

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Subverting green growth propaganda: Degrowth, autonomous struggle, and media

Elena Salmansperger ^a, Elīna Turbina ^a

^a Independent scholar

Email addresses: elena.salmansperger@outlook.de, turbinaelina@gmail.com

Information

Received 15 September 2024

Accepted 26 February 2025

Online 3 June 2025

Keywords

media manipulation

anti-mining

the sensible

Lützerath

re-inhabiting

Abstract

AKC Collective (2023) has recently invited degrowth scholarship to engage with autonomous struggles in less abstract ways, specifically pointing at its tendency to “certify” rather than learn with and from them. Echoing this invitation, we suggest that an (eco)anarchist approach to corporate media may help to understand the creation and resilience of green growth narratives. We demonstrate this in the case of anti-mining struggles around Lützerath, Germany, where we explore the role of integrative propaganda (Ellul, 1965/1973) in managing this socio-ecological conflict. Building on ethnographic research, we identify and illustrate dominant narratives on a corporate-state agreement known as the “RWE-deal,” Lützerath’s symbolism, and left extremism; all of which omit, distort, and distract from the dissent emerging from Lützerath. We then analyze these dominant narratives as (un)intentionally manipulated by exploring news production at Rheinische Post Media Group through Herman and Chomsky’s (1988/2002) Propaganda Model. Building on a discussion around dominant narratives as a form of psychological warfare, we draw out how dominant narratives are intertwined and rely on centering the lifestyle and culture of Lützerath’s inhabitants to secure green growth narratives. We then elaborate on how cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting can help scholars in engagements with autonomous struggle.

1. Introduction

It is September 2022 in Lützerath, a squatted village at the edge of an open-cast coal mine, Germany (see images 1 and 2). Sitting inside a building where a tagged wall says, “Green brother is washing you,” we listen to a lecture called “Degrowth and climate justice.” After an elaborate critique of (green) capitalism, the lecturer informs us about degrowth solutions: car-free cities, land commoning, and social housing. As we discuss strategies, the lecturer applauds Lützerath as a “nowtopia” for foreshadowing a degrowth society—to some extent. A few days later, my friend Gentian and I reflect on the workshop while staring into the 200

m deep mine. Unimpressed, Gentian merely shrugs. They conclude that all the lecture offered was a repetitive list of reforms and hint at the irony of contemplating the relevance of autonomous struggle against industrial expansion to degrowth (Field notes, 24/09/2022; 05/10/2022).¹



Image 1: Huts and tree houses around the tower, where Lützerath's inhabitants held regular village assemblies.
Source: Authors.



Image 2: "No gods, no masters": Inside a squatted hall which was used as a common eating area and an atelier.
Source: Authors.

At times, when the green economy can be understood as a discourse that strategically prevents radical socio-ecological change through mitigating ecological anxiety (Dunlap, 2023a), degrowth is increasingly important in addressing the improbability of, and injustices associated with, green growth (Hickel & Kallis, 2020; Keyßer & Lenzen, 2021; Parrique et al., 2019; Tilsted et al., 2021). Moreover, this academic field and social movement is rich in proposals for less destructive and more egalitarian ways of socio-ecological organization (D'Alisa et al., 2015; Hickel, 2019). Public debates on anti-mining struggles in Lützerath illustrate degrowth's relevance, as they rely largely on the misleading dichotomy between renewable and non-renewable energy sources (Dunlap & Marin, 2022).

Yet, the friction between theory and practice described in the anecdote above has been well interpreted by the AKC Collective (2023). As local co-organizers of the 8th International Degrowth Conference in 2021, the collective initiated the thematic stream called "Degrowth and Anarchism," thereby inspiring further debates on the relationship between these two

¹ Parts of this work have been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the first author's master's degree in Development, Environment, and Cultural Change at the University of Oslo.

anti-capitalist positions. In their recently published reflection on the respective plenary session, the collective encourages a less superficial engagement with autonomous struggles: rather than “certifying” whether squats, forest occupations, or indigenous struggles are “in line with degrowth values” (AKC Collective, 2023, p.15), they invite degrowth scholars to draw lessons from people who physically confront growth-driven expansion (*see also* Bluwstein, 2021; Nirmal & Rocheleau, 2019). Similarly, Giuseppe Feola (2019) suggests a deeper engagement with autonomous and anarchist geographies for furthering degrowth theories on the unmaking of capitalism and emphasizes the strategic importance of narrating struggles’ particular political contexts.

In the case of Lützerath, a superficial engagement with autonomous struggle by researchers interested in anti-capitalist socio-ecological change is illustrated by Ulrich Brand & Markus Wissen’s (2023) recent contribution, which acknowledges Lützerath as “transformative,” but neglects the essential role of anarchists and autonomous groups in re-inhabiting and defending the village. Instead, Lützerath’s composition is described merely as a “broad coalition of movements—ranging from Fridays for Future, Extinction Rebellion, the Last Generation, and ‘Ende Gelände’ to a local protest alliance, church groups, the Left party, and the Greens’ youth organization” (Brand & Wissen, 2023, p.237), despite the village’s general agreement to refuse alliance with political parties (Field notes, 01/10/2022).

Speaking to current strategic debates within the degrowth literature (Barlow et al., 2022; Herbert et al., 2021; Trainer, 2024), we suggest that an (eco)anarchist approach to corporate media may support a less abstract scholarly engagement with autonomous struggle, whether at home or elsewhere. By combining the philosophical approaches of Jacques Rancière and Michel Foucault on the example of Lützerath, we make two proposals: first, a theory of media manipulation can help degrowth scholarship to better understand the role of (media) corporations and government in “manufacturing consent” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988/2002) to green growth driven industrial expansion; second, cherishing the practice of *re-inhabiting* can constitute a more horizontal and solidary engagement than exploring the compatibility of autonomous struggle with degrowth values.

For this, we first explore the historical and political context of anti-mining struggles in the

German Rhineland. Thereafter, the theory section elaborates on how we approach autonomous struggle, followed by theoretically embedding and outlining our main analytical framework: Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's (1988/2002) *Propaganda Model*. The next section reflects on methods and positionality regarding on-site research. Then, the analysis chapter explores dominant narratives about Lützerath through examples from the regional newspaper *Rheinische Post* (RP); contrasts them to the dissent from within Lützerath; and investigates how dominant narratives are manufactured. We end by summarizing our findings and discussing how degrowth scholars can engage with media analysis and potentially move beyond certification.

This contribution complements degrowth literature with a hitherto absent theory of media manipulation and seeks to encourage closer listening, humbleness, and solidarity with those engaged in autonomous struggles, wherever they may be.

2. Anti-mining struggles in the Rhineland

The Rhineland in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), is considered to be Europe's biggest lignite deposit (Jansen, 2017), with three active opencast lignite mines all operated by the Rhenian-Westphalian power plants ("Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke," RWE). RWE is one of Germany's main energy providers and among Europe's biggest greenhouse gas emitters (Bukold, 2021). At the Garzweiler II mine alone, annual extraction reaches around 30 million tons of lignite, for which 100-120 million cubic meters of rocks, sands, and soils, considered merely as "overburden" (RWE, 2022a), need to be moved. Approved in 1995 as the extension of a previous mine, today Garzweiler II is about 200 m deep and 35 km² wide (see image 3). Yet, the total mining area stretches over 78.5 km² and includes 43.5 km² of previously mined landscapes (RWE, 2022a).

Lützerath was located at the edge of Garzweiler II, east of the city of Erkelenz. First named on maps in 1168, Lützerath was comprised of three farms, several houses, forest patches, and a pond, with at most 105 inhabitants in 1970 (Virtuelles Museum Erkelenz, n.d.). While the mining of this highly destructive and polluting energy source continues in Germany's East, Lützerath was among the last of over 100 villages demolished for lignite in the Rhineland.



Image 3: Two of Lützerath's inhabitants sitting at the edge of Garzweiler II. Source: Cat With a Camera (2023).

“Socially compatible resettlement”

Lützerath’s resettlement began in 2006 and was misleadingly celebrated as complete in 2017. During this process, about 1,500 inhabitants from Lützerath and its neighboring villages, Immerath and Pesch, were conflated in a newly built settlement nearby (RWE, n.d.-a). Already in 2013, RWE began demolishing houses and infrastructure despite over 30 remaining official inhabitants (Keller, 2023). In March 2022, notwithstanding local resistance,² the higher administrative court of the city of Münster denied the second appeal of Lützerath’s last official inhabitant against his expropriation (Schwarz, 2022).

While prospectively subjecting over 41,000 people³ to displacement, environmental degradation, pollution, and commonly beginning demolition works while villages are still inhabited (Jansen & Schubert, 2014; Müller, 2018), RWE called this a “socially compatible resettlement” (RWE Power, 2019). Despite the physical and mental harm these displacements cause, they are legalized by the Federal Mining Act. Based on a 1935 national socialist law, the act holds mining superior to private property rights and nature protection laws due to

² Among others, *Alle Dörfer bleiben* (“All Villages will stay”), *Kirchen im Dorf lassen* (“Leave the Churches in the Village”), and Friends of the Earth Germany.

³ Local resistance limited initial plans of displacing over 45,000 people until 2045 (Jansen & Schubert, 2014).

national security interests (Michel, 2008), thereby bearing characteristics of state-enforced material extraction (Brock & Dunlap, 2018).

RWE's political power: Growing Green

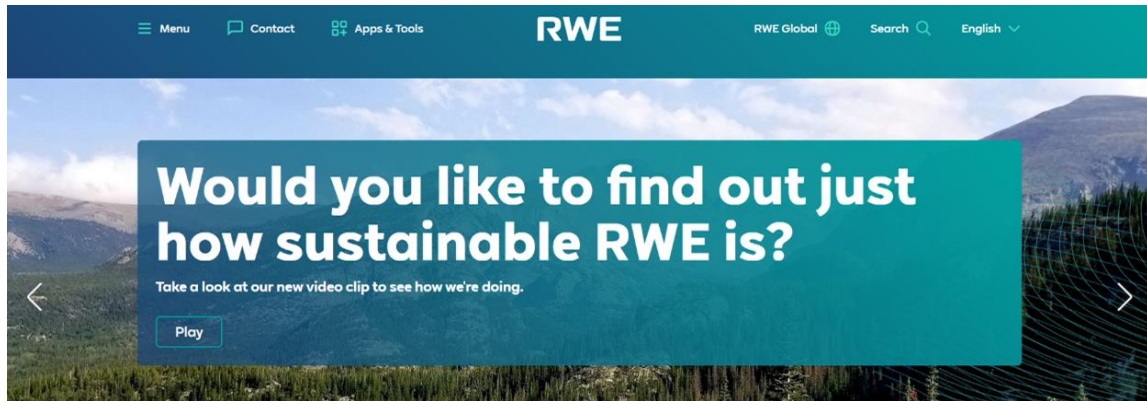


Image 4: A screenshot from RWE's website (RWE, n.d.-b).

Entanglements between corporate and state interests define RWE's regional political power. Historically, countless municipalities, cities, and associations are shareholders of, and hence are structurally dependent on, RWE. This leads to effective lobbying efforts and revolving doors between high-ranking politicians and RWE (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Zeising, 2022). RWE's ties to public security interests transpire, for instance, in police operations around the mines, where RWE provides publicly funded prisoner transporters (Krause, 2023). To stabilize this power despite criticisms to the social and ecological costs of its operations, RWE claims to improve mining by making it "sustainable" (Kirsch, 2010; see image 4).

RWE appears as a promoter of biodiversity at the forefront of climate change mitigation, thereby generating the social "license to operate" (Brock, 2020; Brock & Dunlap, 2018). Following its 2021 "Growing Green" investment and growth strategy, RWE plans to invest €55 billion worldwide in "green technologies" until 2030 (RWE AG, 2022). RWE is the co-founder of the CO₂-certificate distributor VERRA,⁴ and its subsidiary, RWETI (n.d.), consults companies on carbon offsetting. The recent revision of Germany's Renewable Energies Act includes a

⁴ VERRA has recently been scrutinized for selling non-existent certificates worth more than 89 million tons of CO₂ (Fischer & Knuth, 2023).

“RWE climate bonus,” which financially incentivizes municipalities to develop RWE-owned wind and solar infrastructure to “significantly improve local acceptance of the energy transition” (RWE, 2022b). Thus, the current greening efforts ensure municipalities’ structural dependence on RWE beyond coal.

RWE moreover collaborates with various organizations to re-cultivate and restore formerly mined areas (Brock & Dunlap, 2018). In the area around Garzweiler II, RWE holds seats in the steering committee of the regional association for redevelopment, Zweckverband Landfolge Garzweiler (ZLG), which promotes turning residual holes into artificial lakes (RWE AG, 2022). However, decades of subsidized ground water depletion⁵ render such lakes unfeasible and risk acidification, eutrophication, and possibly fatal landslides (Bartsch, 2012). Additionally, the construction of a 45 km-long pipeline to redirect more than 6.3 billion m³ of water from the already low Rhine River entails further destruction of farmlands, dispossession, water depletion, and social conflict (Jansen, 2017; Kalus, 2024). From 2021 until August 2024, ZLG moreover engaged in a research project about social cohesion, treating villages around Erkelenz as “real-world laboratories” (Matzke & Kolocek, 2023). While claiming to inform future “participatory, integrated and sustainable settlement planning” (ZH3, n.d.), such research provides RWE with information on how to manage future local conflicts.

Recent culminations of resistance: Lützi Lives!

Anti-mining struggles in the Rhineland date back to the 1970s (Jansen & Schubert, 2014). As annual climate camps in the region since 2010 express, the focus of this resistance expanded from local to global concerns in recent years (Becker & Hofinger, 2022). In June 2020, protests against RWE’s efforts to demolish the road L277 sparked a vigil in Lützerath. Inspired by previous forest occupations,⁶ people gradually reclaimed the entire hamlet through re-inhabiting buildings and building tree houses or huts, despite several open conflicts

⁵ To keep the mines from filling up with ground water, RWE annually drains about 1.4 billion m³ of water. Exemption from paying taxes for water withdrawal until 2011 provided RWE with indirect subsidies of about €20 million *each year* for depleting high-quality drinking water and draining ecosystems in 10% of NRW already in 1983. Moreover, holding desirable water levels (to be achieved earliest in 2080) demands an additional supply of 25-30 million m³ of water annually into the undetermined future to compensate for outflows (Jansen, 2005). Following recent debates, RWE might yet again be exempted from paying around €17 million for withdrawing water to refill Garzweiler II and Hambach (BUND, 2024a).

⁶ See CrimethInc. (2021) for a recent history of forest occupations in Germany.

(Weiermann, 2021; 2022). The alliance between the autonomous initiative called Lützerath Lebt (“Lützerath Lives”), local and regional initiatives, as well as national political groups, articulated the involvement of various political reactions from below (Borras & Franco, 2013; Dunlap, 2019).

Rather than acquiescent or reformist tendencies, resistant and insurrectionary ones were most prevalent among Lützerath’s (re)inhabitants. While life in autonomous zones is often romanticized and homogenized (CrimethInc., 2018; 2019), Lützerath’s defense included several internal conflicts related to the reproduction of hierarchies and debates on strategy. Moreover, other forest occupations criticized Lützerath for resource concentration (material, financial, human) and its festive character, which encouraged a politics of activism critiqued as insufficient by some of Lützerath’s inhabitants (anarcholatina, 2023). However, for over two years Lützerath was a focal point of resistance and solidarity, grown around a self-organized community with efforts like regular assemblies, queer and BIPOC⁷ safer spaces, and attacks on mining infrastructures.

Eviction

In October 2022, Lützerath’s eviction was declared through the corporate-state agreement known as the RWE-deal. During an almost two-week long police operation starting on January 2nd, 2023, people defended Lützerath through demonstrations, blockades, a tunnel occupation, and sabotage. Actions continued weeks after the eviction (anonym, 2023), with international solidarity statements reaching Lützerath from Yupka territory and Kemerovo, among others (DRUCK now, 2023a; 2023b).

The eviction was characterized by coercive tactics such as cutting off food supplies, 24-hour-long evictions, surveillance, intimidation, pacification, and physical attacks. During the mass demonstration on January 14th, participants faced around 4,000 police officers with water cannons, helicopters, dogs, horses, pepper spray, tear gas, and batons (Brock, 2023). Despite a re-occupation attempt, Lützerath was evicted on January 16th.

⁷ BIPOC is the acronym for black, indigenous, and people of color.

Aftermath

Since its announcement, the RWE-deal has been scrutinized for being untransparent, hurried, and based on inaccurate data provided by RWE, and overall exceeding Germany's carbon budget (Herpich et al., 2022; Rieve et al., 2021). Apart from absent protocols, negotiations also included subsidies of €2.6 billion to RWE (Eberle & Müller-Arnold, 2022; Götze, 2022; 2023). One year later, BUND (2024b) confirmed that Lützerath's eviction was based on the "massive overestimation" of demand for lignite. This poses a question that the remaining sections explore: how was the deal and Lützerath's eviction publicly legitimized?

3. Redistribution of the sensible and integrative propaganda

This section elaborates on how we engage with eco-anarchist and autonomous struggle through the concepts of Jacques Rancière, before outlining a theory of media manipulation as our main analytical framework. We build on previous research on anti-mining struggles in the Rhineland and beyond, largely from within the field of anarchist political ecology.

Eco-anarchism, autonomous struggle, and the sensible

As a philosophy that has been intellectually linked with degrowth ethos and epistemology (Finley, 2018; Toro, 2018), eco-anarchist thought defines ecological domination as rooted within social hierarchies (Bookchin, 1982; Dunlap, 2022; Parson, 2018). Ecocide thus intersects with patriarchal, racist, and capitalist domination, which eco-anarchist approaches confront through direct action, alongside a commitment to regenerating the flourishing of human and non-human beings (Clark, 2020). While eco-anarchists share a general rejection of industrialism, different theoretical currents diverge in their critiques of technology, civilization, and anthropocentrism (Parson, 2018; Toro, 2021). Eco-anarchist thought and practice, as understood in our contribution, extends liberatory struggle to non-human life, and have and continue to be part of various ecological and indigenous territorial struggles (Dunlap, 2022; Tsolkas, 2015).

In the context of autonomous land defense like in Lützerath, we understand such rebellious spaces as a *redistribution of the sensible* (Rancière, 2010/2015): the re-arrangement of what can be sensed (seen, heard, etc.) by society. In a period of *consensual times* (Rancière,

2005/2020), where only that which the majority can perceive is thought to exist, the essence of *politics* is the dissent with, and the aesthetic disruption of, the dominant and hierarchical social order (Rancière, 2010/2015). The dissent, expressed by re-inhabiting and autonomously defending land that is ascribed to industrial expansion, thus re-arranges what is commonly perceivable through practices in alignment with anarchist traditions, like decentralized direct action, free association, mutual aid, and self-organization.

This kind of emancipatory politics builds on the presupposition of *radical equality* of—and between—everyone (Rancière, 2010/2015). Rather than striving towards equality as an egalitarian goal, autonomous struggles allow other worlds to come into being by acting *as if* people, animals, trees, and water already have the right to exist, and to disagree (MTC, 2018). The defense of Lützerath thus employs a “politics of presence” (Aedo, 2019, p.3): through re-inhabiting Lützerath, dissent to growth-driven extraction becomes sensible, thinkable, and possible.

Engaging with autonomous struggle through this lens averts attempts to certify them based on their compatibility with degrowth principles. As an increasingly criticized tendency within the (anglophone) degrowth scholarship, such attempts potentially confine empirical research to an analysis of radical (and not so radical) spaces as testing grounds or cases of degrowth (AKC Collective, 2023; Dunlap, 2020; Mocca, 2019; Salmansperger, 2023). Scholars Vandeventer and Schmid (2024) address possible limits of such engagements in their reflections on (almost) forcing the degrowth label onto people and the consequences of dissecting complex social phenomena into degrowth practices. Positing a degrowth society as an end-state or a goal thereby intends to locate the “contributions” of radical spaces to degrowth (Cattaneo, 2019). Such assessments foreground the scalability, applicability, and/or prefigurative efforts of projects, rather than their political and historical context. To further critical engagements with this hierarchical approach to empirical research, we echo calls to engage with critiques of domination rather than the consumption or lifestyles of groups and individuals (Nirmal & Rocheleau, 2019).

Governmentality, social war, and (corporate) counterinsurgency

Our main analytical framework is informed by previous research on anti-mining struggles in

the Rhineland and beyond and is grounded in Foucault's (1976/2003) writings on *governmentality*. This notion claims that governing bodies are not static, but in a constant reformation of practices which interact and coexist with those they govern. Therefore, states have no essence, rather they represent a vessel for continuous transformation and re-imagination through which society and its functions submit to the "supposed propensity to grow and to swallow up to colonize everything outside itself" (Gordon, 1991, p.4; *in a literal sense, see* Dunlap, 2023b). Consequently, part of those governed assume (subconsciously or not) their subordinated position and identity through submitting to disciplinary mechanisms. Those same mechanisms also provoke opposing views, otherwise known as "subjugated knowledges" (Foucault, 1976/2003).

As a lens utilized by many political ecologists researching extraction, a governmentality approach helps to make sense of, and recognize the joint and conscious efforts of, government, public institutions, and corporate actors in managing populations and environments (Ulloa, 2023; Verweijen et al., 2024; Voskoboynik & Andreucci, 2021). The narratives, discourses, and imaginaries created by these powerful actors drive the extraction discourse away from its obvious contradictions and create an illusion that care for the world can coincide with accepting its destruction. In the fields of ecological economics and degrowth, more research into disciplinary mechanisms could help to comprehend the resilience of green extractivism and the role of the state by "expand[ing] the conceptualisation of environmental conflicts, beyond the 'materialist' approach" (Andreucci & Kallis, 2017, p.100) of understanding them as merely distributional issues.

Here, social war discourse can help to conceptualize the ordinary violence of governance by acknowledging the use of military tactics to pacify people, control environments, and enable (green) capitalist destruction (Dunlap, 2014; 2019). Drawing on theories of state formation (Kropotkin, 1910; Scott, 1998; Sheorey, 2023) and understanding society as in a permanent state of conflict, Dunlap (2019, p.13) points out that social war discourse "views the Political system, its economy, divisions of labor and hierarchy as a system of subjugation," which "serve[s] as an instrument of social pacification and ecological exploitation, despite widespread ecological and climate concerns." Socio-ecological conflicts are the materialization of this contention between participation in disciplinary mechanisms,

resistance to them, and the application of military tactics to manage the latter.

As one of such tactics, *counterinsurgency* operations on (potential) opponents of industrial expansion further endorse a theory of social war. According to military experts, counterinsurgency is a “low intensity war” (Kitson, 1991) over popular support through fighting by civil means, like building “trusted networks” (Kilcullen, 2006, p.5) in local populations, authorities, community leaders, and NGOs. These operations unfold in three phases, defined by military theorist Frank Kitson (1991): a preparatory period, a non-violent phase, and an insurgency. In early periods, psychological warfare associated with “soft” tactics like public relations, corporate social responsibility (CSR), or greening efforts legitimize “hard” tactics like the criminalization, repression, and coercion of opponents later on (Dunlap, 2019; Frederiksen & Himley, 2019).

Through this lens, previous research has conceptualized RWE’s CSR efforts as normalized corporate counterinsurgency tactics to manage resistance around the Hambach coal mine (Brock & Dunlap, 2018). We complement this approach by including how not only corporate and government agents, but also the media system co-produces a discourse of land control and furthers the political anesthetization of the green economy (Dunlap, 2023a). For this, we explore the role of integrative propaganda as a soft counterinsurgency tactic to manage anti-mining struggles in the Rhineland.

Mass media and integrative propaganda

Media and communication are central spaces of power making (Castells, 2013; Hartley, 1992; Klaehn, 2003). As “popular perceptions and rumor are more influential than the facts” (Kilcullen, 2006, p.1), it is unsurprising that media manipulation is explicated in (corporate) counterinsurgency manuals as “[getting] the press onside” (Kilcullen, 2006, p.7). While in liberal democracies public and academic debates about propaganda remain marginalized or selective, their own mass media can be considered an “institution for ideological integration” (Zollmann, 2019a, p.242) which stabilizes capitalism. Such *integrative propaganda* (Ellul, 1965/1973) is characterized not by outright lies, but by distortion, omission, and misdirection of public attention (Miller & Robinson, 2019); and is produced, developed, and disseminated along a continuum of intent and non-intent (Silverstein, 1987; Zollmann, 2019b2019a). This

means that integrative propaganda is simultaneously strategic (intentional) and systematic (unintentional), with the extent of intent differing among different actors. Given the financial and personal entanglements between RWE, the German government, and as we will explore, corporate media, we can thus conceptualize media manipulation as a soft counterinsurgency technique to manage dissent to mining.

The Propaganda Model

As a tool to explore the simultaneity of intent and non-intent, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's (1988/2002) Propaganda Model (PM) asks if and how the institutional structures of mass media shape news production according to corporate and government interests. Bearing in mind the model's spatio-temporal focus, many authors have revised, contextualized, and complemented the PM (Herman, 2018; Klaehn, 2003; MacLeod, 2019a; Pedro-Carañana, 2011). Among them, Alan MacLeod (2019b, p.16) concludes that the model "is perhaps more relevant today as it was in 1988," as digitalization has not led to democratization, but to further monopolization of news production.

The PM is at times misinterpreted as simplistic, deterministic, or conspiratory. Yet, as Jefferey Klaehn (2003) discusses, the PM neither portrays media as a monolithic instrument for the interests of a unified ruling class, nor does it deem audiences as homogeneous and passive absorbents of manipulated information. Instead, the PM describes a general behavior of large media and it should thus be understood not as an attempt to forecast or measure the effects of media manipulation, but as a tool to delve into the structural explanations behind integrative propaganda (*see also* Herman, 2018).

Following the PM, news undergoes five intertwined filters before reaching its recipients:

1. *Size*: The size of a media company makes it susceptible to intensifying market pressures and political interests, leading to industrially produced news stories.
2. *Advertisement*: Media's financial reliance on advertisement and investments from other industries discourages critical reports on sponsors.
3. *Sourcing*: Economic compulsion and time constraints lead journalists to rely on official information freely provided by government and corporate PR departments rather than

their own investigations (*see also* Bennett, 1990).

4. *Flak*: This refers to negative feedback on previous reporting, which can lead to different forms of (self-)censorship (Silverstein, 1987). Governments, corporations, and corporate-sponsored monitoring institutions may effectively discipline further reporting through smear campaigns, intimidation, removal of funding, and costly lawsuits.
5. *Ideology*: Capitalist ideology is constantly “shedding its skin” (Pedro-Carañana, 2011, p.1889) to obscure and naturalize the detrimental socio-ecological conditions it sustains. Centrally, the creation of a vague (national) enemy and imminent threat simultaneously divides and eliminates political alternatives (Eagleton, 1991; MacLeod, 2019a).

The PM’s focus on class neglects other forms of structural marginalization as “[p]ower is not only a function of wealth (i.e. class) but also of gender and race” (Zollmann, 2019b, p.38). Sensitive towards a male and white bias, Zollman (2019a) thus adds two more filters:

6. *Sexism*: Gendered bias in access to leading positions and story subjects, roles, content, sourcing, as well as gender-related experiences of intimidation, threats, violence, and abuse of authority in workplace or on-site.
7. *Racism*: Under-representation of ethnic and religious minority groups, reproduction of racist prejudices, and a lack of anti-racist content.

Finally, authorities may physically or bureaucratically restrict journalists from accessing specific situations, leading us to add another filter:

8. *Physical access*: Special requirements or withdrawal of permits to enter a site, demands to delete recorded material, confiscation or damage of material and equipment, arrests, evictions, intimidation, and physical assault.

In sum, we complement the PM with a focus on diverse and intersecting forms of domination and bureaucratic or physical restrictions imposed on journalists. We use these filters in an analysis of news reports on Lützerath.

4. Bearing witness to the complexities of autonomous struggle

To investigate the role of media manipulation in legitimizing Lützerath's eviction, we build on on-site research conducted by the first author from September 2022 to February 2023. Although we mainly analyzed documents, participant observation constitutes as the primary data collection method. As such, complete participation in the daily life of Lützerath served as an invaluable backdrop for further research, by providing relevant background knowledge and establishing contact to and rapport with research participants (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011).

Early research entailed several conversations with visitors of Lützerath and residents of neighboring villages, who opposed Lützerath's defense through arguments previously identified in media reports. Such arguments related to describing Lützerath's defense as being intrusive, "too late," or morally reprehensible, as the analysis section explores. To broaden the focus towards voices that were not represented in media reports, the first author included inhabitants of Lützerath and solidary journalists as relevant research participants (Soss, 2018). Interviews consisted of 10-12 introductory and follow-up questions adapted to participants' responses (Bryman, 2016). Questions were generally concerned about how participants described Lützerath, their motivation for being there, and their experiences in the village. Interviews with journalists additionally asked about Germany's media system and their experiences with reporting on anti-mining struggles.

Dichotomies and power imbalances between researcher and researched were minimized through sensitivity towards different subjectivities and avoiding making participants feel uncomfortable (e.g. not using academic jargon) (Scheyvens et al., 2003). During informal conversations, the first author uncovered her role as a researcher as early as possible and attained oral informed consent based on information letters or oral summaries thereof (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Confidentiality and participants' anonymity are a priority given the risk of repression. In addition to the use of pseudonyms, the participants were reminded of their right to withdraw at any time.

Besides field notes, relevant documents included academic articles, newspaper articles, official documents, corporate documents, and reports by non-governmental organizations,

investigative media collectives, foundations, and the German Journalist Union (DJU). Anonymously and collectively written texts have been treated as relevant and valid sources (Mullenite, 2021).

Dominant and dissenting narratives were identified through a thematic analysis of 94 articles by the regional newspaper *Rheinische Post* (RP), 16 interviews, 12 blog posts, and 26 press releases. The dominance of narratives was determined by the extent to which they get established as facts through steady repetition, or incorporation into background information boxes, opinion articles, headlines, and fact-checks in RP. The identified dissenting narratives do not represent the diverse political positions in Lützerath but express the autonomous and (eco)anarchist tendencies.

Overall, our analysis focuses on, but is not limited to, RP. Rather, our analysis is informed by on-site research which includes the background information provided by Lützerath's inhabitants about media coverage of previous (forest) occupations. We draw on a single newspaper to illustrate specific expressions of dominant narratives and to understand their production. Ultimately, however, long-standing internal discussions around narratives such as left extremism or corporate-state agreements and RP's regional influence suggest that these narratives also dominated other large media, a presumption that hopefully inspires further empirical research.

Visits to Lützerath did not only serve the purpose of conducting ethnographic work, but also of dedicating time and learning from the struggles of people whose values we share, as visits to friends and accomplices (Cattaneo, 2006), and not least, as an experience of learning by living (or walking, see Levya Solano & Rappaport, 2011) that we have not yet found in institutionalized education.

Participation and partisanship

Guided by a broader understanding of war, akin to social war discourse, Danny Hoffman (2003) calls for more front-line anthropology to respond to the structural difficulties for critical journalism in conflict zones. Herein, "conflict zones erase any vantage point of neutral, uninvolved observation. Presence requires participation" (Hoffman, 2003, p.10).

Participation, moreover, requires partisanship due to the power dynamics involved in knowledge generation (Foucault, 1966/1977). While taking partisanship within research merits debates about objectivity and ethical concerns (Dunlap et al., 2021; Dunlap, 2023c), “bearing witness” (Hoffman, 2003, p.12) to the complexities of autonomous struggle encourages research to convey knowledge about a struggle’s specific political and historical contexts.

Without partisanship, research can strengthen existing power systems. This is exemplified by the European Commission’s Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN) using information presented in a master thesis to inform policies on preventing and countering “violent left-wing and anarchist extremism” (RAN, 2021). Intentionally or not, Krüßelmann’s (2020, as cited in RAN, 2021) research on people’s motivations to join and stay in the Dutch anarchist movement helped the authorities to identify challenges for the suppression and control of leftist and anarchist movements.

We thus understand objectivity as a continuum along which researchers can accurately describe an observable phenomenon through honesty about the project’s means and ends and self-reflection about their embodied, partial, and situated position (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Haraway, 1988). The aim of this contribution is therefore not to explore a universal truth, but to investigate and challenge power structures at hand (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999/2008).

5. Analysis: The Propaganda Model in the German Rhineland

This section explores integrative propaganda in the case of Rheinische Post Media Group (RPM), the corporate publisher of the local newspaper *Rheinische Post* (RP), which reported on Lützerath. RP was licensed by the British military government in 1946 as “a press that secures democracy and gives people orientation” (Thoren, 2016) to contribute to Germany’s material and mental reconstruction after national socialism. With the historic relevance of RP for governance in mind, this section first outlines dominant (media) narratives on Lützerath’s defense by drawing on examples from RP articles. Then, we contrast dominant narratives to some of the dissent expressed by individuals and collectives autonomously defending Lützerath. The section ends with analyzing how dominant narratives are manufactured at

RPM through the Propaganda Model (PM).

Dominant narratives

We identified three dominant narratives strategically mobilized by authorities and RWE about Lützerath: *the RWE-deal*, *the symbol*, and *left extremism*. These narratives are intertwined and condone mining while delegitimizing Lützerath's defense.

The RWE-Deal: Energy security, "green" investments, and good compromises

The RWE-deal narrative legitimizes further mining by emphasizing the energy crisis and the green transition. Lützerath's demolition is perpetually referred to as a "good compromise" (RP, 4/10/2022; 11/11/2022) considering the apparent dilemma between national energy security, climate protection, and local concerns. Here, reducing Germany's dependency on Russian gas through further mining is portrayed as an act of solidarity with Ukraine and a national duty (RP, 11/01/2023; 13/01/2023). The deal is moreover praised under headlines like "Minister President Wüst sees NRW as a pioneer in climate protection" (RP, 04/10/2022). Reports on heated parliamentary debates about the "early coal phase-out" (RP, 04/10/2022) and climate activists' alleged disappointment in the Greens (RP, 10/01/2023) present the deal as a heavily discussed, yet democratically decided and progressive compromise. Even claims of critical investigations (RP, 14/10/2022) question the deal only superficially, ultimately approving it by reiterating official arguments.

Moreover, the deal naturalizes previous expropriations, persuasion, infiltration, and social division within the villages (see Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Field notes, 09/10/2022) by arguing that sacrificing Lützerath would "save" five still inhabited neighboring villages (RP, 04/10/2022; 06/10/2022). RP articles portray the resettlement of numerous villages as either naturally occurring migration or justly compensated procedures (RP, 15/01/2023; 24/01/2023), meanwhile reassuring RWE's rightful ownership over Lützerath (RP, 10/01/2023).

Ultimately, the deal presents mining as necessary until "renewable" energy infrastructures are adequately developed (RP, 14/10/2022; 11/11/2022). This invokes imaginaries of a harmonious and economically prosperous green capitalist future brought about by techno-

scientific solutions (Ulloa, 2023) and leads to skepticism towards opposition, rather than critical engagements with corporate-state enforced domination over land and people.

The Symbol: Emptiness and othering

Within this deal, Lützerath is portrayed as a minority's "symbolic sacrifice" (RP, 04/10/2022). The symbol narrative adds claims about Lützerath's global irrelevance to its local redundancy, which together picture Lützerath's defenders as distinctive, mysterious, and inferior. Abstractions like "saving [Lützerath] would change virtually nothing in terms of achieving the 1.5-degree target" (RP, 6/10/2022) construct Lützerath as a *terra nullius* (Law, 2011)—a no-man's-land, useless unless it serves the desires of capitalist society. RP articles express this non-existence through references to the "empty" land (RP, 30/12/2022) and its "artificial" inhabitants (RP, 02/01/2023).

Articles also describe Lützerath's inhabitants as "unwelcome" (RP, 16/12/2022) through paternalistic caricaturizations, especially vivid in detailed explorations of their daily life. The communal way of organizing is portrayed as a hypocritical, capitalism-dependent "Bullerbü"⁸ (RP, 15/10/2022), while the creation of safer spaces for LGBTQA+ people and anonymity are pictured as exclusive and curious attitudes of a Lützerath culture.

Through the othering of Lützerath's inhabitants, the symbol narrative portrays the village's defense as ignorant, irrational, and self-indulgent; ultimately depriving them of their right to care for the place. In combination with a neoliberal and nationalist discourse about the necessity of mining (Ocaklı et al., 2021), this narrative constructs resistance as a symbolic noise.

Left Extremism: Divide and rule

The left extremism narrative distinguishes between "good" and "bad" protesters and contrasts the latter with professional and diplomatic authorities. RP articles continuously reinforce this division, as titles like "Minister Neubaur wants to de-escalate the Lützerath

⁸ "Bullerbü" refers to Astrid Lindgren's books about the idyllic life of six children in a remote Swedish village. In German speaking context, it is commonly used to derogatorily denote spaces deemed romanticized and idealistic.

conflict” (RP, 06/12/2022) and “Peaceful demonstrators should have distanced themselves from rioters” (RP, 15/01/2023) illustrate. While stressing internal conflicts (RP, 09/01/2023), articles describe some inhabitants as “violent criminals” (RP, 06/11/2022), “eco-ideologists” (RP, 30/12/2022), or desperate and narcissistic instigators (RP, 14/01/2023).

Where Lützerath’s defenders are condemned for inflicting injuries, on-site police violence is referred to as “a few mistakes” (RP, 19/01/2023) of an overall “professional” operation (RP, 11/01/2023). The post-eviction reporting, accordingly, turns into a blame game of which side—the protesters or the police—counts the most injuries (RP, 09/01/2023; 16/01/2023; 19/01/2023).

Through inconsistent and vague definitions of violence, the left extremism narrative follows a historically utilized divide-and-rule tactic (Gelderloos, 2013). It centers the morality of the opposition, rather than systemic violence and justifies force against opposition by creating a “moral panic” and sense of urgency (Martínez, 2019).

Dissent from within Lützerath

As the background section elaborated, several studies, environmental NGOs, and local groups disproved the RWE-deal before, during, and after Lützerath’s eviction through the language of the 1.5-degree limit, private property relations, and energy security. Besides these technocratic counter-narratives, Lützerath’s inhabitants voiced dissent based on alternative ontologies.

(Green) capitalism as a colonial continuity

Lützerath’s inhabitants rejected further mining, green capitalism, and nation states as colonial continuities—that is, as integral parts of an ongoing global process of (neo)colonial plunder, violence, and alienation from the living world. Both the blog posts of the Anarchists in Lützerath Collective (AIL, 04/11/2022) and the press releases of Lützerath Lebt (LL, 12/11/2022; 17/11/2022) describe Germany’s industrial activity as one origin of (neo)colonial exploitation. Lützerath’s inhabitants also conceptualize global warming in its historic and political context, that is, not as a future crisis, but as a presently unfolding and institutionally secured catastrophe (LL, 24/01/2023).

AIL (28/02/2022) calls out green growth as the current mode of capitalist renewal and challenges the broader climate justice movement to resign from their role as “a kind of (extra-) parliamentary lobby organization for the renewable energy industries” and “accomplices of an unchanged colonial industry” (AIL, 30/09/2022). The collective concludes that “[c]limate justice’ cannot be about enabling the survival of European culture” (AIL, 30/09/2022), rather they call for the destruction of such in favor of diverse and more ecologically harmonious ways of living.

While rejecting eco-modernist and Eurocentric visions, those autonomously defending Lützerath understand governments as complicit in perpetuating global warming and the “alienation between all living beings” (AIL, 28/02/2022). Instead of an appeal to authorities or an act of disappointment in any political party, Lützerath’s defense is explained as an emancipatory direct action (Field notes, 24/10/2022).

“I came for a fight and stayed for home”:⁹ Lützerath as a space of collective belonging

Like the name of the autonomous initiative “Lützerath lives!” suggests, the village appears as a lively space of solidarity and collective belonging. Lützerath’s inhabitants draw attention to global warming induced droughts in Kenya and deadly floods in Nigeria, Bangladesh, and the Ahr valley in Germany (LL, 17/10/2022; 06/12/2022). They celebrate decolonial struggles by organizing discussions with land defenders from Honduras and El Salvador, and drawing inspiration from autonomous struggles in Rojava, Chiapas, and Myanmar (AIL, 03/12/2022; LL, 24/10/2022). Finally, this solidarity and care extends to Lützerath’s non-human inhabitants and the land itself, as a defender expressed shortly after the eviction:

It is physically painful for me to watch the baggers [...] eating away the Earth [...] when I know of the rich diversity of insect life who thrives on the wildflower patch activists maintain; when I spot the holes for bird nests in the clay; when comrade hare darts in the floodlights between our barricades and the cops, jumping back and forth for reasons of her own; when the trees who so loved us are fallen, one by one (anarcholatina, 2023).

⁹ From “Welcome home” (konkreteutopie22, 2022).

This grief for Lützerath reverberates in the caring descriptions of what defenders referred to as “home.” Here, home is not an entitlement to place decided on by the residents’ registration office, but an intentional, ongoing search that is “driven by the dream of a better world [...] in which every human being finds the real possibility to live as he wants, no matter with which gender, skin color and which parents he came into the world” (konkreteutopie22, 2022). Re-inhabiting Lützerath makes global solidarity concrete through providing a shared experience of struggle (Haudenschild et al., 2023) which creates a space of collective belonging and a distinct kind of home.

A diversity of tactics, autonomy, and abolition

Reflecting a growing consensus within the larger German climate justice movement, Lützerath’s inhabitants embrace a diversity of tactics (Gelderloos, 2013; Haudenschild et al., 2023; see image 5): they emphasize solidarity between non-violent and subversive actions and confront deliberate attempts to divide social movements (AIL, 28/02/2022; 10/06/2022; LL, 14/01/2023). AIL (03/12/2022; 17/01/2023) specifically highlights the importance of self-organization and autonomous actions.

During the eviction, LL (17/01/2023) reported on life-threatening incidents and coercion enforced by the police operation. However, rather than comparing numbers of injuries¹⁰ and blaming individual officers, Lützerath’s defenders reflect on the systemic violence of the police as integral to (racial) capitalism. They reference repression and racial profiling near Lützerath (LL, 24/01/2023) and call for the abolition of this “body that primarily supports the interests of a capitalist system” (LL, 20/01/2023).

¹⁰ The Demonstration Paramedics (LL, 16/01/2023) refused to publish injury statistics as those can be misused to identify and prosecute demonstration participants. All the while prosecuting police officers remains almost impossible due to absent identification obligations in NRW.

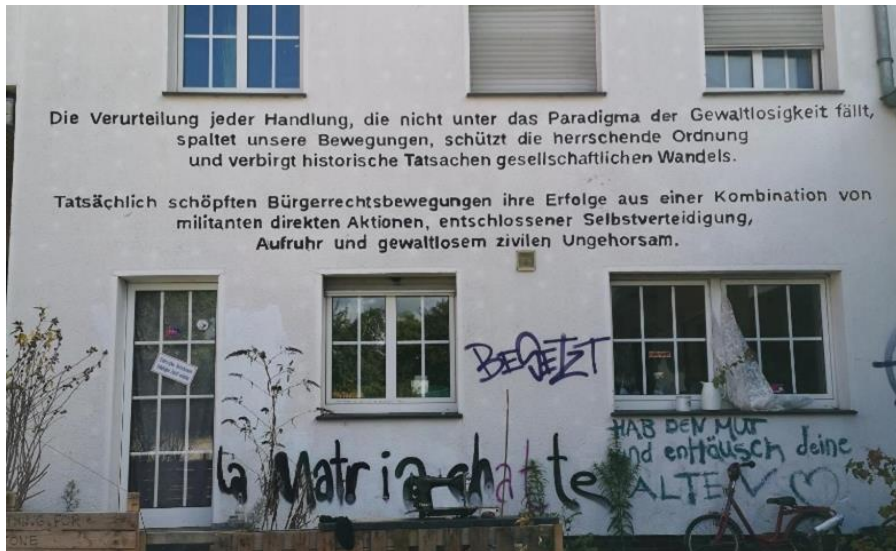


Image 5: "Condemning any action that does not fall under the paradigm of nonviolence divides our movements, protects the prevailing order, and hides historical facts of social change. In fact, civil rights movements drew their successes from a combination of militant direct action, determined self-defense, rioting, and nonviolent civil disobedience." Source: Authors.

Exploring media manipulation at Rheinische Post Media Group

After Lützerath's eviction, two anarchists who occupied a tunnel to block the police operation criticized the questions they received from journalists: "The tunnel itself is irrelevant, the more important question is why it was built and occupied" (LL, 17/01/2023). With the contrast between dominant and dissenting narratives on Lützerath's defense in mind, the remainder of this section explores the manufacturing of dominant narratives which may lead to such questions. By analyzing news production at Rheinische Post Media Group (RPM) through the Propaganda Model (PM), this section seeks to clarify the simultaneity of intentional and systemic manipulation.

Ownership structures and size

Continuous media concentration is essential to capitalist societies and entails the large-scale dissemination of near-identical stories under different titles (Knoche, 2013/2021). This "illusion of choice" (Kennard, 2019, p.138) characterizes the German daily news market, in which RPM ranks fifth in terms of circulation (Röper, 2018; 2022). In NRW specifically, RPM ranks second, due to their acquisition of smaller newspapers, which increased their market share among local/regional subscription newspapers to 17.4% in 2020 (LAM, 2020). Under several regional titles, RPM distributes around 30 local issues, some of which hold a monopoly in their respective area. RPM's regional newspaper *Rheinische Post* (RP), is the leading daily

newspaper in the Rhineland with more than 215,000 circulating copies reaching 759,000 readers every day, and about 12 million unique users a month via its online service *RP-online* (RPM, n.d.). Hereby, RP is one of the two daily newspapers with local issues on the Heinsberg district, and hence, Lützerath. Until early 2024, RPM also held 30% of the second local publication, *Aachener Zeitung* (RPM, 2024). Together, these dynamics signify RPM's immense local and regional influence.

Considering RPM's reach and corporate character, both economic objectives and political considerations cause "a certain degree of solidarity [...] among the government, major media, and other corporate businesses" (Herman, 2018). This solidarity is exemplified in an untransparent donation of €12.846 from RPM to the CDU party (Christian Democratic Union) in 2009 (Reyher, 2017); and it is further strengthened by RPM's susceptibility to the PM's remaining filters.

Advertisement: Who would bite a feeding hand?

Despite annual turnovers of €500 million (RPM, n.d.), RPM is facing a decrease in printed copies alongside low online subscription prices (LAM, 2020). This shift in revenue streams makes RPM more reliant on advertisement and investments across industries. Vested (trans-)national political and corporate interests have influenced major media in Germany in recent years, especially through their regular organizing and advertising of lobby events (Krüger, 2015; Oppong, 2016). Notably, RPM's subsidiary, Rheinische Post Medien GmbH (RPM GmbH), organizes quarterly gala dinners with high-ranking politicians and corporate leaders ("Ständehaustreff"), as well as annual economic forums ("RP Forum") themed, among others, "Security in Germany". In 2018 and 2019, this forum hosted, for instance, Interior Minister Herbert Reul as an expert and corporate consultant (RPM GmbH, n.d.-a), despite his infamous industry and police lobbying efforts (Selinger, n.d.). Reul was found to engage in unofficial meetings with RWE representatives to develop pretexts for the illegal and lethal Hambach Forest eviction in 2018; and more recently, he authorized the controversial NRW Assembly Law in 2022 (Löffelbein, 2021; Müllender, 2021).

In addition to lobbying events, RPM GmbH also promotes its media to advertisers, stressing its "high credibility, its large, cross-media reach and its intensive user contact" (RPM GmbH,

n.d.-b). RPM also co-produces the energy transition podcast “Zukunftsorte” with Euref AG (RPM, 2023), an urban developer, who itself collaborates with countless energy companies and the influential, state-owned lobby channel German Energy Agency (dena) (Deckwirth & Katzemich, 2023). Moreover, RPM holds shares in several free advertising journals for real estate, tourism, career opportunities, or construction and in digital marketing companies like “mindshape GmbH” (RPM, n.d.; Röper, 2018).

Most interestingly in the context of anti-mining struggles, since 2019, RPM’s international subsidiary, DVV Media Group, has owned the *Energy Information Service* (“Energie Informationsdienst,” EID) (RPM, 2019). Alongside over 80 professional publications, EID publishes a weekly homonymous trade journal targeting decision-makers in various energy industries and government positions (DVV Media Group GmbH, 2023). Besides around 1,000 paying readers, EID likely profits on the sale of pricy (< €2,890/page) advertisements to energy producers like RWE. Journalist Jürgen Döschner, well-known for his investigative work around mining in the Rhineland, has stressed the “strong lever” RWE has on newspapers via advertisements due to several subsidiaries of its own (Interview with Döschner). Serving as an advertisement and lobby platform, especially for the energy and security sectors, RPM is therefore structurally entangled with political and corporate interests.

Sourcing, or: “Hearing all sides”

The common but contested practice of journalistic balance—contrasting arguments from “both sides”—simulates neutral reporting while ignoring and securing power relations (Castells, 2013). In this way, modern journalism reinforces a hierarchy of credibility, with authorities and corporate actors defining dominant narratives (MacLeod, 2019a). Reliance on official sources has previously legitimized authoritarian government responses to protests in Germany (Sommer et al., 2018). Likewise, all dominant narratives on Lützerath can be traced back to official statements announcing the deal in October 2022. While RP has published edited interviews and quotes with some activists, initiatives, and one climate scientist, the long-form interviews with authorities and RWE—along with the frequent quotation and repetition of their positions—present official arguments as facts.

Besides an interview with RWE CEO Markus Krebber (RP, 10/12/2022), RP also frequently

involved actors authorizing Lützerath's eviction, like the CDU Interior Minister, Herbert Reul (RP, 11/01/2023), the chairman of the NRW Police Union, Michael Mertens (RP, 26/10/2022), and the Head of Aachen's Police Department, Dirk Weinspach (RP, 06/11/2022). RP's main sources of information include MP Gregor Golland, a major police operations responsible, who doubled as an RWE employee until 2020 (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Funken, 2016). Other interviews, quotes, and guest commentaries are moreover provided by NRW Minister President and lobbyist, Henrik Wüst (RP, 27/01/2023), and high-ranking Green Party politicians like Vice Chancellor and Federal Minister, Robert Habeck, or State Minister, Mona Neubaur.

Reliance on official sources ignores the entanglements which provide RWE with privileged access to relevant information and decision-makers. RWE is one among many corporate sponsors of the Greens Economic Association founded in early 2023 (Die Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Grünen, n.d.). Likewise, RWE representatives hold leading positions in the CDU Economic Council, which is known as an influential lobby organization (Lobbycontrol, n.d.). RWE also co-finances studies on the German energy transition via board members in the Cologne Institute for Energy Management ("Energiewirtschaftliches Institut," EWI), a think-tank commissioned, among others, by NRW's federal government. Those studies informed decisions like the RWE-deal.

Flak: (Self-)censorship in the Rhineland

Flak, or negative feedback on previous reporting, results in different forms of censorship, like editorial or financial, as well as self-censorship through fear or bias (Silverstein, 1987). With digitalization, the risk of fast, extensive, and anonymous dispersion of potentially image-damaging information increases, resulting in ever more effective and preventative flak (MacLeod, 2019a).

In Germany, corporations and authorities have previously investigated and issued legal threats against investigative journalists and radical news collectives (Lange, 2018; Reuter, 2023). A relevant example of this is the *de facto* suspension of journalist Jürgen Döschner by his employer WDR ("Westdeutscher Rundfunk"), Germany's largest public service news broadcaster. Following Döschner's positive comments on actions against Garzweiler II in 2015,

RWE initiated the formation of a Facebook group called “RWE employees against WDR.” In response, WDR obliged Döschner to present the opposing position (RWE) in future contributions (Joeres & Burgmer, 2022; Interview with Döschner). In 2019, shortly after the eviction of the Hambach Forest occupation, WDR deleted a report by Döschner, in which then Minister President of NRW, Armin Laschet, had admitted that fire safety regulations were a pretext to enforce the eviction (Spiegel, 2022). Similarly, RWE intimidated the regional newspaper, *Kölner-Stadt-Anzeiger*, after their positive reporting on anti-mining protests in 2015 (Brock & Dunlap, 2018).

An independent filmmaker in the region highlighted additional pressures on journalists in non-permanent positions (unlike Döschner), which make most journalists “flexible also out of existential fears” (Interview #14). While it remains difficult to prove instances of self-censorship, there are hints at editorial censorship in RP. For example, authors of articles that centered around mobilizing efforts for Lützerath’s defense did not publish (many) more articles on Lützerath thereafter (RP, 05/01/2023; 13/01/2023).

Shades of capitalist ideology

The dominant narratives outlined above are infused with capitalist ideology, expressed in self-affirming discourses of green growth, trust in the market and individual responsibility, as well as the creation of a national enemy (Eagleton, 1991; Herman & Chomsky, 1988/2002). Instead of questioning economic growth and industrial development as capitalist premises, RP articles focus on individual consumers’ responsibility for saving gas and disqualify state interventions (RP, 26/12/2022). Likewise, RP articles show anti-communist sentiments by ignoring, for instance, the socialist demands from the Expropriate RWE & Co. initiative (“RWE & Co. enteignen”).

Furthermore, the left extremism narrative is informed by federal/national intelligence services. Echoing reports by the European Commission’s Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN, 2021) and Europol (2022), which alert European governments to prevent “left- and anarchist terrorism and extremism,” the German Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (“Verfassungsschutz”) warn about the national threat originating in Lützerath (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, 2022). Besides quoting the official statements, RP articles also integrate

such warnings into background information boxes, fact-checks, and opinion articles (RP, 30/12/2022). As the release of a manhunt during preparations for the eviction exemplifies (RP, 21/10/2022), capitalist ideology directs attention away from the political context of resistance to vague internal and external threats and technocratic solutions.

Sexism and racism

Foundational to the capitalist social order, sexism and racism manifest in “[a] male-dominated culture” (Zollmann, 2019b, p.40) and a “white perspective” in corporate newsrooms (van Dijk, 2012; as quoted in Zollmann, 2019b, p.41) which systematically marginalize certain voices. In Germany, publisher restrictions on anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-police violence content and the medial banalization of violence against women demonstrate such discrimination (Meltzer, 2023; Sachse, 2021). Similar tendencies can be observed in media coverage concerning the murder of nine migrants by the neo-Nazi association NSU (“Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund”). Reports depicted affected family members as the likely culprits for a decade, despite the evidence of it being a racist attack (Virchow et al., 2015).

Leading positions among large regional German newspapers like RP are scarcely occupied by minorities (Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen, 2020; RP-Online, n.d.; von Garmissen & Biresch, 2019). While not wishing to essentialize identity, these tendencies help to explain the extent to which patriarchal and racist structures shape news production. Although there is championing of supposed gender inclusivity at the police (RP, 13/01/2023), the dominant narratives around Lützerath build on a paternalistic gaze on Lützerath’s inhabitants, which deems their resistance as naive, emotion-driven, and unrealistic (RP, 15/10/2022; 02/01/2023; 04/01/2023). Likewise, discomfort with the cultural diversity of Lützerath’s defenders (RP, 10/01/2023; 12/01/2023), as well as neglecting to report on racist policing during Lützerath’s eviction, demonstrate how RP is simultaneously subjected to and reproduces gender and ethnicity-based discrimination.

Restricted access: Special permits, assault, and deception

Journalists are frequently obstructed from accessing areas of conflict in Germany (Schipkowski, 2019; Interview with Döschner). Severe restrictions on journalistic freedom

have been documented around the Hambach Forest protests (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Lüdke, 2019) and Lützerath's eviction (Fauth, 2023; Malkovski, 2023). In line with the regional filmmaker (Interview #14), Verdi (2023) described Lützerath's eviction as marked by physical and sexual assault, policing measures, bureaucratic restrictions, and background checks on journalists. The union further notes: "At times, there was no access for press representatives to the halls and a barn in the village during ongoing police measures, where [...] police committed bodily harm in office" (Verdi, 2023). Parliamentary observers have also been prevented from accessing these situations (Keller et al., 2023).

Additionally, journalists were deceived into attaining special accreditation to enter Lützerath, as well as into complying with arbitrary spatial limitations and a code of conduct that prohibited close-up shots, as listed in an "information brochure" provided by the Aachen police and RWE. These special orders conflicted with NRW's Press Law and were only admitted as voluntary after further inquiry (Interview #14). Similarly, RWE obliged journalists to sign a liability agreement ("Haftungsvereinbarung"), which allowed entrance during daylight with police escort only. In effect, access was not bureaucratically denied. However, RWE and authorities complicated press work even more by handing out safety vests for press members which either had an RWE logo or were blue, making it "difficult to distinguish between communications [police] officers and the press" (Interview #14). Overall, restricted access to Lützerath, especially during the eviction, as well as conscious deceit, obstructed journalists from original investigations, thereby increasing their dependency on official sources.

6. Conclusions

By combining intensive on-site fieldwork and a thematic analysis of news reports on Lützerath, we illustrated three dominant narratives which legitimized further mining: the RWE-deal, the symbol, and left extremism. By contrasting these narratives to the dissent of those autonomously defending Lützerath, we moreover exposed how dominant narratives omit, distort, and distract from understandings of colonial continuities within mining and green capitalism; from care for land and non-human life; and from basic anarchist principles like autonomy, diversity of tactics, and direct action. Finally, we analyzed these dominant narratives as integrative propaganda by exploring news production at Rheinische Post

Mediengruppe (RPM) through the Propaganda Model (PM). We found that RPM's corporate nature makes it structurally dependent on advertisement and official sources, and hence susceptible to censorship, capitalist ideology, sexism, and racism. Together with the physical and bureaucratic restrictions by authorities and RWE on journalists during Lützerath's eviction, our findings illuminate the complexities of integrative propaganda. These entail the simultaneously intentional and unintentional manipulation of news stories in *Rheinische Post* and, prospectively, in RPM's numerous other newspapers. Next, we consider the temporal and intertwined development of dominant narratives on Lützerath to show the significance of critical engagement with media manipulation in reportage on autonomous struggles.

Dominant narratives as integrative propaganda

All three dominant narratives were present from the beginning of on-site research until Lützerath's eviction, but each with varying intensity. In early October 2022, authorities and RWE had to justify their deal, leading to arguments around the necessity and sustainability of mining being most prevalent. With growing interest in the opposition to this deal, detailed explorations of daily life in Lützerath and its culture informed reports thereafter. Building on this alienation and subordination of Lützerath's inhabitants, warnings of their potentially violent nature intensified in the weeks right before and after the eviction and dominated public discussions during the police operation.

This temporal development correlates with Kitson's (1991) three phases of insurgency. For Lützerath's defenders, the weeks leading up to the eviction were essential for mobilizing support. Hence, for those who sought to enforce the deal, the non-violence period was crucial for countering the potential growth of resistance (Kitson, 1991). During this period, the symbol narrative consolidated the RWE-deal and paved the way for the left extremism narrative by othering Lützerath's inhabitants. The focus on their lifestyle artificially isolated them and dislocated Lützerath's defense from its political, historical, and confrontational context. This isolation paved the way for stigmatizing and divisive narratives of the "good/useful/peaceful" and the "bad/useless/violent" squatter or activist (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Martínez, 2019; Salmansperger, 2023).

While the RWE-deal provides the legal basis for lignite extraction, other narratives remain

necessary to manufacture public consent to mining thereafter, especially considering the fierce resistance. In other words, mining requires an intertwined set of narratives, which reassure the benefits of mining while discursively othering opponents (Andreucci & Kallis, 2017). The strategic mobilization and systematic dispersion of these intertwined narratives can hence be understood as part of integrative propaganda.

Cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting

An analysis of media manipulation in the context of autonomous struggles can help to navigate around the distraction, omission, and distortion of dominant narratives and technocratic counter-narratives. Instead of alienation from the experiences, needs, and knowledges of those who physically confront growth-driven expansion, the subversion of green capitalist propaganda invites researchers to listen closely and celebrate their ways of being—and struggling.

When following this invitation, scholars can engage with autonomous struggle by cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting spaces which capitalist society deems impossible to inhabit, let alone defend with one's body and life. Through Rancière's notion of the redistribution of the sensible, re-inhabiting Lützerath as a sort of last resort after decades of local resistance against mining, translates the existence of the land and all its inhabitants to the only value intelligible for an alienated capitalist society: human inhabitants. Herein, the eco-anarchist tensions present in Lützerath expand Rancière's anthropocentric notion of radical equality to make not only humans, but also non-human beings and land *sensible* to those who cannot or choose not to sense them.

Such a move beyond certification allows researchers to grasp how this redistribution of the sensible builds on and encourages the re-cultivation of relationships and the reversal of processes of "accumulation by alienation" (Dunlap & Sullivan, 2019). Instead of revolving around formulating a scalable, applicable, and socially acceptable alternative lifestyle, Lützerath's defense is entrenched in and nourishes peoples' relationships to each other, to their non-human co-inhabitants, and to the land on which their tree houses stand. Those relationships are not based on ownership, domination, or exploitation, but on care and belonging.

This de-alienation and sense of belonging also entails “becoming the space.” Or, as the Mauvaise Troupe Collective (MTC, 2018) reflects on the ZAD in Notre-Dames-des-Landes, what people are defending changes over time from an environment to everything that they have created there while inhabiting it. Instead of some fields, trees, or a village, people defend themselves and a distinct kind of home that grows out of the practice of re-inhabiting: spaces of collective belonging far beyond the question of “who came first” and any allusion to a limited right to care.

Re-inhabiting and beyond

In conclusion, our research recommends degrowth scholars to engage with the rebellious politics of autonomous struggle in a different way. Cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting offers a way to celebrate people and spaces independently of their qualification with academic fields or political affiliations. Importantly, we do not suggest continuing analyzing autonomous struggles through a Rancièrian lens, as it could risk turning into a different kind of certification (regarding their transformative, radical, or decolonial potential). However, celebrating autonomous struggle as politics in a Rancièrian sense can be a starting point for creative investigations into power structures of green growth. In other words, we suggest a re-politization of degrowth’s engagement with empirical research through studying upwards and learning from those in struggle.

This re-politicization can moreover support degrowth scholars in surpassing the metaphoric reference of “decolonizing the social imaginary” in engagements with decolonial struggles (Deschner & Hurst, 2018), as illustrated by a media analysis, which unravels the imperial discourse that reverberates through dominant narratives on land defense struggles. Cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting opens space for breaking with notions of linear time, progress, Anthropocentrism, and Eurocentrism, which is useful in strategic considerations on how to dismantle colonial relations of appropriation (Feola, 2019; Lang, 2024; Richter, 2019).

As this direction of research is yet to come, we hope our contribution on media manipulation can encourage degrowth scholars to engage further with methodological and ethical questions concerning one’s positionality as a researcher: how can researchers encounter autonomous struggles horizontally? How can insights derived from degrowth scholarship

become emancipatory, rather than merely of analytical value for a few? And how can research listen closely to provide space for dissenting and uncomfortable knowledges? Ultimately, we invite scholars to remain critical towards dominant narratives surrounding autonomous struggle.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the reviewers, editors, Janne Mercedes Prinsen and Reed April McKay for their constructive feedback and support. Moreover, we would like to express our gratitude to Xander Dunlap and Esben Leifsen for their guidance and encouragement during the initial research process.

Conflict of interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Funding

The authors did not receive any funding for this research.

Ethics

This study was approved by Sikt - Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (approval no. 662262) on June 28, 2022.

Consent to participate: Informed consent of research participants was obtained verbally before participation. The consent was audio-recorded.

Consent for publication: Informed consent for publication was provided by the participants.

References

- Aedo, A. (2019). Politics of presence at the urban margins. emplacement as a performative force among migrant-settlers in Chile. *Anthropological Forum*, 29(1), 12–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2019.1585752>
- AKC Collective (2023). Anarchism and degrowth: deepening degrowth's engagement with autonomous movements: Reflections from the 8th International Degrowth Conference in The Hague 2021. *Degrowth Journal*, 1, 00013.
- anarcholatina. (2023, January 16). This land belongs to the meadow, or: Eulogy for the living utopia of Lützerath. *Anarcholatina Transantifa*. <https://anarcholatina.blackblogs.org/luetzerath-land-of-the-meadow/>
- Andreucci, D., & Kallis, G. (2017). Governmentality, Development and the Violence of Natural Resource Extraction in Peru. *Ecological Economics*, 134, 95–103. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2017.01.003>
- anonym. (2023, January 26). Nichts ist vorbei, es fängt gerade an! Lützerath ist jetzt auch in Wuppertal.

- Siemens Transporter abgefackelt! [Nothing is over, it's just beginning! Lützerath is now also in Wuppertal. Siemens transporter torched!]. *Indymedia*. <https://de.indymedia.org/node/254478>
- Barlow, N., Regen, L., Cadiou, N., Chertkovskaya, E., Hollweg, M., Plank, C., ... & Wolf, V. (2022). *Degrowth & Strategy: How to bring about social-ecological transformation*. Mayflybooks.
- Bartsch, M. (2012, October 1). Erdrutsche im Tagebaugebiet: Nach der Kohle kommt das Wasser [Landslides in the open-cast mining area: after the coal comes the water]. *TAZ*. <https://taz.de/Erdrutsche-im-Tagebaugebiet/!5082879/>
- Becker, M., & Hofinger, D. (2022). System Change- not Climate Change: Die Klimagerechtigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland 2008 bis 2020 [System Change- not Climate Change: The Climate Justice Movement in Germany 2008 to 2020]. In V. Bruschi & M. Zeiler (Eds.), *Das Klima des Kapitals: Gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse und Ökonomiekritik*, 278–293. Dietz.
- Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103–127. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x>
- Bluwstein, J. (2021). Transformation is not a metaphor. *Political Geography*, 90, 102450. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102450>
- Bookchin, M. (1982). *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy*. Palo Alto: Cheshire Books.
- Borras, S. M., & Franco, J. C. (2013). Global land grabbing and political reactions 'from below.' *Third World Quarterly*, 34(9), 1723–1747. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.843845>
- Brand, U., & Wissen, M. (2023). Lützerath: Transformative Politics Versus Green Realism. In E. Kováts (Ed.), *Culture Wars in Europe*, 237–244. <https://www.illiberalism.org/culture-wars-in-europe/>
- Brock, A. (2020). Securing accumulation by restoration – exploring spectacular corporate conservation, coal mining and biodiversity compensation in the German Rhineland. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 251484862092459. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848620924597>
- Brock, A. (2023, January 19). Life at Lützerath. *Ecologist*. <https://theecologist.org/2023/jan/19/life-lutzerath>
- Brock, A., & Dunlap, A. (2018). Normalising corporate counterinsurgency: Engineering Consent, managing resistance and greening destruction around the Hambach Coal Mine and beyond. *Political Geography*, 62, 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.09.018>
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Bukold, S. (2021). *RWE – Vom Winde verweht?* [RWE – Gone with the wind?]. Greenpeace.
- BUND. (2024a, June 3). Rheinwassertransportleitung: "RWE muss für Wasserentnahme zahlen" [Rhine water transport pipeline: "RWE must pay for water extraction"]. *Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz NRW*. <https://www.bund-nrw.de/presse/detail/news/rheinwassertransportleitung-zur-kuenstlichen-befuellung-der-braunkohlenrestloecher-genehmigt/>
- BUND. (2024b, January 11). 1 Jahr nach Lützerath: Neue Daten stellen energiepolitische Notwendigkeit der Räumung in Frage [1 year after Lützerath: New data calls into question the energy policy necessity of the evacuation]. *Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz NRW*. <https://www.bund-nrw.de/presse/detail/news/1-jahr-nach-luetzerath-gewaltsame-raeumung-war-energiepolitisch-nicht-zu-rechtfertigen/>

- Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz. (2022). *Verfassungsschutzbericht 2022* [Constitutional protection report 2022]. Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat.
<https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/SharedDocs/publikationen/DE/verfassungsschutzberichte/2023-06-20-verfassungsschutzbericht-2022.html>
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*. Oxford University Press.
- Cattaneo, C. (2006). Investigating neorurals and squatters' lifestyles: Personal and epistemological insights on participant observation and on the logic of ethnographic investigation. *Athenea Digital. Revista De Pensamiento e Investigación Social*, 1(10), 16. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/athenea.290>
- Cattaneo, C. (2019). How can squatting contribute to degrowth? In A. Nelson & F. Schneider (Eds.), *Housing for degrowth: Principles, models, challenges and opportunities*, 89–102. Routledge.
- Cat With a Camera [@catwithanicecamera]. (2023, January 25). *Lützerath '22* [Photograph]. Instagram.
<https://www.instagram.com/share/p/BAG59RJIUp>
- Clark, J. P. (2020). What is eco-anarchism? *The Ecological Citizen*, 3(Suppl C), 9–14.
<https://ecologicalcitizen.net/article.php?t=what-is-eco-anarchism>
- CrimethInc. (2018, April 23). One but many movements. *CrimethInc.*
<https://de.crimethinc.com/2018/04/23/one-but-many-movements-two-translations-from-the-zad-on-isolation-division-and-pacification>
- CrimethInc. (2019, April 23). Reflections on the ZAD: Another history. *CrimethInc.*
<https://de.crimethinc.com/2019/04/23/reflections-on-the-zad-looking-back-a-year-after-the-evictions>
- CrimethInc. (2021, March 10). The Forest Occupation Movement in Germany Tactics, Strategy, and Culture of Resistance. *CrimethInc.* <https://de.crimethinc.com/2021/03/10/the-forest-occupation-movement-in-germany-tactics-strategy-and-culture-of-resistance>
- D'Alisa, G., Demaria, F., & Kallis, G. (2015). *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era*. Routledge.
- Deckwirth, C., & Katzemich, N. (2023). Pipelines in die Politik Die Macht der Gaslobby in Deutschland [Pipelines in politics The power of the gas lobby in Germany]. *LobbyControl*. <https://www.lobbycontrol.de/pipelines-in-die-politik-die-macht-der-gaslobby-in-deutschland/>
- Deschner, C., & Hurst, E. (2018, February 1). Decolonisation and Degrowth. *Degrowth.info*.
<https://degrowth.info/en/blog/decolonisation-and-degrowth>
- DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant observation: A guide for Fieldworkers*. Rowman & Littlefield, Md.
- Die Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Grünen. (n.d.). Über uns – Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Grünen E.V. [About us – Economic Association of the Greens]. *Die Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Grünen*.
<https://www.wirtschaftsvereinigung-gruene.de/ueber-uns/>
- DRUCK now [@luetzibleibt]. (2023a, January 13). *(Español en los comentarios) Soli Grüße der Yupka Gemeinschaft - von Kolumbien nach Lützi!* [(Español en los comentarios) Greetings from the Yupka community - from Colombia to Lützi!] [Video]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CnXbbRsBSVH/>
- DRUCK now [@luetzibleibt]. (2023b, Februar 12). *(russian & english in the comments) #One Struggle One Fight! Hoch die internationale Solidarität!* [(russisch & englisch in den Kommentaren) #One Struggle One Fight!

- Cheers to international solidarity!] [Video]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CokQntLjIVX/>
- Dunlap, A. (2014). Permanent War: Grids, Boomerangs, and Counterinsurgency. *Anarchist Studies*, 22(2), 55–79.
- Dunlap, A. (2019). Wind, coal, and copper: The politics of land grabbing, counterinsurgency, and the social engineering of Extraction. *Globalizations*, 17(4), 661–682. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1682789>
- Dunlap, A. (2020, December 2). Recognizing the “De” in Degrowth. *Undisciplined Environments*. <https://undisciplinedenvironments.org/2020/12/02/recognizing-thede-in-degrowth/>
- Dunlap, A. (2022). ‘I don’t want your progress! It tries to kill ... me!’ Decolonial encounters and the anarchist critique of civilization. *Globalizations*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2022.2073657>
- Dunlap, A. (2023a). The green economy as counterinsurgency, or the ontological power affirming permanent ecological catastrophe. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 139, 39–50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2022.10.008>
- Dunlap, A. (2023b). The state is colonialism: Debating infrastructural colonization and the roots of socioecological catastrophe. *Political Geography*, 107, 102980. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102980>
- Dunlap, A. (2023c). SUM and Activism: A Responses to McNeill and Bull. In A. Dunlap, L. Hammelbo Søyland, & S. Shokrgozar (Eds.), *Debates in Post-Development and Degrowth*, 2, 193–200.
- Dunlap, A., & Marin, D. (2022). Comparing coal and ‘transition materials’? overlooking complexity, flattening reality and ignoring capitalism. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 89, 102531. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102531>
- Dunlap, A., & Sullivan, S. (2019). A faultline in neoliberal environmental governance scholarship? or, why accumulation-by-alienation matters. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 3(2), 552–579. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848619874691>
- Dunlap, A., Hammelbo Søyland, L., & Shokrgozar, S. (2021). Editorial Introduction: Situating Debates in Post-Development and Degrowth. In A. Dunlap, L. Hammelbo Søyland, & S. Shokrgozar (Eds.), *Debates in Post-Development and Degrowth*, 1, 7–31.
- DVV Media Group GmbH. (2023). *Energie Informationsdienst. Mediadaten 2023* [Energy Information Service. Media data 2023]. DVV Media Group GmbH. https://www.eid-aktuell.de/fileadmin/Mediadaten/Mediadaten_EID_2023.pdf
- Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology: An introduction*. Verso.
- Eberle, L., & Müller-Arnold, B. (2022, October 13). Konflikt um Braunkohle basiert Neubaur’s Lützerath-Entscheidung auf fragwürdigen Gutachten? [Conflict over lignite is Neubaur’s Lützerath decision based on questionable expert reports?]. *Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/luetzerath-nrw-basiert-mona-neubaur-entscheidung-auf-fragwuerdigen-gutachten-a-856d2398-e89d-4c54-ad1e-40bff8c31b27>
- Ellul, J. (1973). *Propaganda: The formation of Men’s Attitudes*. Vintage Books. (Original work published 1965).
- Europol. (2022). European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2022 (TE-SAT). *Europol*. <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publication-events/main-reports/european-union-terrorism-situation->

and-trend-report-2022-te-sat

Fauth, L. (2023, January 11). "Angriffe auf Journalisten" ["Attacks on journalists"]. *TAZ*.

<https://taz.de/Pressegewerkschafter-ueber-Luetzerath/!5905115/>

Feola, G. (2019). Degrowth and the Unmaking of Capitalism: Beyond 'Decolonization of the Imaginary'. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 18(4), 977–997.

<https://doi.org/10.14288/acme.v18i4.1790>

Finley, E. (2018). Beyond the limits of Nature: A social-ecological perspective on degrowth as a political ideology. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 30(2), 244–250. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2018.1499122>

Fischer, T., & Knuth, H. (2023, May 1). CO₂-Zertifikate grün getarnt [CO₂ certificates camouflaged in green].

Zeit. <https://www.zeit.de/2023/04/co2-zertifikate-betrug-emissionshandel-klimaschutz>

Foucault, M. (1977). *The order of things: An archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Tavistock Publications.

(Original work published 1966).

Foucault, M. (2003). *Society must be defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76*. Picador New York.

(Original work published 1976).

Frederiksen, T., & Himley, M. (2019). Tactics of dispossession: Access, power, and subjectivity at the Extractive Frontier. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 45(1), 50–64.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12329>

Funken, M. (2016, December 13). CDU-Politiker Gregor Golland: Bis zu 120.000 Euro im Jahr für Halbtagsjob bei RWE [CDU politician Gregor Golland: Up to 120,000 euros a year for a part-time job at RWE]. *KStA*.

<http://www.ksta.de/25267646>

Gelderloos, P. (2013). *The failure of nonviolence*. Left Bank Books.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental Rationality: An Introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*, 1–52. The University of Chicago Press.

Götze, S. (2022, December 1). Studie zum Ende der Braunkohle in Nordrhein-Westfalen hat Habeck sich verrechnet? [Study on the end of lignite in North Rhine-Westphalia - did Habeck miscalculate?]. *Spiegel*.

<https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/exklusive-studie-zum-ende-der-braunkohle-in-nordrhein-westfalen-und-luetzerath-schneller-kohleausstieg-fuehrt-zu-hoeheren-emissionen-a-5ad82c71-a885-4027-9dcb-adc90d2aa873>

Götze, S. (2023, January 6). Der toxische deal um Lützerath [The toxic deal for Lützerath]. *Spiegel*.

<https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/raeumung-in-nordrhein-westfalen-der-toxische-deal-um-luetzerath-a-9c14079c-7485-42de-964b-7b2df6a49cdc>

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>

Hartley, J. (1992). *The politics of pictures: The creation of the public in the age of popular media*. Routledge.

Haudenschild, D., Anderl, F., & Stühlen, C. (2023). Infrastrukturen der Gewalt. Lützerath, Dannenröder Forst und die Klimagerechtigkeitsbewegung [Infrastructures of violence. Lützerath, Dannenröder Forest and the climate justice movement]. *Wissenschaft und Frieden*, 41(2), 10–14. <https://wissenschaft-und->

- frieden.de/artikel/infrastrukturen-der-gewalt/
- Herbert, J., Barlow, N., Smessaert, J., & Bardi, C. (2021, September 29). Degrowth strategies: thinking with and beyond Erik Olin Wright. Degrowth.info. <https://degrowth.info/en/blog/degrowth-strategies-thinking-with-and-beyond-erik-olin-wright>
- Herman, E. S. (2018). The Propaganda Model Revisited. *Monthly Review*, 69(8), 42–54.
https://doi.org/10.14452/mr-069-08-2018-01_4
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2002). *Manufacturing consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Pantheon Books. (Original work published 1988).
- Herpich, P., Rieve, C., Oei, P.-Y., & Kemfert, C. (2022). *Gasknappheit: Auswirkungen auf die Auslastung der Braunkohlekraftwerke und den Erhalt von Lützerath* [Gas shortage: effects on the utilization of lignite-fired power plants and the preservation of Lützerath]. Europe Beyond Coal.
- Hickel, J. (2019). Degrowth: a theory of radical abundance. *Real-World Economics Review*, (87), 54–68.
- Hickel, J., & Kallis, G. (2020). Is green growth possible? *New Political Economy*, 25(4), 469–486.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2019.1598964>
- Hoffman, D. (2003). Frontline anthropology: Research in a time of war. *Anthropology Today*, 19(3), 9–12.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.00191>
- Jansen, D. (2005). *Braunkohle und Grundwasser. Ein Bodenschatz wird geplündert* [Lignite and groundwater. A natural resource is being plundered]. BUND NRW.
- Jansen, D. (2017). *Braunkohle im Rheinland. Garzweiler II* [Lignite in the Rhineland. Garzweiler II]. Düsseldorf: BUND NRW.
- Jansen, D., & Schubert, D. (2014). *Zukunft statt Braunkohle. 30 Jahre Widerstand gegen den Braunkohletagebau Garzweiler II* [Future instead of lignite. 30 years of resistance against the Garzweiler II opencast lignite mine]. Düsseldorf: BUND NRW.
- Joeres, A., & Burgmer, A. (2022, October 27). Vorwurf beim Wdr: Kaltgestellt wegen kritischer Berichte [Accusation at WDR: Cold-called because of critical reports]. *Correctiv.org*.
<https://correctiv.org/aktuelles/2022/10/27/vorwurf-beim-wdr-kaltgestellt-wegen-kritischer-berichte/>
- Kalus, T. (2024, September 9). Bohrungen für umstrittene Rheinwasserleitung in Dormagen gestartet [Drilling started for controversial Rhine water pipeline in Dormagen]. *WDR*.
<https://www1.wdr.de/nachrichten/rheinland/bohrungen-umstrittene-rheinwasser-transportleitung-starten-100.html>
- Keller, S. (2023, January 31). Einwohnerzahl Lützerath [Population Lützerath]. *Statista*.
<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1358118/umfrage/entwicklung-der-einwohnerzahl-in-luetzerath/>
- Keller, T., Rabe, B., & Winkler, M. (2023). Entscheidung für Gewalt [Decision for violence]. Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie e.V [Committee for Fundamental Rights and Democracy].
https://www.grundrechtekomitee.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Entscheidung_fuer_Gewalt_Bericht_Demob_eobachtung_Luetzerath_2023.pdf
- Kennard, M. (2019). Working inside the racket: An insiders perspective to the elite media. In A. MacLeod (Ed.),

- Propaganda in the Information Age. Still Manufacturing Consent*, 138–145. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Keyßer, L. T., & Lenzen, M. (2021). 1.5 °C degrowth scenarios suggest the need for new mitigation pathways. *Nature Communications*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-021-22884-9>
- Kilcullen, D. (2006). Twenty-Eight Articles Fundamentals of company-level counterinsurgency. *Marine Corps Gazette*, 90(7), 50.
- Kirsch, S. (2010). Sustainable mining. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 34(1), 87–93. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-009-9113-x>
- Kitson, F. (1991). *Low intensity operations: Subversion, insurgency, peace-keeping*. Faber and Faber Limited.
- Klaehn, J. (2003). Behind the invisible curtain of scholarly criticism: Revisiting the propaganda model. *Journalism Studies*, 4(3), 359–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700306487>
- Knoche, M. (2021). Media concentration: A critical political economy perspective (C. Fuchs, Trans.). *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, 19(2), 371–391. (Original work published 2013). <https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v19i2.1298>
- konkreteutopie22. (2022, November 17). Blog 9: Willkommen Zuhause [Blog 9: Welcome home]. *Lützi Bleibt! Eine Stimme aus der Besetzung*. <https://eine-stimme-aus-der-besetzung.com/2022/11/17/blog-9-willkommen-zuhause/>
- Krause, T. (2023, January 12). Polizei nutzt RWE-Lastwagen – Antworten des Konzerns ärgern viele auf Twitter [Police use RWE trucks - responses from the company annoy many on Twitter]. *Stern*. <https://www.stern.de/gesellschaft/luetzerath--polizei-nutzt-rwe-lkw---und-muss-dafuer-wohl-zahlen-33092298.html>
- Kropotkin, P. (1910). Anarchism. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Krüger, U. (2015). Manufacturing consent through integration: Social networks of German journalists in the elite milieu and their effects on coverage. *European Journal of Communication*, 30(2), 152–170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323114564758>
- LAM. (2020). Vielfaltsbericht NRW 2020. Zeitungsmarkt Nordrheinwestfalen: Struktur und Entwicklung 2016–2020 [NRW 2020 diversity report: North Rhine-Westphalia newspaper market: structure and development 2016–2020]. *Landesanstalt für Medien NRW*. <https://www.medienanstalt-nrw.de/zum-nachlesen/berichte/medienkonzentrationsbericht-medienvielfaltsbericht.html>
- Lang, M. (2024). Degrowth, global asymmetries, and Ecosocial Justice: Decolonial Perspectives from Latin America. *Review of International Studies*, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210524000147>
- Lange, J. (2018, December 11). Nach Cum-Ex-Recherchen im Visier der Behörden [Targeted by the authorities after Cum-Ex investigations]. *Deutschlandfunk*. <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/geschaeftsgeheimnisse-nach-cum-ex-recherchen-im-visier-der-100.html>
- Law, J. (2011). What's wrong with a one-world world? *Heterogeneities.net*. <http://www.heterogeneities.net/publications/Law2011WhatsWrongWithAOneWorldWorld.pdf>
- Leyva Solano, X., & Rappaport, J. (2011). Walking and doing: About decolonial practices. *Collaborative*

- Anthropologies*, 4(1), 119–138. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cla.2011.0006>
- LobbyControl. (n.d.). Wirtschaftsrat der CDU [CDU Economic Council]. *Lobbypedia*.
https://lobbypedia.de/wiki/Wirtschaftsrat_der_CDU
- Löffelbein, T. (2021, April 19). Informelle Treffen [Informal meetings]. *Greenpeace*.
<https://www.greenpeace.de/klimaschutz/energiewende/kohleausstieg/informelle-treffen>
- Lüdke, S. (2019, February 28). Braunkohle-Protest gegen RWE – diese Bilder hat die Polizei beschlagnahmt [Lignite protest against RWE - these pictures were confiscated by the police]. *Der Spiegel*.
<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/hambacher-forst-braunkohle-protest-gegen-rwe-diese-bilder-hat-die-polizei-beschlagnahmt-a-7f9497b8-3691-4e55-84a6-ccad5420454d>
- MacLeod, A. (2019a). Assessing the Strength of the Five Filters Today. In A. MacLeod (Ed.), *Propaganda in the information age: Still manufacturing consent*, 47–63. Routledge.
- MacLeod, A. (2019b). Introduction: Propaganda in the information age. In A. MacLeod (Ed.), *Propaganda in the information age: Still manufacturing consent*, 10–18. Routledge.
- Malkovski, J. (2023, January 17). Gefährliche Proteste ohne Presse [Dangerous protests without the press]. *TAZ*. <https://taz.de/Pressefreiheit-in-Luetzerath/!5909691/>
- Martínez, M. A. (2019). Good and bad squatters? challenging hegemonic narratives and advancing anti-capitalist views of squatting in Western European cities. *Culture Unbound*, 11(1), 165–189.
<https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.2019111165>
- Matzke, F. L., & Kolocek, M. (2023). *Transformationsforschung in bewegten Zeiten Auf der Suche nach neuen Wegen zur Einbeziehung der Einwohnerschaft in vom Tagebau Garzweiler betroffenen Ortschaften* [Transformation research in turbulent times: In search of new ways to involve the local population in communities affected by the Garzweiler open-cast mine] [Newsletter]. Netzwerk Bürgerbeteiligung.
- Meltzer, C. E. (2023). Isolated incidents. Media reporting on violence against women in the German press. *Journalism Practice*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2162952>
- Michel, J. H. (2008). *Status and impacts of the German lignite industry* (2nd ed.). Swedish NGO Secretariat on Acid Rain.
- Miller, D., & Robinson, P. (2019). Propaganda, Politics and Deception. In T. Docan-Morgan (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Deceptive Communication*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96334-1_50
- Mocca, E. (2019). The local dimension in the degrowth literature. A critical discussion. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 25(1), 78–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2019.1696926>
- MTC. (2018). *The Zad and Notav: Territorial struggles and the making of a new political intelligence*. Verso.
- Müllender, B. (2021, September 9). Urteil zum Hambacher Forst: Von wegen Brandschutz [Verdict on Hambach Forest: Fire protection my ass]. *TAZ*. <https://taz.de/Urteil-zum-Hambacher-Forst/!5799827/>
- Mullenite, J. (2021). Toward Broader Anarchist Geographies: Space/Place, Nation/State, and Anarchist Scholarship. *ACME- An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 20(2), 206–2013.
- Müller, B. (2018, January 8). Immerrather Dom: Das höhere Gut [Immerrather Dom: The greater good]. *SZ*.
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/immerrather-dom-das-hoehere-gut-1.3817039>

- Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen. (2020). *Viel Wille, kein Weg. Diversity im deutschen Journalismus* [Much will, no way. Diversity in German journalism]. Neuemdiemacher
<https://neuemedienmacher.de/positionen/beitrag/diversity-im-journalismus-bericht/>
- Nirmal, P., & Rocheleau, D. (2019). Decolonizing degrowth in the post-development convergence: Questions, experiences, and proposals from two indigenous territories. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2(3), 465–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848618819478>
- Ocakli, B., Krueger, T., Janssen, M. A., & Kasymov, U. (2021). Taking the discourse seriously: Rational self-interest and resistance to mining in Kyrgyzstan. *Ecological economics*, 189, 107177.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107177>
- Oppong, M. (2016). Ausverkauf des Journalismus? Medienverlage und Lobbyorganisationen als Kooperationspartner [Selling out journalism? Media publishers and lobby organizations as cooperation partners]. *Otto Brenner Stiftung*.
<https://www.otto-brennerstiftung.de/wissenschaftsportal/publikationen/titel/ausverkauf-desjournalismus/aktion/show/>
- Parrique, T., Barth, J., Briens, F., Kerschner, C., Kraus-Polk, A., Kuokkanen, A., & Spangenberg, J. H. (2019). Decoupling debunked: Evidence and arguments against green growth as a sole strategy for sustainability. *European Environmental Bureau*.
- Parson, S. (2018). Ecocentrism. In B. Franks, N. Jun, & L. Williams (Eds.), *Anarchism: A Conceptual Approach*, 219–233. Routledge.
- Pedro-Carañana, J. (2011). The Propaganda Model in the Early 21st Century Part I. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 1865–1905.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/298935706_The_Propaganda_Model_in_the_Early_21st_Century_Part_I
- RAN. (2021). *Contemporary Violent Left-wing and Anarchist Extremism (VLWAE) in the EU: Analysing Threats and Potential for P/CVE*. Radicalization Awareness Network. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/whats-new/publications/contemporary-violent-leftwing-and-anarchist-extremism-vlwae-eu-analysing-threats-and-potential-pcve_en
- Rancière, J. (2015). *Dissensus on politics and aesthetics* (S. Corcoran, Trans.). Bloomsbury Academic. (Original work published 2010).
- Rancière, J. (2020). *Chronicles of consensual times* (S. Corcoran, Trans.). Bloomsbury Publishing. (Original work published 2005).
- Reuter, M. (2023, May 17). Radio Dreyeckland: Link auf linksunten war rechtens [Radio Dreyeckland: Link to linksunten was legal]. *netzpolitik.org*. <https://netzpolitik.org/2023/radio-dreyeckland-link-auf-linksunten-war-rechtens>
- Reyher, M. (2017, September 8). Wenn große Medienhäuser an Parteien spenden [When large media companies donate to political parties]. *Abgeordnetenwatch*.
<https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/recherchen/parteispenden/wenn-grosse-medienhaeuser-an-parteien-spenden>

- Richter, K. (2019). Struggling for another life: The ontology of degrowth. *Transtext(e)s Transcultures 跨文本跨文化*, (14), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.4000/transtexts.1242>
- Rieve, C., Herpich, P., Brandes, L., Oei, P.-Y., Kemfert, C., & von Hirschhausen, C. (2021). *Kein Grad weiter – Anpassung der Tagebauplanung im Rheinischen Braunkohlerevier zur Einhaltung der 1,5-Grad-Grenze* [Not one degree further - adapting opencast mining plans in the Rhenish lignite mining area to comply with the 1.5-degree limit]. Berlin: German Institute for Economic Research (DIW).
- Röper, H. (2018, December 18). Zeitungsmarkt 2018: Pressekonzentration steigt rasant [Newspaper market 2018: press concentration increasing rapidly]. *Media Perspektiven*. <https://www.ard-media.de/media-perspektiven/publikationsarchiv/2018/artikel/zeitungsmarkt-2018-pressekonzentration-steigt-rasant>
- Röper, H. (2022). Zeitungsmarkt 2022: Weniger Wettbewerb bei steigender Konzentration [Newspaper market 2022: less competition with increasing concentration]. *Media Perspektiven*. <https://www.ard-media.de/media-perspektiven/publikationsarchiv/2022/detailseite-2022/zeitungsmarkt-2022-weniger-wettbewerb-bei-steigender-konzentration>.
- RPM GmbH. (n.d.-a). RP-Wirtschaftsforum „Sicherheit in Deutschland" [RP economic forum „Security in Germany"]. *RP Forum*. <https://www.rpforum.de/veranstaltung/podiumsdiskussion-wie-sicher-sind-sie-wirklich-so-schuetzensie-sich-und-ihr-unternehmen-gegen-cyberangriffe-einbruch-terrorismus-und-g>
- RPM GmbH. (n.d.-b). Marketing and media service. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://www.rheinischepostmediengruppe.de/en/customer-service/marketing-and-media-service>
- RPM. (2019, February 12). *DVV Media Group übernimmt Energie Informationsdienst* [DVV Media Group takes over Energie Informationsdienst]. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://www.rheinischepostmediengruppe.de/unternehmen/pressemitteilungen/detail/show/dvv-media-group-uebernimmt-energie-informationsdienst-303>
- RPM. (2023, December 7). Rheinische Post und Euref AG starten gemeinsames Podcast-Projekt zum Thema Energiewende [Rheinische Post and Euref AG launch joint podcast project on the energy transition]. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://www.rheinischepostmediengruppe.de/unternehmen/pressemitteilungen/detail/show/rheinische-post-und-euref-ag-starten-gemeinsames-podcast-projekt-zum-thema-energiewende>
- RPM. (2024, January 17). Rheinische Post Mediengruppe veräußert ihren 30%-Anteil an der Medienhaus Aachen GmbH an Mediahuis [Rheinische Post Mediengruppe sells its 30% stake in Medienhaus Aachen GmbH to Mediahuis]. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://www.rheinischepostmediengruppe.de/unternehmen/pressemitteilungen/detail/show/rheinische-post-mediengruppe-veraeussert-ihren-30-anteil-an-der-medienhaus-aachen-gmbh-an-mediahuis>
- RPM. (n.d.). *Historie [History]*. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://www.rheinischepostmediengruppe.de/unternehmen/historie>
- RP-Online. (n.d.). *Autoren [Authors]*. *Rheinische Post Mediengruppe*. <https://rp-online.de/autor/>
- RWE AG. (2022). *Together we turn passion into sustainability. Sustainability Strategy Report 2022*. Essen: RWE AG.

- RWE Power. (2019). Umsiedlungen im Rheinland [Resettlements in the Rhineland]. *RWE Power*.
<https://www.rwe.com/-/media/RWE/documents/10-nachbarschaft/umsiedlung/Umsiedlungen-im-Rheinland-Partnerschaft-sichert-Sozialvertraeglichkeit.pdf>
- RWE. (2022a). Tagebau-Standort Garzweiler [Garzweiler opencast mine site]. *RWE*. <https://www.rwe.com/der-konzern/laender-und-standorte/tagebau-garzweiler/>
- RWE. (2022b, November 17). „RWE-Klimabonus“ bringt Kommunen mehr Geld für Strom aus Wind und Sonne [“RWE climate bonus” gives municipalities more money for electricity from wind and solar power]. *RWE*.
<https://www.rwe.com/presse/rwe-renewables/2022-11-17-rwe-klimabonus-bringt-kommunen-mehr-geld-fr-strom-aus-wind-und-sonne/>
- RWE. (n.d.-a). Abgeschlossene Umsiedlungen – Immerath [Completed relocations - Immerath]. *RWE*.
<https://www.rwe.com/nachbarschaft/rwe-vor-ort/umsiedlung/abgeschlossene-umsiedlungen/immerath-pesch-luetzerath/>
- RWE. (n.d.-b). Responsibility and Sustainability. *RWE*. <https://www.rwe.com/en/responsibility-and-sustainability/>
- RWETI. (n.d.). RWETI experts sharing insights on how to reduce CO2. *RWE Technology International: Engineering and Consulting*. <https://www.rwe.com/en/the-group/rwe-ti/carbon-footprint-reduction/>
- Sachse, J. (2021, December 8). So beeinflussen Verleger die Berichterstattung im Lokaljournalismus [How publishers influence reporting in local journalism]. *Correctiv.org*.
<https://correctiv.org/aktuelles/ungerechte-arbeit/2021/12/08/so-beeinflussen-verleger-die-berichterstattung-im-lokaljournalismus/>
- Salmansperger, E. (2023). How can degrowth really appreciate and support squatting? *Tvergastein: Debates in Post-Development and Degrowth*, 2, 166–186.
- Scheyvens, R., Nowak, B., & Scheyvens, H. (2003). Ethical Issues. In R. Scheyvens, & D. Storey (Eds.), *Development fieldwork: A practical guide*, 139–166. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Schipkowski, K. (2019, November 20). Journalisten gegen Presseamt [Journalists against press office]. *TAZ*.
<https://taz.de/G20-Gipfel-in-Hamburg/!5642931/>
- Schwarz, S. (2022, March 28). Erweiterung des Kohle-Tagebaus: RWE darf Lützerath weiter räumen [Expansion of opencast coal mine: RWE may continue to clear Lützerath]. *TAZ*. <https://taz.de/Erweiterung-des-Kohle-Tagebaus/!5841536/>
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. Yale University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1nq3vk>
- Selinger, J. (n.d.). Versammlungsgesetz NRW: Bedrohung für Versammlungsfreiheit und Zivilgesellschaft [NRW Assembly Act: Threat to freedom of assembly and civil society]. *GFF – Gesellschaft für Freiheitsrechte e.V [Society for Civil Rights e.V]*. <https://freiheitsrechte.org/themen/demokratie/vb-versammlungsrecht-nrw>
- Sheorey, N. (2023). Prefiguring Degrowth: Confronting Power, Accumulation, and Ecocide. *The Anarchist Library*.
<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/nishikant-sheorey-prefiguring-degrowth>
- Silverstein, B. (1987). Toward a science of Propaganda. *Political Psychology*, 8(1), 49.

- <https://doi.org/10.2307/3790986>
- Sommer, M., Teune, S., & Harsch, C. (2018, September). Journalistische Spielräume. Unterschiede in der Berichterstattung zu #NoG20 [Journalistic margins. Differences in the coverage of #NoG20]. *G20.Protest Institut*. <https://g20.protestinstitut.eu/journalistischespielraeume/>
- Soss, J. (2018). On casing a study versus studying a case. *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research*, 16(1), 21–27.
- Spiegel. (2022, October 28). WDR-Journalist Jürgen Döschner arbeitet offenbar fünf Stunden im Monat – für 100.000 Euro im Jahr [WDR journalist Jürgen Döschner apparently works five hours a month - for 100,000 euros a year]. *Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/wdr-journalist-juergen-doeschner-arbeitet-offenbar-fuenf-stunden-im-monat-fuer-100-000-euro-im-jahr-a-4712a545-14bc-432a-a6bb-014950819217>
- Thoren, H. (2016, March 2). Seit 70 Jahren Abbild der Zeit [A reflection of the times for 70 years]. *Rheinische Post*. https://rp-online.de/panorama/deutschland/seit-70-jahren-abbild-der-zeit_aid-21367353
- Tilsted, J. P., Bjørn, A., Majeau-Bettez, G., & Lund, J. F. (2021). Accounting matters: Revisiting claims of decoupling and Genuine Green Growth in Nordic countries. *Ecological Economics*, 187, 107101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107101>
- Toro, F. (2018). The thought of Élisée Reclus as a source of inspiration for degrowth ethos. In F. Ferretti, G. Barrera de la Torre, A. Ince, & F. Toro (Eds.), *Historical geographies of anarchism: Early critical geographers and present-day scientific challenges*, 89–112. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315307558-6>
- Toro, F. (2021). Stateless Environmentalism: The Criticism of State by Eco-Anarchist Perspectives. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 20(2), 189–205.
- Trainer, T. (2024). On degrowth strategy: The Simpler Way perspective. *Environmental Values*, 33(4), 394–413. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09632719231214309>
- Tsolkas, P. (2015, March 31). No system but the ecosystem. *The Anarchist Library*. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/panagioti-tsolkas-no-system-but-the-ecosystem-earth-first-and-anarchism>
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999/2008). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd. (Original work published 1999).
- Ulloa, A. (2023). Aesthetics of green dispossession: From coal to wind extraction in La Guajira, Colombia. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 30(1), 1–22.
- Vandeventer, J. S., & Schmid, B. (2024). What does degrowth do in/to empirical research? methodological deliberations on placing degrowth ‘in the world.’ *Ecological Economics*, 221, 108206. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2024.108206>
- Verdi. (2023, January 15). Dju in ver.di NRW zieht eine negative Bilanz der Pressefreiheit bei der Räumung von Lützerath [Dju in ver.di NRW draws a negative balance of press freedom during the eviction of Lützerath]. *Ver.di Deutsche Journalistinnen- Und Journalisten-Union [Ver.di German Journalist Union]*. <https://dju.verdi.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/++co++ddf0cf54-94e3-11ed-bb07-001a4a160116>
- Verweijen, J., Himley, M., & Frederiksen, T. (2024). Unearthing extractive subjects: Power and subjectivity at the Extractive Frontier. *Geoforum*, 148, 103917. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103917>
- Virchow, F., Thomas, T., & Grittmann, E. (2015). “Das Unwort erklärt die Untat” Die Berichterstattung über die

- NSU-Morde – eine Medienkritik* [“The Unword Explains the Atrocity” The Coverage of the NSU Murders - A Media Critique]. Otto Brenner Stiftung.
- Virtuelles Museum Erkelenz. (n.d.). *Lützerath. Virtuelles Museum*. <https://www.virtuelles-museum.com/ort/luetzerath/>
- von Garmissen, A., & Biresch, H. (2019). *Welchen Anteil haben Frauen an der publizistischen Macht in Deutschland?* [What share do women have in journalistic power in Germany?]. ProQuote Medien e.V. https://www.pro-quote.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ProQuote-Studie_print_online_digital-2019.pdf
- Voskoboynik, D. M., & Andreucci, D. (2021). Greening extractivism: Environmental discourses and resource governance in the ‘lithium triangle.’ *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 5(2), 787–809. <https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486211006345>
- Weiermann, S. (2021, January 18). Laschets Abriss [Laschet’s demolition]. *Neues Deutschland*. <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1147147.luetzerath-laschets-abriss.html>
- Weiermann, S. (2022, January 9). Lützerath - ein Dorf als 1,5-Grad-Grenze [Lützerath - a village as a 1.5-degree limit]. *Neues Deutschland*. <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1160248.klimapolitik-luetzerath-ein-dorf-als-grad-grenze.html>
- Zeising, M. (2022, November 7). Seitenwechsel mit Beigeschmack [Change of sides with a taste in the mouth]. *Neues Deutschland*. <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1168158.titus-rebhann-seitenwechsel-mit-beigeschmack.html>
- ZH3. (n.d.). Projekt. *Zusammenhalt Hoch Drei*. <https://zusammenhalthochdrei.de/projekt>
- Zollmann, F. (2019a). Ideologische Integration, Massenmediale Täuschung: Zur Rolle von Propaganda in Liberalen Demokratien [Ideological Integration, Mass Media Deception: On the Role of Propaganda in Liberal Democracies]. *Ideologie, Kritik, Öffentlichkeit: Verhandlungen Des Netzwerks Kritische Kommunikationswissenschaft*. <https://doi.org/10.36730/ideologiekritik.2019.11>
- Zollmann, F. (2019b). A Propaganda Model for the twenty-first century: Structure-agency dynamics and the intersection of class, gender and race. In A. MacLeod (Ed.), *Propaganda in the information age: Still manufacturing consent*, 28–46. Routledge.

The authors

Elena Salmansperger is an independent researcher from Germany, currently based in Norway. She holds an MSc degree in Development, Environment, and Cultural Change from the University of Oslo awarded in 2024. At the moment, Elena collaborates on a film project that artistically engages with the Lützerath anti-mining struggle and corporate media representations about it. Connected to this, she recently submitted a visual intervention for a special issue of the journal of Human Geography. Her other activities include co-teaching the EDS 341 Decolonial Theory course at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, starting in January 2026.

Elīna Turbina is an independent scholar from Latvia, based in Norway. She holds an MSc degree in International Relations from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences awarded in 2022, where she engaged in research on urban and green transitions. Her interests also include Central and Eastern Europe studies, urban sociology and feminist perspectives. Alongside academic engagements, Elīna has been a contributor of editorial teams for various periodical publications with the ambition of connecting research and public debate.