



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Amt für Bürgerservice (2019). Bürgerentscheid am 24. Februar 2019: 'Soll das Dietenbachgebiet unbebaut bleiben?'. www.freiburg.de/statistik diakses pada Senin, 20 Januari 2020.
- Amt für Bürgerservice (2021). Bundestag Election 2021. Results Freiburg - The Federal Returning Officer (bundeswahlleiterin.de) diakses pada Jumat, 9 Juni 2023.
- Anggraini, N. V. (2019). Containern: Pemburu dan Peramu Urban di Freiburg, Jerman. Skripsi. Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta
- Asara, V., Otero, I., Demaria, F., & Corbera, E. (2015). Socially sustainable degrowth as a social–ecological transformation: repoliticizing sustainability. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), 375–384. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11625-015-0321-9>
- Auer, C., Kriegler, E., Carlsen, H., Kok, K., Pedde, S., Krey, V., & Müller, B. (2021). Climate change scenario services: From science to facilitating action. *One Earth*, 4(8), 1074–1082. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.ONEEAR.2021.07.015>
- Badische-Zeitung. (2022a). "Aktivist vom Freiburger Klimacamp: "Im Winter wollen wir bleiben". *Badische Zeitung*. Juli 11. <https://www.badische-zeitung.de/aktivist-vom-freiburger-klimacamp-im-winter-wollen-wir-bleiben>.
- Badische-Zeitung. (2022b). "Zahlreiche Beschwerden über das Klo vorm Kruzifix". *Badische Zeitung*. Agustus 6. <https://www.badische-zeitung.de/zahlreiche-beschwerden-ueber-das-klo-vorm-kruzifix>
- Bergman, N. (2014). Climate Camp and public discourse of climate change in the UK. *Carbon Management*, 5(4), 339–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17583004.2014.995407>



- Brand, U. (2016). How to get out of the multiple crisis? Contours of a critical theory of social-ecological transformation. *Environmental Values*, 25(5), 503–525.
<https://doi.org/10.3197/096327116X14703858759017>
- Buzogány, A., & Scherhaufner, P. (2022). Framing different energy futures? Comparing Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion in Germany. *Futures*, 137, 102904.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.FUTURES.2022.102904>
- Hall, D. (2023). ‘*Commodification of everything*’ arguments in the social sciences: Variants, specification, evaluation, critique. (n.d.). Retrieved December 18, 2023, from <https://journals-sagepub-com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/doi/epub/10.1177/0308518X221128305>
- Crossley, N. (2003). From Reproduction to Transformation. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20(6), 43–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276403206003>
- Della Porta, D., Diani, M., & Tindall, D. B. (2014). Networks as Constraints and Opportunities. *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/OXFORDHB/9780199678402.013.34>
- de Moor, J. (2021). Grassroots environmentalism. *Environmental Politics*, 30(7), 1283–1285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2021.1981069>
- de Moor, J. (2022). Prioritizing adaptation and mitigation in the climate movement: evidence from a cross-national protest survey of the Global Climate Strike, 2019. *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*, 27, 41.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11027-022-10003-y>
- de Moor, J., De Vydt, M., Uba, K., & Wahlström, M. (2020). New kids on the block: taking stock of the recent cycle of climate activism. *Social Movement Studies*, 20(5), 619–625. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2020.1836617>
- De Rosa, S. P., de Moor, J., & Dabaieh, M. (2022). Vulnerability and activism in urban climate politics: An actor-centered approach to transformational adaptation in Malmö (Sweden). *Cities*, 130, 103848.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.CITIES.2022.103848>



Der Grafschafter-Gerhard Budde. (1926). *Berjönlidhfheit*. 15 April 1926, Seite 5. Der Grafschafter accessed by Deutsches Zeitungportal

DW-Kuebler, M. (2021). “Has COVID changed Fridays for Future?”. Deutsche Welle. Maret 19. <https://www.dw.com/en/coronavirus-fridays-for-future-fff-covid-19-pandemic-climate-strike/>

DW- Staudenmaier, R. (2022). Ukraine war sparks major shift in Germany's energy opinions. Deutsche Welle. Juli 4. <https://p.dw.com/p/49dHB>.

DW-Thurau, J. (2021). Chronology: How COVID has spread in Germany – DW – 12/28/2021. *Deutsche Welle*. <https://www.dw.com/en/covid-how-germany-battles-the-pandemic-a-chronology/a-58026877>

Fabinyi, M., Evans, L., & Foale, S. J. (2014). Social-ecological systems, social diversity, and power: insights from anthropology and political ecology. *Ecology and Society, Published Online: Nov 07, 2014 | Doi:10.5751/ES-07029-190428*, 19(4). <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-07029-190428>

Fastenrath, Sebastian & Bérénice Preller. (2018). Freiburg :The Emblematic Green City. In Green Building Transitions :Regional Trajectories of Innovation in Europe, Canada and Australia, ed. Julia Affolderbach & Christian Schulz, pp. 69-95. Switzerland: Springer.

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777–795. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>.

Forderungspapier. (2019). “Forderungspapier Fridays for Future Freiburg.” Report: Freiburg.

Fürst, J. (2014). Love, Peace and Rock “n” Roll on Gorky Street: The “Emotional Style” of the Soviet Hippie Community. *Contemporary European History*, 23(4), 565–587. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43299691?seq=1&cid=pdf>



- Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. In *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Graeber, D. (2004) *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Graeber, D. (2009). *Direct Action: An Ethnography*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Guyer, J. (2007) Prophecy and the near future: thoughts on macroeconomic, evangelical, an punctuated time. *American Ethnologist* 34(3): 409–421.
- Hamed Hosseini, S. A. (2010). Activist knowledge: Interrogating the ideational landscape of social movements. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*, 5(5), 339–357. <https://doi.org/10.18848/1833-1882/CGP/V05I05/59299>
- Helfrich, R. (2010). “*What Can a Hippie Contribute to our Community?*” *Culture Wars, Moral Panics, and The Woodstock Festival*. 91(3), 221–244.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41965647>
- Herbert, J. (2021). The socio-ecological imagination: Young environmental activists constructing transformation in an era of crisis. *Area*, 53(2), 373–380.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/AREA.12704>
- Holloway, J. (2005). *Change the World without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today*. London (Inggris): Pluto Press.
- Holloway, J. (2010). *Crack Capitalism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Huemer, M. (2020). The Right Anarchy : Capitalist or Socialist? *The Routledge Handbook of Anarchy and Anarchist Thought*, 342–359.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315185255-24>
- Hunger, S., Hutter, S., & Kanol, E. (2023). The mobilisation potential of anti-containment protests in Germany. *West European Politics*, 46(4), 812–840.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2023.2166728>



Jasper, J. M. (1997). The art of moral protest : culture, biography, and creativity in social movements. In *TA - TT* -. University of Chicago Press.

<https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/36713048>

Jones, R. T. (2019). *When Environmentalists Crossed the Strait Subsistence Whalers, Hippies, and the Soviets*. New Histories of Pacific Whaling. <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/stable/26850625>

Joseph, J. (2001). Critical Realism: Essential Readings. *Historical Materialism*, 8(1), 507–517. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920601794750701>

Joseph, J. (2002). *Hegemony*. London: Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203166529>

Kaelberer, M. (1993). *The Emergence of Green Parties in Western Europe*. 25(2), 229–243.

Karlsruher-Zeitung. (1923). *Die Sozial-Demokratie*. Seite 2. Karlsruher-Zeitung accessed by Deutsches Zeitungportal

Kent Jennings, M. (1987). Residues of a Movement: The Aging of the American Protest Generation. *The American Political Science Review*, 81(2), 367–382.

Klimke, M., & Scharloth, J. (2008). 1968 in Europe: An Introduction. In M. S. J. Klimke (Ed.), *1968 in Europe A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (1st ed., pp. 1–9). Palgrave Macmillan US. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230611900>

Krämer, M. (2021). Environmental activism and the ‘political right.’ *Social Anthropology*, 29(1), 235–237. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12997>

Lemke, T. (2015). New Materialisms: Foucault and the ‘Government of Things.’ *Theory, Culture & Society*, 32(4), 3–25.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276413519340>

Lemke, T. (2016). Rethinking Biopolitics. In S. Wilmer & A. Zukauskaite (Eds.), *Resisting Biopolitics: Philosophical, Political, and Performative Strategies* (pp.



57–73). Routledge.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283546629_Rethinking_Biopolitics

Little, P. E. (1999). Environments and Environmentalisms in Anthropological Research: Facing a New Millennium. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 28, 253–284. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/223395>

Lütkes, L., Tuitjer, L., & Dirksmeier, P. (2023). Sailing to save the planet? Media-produced narratives of Greta Thunberg's trip to the UN Climate Summit in German print newspapers. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01743-6>

Marlina, I. (2012). Dorongan Berorganisasi Politik di Jerman Studi Kasus Grüne Jugend di Freiburg. Skripsi, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Max-Neef. M.A. (1991). *Humas Scale Development: Conception, Application and Further Reflections*. New York: The Apex Press.

McKee, Y. (2011). On Climate Refugees: Biopolitics, Aesthetics, and Critical Climate Change. *Qui Parle*, 19(2), 309–325. <https://doi.org/10.5250/quiparle.19.2.0309>

Meyer, J.-H. (2014). “Where do we go from Wyhl?” Transnational Anti-Nuclear Protest targeting European and International Organizations in the 1970s. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 39(1), 212–235. <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.39.2014.1.212-235>

Milder, S. (2010). Thinking Globally, Acting (Trans-)Locally: Petra Kelly and the Transnational Roots of West German Green Politics. *Central European History*, 43(2), 301–326. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000893891000004X>

Milder, S. (2016). From Wyhl to Wall Street Occupation and the Many Meanings of “Single-Issue” Protest. *Moving the Social*, 56, 93–113. <https://doi.org/10.13154/mts.56.2016.93-114>

Milder, S. (2022). Re-Interpreting West Germany’s Ecological Revolution: Environmental Politics, Grassroots Activism, and Democracy in the Long 1970s.



European History Quarterly, 52(3), 332–351.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/02656914221103159>

Moretta, J. (2016). Down on “The Technicolor Farm” of Summertown, Tennessee.

Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 75(4), 276–321. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/stable/pdf/26540254.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9120c879824b43c9164cb260496c43c9&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1

Morgan, S. (2013). Hippies and the Mystic Way: *Utopian Studies*, 24(2), 232.

<https://doi.org/10.5325/UTOPIANSTUDIES.24.2.0232>

O'brien, K., Selboe, E., & Hayward, B. M. (2018). Exploring youth activism on climate change: dutiful, disruptive, and dangerous dissent. *Ecology and Society*, 23(3), 42. <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-10287-230342>

Osteuropa. (1973). *IM WALD, DA SIND DIE HIPPIES* on JSTOR. Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag. <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/stable/44904156>

Pamerdyatmaja. 2020. ““Kami Di Sini, Kami Bersuara Lantang, Karena Kalian Mencuri Masa Depan Kami”: Fenomena Aksi Mogok Iklim dari Fridays for Future Freiburg.” Skripsi, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Pamerdyatmaja. 2023. “‘Fridays for Future’: Aksi Mogok Iklim Di Freiburg ”. Lembaran Antropologi 2 (1), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.22146/la.4219>.

Peeters, W., Diependaele, L., & Sterckx, S. (2019). Moral Disengagement and the Motivational Gap in Climate Change. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 22(2), 425–447. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S10677-019-09995-5/METRICS>

Ringel, F. (2012). Towards anarchist futures? Creative presentism, vanguard practices and anthropological hopes. *Critique of Anthropology*, 32(2), 173–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X12437979>

Ringel, F. (2018). Back To The Post-Industrial Future: An Ethnography of Germany’s Fastest Shrinking City. Berghahn Books: New York & Oxford.



- Rootes, C. (2008). The Environmental Movement. In M. Klimke & J. Scharloth (Eds.), *1968 in Europe A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (pp. 295–305). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rucht, D., & Roose, J. (1999). The German Environmental Movement at a Crossroads. *Environmental Politics - ENVIRON POLIT*, 8, 59–80.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09644019908414438>
- Stamm-Kuhlmann, Thomas. (1992). Euratom, Enea und die nationale Kernenergiepolitik in Deutschland. *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 15, 39–49.
- Salvanou, E. (2022). Memory and Protest in the West German Peace Movement of 1960s. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 12, 423–441.
<https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2022.123025>
- Saunders, C. (2012). Reformism and radicalism in the Climate Camp in Britain: Benign coexistence, tensions and prospects for bridging. *Environmental Politics*, 21(5), 829–846. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2012.692937>
- Saunders, C., & Doherty, B. (2019). United Kingdom. In S. Haunss, D. Rucht, M. Sommer, & S. Zajak (Eds.), *Protest for a future: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities*
- Shahar, D. C. (2020). Anarchism for an Ecological Crisis? *The Routledge Handbook of Anarchy and Anarchist Thought*, 381–392.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315185255-27>
- Stadt-Freiburg. (2021). “Nachhaltigkeit in Freiburg”. Freiburg: Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau.
- Stadt-Freiburg. (2023). Verfügung an das Klimacamp: Rathausplatz ist zeitweise zu räumen – Aktivistinnen und Aktivisten legen Widerspruch ein, begründen diesen aber nicht. Pressemitteilung vom 17 Oktober 2023. Freiburg: Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau.



Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten. (1943). *Das Kommando Los!*. Seite 2. accessed by
Deutsches Zeitungportal

Spiegel-Traufetter, Gerald & Amman Mekanie. (2019). “My Generation Has Been
Fooled”. Maret 19. https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-climate-activist-vs-the-economics-minister-my-generation-has-been-fooled-a-1258429.html?vara_ref=re-xx-cp-sh

The Guardian-Crouch, David. (2018). “The Swedish 15-year-old who’s cutting class to
fight the climate crisis.

Turner, V. (1969a). Liminality and communitas. In The ritual process: Structure and
anti-structure (pp. 94–130). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Wicaksanti, A.R. (2017). Pemerintahan Politik A la Mahasiswa Analisis Perbandingan
BEM KM UGM dan ASTA Uni-Freiburg. Skripsi, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah
Mada.

Wienhues, A. (2020). Ecological Justice and the Extinction Crisis. *Ecological Justice
and the Extinction Crisis*. Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.47674/9781529208528>

Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968. (n.d.). Retrieved December 14,
2023, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30223784>