as externally controlled ('puppet frame'), and as a threat to citizens' safety. In general, climate protest is increasingly constructed as a security problem, thereby legitimising repression and contributing to the erosion of democratic deliberation and civic space against the backdrop of increasing voices of right-wing actors. In the face of this political context, **Fabian Virchow** looks at different temporal aspects within programmatic positions of the far right – both historically and currently. Without referring to a particular historical period, the far right often idealises the past in which homogenous ethnic groups were still connected to 'their soil'. The present is characterised as a dystopian era: global elites and immigrants are perceived to have destroyed this alleged traditional order that right-wing utopian thinking seeks to reestablish. **Philipp Rhein** analyses the contemporary entanglement of apocalyptic and counter-apocalyptic narratives in climate politics.

Studying right-wing populist agitation against climate policy, he demonstrates its structural affinities with apocalyptic framings. Drawing on political-theological perspectives and material from far-right media such as COMPACT, he traces how these narratives reshape the politics of the future. Finally, **Johannes Korak** focusses on the politico-ecological projects of the far right, particularly represented by right-wing parties for instance the FPÖ in Austria or the AfD in Germany. The author analyses the future imaginaries of the far right. They present themselves as obstructionist, evoking fear and anger. However, they can also be found to relate to hope, joy and trust. To account for this variety, he draws on a realist understanding of culture.

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