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CLIMATE JUSTICE FIELD MANUAL

Jill MacIntyre Witt

This manual is dedicated to all the climate activists on the front lines in their communities, those who support them, and those interested in taking action, because we need everyone, everywhere, doing everything, all the time, as quickly as possible for climate justice!

–Jill MacIntyre Witt
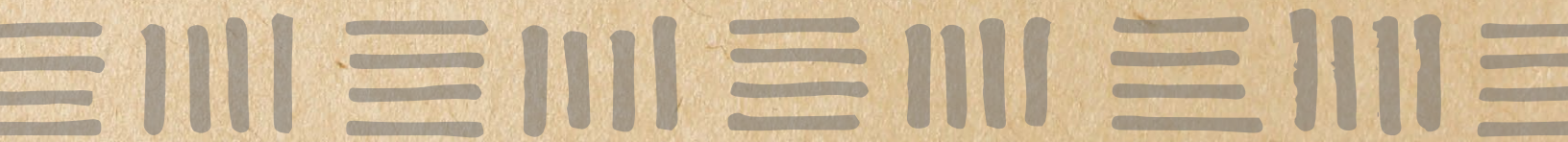
Polar Pioneer Kayakivist Blockade. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2015. Used with permission.

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All content is available online: www.climatejusticenow.earth

"We have the mind and the heart and the spirit at this point in time to change the future, so that indeed our future generations will be able to experience what you and I and our ancestors have.

—*JoDe Goudy, Yakama Tribal Council Chairman (from remarks at Standing Rock, ND, U.S.)*[1]

Acknowledgements

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Solidarity on Cannonball River Bridge.
Standing Rock, ND, U.S. 2016. Used with permission.

D12 Protest. Paris, France. 2015.

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

WE NEED
EVERYONE
EVERYWHERE DOING
→ EVERYTHING ←
ALL THE TIME
AS QUICKLY AS
POSSIBLE

"We need to align climate change ambition with individual and societal aspirations."

Survey Participant

Introduction

Governments from around the world have been meeting annually for over twenty years to determine solutions for addressing global climate change. At the Paris COP 21 Climate Summit in 2015, 195 countries agreed that carbon emissions must be lowered and each country reported their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC) for lowering carbon emissions. It is now up to civil society to hold governments not only accountable to their commitment, but to also urge bolder action since their intended contributions are not adequate to lower emissions to a level suitable for a livable future. In order for governments to act on climate change, public insistence must grow with climate education leading to action. A global justice movement focused on climate action can play a critical role to move more people to act and thus in turn pressure governments to take action.

This project focuses on how to increase climate activism through a compilation of strategies and insights in the form of a climate justice field manual to help inform individuals, grassroots organizers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government agencies and educators on ways to increase climate activism.

The main objectives addressed in this manual are:

1. Identify what the climate justice movement can apply from other social movements
2. Address the challenges of climate communication in order to build collective efficacy
3. Provide strategies or best practices to help engage people in climate activism

Paddle to Paris. Paris, France. 2015.

The field manual is composed of the following sections:

What is Climate Justice?
Social Movement Building
Effective Climate Communication
Climate Activist Survey
Climate Justice Movement Building

This manual helps bridge the gap between climate education and climate action along with providing some insights on the various components that can help build a movement in order for organizations to move people to climate action more effectively and quickly. Make this manual yours, take notes, find ideas that will work in your communities and most importantly, act swiftly and boldly.

climate justice

[klahy-mit juhs-tis]

Climate justice is a term used for framing global warming as an ethical and political issue, rather than one that is purely environmental or physical in nature. This is done by relating the effects of climate to concepts of justice, particularly environmental justice and social justice and by examining issues such as equality, human rights, collective rights, and the historical responsibilities for climate change.[2]

— Wikipedia

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

What is climate justice?

What is Climate Justice? This question will be examined to provide some insights in terms of what societies can do to urge their governments to take bolder actions in addressing the changing climate.

Break Free 2016 Rally. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

Definition

The notion of justice requires that we ask about how fair or how just something is and who decides? In simple terms, the Merriam Webster dictionary defines 'justice' as "the quality of being just, impartial or fair."[1] The notion of right and wrong and the ethical implications tie into the definition of climate justice. As defined in Wikipedia, "**Climate justice** is a term used for framing global warming as an ethical and political issue, rather than one that is purely environmental or physical in nature. This is done by relating the effects of climate to concepts of justice, particularly environmental justice and social justice and by examining issues such as equality, human rights, collective rights, and the historical responsibilities for climate change."[2] How much of the impacts of climate change are we willing to tolerate and adjust to, to make it a more just world?

As stated in the World Wildlife Fund 2016 Living Planet Report, the world lost 58% of the planet's species between 1970 and 2012 and is on track to lose 67% by 2020.[3] Scientists confirm that human activity is affecting biodiversity loss and claim we have entered the 6th mass extinction period.[4] For some people, their very own survival is what's at stake. According to a recent case study, the Quinault Indian Nation in Washington State is making plans to relocate to higher ground, due to the already felt climate change impacts of sea level rise causing flooding over their community.[5] For others, it seems there is a moral imperative to consider the consequences of their actions.

Is it just for countries to consume and produce more carbon pollution at the expense of impacts to other countries? For example, the U.S. has less than 5% of the world's population and uses around 25% of the world's fossil fuel reserves.[6] U.S. carbon footprint can also add the amount of CO_2 measured as the balance of emissions embodied in trade through our high level of imports for products produced in China, which makes the U.S. the number one carbon polluter when adding this measurement.[7]

To act on what is unjust in the world, defining justice can play an essential role. When people stand up to injustice, change happens as depicted throughout history with building social movements. For example, the fight for women's right to vote, the battle for civil rights, and the recognition of same sex marriage were won through citizen pressure to change laws. According to Chenoweth and Stephan, in order for change to occur, society must be transformed to gain an understanding of what is unjust – yet movements aren't fought by everyone.[8]

Forces of power and greed can influence the norms of society or rather, have society controlled into submission through the manufacturing of doubt. According to Oreskes and Conway, the fossil fuel industry invested in the same entities that manufactured doubt about the science that smoking was detrimental to one's health.[9]

Break Free 2016 Kayaktivist Action. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

Street Art. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2016. Used with permission.

This is why it is imperative that climate science help people understand the human impacts on changing the climate. The fossil fuel industry doesn't want people to understand the harm caused by rising carbon emissions. The industry's power structures manufacture doubt so people will get confused and be less likely to act.[10] Because of the 'Fairness Doctrine' in the U.S., a policy requiring media to present both sides of controversial information in an equitable manner, the manufactured doubt has received equal time in the media and "when every voice is given equal time – and equal weight – the result does not necessarily serve us well."[11] While people's perspectives on climate change have been influenced by the fossil fuel companies, the impacts related to climate change are becoming increasingly apparent with unprecedented storms such as Hurricane Katrina and Sandy and the impacts they have had on marginalized communities.[12] The fossil fuel industry is like slavery in terms of how it is 'woven' into our economic system, which poses many challenges and we must be willing to recognize and act in the face of uncertainty.[13] When people know what is right and wrong, however, moral values can move people to act.

Climate justice has evolved over time to help us understand, "problems, solutions and pathways for change. While climate justice is not the only useful framework to engage the ecological crisis, it is especially meaningful when it is used in a specific framework, not as a vague marriage of concepts of justice and climate action."[14] The evolution of climate justice is about understanding how impacts of human caused climate change can create unjust results and determining solutions through developing theories and frameworks for climate justice to address the problems in a just manner.

Overview

Scientists have been studying the changing climate for several decades and the consensus among nearly all of them in recent years is that the increase in greenhouse gas emissions in our atmosphere is due to human activity.[15] While this is happening, nations around the world have been gathering annually for the United Nations Climate Conference of the Parties to address climate change, known as the Conference of the Parties (COP). The COP has been meeting annually for over 20 years, with no progress towards lowering carbon emissions.[16]

COP 21 Messaging. Paris, France. 2015.

But for the first time in history, at the 2015 Paris COP21 Summit, 195 countries came to the agreement that climate change must be addressed, and that all countries must take collective global action to keep global temperatures below a 1.5 °C rise.[17] Each country was required to submit their own intended nationally determined contributions (INDCs).[18] The INDCs ensured that every country contributed to lowering carbon emissions which would be part of the global effort. These contributions are only symbolic until results are produced, yet Posner and Weisbach suggest that symbolic behaviors can have a positive impact.[19] This symbolic behavior can lead more countries to commit and when "more and more people take actions on similar goals, a sense may develop that enough people care about a problem to make substantive government action possible."[20]

Although the Paris Agreement aims to curb temperature rise to 1.5 °C, the United Nations Environment Programme 2016 Emissions Gap Report states a 3 °C rise trajectory is more likely.[21] This is why citizen pressure becomes necessary, to demand that governments take bolder and swifter action. People must act locally, regionally, statewide, nationally and internationally to demand climate action. Posner and Weisbach contend that in the United States, politicians find that the political concern for action doesn't run deep, which produces inadequate laws that match the political will of the people.[22]

At the international level, just how much action each government should take has been the discussion at the COP summits. Many nations in the Global South claim that they are not the ones responsible for

COP 21 Sarayacu Canoe Water Blessing with Lummi Nation. Paris, France. 2015.

creating the problem, yet are feeling the greatest impacts. Countries in the Global North have been reluctant to respond to the Global South. Doing so would mean taking responsibility for their contribution to the climate pollution problem with no perceivable value set for the externalized costs of fossil fuel production and combustion.

Many low-lying nations with coastal areas at or near sea level are currently being swallowed up by the rising seas, with the already recorded near 1 °C temperature rise.[23] Prior to the 2009 Copenhagen COP summit, the government officials of the Maldives held an underwater cabinet meeting, sitting on chairs at a table in full scuba gear, showing how they might conduct meetings in the future if climate change isn't addressed.[24] At the 2015 Paris COP summit, it was the Indigenous voices from around the world demanding that a 2 °C rise minimum wasn't enough to protect their future, and that the target must only be a 1.5 °C rise limit if humans wish to stay alive. Another breakthrough in Paris was the inclusion of the concept of "climate justice" for the

first time into the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change language.[25]

As we move forward collectively in communities, regions, and countries, we must address the issue of justice alongside the changing climate. Having a deeper understanding of climate justice will help enable communities' leverage points for urging their governments to take climate action. Climate justice addresses social, racial, economic and environmental justice all together. Many environmental justice battles, such as stopping large scale damming projects that impact farmers and fisheries or shutting down asbestos mining which impacts communities' health, have been fought in the 20th century in regards to injustices caused by the projects. Yet, climate justice is a battle for our existence which gives us a moral imperative to act. As Reverend Lennox Yearwood said at a No Dakota Access Pipeline rally in Washington, D.C. in September 2016, "I know we fought for equality in the 20th century...but the reality is that we are now fighting for existence in the 21st century."[26]

Theories

Political philosophers have been determining theories of climate justice for about 20 years.[27] Yet, as the impacts of climate change increase, the central focus of political theory has been on climate justice in the last decade.[28] Justice is a concern of both moral philosophers and political theorists and political theories can provide potential ways to respond to climate change.[29]

In considering climate justice on the international scale, political philosophers have presented their theories to see if they uphold to the justice principles created. John Rawls and Simon Caney are two well-known political philosophers who have helped identify principles or theories of justice. Rawls identifies justice as the primary virtue of social institutions whereby laws and institutions must continue to be reformed or abolished if they are deemed unjust.[30] In general, Rawls contends that justice does not allow for the losses to some in order to provide gains for the greater good.[31] In relation to climate change, impacts created by those who consume more CO_2 cause injustices by this consumption when the climate impacts are impacting communities that create the least amount of carbon pollution. More specifically, Rawls suggests that "the primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society, or more exactly, the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation."[32]

Caney suggests that "an adequate theory of justice in relation to climate change must explain in what ways global climate change affects persons' entitlements and it must do so in a way that (i) is sensitive

to the particularities of the environment; (ii) explores the issues that arise from applying principles at the global rather than the domestic level; and (iii) explores the intergenerational dimensions of global climate change."[33]

Wealthy countries have a stake or interest in supporting the marginalized countries based on the principle of "retributive justice" because they caused the problems for the marginalized communities.[34] Marginalized countries may not be able to subsist with climate change impacts putting human rights at stake. All nations will need to help whether or not they have incurred human rights violations. The principle of "distributive justice" considers that all parties must pay for the costs due to climate change.[35] We can agree that it is our duty or moral responsibility to act yet there is still debate or concerns about distributing responsibilities.[36] The "polluter pays" principle is difficult to pursue because it is difficult to gain support for the costs of damage already done by people in the past, especially if they have passed on.[37] This leads us to the moral

> MARGINALIZED COUNTRIES WON'T BE ABLE TO SUBSIST WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS PUTTING HUMAN RIGHTS *at stake.* *All nations will need to help whether they have* **incurred human** RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

argument of the "ability-to-pay" principle, meaning the wealthier countries have the ability.[38]

In addition, "procedural justice" considers who makes decisions and on whose behalf and that all impacted parties have a right to participate in the decision making process.[39] Another consideration is "intergenerational justice", how we leave the planet for future generations.[40] In 2013, Robert Huseby created an amendment to the "Law of the Peoples" by Rawls to take into account future generations and it provides a "more complete and integrated solution to climate justice."[41] Theories of justice that help shape international policy and global governance can provide starting points for governance at the local level.[42]

"Ideal" and "non-ideal" theories focus on feasibility concerns around climate justice in regards to governments addressing climate change which Bell offers a critique.[43] Bell argues that Posner and Weisbach limit what is possible in climate justice by stating that treaties or agreements can only be agreed upon if they are pragmatic and deal with only what is feasible.[44] They argue that if "proposed principles are not feasible, we should reject them."[45] Rawls suggests that we can't follow climate justice principles if they are beyond what is capable by humans, but that we also can't reject principles if they don't seem politically feasible.[46]

Theories that fall towards the ends of the spectrum of "non-ideal" theories don't lead to feasible action. He also suggests that "ideal" theories must include a path or theory of transition. Political institutions can use theory of transition to guide decisions around "feasibility, legitimacy, stability and sustainability."[47] Theory of transition must include principles of climate justice that are based on empirical and moral grounds such that the result doesn't create more injustices. Bell adds that if the principles are not accessible then the closest approximation to our ideals is the next step.[48] To put it simply, we need governments to lead on reducing non-compliance and we need those that can pay the most to pay, Caney concludes.[49]

9 *People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.*

"Healing humanity and the spirit of earth requires that we mine and contribute our individual and collective beauty."

Survey Participant

Frameworks and Principles

Understanding theories of climate justice help build frameworks of principles that the world can agree on before action can be determined. Frameworks emerged to shift the debate from technical or scientific to a more ethical perspective.[50] Advocates of this shift felt that the scientific debate hindered action and it was important to come up with equitable policy solutions.[51] The Bali Principles of Climate Justice and the Ten Principles for Just Climate Change Policies in the U.S. were developed in 2002.[52] These principles were created to help shape policy decisions. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is another framework of principles that help guide global decision making for climate action. It was created in 1948 and has been translated into 500 languages.[53] The details of the principles listed above can be found in Appendix A.

Indigenous Environmental Network Principles of Climate Justice

1. *Leave Fossil Fuels in the Ground*

2. *Demand Real and Effective Solutions*

3. *Industrialized – Developed Countries Take Responsibility*

4. *Living in a Good Way with Mother Earth*[55]

Industrialized society must redefine its relationship with the sacredness of Mother Earth

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

Different declarations have also been created by various groups and have been shared widely. This is an effort to not just define climate justice, but to provide roadmaps forward. The Indigenous Environmental Network has Four Principles of Climate Justice. It states that "Industrialized society must redefine its relationship with the sacredness of Mother Earth."[54]

All photos: People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

Economic, Social and Racial Justice

The theories of climate justice have been evolving through dissection of both feasibility and accessibility to solutions. In addition, this evolution considers other forms of justice including economic justice. Economic justice, in the case of the Global South is understood as the elevation of poor people out of poverty through economic growth. This growth, however, can lead to more climate pollution.

There is now evidence of poorer countries, such as Bangladesh leapfrogging technologies while rising out of poverty. According to a 2015 report by the International Renewable Energy Agency, Bangladesh has the highest per capita installations of solar panels than any other country—rising from 25,000 to 3.8 million systems in the last decade with their 2016 target at 6 million units.[56] They didn't need to install national grids for energy, but rather have homes responsible for their own energy production and consumption. While climate justice includes economic justice, it must also include social and racial justice.

Pioneering work by Robert Bullard first identified the racial disparities in relation to environmental pollution impacts in U.S. cities. For example, there is a higher proportion of communities of color living next to coal-fired power plants in America and they end up bearing the brunt of the pollution impacts. This is also true for toxic waste facilities and fossil fuel refineries.[57] This must be addressed when determining new policies for confronting pollution. The world saw first-hand the devastating impacts of Hurricane Katrina and how the disadvantaged were displaced and not aided in reasonable time. The communities did not have the vehicles nor the financial resources to evacuate in the first place and they were not able to receive disaster relief.[58] With the changing climate, communities will face additional impacts and the marginalized communities will be the hardest hit, unless the injustices they currently face are addressed.

In essence, climate justice is an extension of environmental justice where the marginalized communities are further disadvantaged due to climate change impacts. Climate justice provides a sociological call to action to address the social, racial, economic and environmental injustices facing marginalized communities.

Women's March. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2017.

"I'm not going to solve it alone."

Survey Participant

Oyster Dome, Chuckanut Range, WA, U.S. 2015

Strategies

Climate justice involves employing strategies to build real solutions that are politically realistic alongside strategies that stop the agenda of creating false solutions. The Indigenous movement calls for long term solutions that take into account future generations. Short term solutions can be considered false solutions, under the guise of 'emergency mode' decision making.[59] This entails making a decision with the notion that we must not let "perfect be the enemy of the good."[60]

So the question becomes what does 'good' really mean? For example, in November 2016, a Washington State carbon tax initiative failed to take into account the concerns from various sectors of society.[61] Communities of color aligned with labor, social justice, and major environmental groups to analyze how this initiative provided false solutions and attempted to stop the initiative as it was proposed, before it headed to the ballot.[62] The

initiative was also touted as a 'better than nothing' approach.[63] To better understand the process of how we bring about change, we need to look at what we need, what is politically realistic, the false solutions that are created, and determine how these overlap in order to design just policies.

In general, strategies involve bringing in the climate justice principles and frameworks to help communities address possibilities. Communities don't want to stop short of what may seem impossible. The vision of what is possible must be shared and committed to, for example a fossil free future. This may seem impossible, but if we fall short of this on a global scale, then humanity has lost. Justice involves standing up for the truth, and activism is "about using your power and voice to make a change in the world."[64] Citizens globally must align and use their voices to address the climate crisis.

Climate Action Zone. Paris, France. 2015.

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Climate Action Zone. Paris, France. 2015.

Social Movement Building

Global surface temperatures have been the hottest ever recorded with the 16 hottest records in the past 17 years, according to NASA.[1] Scientific evidence shows that there is increasing pressure to take action on climate change, due to the increasing temperatures. With ecological systems showing signs of distress and nearing tipping points, building a movement to force large scale change to address climate change seems necessary.

What can the climate justice movement learn from past successful social movements? Understanding what a social movement is provides a starting point towards building a movement to address climate change.

This section of the manual provides a brief understanding of social movements and a compilation of successful mass mobilization movement strategies that can be implemented to help move citizens to act quickly on climate change. Because definitions of social movements are as diverse as the movements themselves, looking at successful strategies from a variety of movements can provide insights that can apply to building the climate justice movement. Understanding these strategies and tactics for building a movement can provide insight for people, organizations, and cities to engage the public to take collective action in urging governments (local, state, national) to take bolder action on climate.

Defining Social Movements

COP 21 No Fracking Protest. Le Bourget, France. 2015.

According to Hall, social movements vary greatly and have been defined by many different theorists and his definition takes into account what he felt was missing in others' definitions.[2] Hall proposes the following definition which includes the notion of tactics and collective action: "A social movement is a collection of people who organize to change their environment, improve conditions, or resist change in their environment, and who act collectively to achieve organizational goals."[3]

> *What characterizes a social movement as a particular change agent is its quality as an articulated and organized group.*
>
> —Piven & Cloward (1977)

Joseph Gusfield defines a social movement as "socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order...What characterizes a social movement as a particular change agent is its quality as an articulated and organized group."[4] John Wilson suggests that "a social movement is a conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalized means."[5] Standard definitions of social movements are missing a key feature of protest movements which is disruption or 'defiance' because "defiance does not usually characterize the activities of formal organizations that arise on the crest of protest movements," according to Piven and Cloward.[6]

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

Shifting Public Support for Change

Hallmarks of social movements include Martin Luther King Jr.'s (MLK) civil rights movement, Ghandi's movement to help India break from colonial rule, and the more recent gay rights movement. What is it that these social movements and other successful social movements do to create change? According to Chenoweth & Stephan, after studying 323 nonviolent and violent campaigns, both the frequency and success rates of nonviolent campaigns increased.[7]

While creating broad public support is the objective for a transformational movement, such as climate justice, according to Chenoweth and Stephan, only 3.5% of the population needs to actually take a stand and participate.[8] Participation is defined as "the active and observable engagement of individuals in collective action."[9] Active engagement or support is comprised of several components, according to Engler and Engler.[10] Having people show up is first and foremost. This can come in many ways of support such as attending marches, rallies, phone banking and attending teach-ins.[11] According to a study by Chenoweth and Pressman, 4.2 million people marched in more than 600 U.S. cities, slating

the Women's March as the largest demonstration in U.S. history on January 21, 2017.[12] Although this is historical in nature, many movements culminated on that day to stand in unity and the future will only tell its significance.[13]

The second component of active engagement is voting. In societies where people have that opportunity, people voting with the movement is a sign of active support. Third, active supporters persuade others through in person conversations or postings on social media. Lastly, people who act independently within their spheres of influence are active supporters. "This might mean lawyers taking on pro bono work for a cause they believe in, musicians writing songs that celebrate protesters in the streets, teachers bringing lessons on the cause into the classroom, ministers making it the topic of their Sunday sermons, professional athletes or celebrities being spotted in T-shirts that express their beliefs, or store owners putting signs of support in their windows."[14] Effective climate communication can play a role in helping people act independently, thus actively supporting the climate movement.

Social Movement Building Strategies

One of the most famous 20th century scholars of nonviolent action is Gene Sharp, who has had a broad impact on social movement building and became known as the leading advocate for strategic nonviolence.[15] In terms of a social movement seeking a change that impacts political power, Sharp states that nonviolent action can affect political power that is pluralistic and fragile because it "depends on many groups for reinforcement of its power sources for governments that depend on people."[16] Political power that is monolithic, usually involves violence to bring about change.[17] Sharp has, however, helped countries change government structures with his pamphlet, From Dictatorship to Democracy, which has been translated into over thirty languages.[18] Furthermore, Sharp has compiled a list of 198 methods of nonviolent action in order to impact political power in a variety of ways (See Pages 28-30).[19] The "emphasis may be placed on being for or against something; the grievances may be diverse; the group to whom the act is primarily directed may vary; the types of influence will differ; the intended result may range widely; the act may be an independent one or closely combined with some other method(s) of nonviolent action."[20] Descriptions of each method of nonviolent action and examples from around the world are depicted in the second part of Sharp's book, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

Social Movement Approaches— Structure and Mass Mobilization

There are two general schools of thought in relation to bringing about social change. Saul Alinsky's landmark book, *Rules for Radicals*, paved the way with a set of organizational structures that help build organizations not movements.[21] He is known for his approach for building community groups through slow and incremental steps, person to person relationship building, careful leadership development and creating institutional bodies within organizations which are stable with structure.[22] The other main approach is described through the influential work of Frances Fox Piven as broad-based nonviolent disobedience that comes together quickly in the form of mass protest, according to Engler and Engler.[23] "The future of social change in this country may well involve integrating these approaches – figuring out how the strengths of both structure and mass protest can be used in tandem – so that outbreaks of widespread revolt complement long-term organizing."[24]

According to Alinsky, changing the system is only possible through a supportive base of popular reformation versus simply denouncing an administration and its policies. Reformation is defined as the point when the general public is disillusioned and while they may not act for change, they aren't opposed to those who do.[25] Action or changes in the system, for the sake of policy changes come when the pressure mounts and people keep the heat up and "no politician can sit on a hot issue if you make it hot enough."[26] It is critical in a democracy for people to engage their politicians on the issues they feel need to be addressed, such as climate change. "To lose your 'identity' as a citizen of democracy is but a step from losing your identity as a person."[27]

Alinsky's 13 Rules of Power Tactics When Organizing:

1. Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have.

2. Never go outside the experience of your people.

3. Wherever possible go outside the experience of the enemy.

4. Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules.

5. Ridicule is man's most potent weapon.

6. A good tactic is one that your people enjoy.

7. A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag.

8. Keep the pressure on, with different tactics and actions.

9. The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.

10. The major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition.

11. If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside.

12. The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative.

13. Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it.

    - The real action is in the enemy's reaction.

    - The enemy properly goaded and guided in his re-action will be your major strength.

    - Tactics, like organization, like life, require that you move with the action.[28]

L-R: Divest Western Sit-In. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2016; Global Climate March. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2015; Global Climate March. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2015.

"You've got to use all of your strength and keep going."

Survey Participant
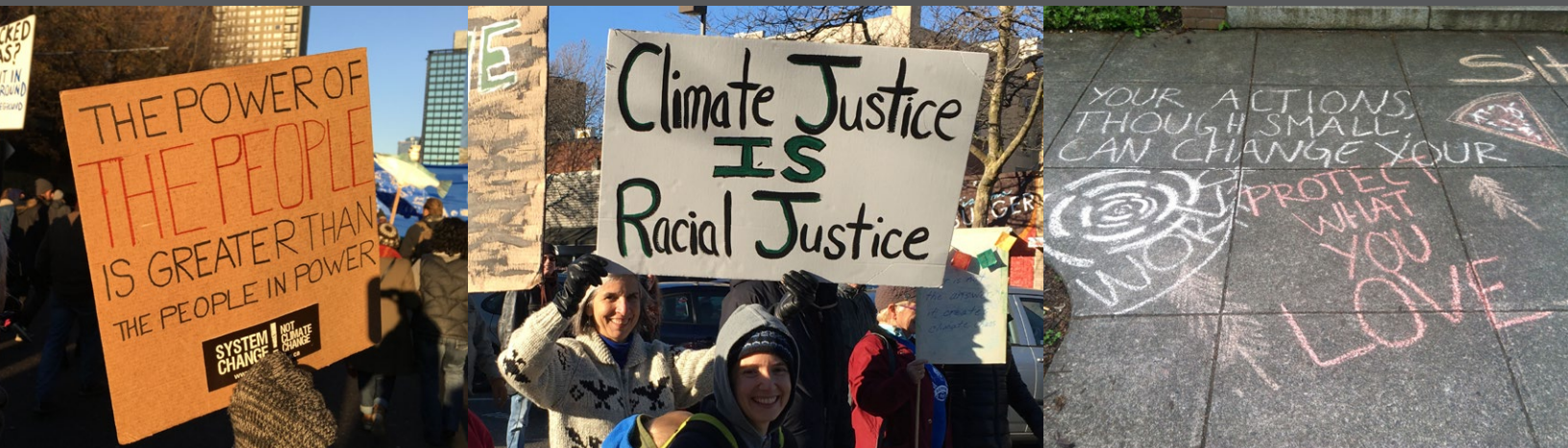
L-R: Global Climate March. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. 2015; Global Climate March. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2015; Divest Western Sit-In. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2016.

Disruptive power was introduced by Piven and Cloward in the book, *Poor People's Movements*, where case studies from successful movements in the mid-20th century proved that poor people couldn't create change through conventional means.[29] Piven defends that 'disruption' is their key tool, characterizing disruption as "the breakdowns that resulted when people defied the rules and institutional routines that originally governed life."[30] Disruption is "simply the application of a negative sanction, the withdrawal of a crucial contribution on which others depend, and it is therefore a natural resource for exerting power."[31] Engler and Engler distinguish between Alinsky's approach and Piven's by pointing out that "formal structures failed to produce disruptive outbreaks but also that these structures usually detracted from mass protest when it did occur."[32] Moving forward, social change can learn from the past and integrate best practices, strategies and tactics from a variety of approaches for change.

With the goal of urging governments to take bolder action on climate change, the voice of the poor can have an impact. According to Piven's assessment of poor's involvement with disruption in the mid-20th century issues, "The ultimate test of the power of the poor was not in their ability to disrupt particular institutions, but in the responses of electoral leaders to such disruptions."[33] The poor can impact how elected leaders respond. Piven argues that disruptive tactics decline in a movement when organizers look to build structure to sustain the movement in hopes to affect the electorate, instead of escalating disruption to create more pressure on the electorate.[34] Piven also argues that disruptive movements can shift the paradigm away from neoliberalism to ideologies that are sympathetic for the poor which can ultimately influence the electorate.[35] If we are to consider moving government to take bolder action on climate change, Piven builds the case for incorporating disruptive protest and voices of the poor.

According to Cloward and Piven in their forward, people are moved to take political action when they are organized at the local level. People will act collectively in their groups such as women, tenants, peace activists, environmentalists and those found in workplaces, neighborhoods and churches and this is the most important point of mobilization.[36]

Strategies must include the escalation of momentum and impact of disruption during each stage

Break Free 2016 March, Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

of movement building.[37] Momentum-driven mass mobilizations have two measures for measuring success according to Engler and Engler.[38] First, a campaign must shift public opinion on the issue, since the overall goal of transformation is gaining popular support for the cause of the movement. Second, a campaign must help build capacity to further escalation of the movement.[39] According to Ivan Marovic, a key strategy is that you must create and claim your victories along the way instead of waiting for someone to either grant it or suggest that someone must concede.[40] It is the pressure due to public support or shift in public opinion that brings about the change.

As in the case of MLK's efforts, it was about creating change through the building of pressure on broader issues and having the government respond accordingly to that versus drafting proposals or legislation to pass.[41] MLK's success can be attributed to premeditated strategy for both the 1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott and seven years later, Project C in Birmingham, Alabama which aimed to force Birmingham store owners and city officials to desegregate the downtown.[42] The seemingly unplanned, uncontrolled and emotional outbursts of dogs attacking protesters in the streets of Birmingham swept through the media and caused outrage around racial injustice which soon followed only a year and a half later, the signing of the Civil Rights Act into law.[43]

This may be why perhaps Citizens Climate Lobby hasn't been successful in passing climate legislation in the United States for many years. Their focus is solely working on specific legislation instead of creating pressure to address the broad issue of climate change. Creating a mass-mobilization movement around shifting public opinion on the Keystone XL Pipeline over several years of addressing its broad climate change impacts as well as community and health impacts ultimately led to an increase of pressure that forced President Obama to end the project through executive order. The battle to stop Keystone XL Pipeline was resurrected after the 2016 election with a new executive order to resume the project.[44]

The strategy of showing personal acts of sacrifice, as Ghandi professed, can activate public opinion. This strategy forces people to choose what side to pick and "makes people think and act."[45] Ghandi's success displayed that system change can be accomplished by withdrawing cooperation, obedience and submission of the masses.[46] Some recent examples include people chaining themselves to bulldozers to not destroy sacred burial grounds, sitting in trees to prevent deforestation, joining hunger strikes against poor climate policy or locking down on railroad tracks to prevent coal and oil exports. Nonviolent movement building that incorporates disruption, sacrifice and escalation has the greatest impact for influencing change by awakening the general public to see things different than the status quo.[47]

Social Movement Building Tools

Additional Resources for Organizing Social Movements

Popular Resistance
https://popularresistance.org/

Waging Non Violence
http://wagingnonviolence.org/

The Change Agency
http://www.thechangeagency.org/

Organizing Cools the Planet
https://organizingcoolstheplanet.wordpress.com/

Organizing for Power
http://organizingforpower.org/

Beautiful Trouble
http://beautifultrouble.org/

The Metta Center
http://mettacenter.org/

Albert Einstein Institute
http://www.aeinstein.org/

Training for Change
http://www.trainingforchange.org/

The Ruckus Society
http://ruckus.org/

Backbone Campaign
http://www.backbonecampaign.org/

Bill Moyer argues that social movements are successful when the majority of the population is convinced that the movement represents "societies positive and widely held values and sensibilities."[48] He also contends that it's imperative that social movements are nonviolent in order to be successful. During Moyer's work of training activists in the 1980s, he found that there weren't manuals for the stages of movement building.[49] He developed a Movement Action Plan with 8 stages of social movement building to help empower activists (See Page 31).[50] He also provides a road map for 4 key roles of activists which are Citizen, Reformer, Change Agent and Rebel (See Page 32).[51]

Sociologist and activist George Lakey of Training for Change has provided trainings for activists and has a variation to Moyer's 4 roles, with permission from Moyer, which he labels as Rebel, Advocate, Helper, and Organizer. (See Page 33).[52] Lakey, along with students from Swarthmore University, created an online database of nonviolent campaigns around the world for activists to gather strategies to apply to their own campaigns (https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/).
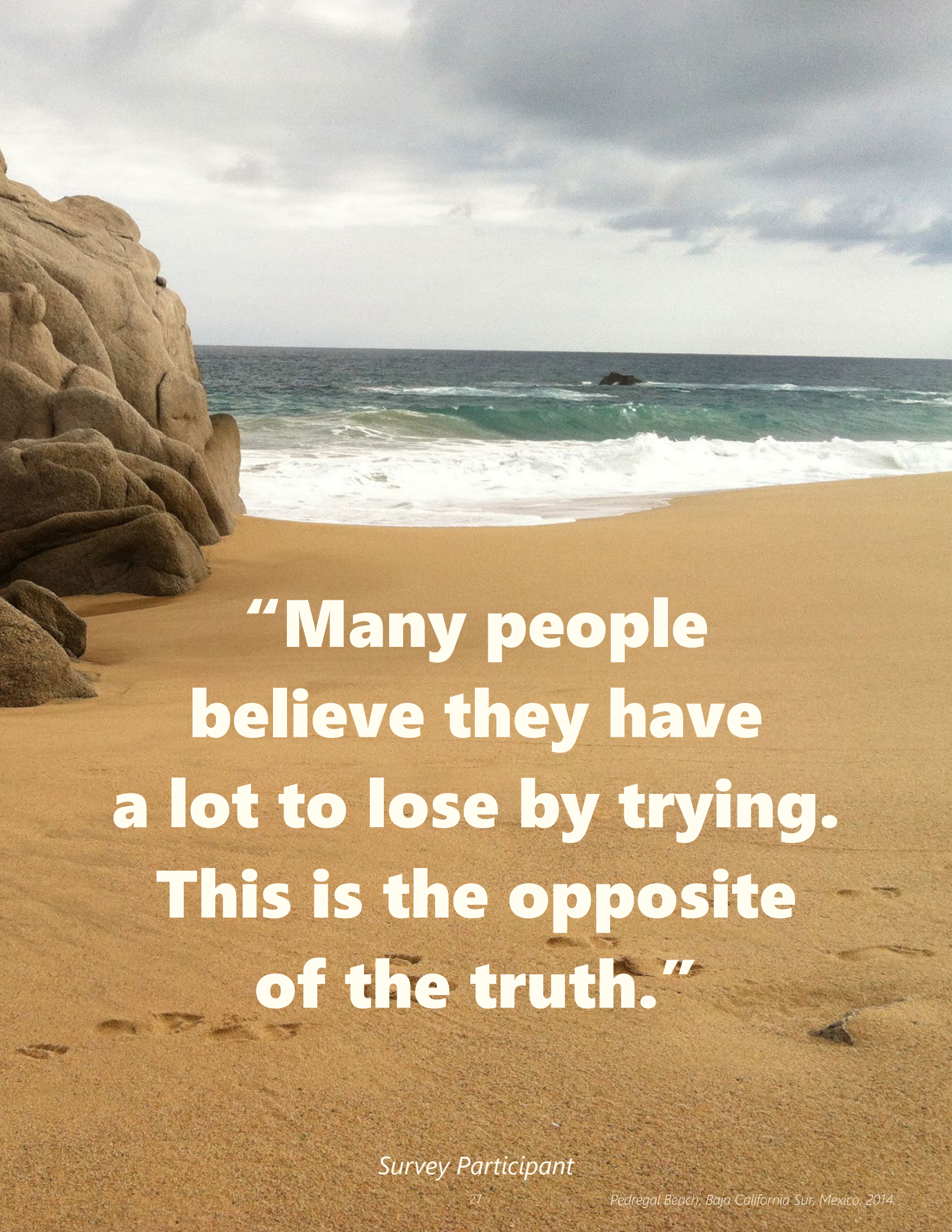
Today, many manuals and training materials have been developed to provide strategies and tactics for social movement building. Activist and writer Joshua Kahn Russell has created an online resource library for activists and organizers (See Appendix B).[53]

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

There is a plethora of examples of nonviolent actions and strategies to shift the public's conscious towards justice. It just takes citizens to organize and come up with tactics and strategies to aid their campaigns and overall, their movements to success. Many movements take years to propagate, develop and come to fruition. The environmental justice movement has fortunately laid the groundwork for connecting the dots between racial disparities and impacts of environmental pollution. Add in the refugee crisis due to climate change and the impacts on countries and borders being crossed by millions needing another place to live. Also, farm workers having to migrate with the changing climate and not being able to work for a livable wage or be harmed by pesticides and unfair working conditions. All these battles are being fought and only become more powerful and successful when society connects the dots to the injustices created by climate change. Building a climate justice movement has been developing and will continue to grow when the social, racial, environmental and economical injustices are inextricably interconnected.

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

"Many people believe they have a lot to lose by trying. This is the opposite of the truth."

Pedregal Beach, Baja California Sur, Mexico. 2014.

198 Methods of Nonviolent Action

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Formal statements

- [ ] 1. Public speeches
- [ ] 2. Letters of opposition or support
- [ ] 3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
- [ ] 4. Signed public statement
- [ ] 5. Declarations of indictment and intention
- [ ] 6. Group or mass petition

Communications with a wider audience

- [ ] 7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
- [ ] 8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
- [ ] 9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
- [ ] 10. Newspapers and journals
- [ ] 11. Records, radio, and television
- [ ] 12. Skywriting and earth writing

Group representations

- [ ] 13. Deputation
- [ ] 14. Mock award
- [ ] 15. Group lobbying
- [ ] 16. Picketing
- [ ] 17. Mock election

Symbolic public acts

- [ ] 18. Display of flags and symbolic colors
- [ ] 19. Wearing of symbols
- [ ] 20. Prayer and worship
- [ ] 21. Symbolic objects
- [ ] 22. Protest disrobing
- [ ] 23. Destruction of own property
- [ ] 24. Symbolic lights

- [ ] 25. Display of portraits
- [ ] 26. Paint as protest
- [ ] 27. New signs and names
- [ ] 28. Symbolic sounds
- [ ] 29. Symbolic reclamation
- [ ] 30. Rude gesture

Pressures on individuals

- [ ] 31. "Haunting" officials
- [ ] 32. Taunting officials
- [ ] 33. Fraternization
- [ ] 34. Vigil

Drama and music

- [ ] 35. Humorous skits and pranks
- [ ] 36. Performance of plays and music
- [ ] 37. Singing

Processions

- [ ] 38. March
- [ ] 39. Parade
- [ ] 40. Religious procession
- [ ] 41. Pilgrimage
- [ ] 42. Motorcade

Honoring the dead

- [ ] 43. Political mourning
- [ ] 44. Mock funeral
- [ ] 45. Demonstrative funeral
- [ ] 46. Homage at burial places

Public assemblies

- [ ] 47. Assembly of protest or support
- [ ] 48. Protest meeting
- [ ] 49. Camouflaged meeting of protest
- [ ] 50. Teach-in

Withdrawal and renunciation

- [ ] 51. Walkout
- [ ] 52. Silence
- [ ] 53. Renouncing honors
- [ ] 54. Turning one's back

THE METHODS OF SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION

Ostracism of persons

- [ ] 55. Social boycott
- [ ] 56. Selective social boycott
- [ ] 57. Lysistratic nonaction
- [ ] 58. Excommunication
- [ ] 59. Interdict

Noncooperation with social events, customs, and institutions

- [ ] 60. Suspension of social and sports activities
- [ ] 61. Boycott of social aff airs
- [ ] 62. Student strike
- [ ] 63. Social disobedience
- [ ] 64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the social system

- [ ] 65. Stay-at-home
- [ ] 66. Total personal noncooperation
- [ ] 67. "Flight" of workers
- [ ] 68. Sanctuary
- [ ] 69. Collective disappearance
- [ ] 70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

Actions by consumers

- [ ] 71. Consumers' boycott
- [ ] 72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
- [ ] 73. Policy of austerity
- [ ] 74. Rent withholding
- [ ] 75. Refusal to rent
- [ ] 76. National consumers' boycott
- [ ] 77. International consumers' boycott

Action by workers and producers

- [ ] 78. Workmen's boycott
- [ ] 79. Producers' boycott
- [ ] Action by middlemen
- [ ] 80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by owners and management

- [ ] 81. Traders' boycott
- [ ] 82. Refusal to let or sell property
- [ ] 83. Lockout
- [ ] 84. Refusal of industrial assistance
- [ ] 85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by holders of financial resources

- [ ] 86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
- [ ] 87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
- [ ] 88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
- [ ] 89. Severance of funds and credit
- [ ] 90. Revenue refusal
- [ ] 91. Refusal of government money

Action by governments

- [ ] 92. Domestic embargo
- [ ] 93. Blacklisting of traders
- [ ] 94. International sellers' embargo
- [ ] 95. International buyers' embargo
- [ ] 96. International trade embargo

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: THE STRIKE

Symbolic strikes

- [ ] 97. Protest strike
- [ ] 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural strikes

- [ ] 99. Peasant strike
- [ ] 100. Farm workers' strike

Strikes by special groups

- [ ] 101. Refusal of impressed labor
- [ ] 102. Prisoners' strike
- [ ] 103. Craft strike
- [ ] 104. Professional strike

Ordinary industrial strikes

- [ ] 105. Establishment strike
- [ ] 106. Industry strike
- [ ] 107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted strikes

- [ ] 108. Detailed strike
- [ ] 109. Bumper strike
- [ ] 110. Slowdown strike
- [ ] 111. Working-to-rule strike
- [ ] 112. Reporting "sick" ("sick-in")
- [ ] 113. Strike by resignation
- [ ] 114. Limited strike
- [ ] 115. Selective strike

Multi-industry strikes

- [ ] 116. Generalized strike
- [ ] 117. General strike

Combination of strikes and economic closures

- [ ] 118. Hartal
- [ ] 119. Economic shutdown

THE METHODS OF POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION

Rejection of authority

- [ ] 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- [ ] 121. Refusal of public support
- [ ] 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' noncooperation with government

- [ ] 123. Boycott of legislative bodies
- [ ] 124. Boycott of elections
- [ ] 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- [ ] 126. Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies
- [ ] 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- [ ] 128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
- [ ] 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
- [ ] 130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
- [ ] 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- [ ] 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' alternatives to obedience

- [ ] 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- [ ] 134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
- [ ] 135. Popular nonobedience
- [ ] 136. Disguised disobedience
- [ ] 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- [ ] 138. Sitdown
- [ ] 139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
- [ ] 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
- [ ] 141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by government personnel

- [ ] 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- [ ] 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- [ ] 144. Stalling and obstruction
- [ ] 145. General administrative noncooperation
- [ ] 146. Judicial noncooperation
- [ ] 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- [ ] 148. Mutiny

Domestic governmental action

- [ ] 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- [ ] 150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International governmental action

- [ ] 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representation
- [ ] 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- [ ] 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
- [ ] 154. Severance of diplomatic relations
- [ ] 155. Withdrawal from international organizations
- [ ] 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
- [ ] 157. Expulsion from international organizations

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological intervention

- [ ] 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- [ ] 159. The fast
      - a) Fast of moral pressure
      - b) Hunger strike
      - c) Satyagrahic fast
- [ ] 160. Reverse trial
- [ ] 161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical intervention

- [ ] 162. Sit-in
- [ ] 163. Stand-in
- [ ] 164. Ride-in
- [ ] 165. Wade-in
- [ ] 166. Mill-in
- [ ] 167. Pray-in
- [ ] 168. Nonviolent raid
- [ ] 169. Nonviolent air raid
- [ ] 170. Nonviolent invasion
- [ ] 171. Nonviolent interjection
- [ ] 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- [ ] 173. Nonviolent occupation

Social intervention

- [ ] 174. Establishing new social patterns
- [ ] 175. Overloading of facilities
- [ ] 176. Stall-in
- [ ] 177. Speak-in
- [ ] 178. Guerrilla theater
- [ ] 179. Alternative social institution
- [ ] 180. Alternative communication system

Economic intervention

- [ ] 181. Reverse strike
- [ ] 182. Stay-in strike
- [ ] 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- [ ] 184. Defiance of blockade
- [ ] 185. Politically-motivated counterfeiting
- [ ] 186. Preclusive purchasing
- [ ] 187. Seizure of assets
- [ ] 188. Dumping
- [ ] 189. Selective patronage
- [ ] 190. Alternative market
- [ ] 191. Alternative transportation system
- [ ] 192. Alternative economic institution

Political intervention

- [ ] 193. Overloading of administrative systems
- [ ] 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
- [ ] 195. Seeking imprisonment
- [ ] 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- [ ] 197. Work-on without collaboration
- [ ] 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Eight Stages of the Process of Social Movement Success

1. Normal Times
- A critical social problem exists that violates widely held values
- Powerholders support problem: Their "Official Policies" tout widely held values but the real "Operating Policies" violate those values
- Public is unaware of the problem and supports powerholders
- Problem/policies not a public issue

2. Prove the Failure of Official Institutions
- Many new local opposition groups
- Use official channels — courts, government offices, commissions, hearings, etc. — to prove they don't work
- Become experts; do research

3. Ripening Conditions
- Recognition of problem and victim grows
- Public sees victim's faces
- More active local groups
- Need pre-existing institutions and networks available to new movement.
- 20 to 30 percent of public opposes powerholder policies

4. Take Off
- TRIGGER EVENT
- Dramatic nonviolent actions/campaigns
- Actions show public that conditions and policies violate widely held values
- Nonviolent actions repeated around country
- Problem put on the social agenda
- New social movement rapidly takes off
- 40 percent of public opposes current policies/conditions

PROTESTS

5. Perception of Failure
- See goals unachieved
- See powerholders unchanged
- See numbers down at demonstrations
- Despair, hopelessness, burnout, dropout, seems movement ended
- Emergence of negative rebel

Eight Stages of the Process of Social Movement Success

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVEMENT PROCESS
- Social movements are composed of many sub-goals and sub-movements, each in their own MAP stage
- Strategy and tactics are different for each sub-movement, according to the MAP stage each is in
- Keep advancing sub-movements through the Eight Stages
- Each sub-movement is focused on a specific goal (e.g., for civil rights movements: restaurants, voting, public accommodation)
- All of the sub-movements promote the same paradigm shift (e.g., shift from hard to soft energy policy)

Public Must be Convinced Three Times
1. That there is a problem (Stage Four)
2. To oppose current conditions and policies (Stages Four, Six, Seven)
3. To want, no longer fear, alternatives (Stages Six, Seven)

POWERHOLDERS

• Focus more on other sub-goals   • Spin off new social movements

6. Majority Public Opinion
- Majority oppose present conditions and powerholder policies
- Show how the problem and policies affect all sectors of society
- Involve mainstream citizens and institutions in addressing the problem
- Problem put on the political agenda
- Promote alternatives
- Counter each new powerholder strategy
- Demonology: Powerholders promote public's fear of alternatives and activism
- Promote a paradigm shift, not just reforms
- Re-trigger events happen, reenacting Stage Four for a short period

8. Continuing the Struggle
- Extend successes (e.g., even stronger civil rights laws)
- Oppose attempts at backlash
- Promote paradigm shift
- Focus on other sub-issues
- Recognize/celebrate successes so far

7. Success
- Large majority oppose current policies and no longer fear alternative
- Many powerholders split off and change positions
- End-game process: Powerholders change policies (it's more costly to continue old policies than to change) are voted out of office, or slow, invisible attrition
- New laws and policies
- Powerholders try to make minimal reforms, while movement demands social change

Four Roles of Social Movements

CITIZEN

Effective
- Promotes positive Amencan values, principles, and symbols, e.g., democracy, freedom, justice, nonviolence
- Normal citizen
- Grounded in the center of society
- Promotes active citizen-based society where citizens act with disinterest to assure the common good
- The active citizen is the source of legitimate political power
- Acts on "confirmatory bias" concept
- Examples: King and Mandela

Ineffective
- Naïve citizen: Believes the "official policies" and does not realize that the powerholders and institutions serve special elite interests at the expense of the majority and the common good
OR
- Super-patriot: Gives automatic obedience to powerholders and the country

REFORMER

Effective
- Parliamentary: Uses official mainstream system and institutions – e.g., courts, legislature, city hall, corporations – to get the movement's goals, values, alternatives adopted into official laws, policies and conventional wisdom
- Uses a variety of means: lobbying, lawsuits, referenda, rallies, candidates, etc.
- Professional Opposition Organizations (POOs) are the key movement agencies
- Watchdogs successes to assure enforcement, expand successes, and protect against backlash
- POOs nurture and support grassroots

Ineffective
- POOs: Dominator/patriarchal model of organizational structure and leadership
- Organizational maintenance over movement needs
- Dominator styte undermines movement democracy and disempowers grassroots
- POO "Realistic Politics": Promotes minor reforms rather than social changes
- POO co-optation: Staff identify more with official powerholders than with movement grassroots

REBEL

Effective
- Protest Says "NO' to violations of positive, widely held human values
- Nonviolent direct action and attitude; demonstrations, rallies, and marches including civil disobedience
- Target: Powerholders and their institutions, e.g., government, corporations
- Puts issue and policies in public spotlight and on society's agenda
- Actions have strategy and tactics
- Empowered, exciting, courageous, risky, center of public attention
- Holds relative, not absolute, truth

Ineffective
- Authoritarian anti-authoritarian
- Anti-American, anti-authority, antiorganization structures and rules
- Self-identifies as militant radical, a lonely voice on society's fringe
- Any means necessary: Disruptive tactics and violence to property and people
- Tactics without realistic strategy
- Isolated from grassroots mass-base
- Victim behavior: Angry, dogmatic, aggressive, and powerless
- Ideological totalism: Holds absolute truth and moral, political superiority
- Strident, arrogant egocentric; self needs before movement needs
- Irony of negative rebel: Negative rebel similar to agent provocateur

CHANGE AGENT

Effective
- Organizes People Power and the Engaged Citizenry, creating participatory democracy for the common good
- Educates and involves the majority of citizens and whole society on the issue
- Involves pre-existing mass-based grassroots organizations, networks, coalitions, and activists on the issue
- Promotes strategies and tactics for waging long-term social movement and Stage Six
- Creates and supports grassroots activism and organizations for the long term
- Puts issue on society's political agenda
- Counters new powerholder strategies
- Promotes alternatives
- Promotes a paradigm shift

Ineffective
- Too utopian: Promotes visions of perfectionist alternatives in isolation from practical political and social action
- Promotes only minor reforms
- Movement leadership and organizations based on patriarchy and control rather than participatory democracy
- Tunnel vision: Advocates single issue
- Ignores personal issues and needs of activists
- Unconnected to social ond political social change and paradigm shift

Four Roles Relating to Change

by George Lakey with thanks to social activist and strategist Bill Moyer

helper

INEFFECTIVE

Believes charity can handle social problems, or that helping individuals can change social structures

Focuses on casualties and refuses to see who benefits from victimization

Provides services like job training which simply give some people a competitive edge over other people, without challenging the scarcity which gives rise to competition

EFFECTIVE

Assists people in ways that affirm their dignity and respect

Shares skills and brings clients into decision-making roles

Educates about the larger social system

Encourages experiments in service delivery which support liberation

advocate

EFFECTIVE

Uses mainstream institutions like courts, city hall, legislatures to get new goals and values adopted

Uses lobbying, lawsuits, elite networking/coalition-building for clearly-stated demands, often backed by research

Monitors successes to make sure they are implemented

INEFFECTIVE

"Realistic politics": promotes minor reforms acceptable to power-holders

Promotes domination by professional advocacy groups that are top-down, patriarchal and are more concerned about organization's status than the goal of their social movement (such agencies can undermine democracy in movement and disempower the grassroots)

Identifies more with power-holders than with grassroots

Does not like paradigm shifts

rebel

INEFFECTIVE

Promotes anti-American, anti-authority, anti-organization rules and structure

Attached to an identity as lonely voice on society's fringe

Promotes change by "any means necessary"

Uses tactics without realistic strategy

Has victim attitude, behavior: angry, judgmental, dogmatic

Uses rhetoric of self-righteousness, absolute truth, moral superiority

Can be strident: personal upset more important than movement's needs

EFFECTIVE

Protests: says "no!" to violations of positive American values

Employs nonviolent direct action and attitude, including civil disobedience

Targets power-holders and institutions

Puts problems & policies in public spotlight

Uses strategy as well as tactics

Does work that is courageous, exciting, risky

Shows in behavior the moral superiority of movement values

organizer

EFFECTIVE

Believes in people power: builds mass-based grass-roots groups, networks

Nurtures growth of natural leaders

Chooses strategies for long-term movement development rather than focusing only on immediate demands

Uses training to build skills, democratize decisions, diversify and broaden organization and coalitions

Promotes alternatives and paradigm shifts

INEFFECTIVE

Has tunnel vision: advocates single approach while opposing those doing all others

Promotes patriarchal leadership styles

Promotes only minor reform

Stifles emergence of diversity and ignores needs of activists

Promotes visions of perfection cut off from practical political and social struggle

"I believe deeply that human beings are meant to fight for what they love and always do so as individuals and so now we have a chance to do so collectively. "

Survey Participant

People's Climate March.
New York City, NY, U.S. 2014. Used with permission.

Effective Climate Communication

Understanding communication struggles and solutions towards effective communication around climate change is critical for building the climate justice movement. Climate communication as an area of interdisciplinary study has been growing considerably in the past 10 years, yet continues to face challenges of sharing this information with communicators, organizers and educators.[1]

Effective climate communication is critical since public awareness and knowledge about climate change hasn't generated the level of response necessary for addressing the level of the threat climate change poses.[2]

History has shown us, however, that rapid change in individual behavior can occur. "Stricter laws, penalties and enforcement measures related to smoking, seat belts, drunk driving and littering...led to rapid increases in seat-belt use and actual reductions in smoking, drunk driving and littering."[3] Knowing that policies have

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

EFFECTIVE
CLIMATE COMMUNICATION
CAN HELP DIRECT
THE CONVERSATIONS TOWARDS COLLECTIVE
ACTION

helped with rapid individual behavior change, climate change poses a complex set of challenges that have proven to be difficult to create policy toward change. The complex challenges are evident by a crisis that crosses boundaries and political differences along with changing climate impacts, continued debates over cost coverage, and lack of political will by the people since the crisis isn't visibly on the forefront of people's minds. The Paris Agreement provides hope for governmental efforts to support carbon reductions across the globe. Under the new Trump administration in the United States, however, it may prove to be difficult to create and pass measures to reduce carbon reductions. Knowing this, it is clear that cities and states will need to lead on this issue. This will require citizens to demand local and state action.

Effective climate communication can help direct the conversations towards collective action. According to Leiserowitz, Parris and Kates, to increase collective action on climate change, the following conditions are required: "changes in public values and attitudes, vivid focusing events, an existing structure of institutions and organizations capable

of encouraging and fostering action, and practical available solutions to the problems requiring change."[4] Effective climate communication influencing these conditions can help drive social change.

Climate communication has been extensively studied in recent years to provide insight in both barriers and effective strategies towards taking action at the individual level and collectively. Climate communication research is appearing in over 400 different journals and other outlets, which provide effective climate communication tips and strategies.[5] In 2015, climate communication reached a profound level of broad public outreach globally with the release of the Pope's Encyclical, *Laudato Si'*, "with its particular focus on climate change, accentuating the cultural and moral turn in communication practice witnessed over the past 5 years."[6] The Encyclical, along with the Paris Agreement, provide hope and direction towards climate action and a call or mandate to act and act swiftly. While there is no set prescription towards effective climate communication as the issue is very complex, I will address how more effective communicators can help move people to climate action.

"We should use the techniques of marketing to sell the idea of what a better lifestyle could be had if we switched to a healthy, more environmentally friendly lifestyle, sell the benefits as opposed to hitting people with the problems all the time."

Survey Participant

Messaging and Framing

No Coal Exports Rally. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2015.

Communication and rhetoric around climate change plays a key role in helping people understand the climate crisis as well as how we deliberate and advocate to implement solutions, according to Endres and DuPont.[7] They state further that "we need to think about and understand issues of framing that affect the way people engage with climate change and the environment."[8] Studies have shown that apocalyptic messaging has not been effective in moving people to action because of the "paralysis that can happen in the face of such a large, complex intergenerational issue."[9] In terms of increasing the number of citizens to become active on climate and build the climate justice movement, effective climate communication with messages of hope is imperative.[10] Hope may counteract despair and encourage action, and create a sense that people can make a positive difference.[11] In addition, climate communication that focuses on strategies and solutions helps foster the belief that the problem of climate change is solvable which then increases the perception that the problem is important.[12] Patt and Weber also found that when people see that solutions to climate change are possible, they are more likely to accept that it's a problem in the first place.[13] This provides the case of the importance of sharing solutions in climate communication rather than framing climate change in the context of a problem. "It is also important to emphasize the fact that every human being has the capacity to make a difference in fighting climate change."[14]

Climate communication is most effective if it is a two-way dialog with messages or framings specific to the audience, in order to have people with varying values to be heard and be part of the contribution to the societal response.[15] Communicating the science of climate change creates a rift between the listener and the speaker because the listener doesn't take ownership of the information and it's still left to the experts.[16] One of the most effective methods of increasing climate activism is by discussing the issue with family and friends since people are more influenced by those they know.[17]

According to Moore and Russell, it's important to connect actions and events with meaning for people because, "if something is meaningful, people believe it to be true."[18] People will believe their facts, wherever they learn them and it's important to meet people where they are at, in relation to their knowledge of climate change. The stories or narratives that we communicate can make meaning from these facts. "Communication experts now point increasingly to the importance of story-telling and using narrative formats to convey climate change."[19] To move people to action, there must be meaning behind their truth that will propel them to act.[20] Furthermore, people are more motivated to act if their concern is brought about through personal experience that has an emotional impact versus having a concern driven by intellectual understanding.[21]

"The values we hold affect not only our perceptions and interpretations of the climate and our acceptability of climate science, but—crucially, and often more prominently—the acceptability of anticipated or proposed behavioral changes, technological solutions, or climate policies."[22] Tailoring communication to reach a specific audience matters because of various values, beliefs, world views and group identities. Climate deniers or conservatives are more likely to be persuaded by messages that are patriotic or the impact of their action can improve health or save money.[23] Climate action programs using messages that focus on local or immediate climate impacts versus global or future impacts, along with adding health and economic concerns, can increase participation or action.[24] Messages that involve sharing the uncertainty or risk of unstable oil supply moves people towards supporting climate policy without necessarily understanding climate change.[25]

Communication that highlights co-benefits to a community, such as development (economic and scientific advancement) and benevolence (moral and caring) further engages a community to influence governmental action, regardless of their ideological divides, according to Bain et al.[26] Communicating with inclusive words like 'we' and 'us' can shift perceptions and increase support for a normative vision within groups and increase intentions to act[27]. According to a study by Shi, Visschers and Siegrist, people were more inclined to change their behaviors when climate communication included more

Women's March. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2017.

climate friendly behaviors people could take, and less inclined to change when the communication was providing more knowledge about the negative consequences of climate change.[28]

Furthermore, communications with framing that expresses environmental protection as protecting a way of life or making society a better place can increase environmental citizenship amongst skeptics and conservatives.[29] Moving climate deniers through effective climate communication is also possible. "Framing climate change action in terms of producing greater interpersonal warmth or societal development was more effective in promoting environmental citizenship than a frame focusing on the reality and risks of climate change, and this was particularly the case for deniers."[30]

According to Dr. Robert Bullard, it's important how we frame and communicate problems as well as who is the messenger. Bullard states that "presenting the information is perhaps as important as the information itself. I have said this many times that the people of color, who are in positions of power, in academia and elsewhere, need to come forward as messengers."[31] Bullard also suggests that equity be given equal weight to science in climate communication while also focusing on current impacts that are effecting populations today.[32] Messaging that includes "recognition of the interconnections between environmental destruction and systems of oppression" are essential contributions to "creating a just and sustainable world," otherwise we are just solving climate change without addressing justice.[33]

D12 Rally, Paris, France, 2015.

While people are moved to action through personal connections to others and to local impacts, other channels of communication can also have an influence on public perception of climate change. In the U.S., manufactured doubt about climate change by the fossil fuel industry penetrated mainstream media channels, according to Oreskes and Conway.[34] "Journalists were constantly pressured to grant the professional deniers equal status – and equal time in news print space – and they did."[35] This has created an uphill battle for scientific knowledge to be trusted by the public even when 97% of scientists agree that global temperatures are increasing due to human activity.[36] "Manufacturing doubt about the scientific consensus on climate change is one of the most effective means of reducing acceptance of climate change and support for mitigation policies."[37] Researchers have found that when the 97% scientific consensus is communicated to the public, climate change acceptance increases, especially among conservatives.[38] All channels of communication can increase trust from their readers or their audience by referring to the scientific consensus on anthropogenic global warming.

Over the past 5 years, researchers have found that channels of communication that are not just information presented but rather through dialog and "deliberative processes can open minds, deepen understanding, foster empathy, change attitudes, and increase receptivity to policy alternatives."[39] How the dialog can be shifted by specific social, psychological and cognitive processes involved is still being examined.[40] Furthermore, Kahan suggests that for communicators about science to be more effective, they must consider the evidence-based methods of integrating communication science into their messaging.[41] "If communication researchers want climate communication to be as effective and impactful as it could be, their work must connect more effectively with those who do most of the talking (climate scientists, policy-makers, advocates in all sectors of society, journalists, editors, and public intellectuals)."[42] To be a more effective climate communicator, it is essential to have the latest knowledge from the researchers who should make that connection happen, according to Moser.[43] Furthermore, Moser states, "because climate change affects everything and everyone everywhere, effective communication about it should involve and reach across disciplinary, sectoral, and geographic boundaries, aiming to reach colleagues wherever they work."[44]

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

Communication Strategies for Public Engagement

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

Along with effective communication, it is important to foster the sense that it is a social norm to act on climate change through public engagement, especially in relation to policy support.[45] A social norm, in relation to climate change, is when it becomes the norm in society to take action on climate change. Norms can "refer either to what is commonly done-that is, what is normal-or to what is commonly approved-that is, what is socially sanctioned."[46] Social norms are powerful sources of influence and play an important role in human decision-making.[47] Societal transformation to take action on climate change through collective action has proven to be successful and thought to be required by a broad consensus.[48] They state that this collective action framework, based in a social norm context, could involve community-based initiatives as well as protest movements. People are more motivated to engage in collective action if is conceptualized as a social norm.[49]

Communicating the contributions of personal behaviors to collective action to reduce global warming may be a powerful motivator for people to take personal action, according to Roser-Renouf, Atkinson, Maibach and Leiserowitz.[50] Once people start acting on an individual level, they begin to advocate and show interest in policy changes. Some will become influencers of policy change and others will join advisory councils.[51] Individual actions lead people to support action at the community level. Recent research focusing on the impact of messaging around health impacts that are harming people now and not in the future are more likely to support climate policies.[52] "A large literature in the field of health and risk communication points to an individual's personal sense of risk as the most powerful motivator of behavioral change."[53] A health frame can move more people to support climate policy than using the environmental frame since health values are more widely held.[54] Also, it's important to plan

Divest Western March. Bellingham, WA, U.S. 2016.

your messaging based on the audience's beliefs on climate change. For example, "disengaged climate change believers might pay attention to climate change messages framed in terms of public health, whereas climate deniers might respond negatively and radically to those messages framed in terms of national security."[55]

Businesses can also shift public opinion by the commitments they make in becoming more sustainable.[56] Effective climate communication can also include the impact that the market can have as a messenger for change since 'money talks'.[57] "Money tells us what we value, what we cherish and the challenge is to "teach" our markets to speak with

wisdom on the issue of climate change."[58] Communicators can increase climate action by sharing messages that consumer activism is a person's responsibility for creating change. Encouraging consumer activists to share their opinions with others can have a much greater impact versus their individual purchases because their opinions influence others around them.[59] Furthermore, it is important that consumer choices aren't substituted for collective action.[60] People will still need to demand climate policies. "Public policies drove consumer choices in the case of taxing cigarettes and for carbon pollution. If policy could make polluting financially and socially unfavorable, this could change consumer habits."[61]

Barriers to Action

Part of effective climate communication is addressing barriers to climate action. "While we strongly believe that better understanding has an important role to play, communication that does not keep barriers to behavior and social change in mind is unlikely to be effective or sufficient."[62] Individual barriers to climate action such as a lack of knowledge, belief that it won't make a difference, not having enough time or money, how others would view them, skepticism, and fatalism are identified in a study by Semenza et al.[63] Barriers to public engagement on climate change include: low public awareness, low awareness on climate change consensus, viewing climate change as a distant issue, belief that it is the responsibility of government or industry and not individual were identified by Whitmarsh, O'Neill and Lorenzoni.[64] Moser and Dilling identified cognitive, psychological and technical barriers along with organizational inertia and resource constraints, lack of peer support, lack of political will and leadership.[65] The main themes in the literature on moving people to climate action suggest that effective climate communication, increasing public engagement and building collective action will help address these barriers to action, and provide key strategies to increasing public support and action.

In terms of collective action, the participants' campaign messages or framing used regarding climate solutions at the Copenhagen COP 15 Climate Summit was the focus of the survey studied by Wahlström, Wennerhag, and Rootes.[66] Most of the protesters stated that change ought to be a result of individual behavior followed by legislative or policy changes while few named solutions involving systems change or global justice.[67] Considering the findings from this previous study, this research project also includes an analysis of a survey (Climate Activist Survey) given to climate activists that attended the Paris COP 21 Climate Summit. The Climate Activist Survey provides a collection of qualitative data in the form of written responses to questions on current climate activism, future climate activism and barriers to climate action. The responses are categorized into themes or constructs of climate actions and barriers based on the themes previously identified in the research. An analysis of the data includes total number of similar constructs, patterns, and correlations. This analysis may validate findings in the literature regarding climate action strategies and identify which strategies to put into action in the future as well as identify current barriers to climate action.

COP 21 Billboard. Paris, France. 2015.

Locations around Paris where activists gathered during the COP21 Summit

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

Place to B. Paris, France. 2015.

D12 Rally. Paris, France. 2015.

Effective Climate Communication Tips

Based on:
Connecting on Climate: A Guide to Effective Climate Communication

Put Yourself in Your Audience's Shoes

➡ Identify the values, identities, worldviews, and personal priorities of your audience and craft communication strategies accordingly.

➡ Think about whom your audience trusts and respects and whether these people can serve as messengers.

Channel the Power of Groups

➡ Weave climate change into the activities of social groups and networks, such as neighborhood associations, religious groups, clubs, or company divisions.

➡ Provide existing group leaders with climate change communication and engagement resources to activate the group's entire membership.

Emphasize Solutions and Benefits

➡ Talk about the roles that individuals, governments (local, regional, and national), businesses, and nonprofits can all play in addressing climate change.

➡ Describe solutions that match the decision-making authority and capacity of the audience and show people the role they can play as individuals (for example, talk about local impacts and local solutions, not national policy and local impacts).

➡ Highlight the personal and societal benefits that climate solutions will bring, such as improving health, jump-starting new economic opportunities, catalyzing technological innovation, and strengthening communities.

Bring Climate Impacts Close to Home

➡ Use messages that help people identify the locally relevant, personally experienced consequences and impacts that climate change is already causing.

➡ To avoid emotional numbing when communicating about the personally relevant impacts of climate change, take care to also mention solutions and actions that people can take and to focus on what impacts will occur, rather than on the exact timeline of when they will occur.

➡ Be aware of losses that may have come about as a result of recent climate impacts and focus on preparedness for the next event, rather than on the timing of the next event.

Connect Climate to Issues That Matter to Your Audience	➡ Choose content frames that connect to the audience's concerns and worries. Content frames describe the "who," "what," "why," and "how" of a climate change narrative and can be useful in connecting climate change to issues that matter to your audience. One common content frame is the public health implications of climate change.
	➡ Choose structure frames that make the issue relevant and meaningful to the audience. Structure frames emphasize "when," "where," and "how many" and can shape how an audience relates to a message. Popular structure frames include loss versus gain, present versus future, and local versus global.
Use Images and Stories to Make Climate Change Real	➡ Use images that depict people, groups, faces, or common household items. They are more effective and more powerful than landscapes and nature scenes.
	➡ Tell stories which can help make climate change more vivid and can help people imagine the future and solutions to climate change.
Make Climate Science Meaningful	➡ Make audience members aware of the existence of confirmation bias and encourage them to have an open mind, which can help them overcome it.
	➡ Present the same piece of information in multiple formats to help people understand unfamiliar numbers, metrics, and scales.
	➡ Pick just a few key facts about climate change to share with an audience and put those facts into a context that audience members will understand, rather than overwhelming them with too many facts.
Acknowledge Uncertainty, But Show What You Know	➡ Acknowledge the fact that there is uncertainty around elements of climate science but emphasize that uncertainty doesn't mean we shouldn't act.
	➡ Use short, simple statements to highlight what is known with great certainty about climate change—that it is happening and is caused by human activities.
Approach Skepticism Carefully	➡ Present climate-friendly behavior as the default choice. Encourage behaviors that are beneficial for the individual and the environment.
	➡ Showcase positive actions that other people are taking to address climate change, especially when these people constitute a majority in a certain area or community.
Make Behavior Change Easy	➡ Present climate-friendly behavior as the default choice which can encourage behaviors that are beneficial for the individual and the environment.
	➡ Showcase positive actions that other people are taking to address climate change, especially when these people constitute a majority in a certain area or community.
	➡ Highlight climate-friendly social norms to help motivate people to undertake their own climate-friendly behavior.

"Keep it positive.
Talk about
the difference
we can
COLLECTIVELY
make."

Survey Participant

Straight of Georgia. Salish Sea, B.C., Canada. 2015.

Climate communication plays a pivotal role in moving people to take action on climate change. Because of the immediate need to address the climate crisis, communication science has focused on how to be more effective in moving people to action. There are extensive communication resources developed and shared online to provide tools for communicators, community leaders, policy makers that can also be accessed by everyone's neighbors. In-person communication continues to play a role in shifting societal views and as soon as it becomes the norm to take climate action, we will begin to see a rapid shift in policy support for addressing the climate crisis. Climate communication needs to be far reaching into all aspects of society's communication channels, since the issue effects everyone everywhere. A list of climate communication resources can be found in Appendix C.

COP 21 Billboard. Paris, France. 2015.

People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

Climate Activist Survey

Global climate activists attended the COP 21 Summit in Paris to demand that a historical global agreement be reached. In anticipation of this, a climate activist survey was administered to climate activists in Paris to capture a snapshot of the climate justice movement. Its purpose would be to inform others in the field what is currently being done and what areas of activism the survey participants felt would help the movement grow. The survey results provide insights and suggestions to move people to take climate action.

A climate activist survey design using the concepts **Areas of Climate Actions** and **Barriers to Climate Action** measured the constructs in each concept as identified in the literature. The codified constructs identified in the responses to the survey questions provide qualitative data, which support the findings in the literature and provide additional climate actions, as well as barriers. Through pattern matching identification, the results provide insights into the main themes of what climate activists are doing now and what climate activists feel needs to be addressed and the actions they feel will make more of a difference in building the movement.

Concepts

The first theoretical concept defining the scope of the survey is **Areas of Climate Activism**, which is defined as categories of actions that have a positive impact to lowering carbon emissions or engaging people on addressing climate change. The second concept in this project research is **Barriers to Climate Action**. **Barriers to Climate Action** is defined as reasons or obstacles that hinder people from changing their behavior from inaction to action on climate change.

Polar Pioneer Kayakivist Blockade.
Seattle, WA, U.S. 2015. Used with permission.

Constructs

The set of constructs or themes identified in the literature that fit in the concept of **Areas of Climate Activism** include:

- **climate communication**
- **climate policy**
- **public engagement**
- **education**
- **individual behaviors to lower carbon emissions**

Climate communication is defined as climate education, two-way dialog, specific messaging and framing to influence specific audiences.

Climate policy is defined as policy that influences carbon reductions at the local, state or national level.

Public Engagement can be defined as public support for climate policy, collective action with supporting climate initiatives or involvement in community projects, campaigning, protests and movement building.

Individual behaviors to lower carbon emissions can be defined as any behaviors or life-style choices that reduce personal carbon footprints.

D12 Rally. Paris, France. 2015.

The constructs or themes identified in the concept of **Barriers to Climate Action** as determined by Semenza et al. include the following:

- **lack of knowledge**
- **belief that action won't make a difference**
- **not having enough time or money to act**
- **how others would view someone who took action**
- **skepticism of climate change**
- **fatalism, meaning nothing will make a difference**[1]

Barriers to public engagement on climate change can be defined as low public awareness, low awareness on climate change consensus, belief that climate change is a distant issue, and belief that it is the responsibility of government or industry, not the individual, according to Whitmarsh, O'Neill and Lorenzoni.[2]

While the constructs for both the Areas of Climate Activism and Barriers to Climate Action were pre-defined in the Climate Activist Survey, additional constructs or categories in the survey responses were recorded as new categories as noted by 'other' category.

Survey Questions

Surveys are useful for human behavioral research because data is created through the perceptions of individuals in what moves people to action and what prevents them from taking action. A self-administered survey produced data pertinent to the questions related to moving people to climate action. The following questions are the measurements that provided open ended, qualitative responses or data sources from the climate activists in Paris.

1. What areas of the climate crisis are you working on?

2. What drives or directs your passion towards your efforts to solve the climate crisis?

3. What made you into an activist?

4. In terms of threats of climate change, what are the top three or four threats of climate change that were the most powerful in motivating you to become active?

5. What actions do you take to help solve the climate crisis?

6. What do you think others need to do in order to go from passive supporter to active supporter?

7. What strategies have you used that are effective in promoting others to act?

8. What are the challenges you face with this crisis and what keeps you going when facing these challenges?

9. What do you think prevents people from taking action on climate change?

10. What do you think are the next steps in your path of making even more of a difference?

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

Example:

Question 1.
What areas of the climate crisis are you working on?

Answer:
Primarily education and awareness through presentations, social media and demonstrations.

This response fits into several constructs or themes as identified by the underlined statements in the response. Primarily education is working on 'climate communication' or more specifically, education. Social media is coded as 'public engagement' or more specifically, movement building. Demonstrations is coded as 'public engagement' or more specifically, protest.

Full survey available upon request

Data Collection Methods

The targeted population sample of 327 climate activists returned 61 completed surveys. The subject population was identified as climate activists attending the Paris COP 21 Climate Summit. The activists are from various parts of the world. The surveys were administered via sending an email to the participants after the Paris Climate Summit. 184 participant emails were collected in Paris at the Climate Summit from three locations where activists were congregating. 143 emails were collected from the Climate Reality COP 21 Attendee List, adding up to a 327-person email list.

The survey instrument was designed in Qualtrics as an on-line survey. The link to the Climate Activist Survey at qualtrics.com was sent via email to the 184 participants via email list on December 22, 2015, April 9, 2016 and June 28, 2016 and to the list of 143 Climate Reality Leaders on January 3, 1016 only. The data collected in the form of written responses were collected online at qualtrics. com providing qualitative responses that can be added up based on the amount of times each construct is chosen, and then compared to the total for each construct for all of the respondents. No previous surveys existed to gather the information necessary for this research, so the survey is an original design. A research protocol regarding human subjects was submitted to the Human Subjects Review Committee and the survey was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Survey constituted content analysis.

Climate Action Zone. Paris, France. 2015.

Climate Action Zone. Paris, France. 2015.

Qualitative Data Analysis

In order to analyze the data collected, the following steps were followed: 1) The answers to each question were sorted into themes or categories that matched the anticipated constructs from the literature. 2) Any new constructs were added as a theme in the 'other' category, with more than one new or 'other' theme per question allowed. Respondents may have more than one construct in each response and all responses for all respondents were tabulated in the corresponding theme or category.

The results from the survey were analyzed to help identify what actions climate activists were engaged in, what actions they felt needed to happen in the future in order to increase climate activism and which barriers they felt were preventing people from taking climate action.

Survey Response and Analysis

D12 Art Space. Paris, France. 2015.

The analysis provided on the following pages is a standard objective review and evaluation of the over 1000 total responses to the questions asked in the climate activists survey. The survey asked climate activists to share what led them to become an activist, what they were working on to address the climate crisis, what they felt was necessary to grow the climate movement to move people from passive supporter to active supporter and other questions. The responses were coded to identify themes in order to provide an understanding of the general areas that global climate activists were influencing.

"Fear does not motivate. We need hope and optimism that permeates. There is a reason to act if the outcome is positive. When we know there are solutions, we can move toward them."

Survey Participant

Qualitative Data Response and Analysis

Out of 61 returned surveys, 97% of the respondents are from developed countries (See Figure 1) with nearly half (48%) from the U.S. and 36% from 12 different countries in Europe. 57% identified themselves as Female and 43% Male. 21% of the respondents get paid for their activism work, where as 62% are not paid. 17% of the respondents sometimes get a stipend or are somewhat paid.

Female
57%

Male
43%

17%
sometimes get a stipend or are somewhat paid

21%
get paid for their activism work

62%
are not paid for their activism work

Figure 1

Dominican Republic (2)
3%

Europe (22)
36%

Australia (4)
7%

Canada (4)
7%

US (29)
48%
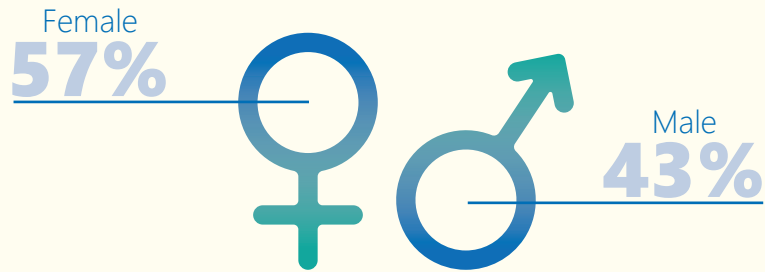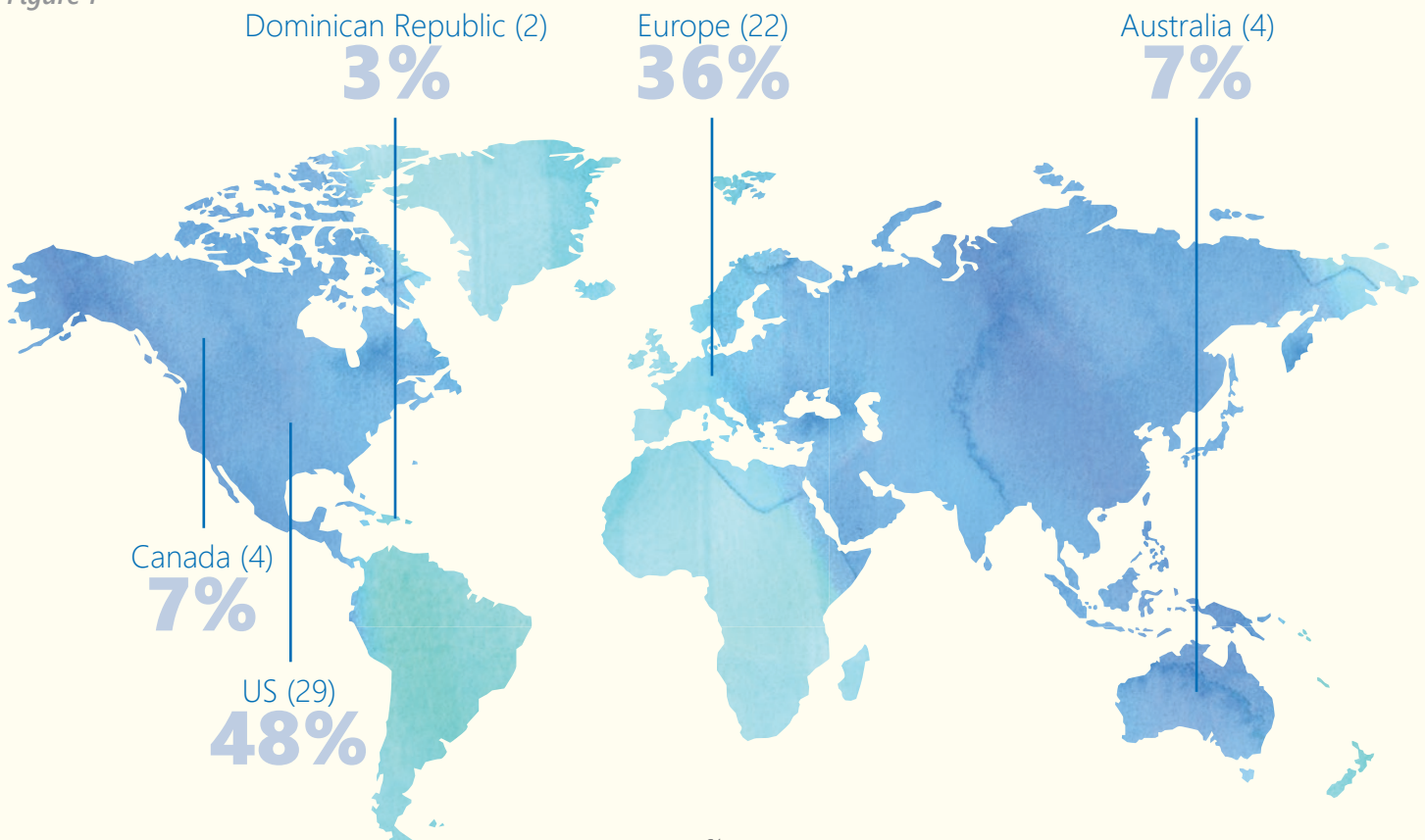
"When someone simply asks you to do something, believing you have the qualities it takes, that's the motivation. That's when I moved from 'somewhat involved' to 'actively engaged and committed.'"

Survey Participant

1. What areas of the climate crisis are you working on?

Response and analysis: The survey respondents work in a variety of areas for addressing the climate crisis. These areas are broken down into the following themes: 'energy', 'policy', 'education', 'movement building', 'protest', 'earth conservation', 'adaptation' and 'other.' **'Movement building' was the most commonly reported area with 52% of the responses falling into this theme. The second largest theme was 'education' with 39% of the respondents working in** this area. In terms of movement building the respondents work on empowerment, climate justice, grassroots mobilization, divestment, building strong collaborative communities, partnering with other organizations, and supporting indigenous people's rights. In terms of education, their responses included communicating the science and solutions, and raising public awareness through education. The other themes were not as common and fell between 15 and 23% of the respondents' work areas.
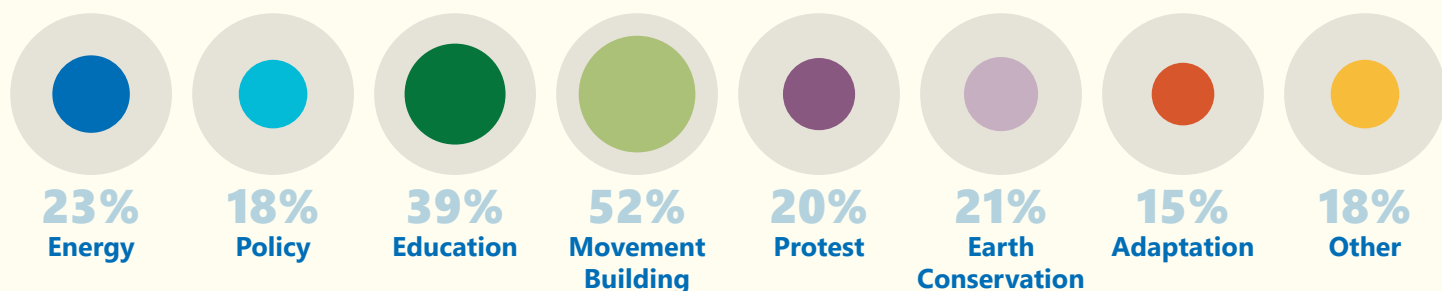
23%	18%	39%	52%	20%	21%	15%	18%
Energy	Policy	Education	Movement Building	Protest	Earth Conservation	Adaptation	Other

2. What drives or directs your passion towards your efforts to solve the climate crisis?

Response and analysis: The survey respondents' passion is driven by several different themes identified as: 'children', 'earth', 'something we must do', 'justice/inequality', 'emotion', 'facts/evidence', 'collective action', and 'other.' Two emerging themes were identified. **The most prominent theme was 'earth' expressed by 38% of the respondents, followed closely by 'something we must do' expressed by 34% of the respondents.** 'Children' ranked third by 23% of the respondents which includes children, family and future generations. Generally, the 'earth' theme encompasses responses such as love for the planet, life on earth, commitment to nature, habitat protection, and mass extinctions of other species.

Some of the responses in the 'something we must do theme' are:

- There's no other important issue
- We must change course
- I have a strong sense of responsibility, accountability and moral integrity that shapes my behaviors and actions.
- Solving the world's greatest challenge
- Deep commitment to make the world a better place
- My ethics of justice for all of God's creation
- We need to act NOW
- Sense of mission
- I believe we in the U.S. have the responsibility to do something about the problem we have had a large part in creating
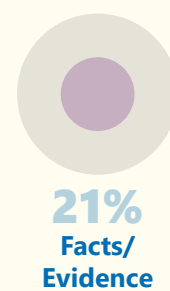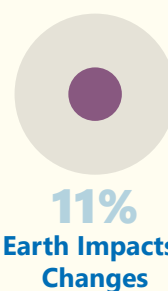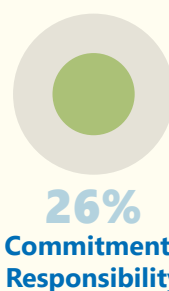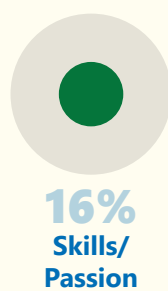
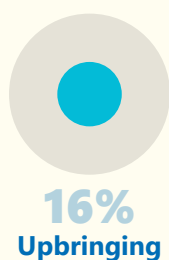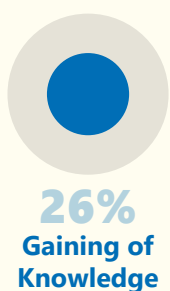| 23%	38%	34%	20%	13%	5%	15%	8%
Children	Earth	Something We Must Do	Justice/ Inequality	Emotion	Facts/ Evidence	Collective Action	Other
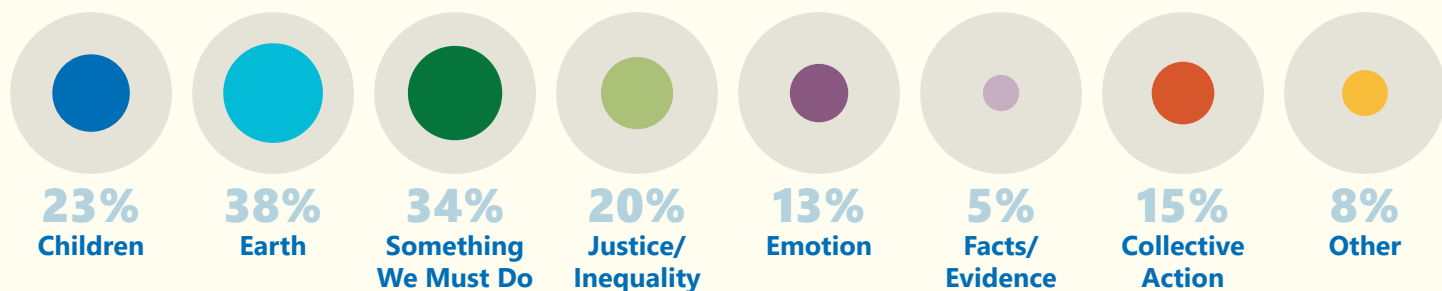
Global Climate March. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. 2015.

3.   What made you into an activist?

Response and analysis: There were two dominant themes that emerged. **Over half of the respondents' answers fell equally into two themes 'gaining of knowledge' and 'commitment/responsibility', with 26% responding to each theme.** The other themes identified were 'upbringing', 'putting skills or passion to work', 'earth impacts/changes', and 'other'. 'Gaining knowledge' was characterized by either watching a film, attending a course, reading a book or just general acquiring of knowledge.

Some of the 'commitment/responsibility' answers are:

● Compelling instinct to help

● Commitment to cause

● A sense of responsibility for the climate crisis

● I just saw something wasn't right and felt compelled

● I believe we have a responsibility to make a difference

● Longstanding (lifelong) commitment to benefit life on earth

● A sense of obligation to other people

26%	16%	16%	26%	11%	21%
Gaining of Knowledge	**Upbringing**	**Skills/ Passion**	**Commitment/ Responsibility**	**Earth Impacts/ Changes**	**Facts/ Evidence**

4. In terms of threats of climate change, what are the top three or four threats of climate change that were the most powerful in motivating you to become active?

Response and analysis: The most dominant theme was 'climate impacts' with 62% of the respondents citing impacts such as drought, fires, floods, ocean acidification and sea level rise. Sea level rise was the most recorded climate impact response (28%) followed by drought (16%). **The second most dominant theme centered around 'conflict'.** The responses ranged from threat to food security, poverty, climate refugees, war, competition of resources, and intergenerational abuse. 39% of the respondents cited 'conflict'. The third emerging theme was 'nature' which was recorded in a variety of ways such as the threats on nature and the natural world, change in habitat, loss of species, forest devastation, and loss of biodiversity. This theme was recorded by 30% of the respondents.

General Responses
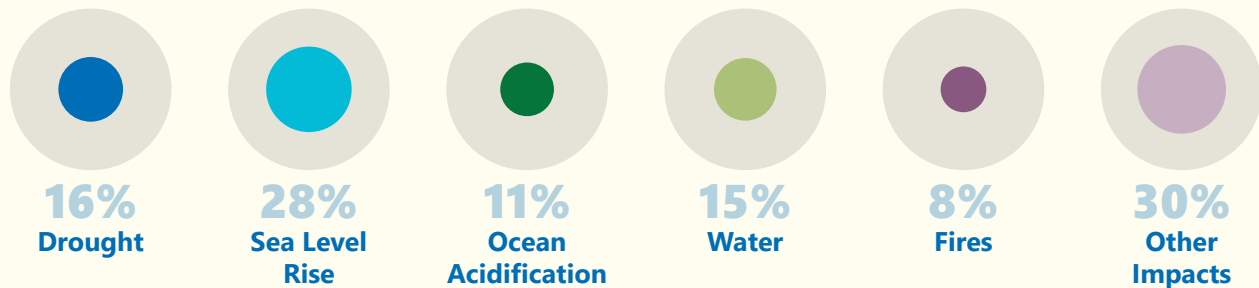
| 62% Climate Impacts | 21% Extreme Weather Events | 8% Pollution | 8% GHG Emissions | 30% Nature | 39% Conflict | 15% Justice | 30% Other |

Climate Impacts

| 16% Drought | 28% Sea Level Rise | 11% Ocean Acidification | 15% Water | 8% Fires | 30% Other Impacts |

5. What actions do you take to help solve the climate crisis?

Response and analysis: The responses were recorded under the following six themes: 'lowering CO2 emissions', 'influence politicians', 'education', 'movement building', 'protest', 'writing' and 'other'. **Two dominant themes emerged with 'movement building' the most prominent with 64% of the respondents answers expressed in this theme.** Some of the responses recorded were:

- Mentoring emerging youth leaders
- Getting people in touch with others
- I encourage others to keep talking about this issue with their peers

- Sign petitions
- Working with other activists
- Networking in the environmental movement
- Promote on social media
- Working with Indigenous communities
- Helping other initiatives

The other dominant theme was 'education' with 62% of the respondents taking action through raising awareness and educating about climate change in various ways.

39%
Lowering Carbon Emissions

33%
Influence Politicians

62%
Education

64%
Movement Building

33%
Protest

10%
Writing

11%
Other

Sacred Stone Camp Entrance
Cannon Ball, ND, U.S. 2016. Used with permission.
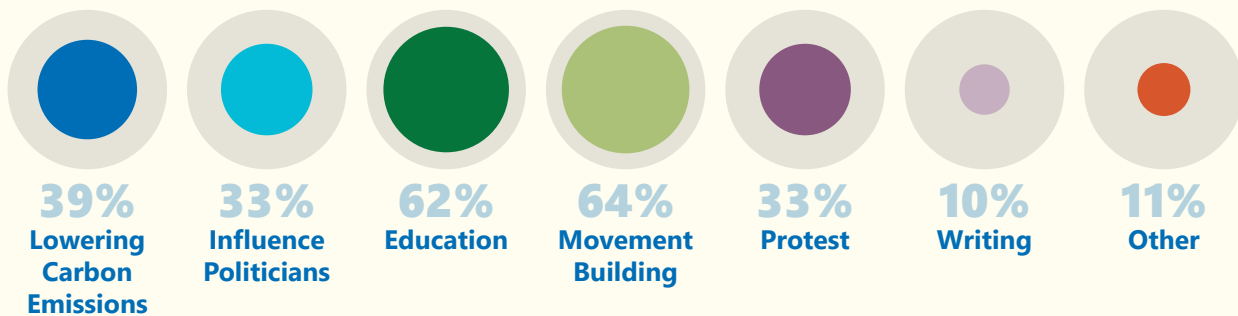
14. What do you think others need to do in order to go from a passive supporter to an active supporter?

Response and analysis: The responses to this question were broken down into the following themes: 'talk to others', 'make it personal/responsibility', 'take actions', 'see results/success', 'educate', 'government intervention', 'join others', and 'other'. **There were three dominant themes identified from the responses. 'Make it personal/responsibility' was the most dominant with 31% of the respondents' answers in this theme.** These answers included:

- See it as a moral issue
- Make it personal
- Realize their responsibility as a consumer
- Understanding of the personal stakes, a personalized and urgent call to action
- Links to their own lives and well being
- Be personally impacted
- People need to know that what they do on a personal level is worthwhile

The 'educate' theme was second with 30% of the respondents' answers falling into this theme. The theme 'see results/success' followed closely with 28% of the respondents' answers falling into this theme with responses such as:

- Build tiny successes
- Visually see the effects
- They need to witness it
- Sell the benefits as opposed to hitting people with the problems all the time
- See how the work they do can connect to the broader movement
- To see that some of the steps they can take are quite simple and empowering
- There's a reason to act if the outcome will be positive

7%	31%	21%	28%	30%	7%	11%	20%
Talk to Others	**Make it Personal/ Responsibility**	**Take Actions**	**See Results/ Success**	**Educate**	**Government Intervention**	**Join Others**	**Other**
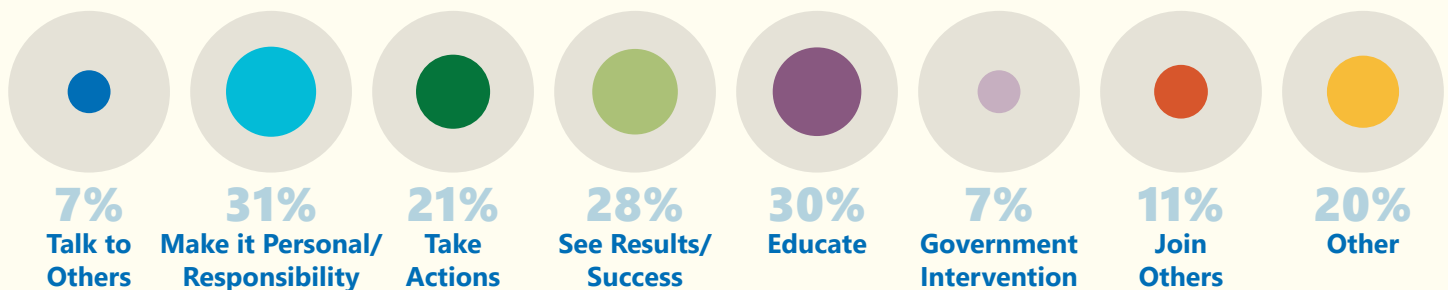
15. What strategies have you used that are effective in promoting others to act?

Response and analysis: The most dominant theme centered around 'education' through various means including: public presentations, sharing information, TV shows, university lectures, trainings, workshops, etc. The next dominant theme was 'conversation' which included responses related to listening and two-way dialog. Other themes included 'lead by example,' 'moral activism' and 'social media.'
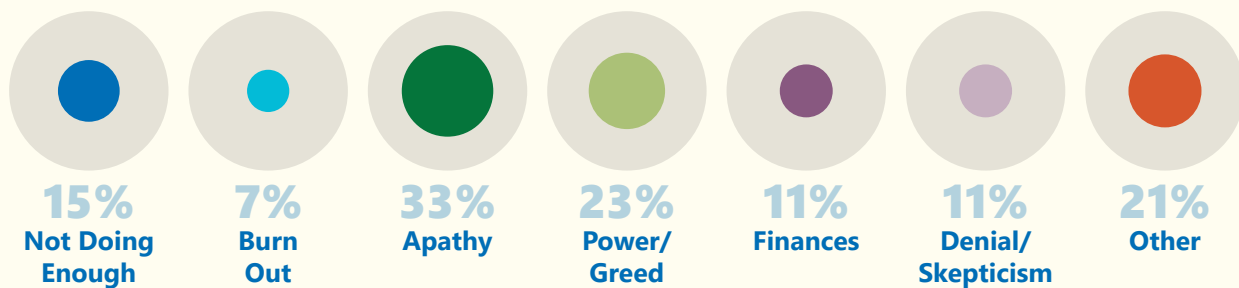
13%	20%	41%	33%	13%	25%
Social Media	**Lead by Example**	**Education**	**Conversation**	**Moral Activism**	**Other**
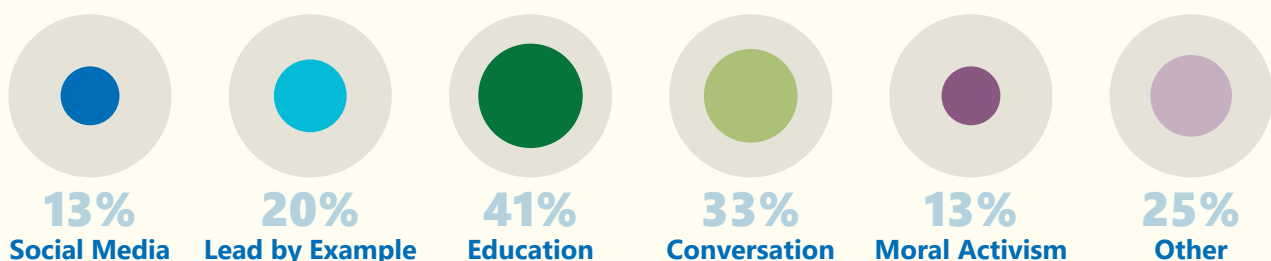
"What keeps
me going is
the sense that it is
my moral obligation
to keep trying."

Survey Participant

16. What are the challenges you face with this crisis and what keeps you going when facing these challenges?

Response and analysis: The most dominant theme centered around 'apathy' expressed in a variety of ways, such as indifference, lack of interest, complacency, and hopelessness. **33% of the respondents responded in this theme.** The next dominant theme was 'power/greed' with 23% of the responses falling into this theme. As for the second part of the question, not everyone gave a response as to what keeps them going. There were 2 general themes to this part of the question which were 'community, collaboration and support' and 'must do something'. **Twice as many chose the 'community, collaboration and support' (42.6%) over 'must do something' (21.3%).**

15%	7%	33%	23%	11%	11%	21%
Not Doing Enough	**Burn Out**	**Apathy**	**Power/ Greed**	**Finances**	**Denial/ Skepticism**	**Other**

17. What do you think prevents people from taking action on climate change?

Response and analysis: There were many different responses as to what prevents people from taking action. The main themes identified were: 'confusion/propaganda', 'low priority/no time', 'overwhelming/too big of problem', 'helpless/hopeless/despair', 'lack of knowledge', 'scary/fear', 'apathy', 'ignorance', 'comfort/fear of change', and 'other.' **The two dominant themes identified were 'helpless/hopeless/despair' written by 31% of the respondents and 'lack of knowledge' by 28% of the respondents.**

11%	18%	18%	31%	28%
Confusion/ Propaganda	**Low Priority/ No Time**	**Overwhelming/ Too Big of Problem**	**Helpless/ Hopeless/ Despair**	**Lack of Knowledge**

15%	10%	7%	8%	25%
Scary/Fear	**Apathy**	**Ignorance**	**Comfort/ Fear of Change**	**Other**
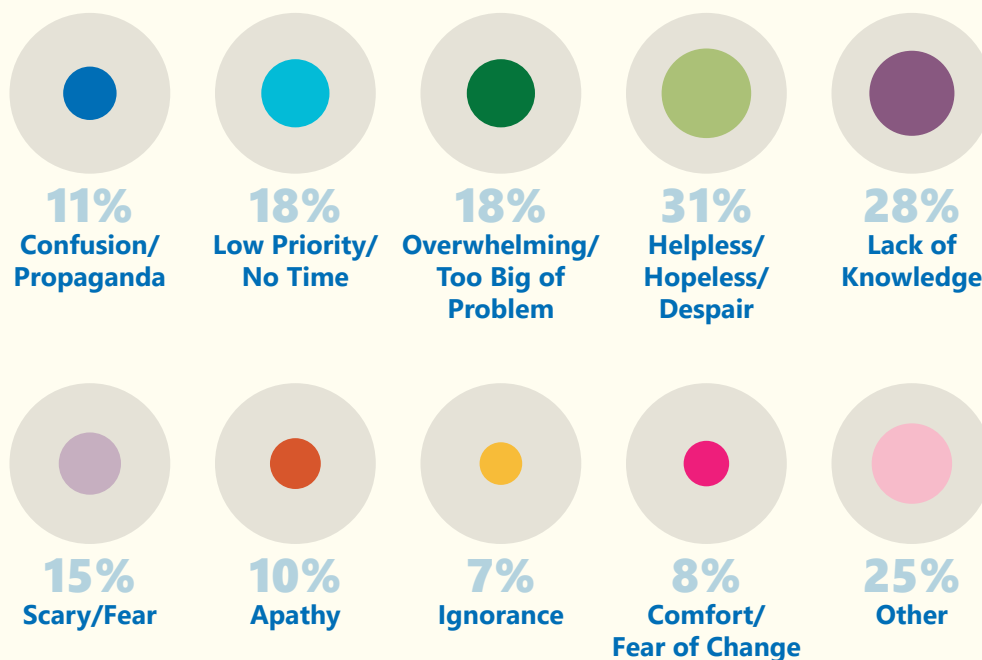
18. What do you think are the next steps in your path of making even more of a difference?

Response and analysis: The responses fell into seven different themes which are: 'lower personal carbon footprint', 'policy', 'education', 'movement building', 'self care', 'job' and 'other'. **'Movement building' was the dominant theme with 56% of the respondents' answers reflected in this theme.** Some of the responses included:

- Work in engaging the Latino community to act on climate
- Which target group, which level of information background do I have to increase
- What I can do in my nearer surroundings to do bottom up change

- Meeting with other activists to brainstorm more ideas on actions we can take
- Connect this movement with other movements
- Building a team of people to work on researching existing 'frontline' efforts and influencing wider adoption of a strategic solidarity plan for the movement
- Nationalize climate mobilization coalition effort
- To reach those not in the choir
- More on social media
- Working with other supporters throughout the country and internationally

8%	16%	21%	56%	10%	8%	18%
Lower Carbon Footprint	Policy	Education	More Activism/ Movement Building	Self Care	Job	Other

Familias Unidas March for Farmworker Justice. Mount Vernon, WA, U.S. 2016.

Limitations

Potential limitations include the population bias of the climate activists in Paris. These activists had the means to travel, and some may have been there for work and not as volunteers. While they are all exemplary activists, the data is biased towards those currently active only. However, this may provide a more focused sample group. Because the questions provided qualitative data, the questions could be interpreted differently because the survey sample was from people in various countries. The data could be impacted by cultural and language differences. This is addressed by acknowledging that there are differences in actions for each country by offering an 'other' category so the data could be inclusive. In addition, there are time, location and recruitment biases. The time spent with activists was at different times of day, and varied based on availability. A specific time was not chosen and therefore, not consistent. However, opportunities to connect with activists at various locations where activists were congregating seemed to be a more flexible approach. While the locations were biased, there were no demographics targeted as the people chosen were those that were in the area at the time set aside to connect and collect emails.

'100% Renewable Eiffel Tower Peace Symbol' - Human Aerial Art. Paris, France. 2015. Used with permission.

The survey responses provide a glimpse into what activists are currently doing to help build the climate justice movement as well as areas they plan to work on in the future. This gives us a sense of where activists feel energy or direction needs to be applied moving forward. Learning what moved them to become active supporters helps provide organizers and climate communicators ideas on what climate impacts can move others. By including messages with those threats emphasized can possibly move more people to become active.

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

Climate Justice Movement Building

The origin of the climate justice movement is difficult to pinpoint since it has evolved out of the environmental and global justice movements and incorporates efforts from global governments, NGOs, and grassroots organizations. This manual includes a brief introduction to the origins of global climate action and the climate justice movement that has emerged. This movement has helped to shape the climate justice discourse on a global scale. A Climate Justice Movement Building timeline highlighting moments in the movement and the international organizations working on building the climate justice movement can be found at the end of this section.

Global Climate Action Origins

Official Poster for People's Climate March. 2014. Used with permission.

Highlighting key historical moments that address climate change and building the climate movement can help us understand the magnitude, pace, and impact of addressing the climate crisis. Climate change was first acknowledged at the global level when the World Meteorological Organization and United Nations Environment Programme established the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988 to create scientific reports on climate change to inform international policy decisions.[1] That same year, NASA scientist James Hansen testified to the United States Congress that human-caused climate change was occurring.[2] The first widely read book on climate change, The End of Nature, was written by Bill McKibben in 1989. This book helped bring climate change into the minds of the general pubic and educate them on the severity of the issue. It was no longer just a topic for scientists to study and know.

In 1992, the United Nations (UN) held the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where they formed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to meet annually at the Conference of the Parties (COP) and address climate change in hopes for collective action.[3] Their first meeting took place in Berlin, Germany in 1995. It wasn't until 1997 that an agreement to act on climate change was created with the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, the world's first greenhouse gas reductions treaty, which went into effect in 2007.[4]

Global Justice Movement to Climate Justice Movement

Prior to the Kyoto Protocol, the World Trade Organization (WTO), an intergovernmental organization was formed in 1995 to regulate international trade. According to Frankel, the Kyoto Protocol and WTO had competing interests, in relation to carbon emission reduction and subsidies for fossil fuels.[5] Grassroots organizations also began mobilizing and participating in direct actions against globalization with anti-capitalism sentiments. An example is the WTO protests in Seattle at the end of 1999 in which hundreds of organizations from all over the world participated.[6]

According to Russell, the global justice movement grew out of the WTO protests and the climate movement in Europe rose out of the anti-capitalist mobilizations in 2005 against the G8 (8 most powerful countries in the world).[7] Furthermore, transnational non-governmental organizations protested globalization in relation to its impacts on the environment and human and labor rights.[8] Environmental organizations such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace took on global challenges connecting issues like poverty and the environment.[9] "In the summer of 2003, Friends of the Earth adopted a five-year action plan whose strategic aims are to integrate well-established work on sustainability and biodiversity with a concern for environmental justice at home and abroad."[10] In addition, the Camp for Climate Action held trainings for direct climate action between 2005-2010, when

hundreds of direct actions were taken throughout Europe.[11]

The concept of climate justice first appeared in a 1999 CorpWatch report titled Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice.[12] According to CorpWatch.org, this report "successfully redefined climate change as an environmental justice and human rights issue, and helped mobilize communities already adversely impacted by the fossil fuel industry."[13] "Climate Justice integrally links human rights and ecological sustainability, recognizing that the communities fighting to live free of the environmental and social problems created by big oil are also on the front lines in the battle against climate change."[14]

Cover to CorpWatch Report. 1999. Used with permission.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been working on climate change since 1989, when the Climate Action Network International (CAN) was formed, with over 1,100 NGOs from over 120 countries represented today.[15]

In 1990, the Indigenous Environmental Network was formed to help U.S. Indigenous communities address economic and environmental justice issues.[16] Three years later, La Via Campesina, an international peasant's movement began to fight the globalization of agriculture. Today, they represent over 2 million farmers in around 165 organizations in over 70 countries and today they collaborate on climate justice issues through the lens of food sovereignty and food and farmworker justice.[17]

Even though climate justice was introduced into the global justice movement in 1999, it wasn't popularized until 2007, with the formation of Climate Justice Now (CJN) which adopted the name Climate Justice Action (CJA) when mobilizing for the 2009 COP 15 summit in Copenhagen.[18] At the COP 15 summit, climate justice was formulated with central messaging of 'system change, not climate change' with the purpose of challenging the capital based solution of carbon trading.[19]

The COP 15 summit was met with civil society demanding that climate justice be addressed and not just carbon emissions. The COP Summit failed because civil society's message of systemic change "fell short of constructing a different way of understanding the problem of climate change."[20] And the response of this failure was two fold. Because of the ineffectiveness of grassroots organizations to demand changes through their global reform agenda at COP 15, this led to the rise of climate justice resistance movements because of the "utterly unsustainable accumulation of capital."[21]

In addition, the second significant response of this failure came from Bolivia's president, Evo Morales, who held the World People's Conference on Climate

Climate Justice Movement Development

Change and the Rights of Mother Earth (CMPCC), in April 2010, to forge a path forward that was different from the UNFCCC process.[22] The outcome of this conference was the formation of the "People's Agreement", an 11-page document, incorporating the causes of climate change and the need to recognize the rights of Mother Earth.[23] This vision also included the call to create a Tribunal of Climate and Environmental Justice and development of a global democracy to make decisions on this issue that affect the planet and humanity.[24]

The origins of the climate justice movement is difficult to trace, according to Building Bridges Collective. "The term was popularised by the formation of the 'Climate Justice Now!' network in Bali during the COP 13 negotiations in 2007. In the build up to the COP 15 in Copenhagen the term became a mobilizing platform across Europe as the

COP 15 Protest. Copenhagen, Denmark. 2009. Used with permission.

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

'Climate Justice Action' (CJA) network opposed the COP as an unjust set of negotiations interested in expanding capitalism, similar to Russell, rather than in addressing the global climate crises."[25]

In summary from the Bolivia summit, Bridge Builders Collective share:

> **"Maybe the only real justice is what can be gained by the exercise of collective action, against the threats that capitalism and climate change pose to all of our lives, and for the creation of other forms of life outside of capitalism. In this vein, instead of worrying about conflicting definitions, maybe we should listen to the advice that Leonardo Cerdo gave us; 'It doesn't matter what we call it; what matters is how we take action.'"[26]**

Meanwhile, members from CJA met in Amsterdam in February, 2010, after the COP 15 summit, to discuss what could constitute a "movement for climate justice."[27] In their discussion paper titled What Does Climate Justice Mean in Europe:

> **"Climate justice means recognising that the capitalist growth paradigm, which leads to over extraction, overproduction and overconsumption stands in deep contrast to the biophysical limits of the planet and the struggle for social justice... Fundamentally, we believe that we cannot prevent further global warming without addressing the way our societies are organised – the fight for climate justice and the fight for social justice are one and the same."[28]**

All photos: People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

In 2008, the international organization 350.org officially launched and, in 2009, organized the first day of international climate action on October 24th with over 5,200 events in 181 countries.[29] In 2010, they organized a "Global Work Party" day with approximately 7,000 work parties around the world, displaying local solutions emphasizing alternatives to using fossil fuels.[30] 350.org took a turn toward direct action in 2011, when over 1,250 people were arrested outside the White House in protest of the proposed Keystone XL Pipeline.[31] This prompted a national awareness of the issue which propelled a 4-year nationwide campaign to successfully halt the construction of the pipeline.[32] In 2012, 350.org launched a divestment campaign calling for institutions such as university campuses, cities, and faith groups to divest from fossil fuels, thus stripping the social license of these companies to cause further damage.[33] Currently, 731 institutions have committed to divest $5.45 trillion and 58,000+ individuals have committed to divest about $5.2 billion, according to the report on gofossilfree.org.[34]

Continuing to build the movement, 350.org and other international grassroots organizations have been mobilizing and building networks working on social, racial, economic and environmental justice issues. This effort was demonstrated with the coming together of the People's Climate March on September 21, 2014 in New York City, the largest global climate march in history.[35] The march brought together various groups across the movement including labor, indigenous and other marginalized communities, yet the march wasn't able to carry out a unified political voice.[36] However, there were significant gains in building the climate justice movement and everyone was collectively under a "big tent."[37] "What the march did, better than any other event in history, was demonstrate the unity of activists demanding genuine emissions cuts

Shoes placed in Place de la République in lieu of global climate march in Paris, 29 November, 2015, cancelled due to terrorist attacks two weeks earlier.

Global Climate March. Paris, France. 2015. Used with permission.

and government funding of an alternative way of arranging society."[38] The "Flood Wall Street" event the day after the march turned out 3,000 protesters participating in direct action with a message, "that only with a transition beyond Wall Street's stock exchange capitalism can we have a living future."[39]

According to Roser and Seidel, "With its impressive worldwide activist network, well-coordinated global actions, and its increasing involvement in determined direct action against climate-destructive policies and new energy megaprojects, 350.org has raised the bar for climate activism in the U.S. and served as a central catalytic force in the global climate movement."[40]

In recent years, the youth are also taking a more participatory approach into their own hands and planting trees. A young boy named Felix Finkbeiner started an organization called Plant-for-the-Planet in 2007 at the age of 9, where children can be trained to be climate justice ambassadors to stand up for climate justice and help fight the climate crisis by planting trees. Plant-for-the-Planet has a counter on their website of all the trees recently planted,

charting the success to a trillion trees. On May 22, 2017 the counter read 14,209,083,086 trees planted and 55,000 children between 9-12 are trained Climate Ambassadors.[41]

Burkett analyzes what the climate movement can learn from previous social movements.[42] For example, the global community protested against Shell Oil in 2015, demanding that Shell not drill in the Arctic. The term 'kayaktivist' was born in Seattle out of these efforts with a growing trend of nonviolent direct action (NVDA).[43] This increase in direct action can have a positive effect on agenda setting for policy, according to Burkett.[44] She shares, "empirical evidence reveals that protest 'positively and significantly' influences political attention."[45]

The end of 2015 brought us a keystone moment in the climate justice movement with the Paris Agreement at the COP 21 Summit. For the first time, 195 countries agreed to act on climate which created the platform for civil society to force governments to take stronger action. Over 600,000 people marched in 175 countries the day before the summit to send a message to global leaders to act on climate.[46]

"Genuine solutions to the climate crisis cannot emerge from climate negotiations, whether on a domestic or an international level, unless significant pressure—pressure that is greater than that of powerful corporate interests—is brought to bear by a globally linked, locally grounded group of social movements mobilizing around the theme of climate justice."[47]

The movement increased its civil disobedience in the spring of 2016 with collaborative global efforts to show a growing global resistance and to send a global message that we must break free from fossil fuels and move towards a just transition to a clean energy future. On six continents, thousands risked arrest during Break Free direct actions, from May 3-15, 2016.[48] 2016 also brought us the resistance effort to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) at Standing Rock, North Dakota in the U.S., which showed great diversity in support of this effort.[49]

The No DAPL campaign became internationally known when Amy Goodman with Democracy Now visited during Labor Day weekend, and caught on video guard dogs attacking the indigenous water protectors. In a live interview at the Chandler Center for the Arts in January, 2017, Amy Goodman shares, "all the international media was now covering this, and covering the issue and that is what is key. Because when you shine a spotlight, and you show the blood glistening in the mouths of the dogs, Native American blood, it cannot be counter denied, it cannot be called false news. The images are there and we must demand that the media cover these mass movements that are historical and how essential it is, especially now"[50] The NoDAPL campaign showed "notably deep diversity" in its protests, and there are now "pockets of organization that work at the intersection of race, poverty, and climate change."[51] Priest confirms, "If there is no media coverage of an issue that most do not directly confront in other ways, attention recedes as though the issue hardly exists – or at least is unimportant. If there is coverage, regardless of the tone or other content details,

COP 21 Sarayacu Canoe Water Blessing with Amy Goodman. Paris, France. 2015.

People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

people tend to think the issue is more important – it rises on their personal agenda."[52]

Furthermore, Burkett concludes that "the environmental mainstream still struggles to effectively build alliances and the climate grassroots is still in the process of building bridges and establishing an identity."[53] She also suggests that alliances in the climate movement be "diverse and cohesive."[54] She argues that, "while the combination of institutional influence activity and protest allows a movement to simultaneously persuade, disrupt and bargain, the lack of cohesive vision can be fatal."[55] When black ghettos began to dissent and organize against poverty, the civil rights movement splintered in so many directions, the movement lost its cohesive vision.[56]

Also, building coalitions is key to "avoid the misperception that societies can segregate the environment literally or figuratively, from our lives, our futures and our individual dignity" in addition to "placing a human face on climate change."[57] The public shared their alliances and intersectionality in the People's Climate March in Washington, D.C. and cities across country and globally to send a message to President Trump on his 100th day in office that we resist, we build, we rise if he doesn't reverse his

position on climate change and move us toward a clean energy future.[58]

Bringing in the values through organized religion is a powerful force that continues to develop in the climate movement. The Pope's Encyclical, *Laudato Si'* released in 2015, focused on caring for our common home and was the first time there was a call from any religion to discuss the moral implications to act on climate change.[59] Burkett concludes that for the climate justice movement to be successful, it must have the following ingredients of other successful movements: "clarity of purpose, shared values forged by proponents, effective planning, and connection to the mainstream."[60]

The systems in place create a framework and rules for societies to function and it is within these systems that limit possibilities, according to Russell.[61] Frameworks for governance as in capitalism, constitutional government, laws regarding property or inheritance, military and police create constraints on possibilities.[62] Russell suggests that we consider collectivizing the processes of how we live our lives in common and the recognition of our political capital for change and consider how society faces multiple crises at the same time so that we can mobilize together to tackle the crises together.[63]

Climate Justice Movement Building Today and Beyond

In terms of building the climate justice movement, bringing what is just, meaning morally right and fair, into the conversation alongside climate education can help move people to action. People can be empowered to act when they understand that climate change impacts those suffering the most are the least responsible for causing the harm in the first place. Moore and Russell discuss how messaging involves strategy, which raises the question by Paulo Friere, "What can we do today, so that tomorrow we can do what we are unable to do today?"[64]

How do we grow the movement globally to help solve the climate crisis? In order to transition away from a fossil fuel driven economy to a clean energy economy, laws and policies for communities, regions, states, and nations can be implemented to help lower carbon emissions. Therefore, it is essential to get people behind initiatives or plans for transition even if they are costlier in the short term. The Paris Agreement shows unilateral global support for action, therefore, it gives societies across the globe the backbone to know that government should be acting. According to Tokar, groups will continue to push for climate justice at the UN level, but more importantly climate justice continues to show up in the messaging of local campaigns.[65] Furthermore, with the increase of climate related disasters, this provides visible evidence for the need for change along with the immediacy to address the social justice aspects of the climate crisis.[66] According to Tokar, "the climate's best hope lies in the combination of raising climate militancy in the North and the increasing international visibility of struggles in the South."[67]

The results from the Climate Activist Survey show that many activists spend time on educating people on climate change. In 2006, the Academy award winning documentary, An Inconvenient Truth, helped catapult the public's awareness of the impacts and severity of climate change. Shortly after the film release, U.S. Vice President Al Gore began a training program for others to give the climate change presentation featured in the film. As of May, 2017, over 11,000 people have been trained by Al Gore to not only give the presentation for educational purposes but to also join the climate justice movement and perform Acts of Leadership.[68] According to Stoss, there has been a surge of climate justice research in the past several years, from 20 articles cited a year in 2010 to over 80 articles cited a year in 2016 (See figure 2) in the Web of Science™ database.[69] Researchers are keen to help solve the climate crisis through deepening our understanding of what it will take to move people to take action on climate change.

Figure 2

Growth of "Climate Justice Literature" 2000-2016, Web of Science™
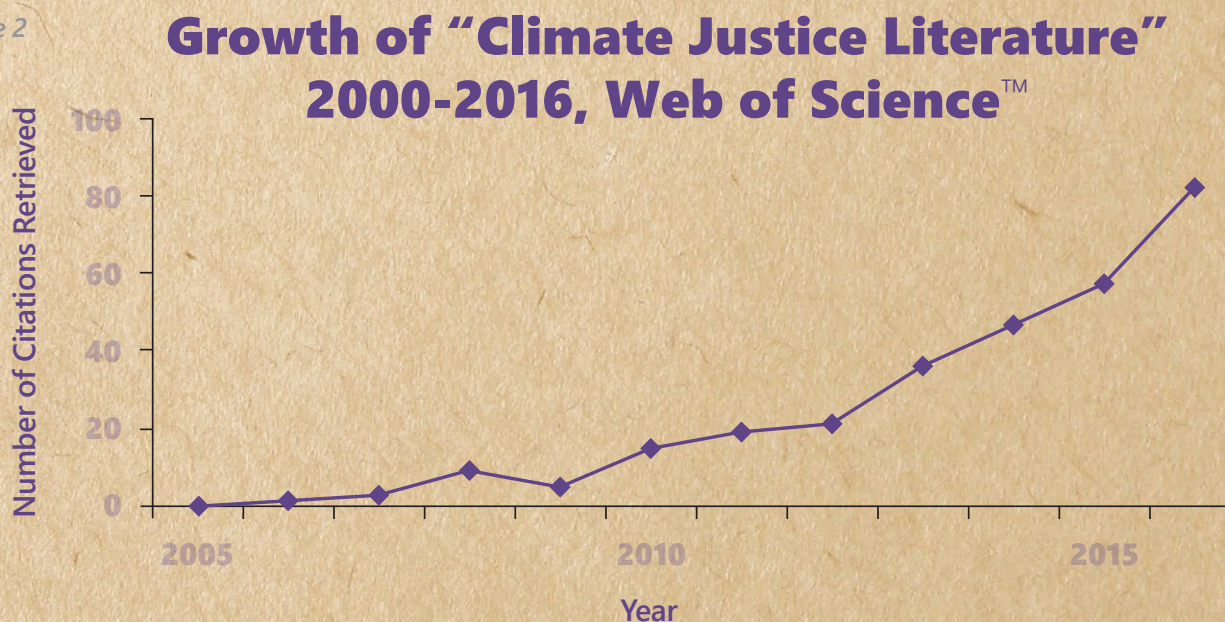
The use of climate justice language has been found to be motivating in civil campaigns where civil society pressures governments to act on political issues.[70] People might then start to change their own behaviors about consumption and better yet, demand that their government make policies that can help lower carbon emissions by asking them to stop big projects such as Keystone XL and the Dakota Access Pipeline. The Dakota Access Pipeline fight is bringing to light a suggestion from Kaswan, which having marginalized voices at the table for policy making helps with transparency, and there should be no more privileges for the privileged.[71]

Diversity in the movement is its greatest strength. Yet, because of the global nature of the the climate crisis, there is a "greater need for coordination, determination and commonality of vision."[72] Tokar concludes that the "movement's best hope lies in the combination of rising climate militancy in the North and the increasing international visibility of struggles in the South."[73] Priest concludes, "having members with diverse perspectives is an important aspect of strategic capacity."[74]

The climate justice movement must be more proactive, creative, and solution oriented in regards to resistance strategies suggests Vinthagen, not about technical solutions, but rather about changing our economy as it relates to questioning power and resistance.[75] A mass global climate justice movement is the only force that is strong enough to change our capitalist system.[76] Vinthagen concludes that, "we only have some years to make drastic changes and the politicians have failed for too long."[77] He also suggests that a mass mobilization needs to have a well founded strategy that writers and researchers propose, including social scientists.[78]

Fortunately, marches continue to increase in numbers and the People's Climate March on April 29, 2017 in Washington, D.C. was one of the largest climate marches in history with over 370 sister marches around the world with more than 300,000 marching for climate, jobs and justice.[79]

People's Climate March. New York City, NY, U.S. 2014.

Climate justice frameworks can help change the minds of the public as well. When using climate justice as a lens for looking at the problem of climate change, we see this moral argument for change in various ways. The divestment movement "had the effect of stigmatizing fossil fuels."[80] When moral factors are considered, the public mind is shifted. Justice depends on people coming together in collective action even if their values, world views and circumstances are different.[81] How people work together socially to answer deep questions is what matters.[82] The power ultimately lies in the voters. "Democracy can process only the political will that voters feed into the political process in the first place; even the best procedure cannot conjure a just output out of an unjust input. Therefore, the responsibility for just outcomes can be delegated only to a limited extent to those who design political procedures."[83]

What is possible for building the climate justice movement needs to not be constrained by the systems of governance and citizens rising up to demand bolder action from their governments as an essential part of the solution, according to Tokar.[84] Many of the global organizations fighting for climate justice are addressing the problems of injustice through the current systems in regards to social, racial, economic and environmental problems. Transformational moments have taught us that "when major shifts in the economic balance of power take place, they are invariably the result of extraordinary levels of social mobilization."[85] Klein contends that the change will come in "spasms of rapid-fire lawmaking, with one breakthrough after another."[86] Klein also reinforces the need for diverse convergences and aiming to not just change laws but to change patterns of thought around justice, for example, not passing a minimal carbon tax but rather passing a minimum wage increase.[87] According to Bond, there isn't much time to plot a course of action, we only have a little time for mass mobilization demanding climate justice.[88]

People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

All Photos: People's Climate March. Washington, D.C., U.S. 2017.

Climate Justice Movement Building
Timeline

2012
Rio +20 People's Summit Declaration
Social and environmental justice defense of the commons

2012
Do The Math Tour
Launch of 350.org divestment campaign

FOSSIL FREE

2010
The World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth
Creates Universal Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth

2009
350.org International Day of Climate Action
Over 5,000 actions = largest protest

2009
COP15 Summit Copenhagen
People's Assembly and Reclaim Power March leading to 250+ arrests

2008
Nature gets rights
Equador is first country to include rights of nature chapter in constitution

2007
Climate Justice Now!
At COP 13 in Bali, Indonesia grassroots networks collaborated to form this coalition which evolved into Climate Justice Action for COP15

2006
"An Inconvenient Truth"
Award-winning documentary by Vice President Al Gore

1999
"Climate Justice"
term used for first time in the movement

Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice

1997
Kyoto Protocol
International treaty to curb greenhouse gas emissions

1989
"End of Nature"
First book on climate change by Bill McKibben

THE END OF NATURE
BILL McKIBBEN
WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

2011
No Keystone XL Pipeline fight begins
Over 1,250 arrests at the White House

1980s 1990s 2000s

1989
Climate Action Network International
Over 1100 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in more than 120 countries

Indigenous Environmental Network

1990
Indigenous Environmental Network
Addresses environmental and economic justice issues

1993
La Via Campesina
164 local and national organizations in 73 countries representing about 200 million farmers

GRASSROOTS GLOBAL JUSTICE ALLIANCE

2005
Grassroots Global Justice Alliance
Raising voices for communities of color and working class, linking social justice movements globally

The Climate Reality Project

2006
The Climate Reality Project
Climate education and advocacy

2013
Forward On Climate March
50,000+ march in Washington, D.C.

2013
International Treaty to Protect the Sacred
Demands the United States and Canada recognize the rights found in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People

2014
People's Climate March
400,000+ march in New York City

2014
Flood Wall Street
Thousands demonstrate before United Nations Climate Summit with message: Stop Capitalism, End The Climate Crisis

2015
COP21 Summit, Paris
195 countries agree to contribute to lowering global climate emissions to remain below 1.5 °C

2015
Leap Manifesto
Call for Canada on caring for the Earth and one another

2015
Shell NO!
Term kayaktivist is born out of stopping Shell Oil from drilling in the Arctic

2015
No Keystone XL Pipeline victory
President Obama cancelled project

2016
Break Free 2016
Largest global disobedience actions against fossil fuel infrastructure

2016
Standing Rock
Movement by Indigenous water protectors fighting Dakota Access Pipeline;
Sept. 4, 2016: Democracy NOW coverage of dog attacks sparks international support

2017
People's Climate March
Washington, D.C. and global solidarity marches

2017
Keystone XL Battle Returns
Trump administration grants approval for Keystone XL Pipeline
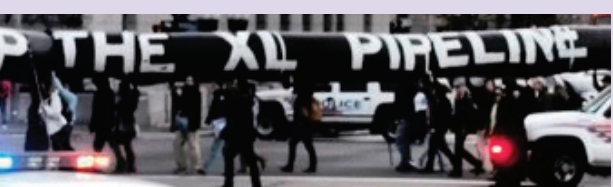
2010s

350.org
2008
350.org
Climate-focused campaigns, projects and actions in 188 countries

2007
Plant-for-the-Planet
global movement to fight the climate crisis planting trees

2008
Pan African Climate Justice Alliance
Coalition of Civil Society Organizations

2008
Climate Justice Action
European campaigns for climate justice

2010
Climate Justice Alliance
Supports local communities advancing a just transition; Our Power Campaign

2010
Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature

System Change not Climate Change

2013
System Change Not Climate Change
An ecosocialist coalition

2015
Global Campaign to Demand Climate Justice
Supports local communities advancing a just transition, including Our Power Campaign

> **"The greater the difficulty in our path, the greater the opportunity for our growth and ultimate victory; we can always become more than we have ever been."**
>
> —*Phil Lane, Jr.*[1]

Totem Pole Journey Blessing Ceremony with Phil Lane, Jr. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2016. Used with permission.

Totem Pole Journey Smudging Ceremony. Seattle, WA, U.S. 2016. Used with permission.

Conclusion

Break Free 2016 March. Anacortes, WA, U.S. 2016.

Climate change is a global issue, affecting every corner of the globe in varying degrees of severity. Patterns of inequity have emerged in terms of which countries produce greater greenhouse gas emissions and which countries face the impacts. This inequity requires the global community to address the compounding forms of injustice in the realm of looking at social, economical, racial and environmental justice concerns. Furthermore, the scientific consensus requires urgent action to lower carbon emissions. In order to bring about the swift change to lower carbon emissions, public insistence can play a role in moving governments to act.

People must also alter their actions to lower their own carbon emissions, especially in developed countries, however, we need more than personal actions to bring about the scale of carbon reductions necessary. Moving people to act on climate has many challenges, yet through collective action and building active support, pressure can force governments to act as we have witnessed through previous social movements. Successful social movements provide strategies and insights for building the climate justice movement. Furthermore, extensive research has examined the communication efforts of climate education and people's perceptions to climate change. Understanding what aspects of climate

communication are more effective in generating active support for climate action helps organizers with their messaging for public engagement in order to increase collective action while movement building. Continued research is needed to better understand how to counter-act the media pressure from the fossil fuel industry that continues to manufacture doubt and influence policy makers and the general public, in order to move people towards public insistence. In the U.S., it is evident that under the current administration, climate policies must be instigated and supported at the local and state levels.

While this problem is global in scale, action at the local level through climate communication and increasing public engagement is essential, everywhere. Addressing climate justice also means taking a look at the current system and considering system change to capitalism. One could argue that climate change can be solved by capitalism alone, but it can also be argued that the capitalistic model does not take into account the societal inequities involving racial, social and environmental concerns. The business sector also plays a critical role in advancing technologies and implementing solutions; and civil society, too, can support sustainable business solutions through their purchasing power. Civil society can also make shareholder choices and divest from companies whose business models put profits before principles and invest in companies and organizations promoting solutions toward a just transition to a clean energy future. In terms of what governments can do, there is not much time to plot one global course of action, only little time for mass mobilization demanding climate justice in order to force governments to swifter action.

Appendicies

Appendix A
Climate Justice Frameworks

Bali Principles of Climate Justice

1. Affirming the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, Climate Justice insists that communities have the right to be free from climate change, its related impacts and other forms of ecological destruction.

2. Climate Justice affirms the need to reduce with an aim to eliminate the production of greenhouse gases and associated local pollutants.

3. Climate Justice affirms the rights of indigenous peoples and affected communities to represent and speak for themselves.

4. Climate Justice affirms that governments are responsible for addressing climate change in a manner that is both democratically accountable to their people and in accordance with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

5. Climate Justice demands that communities, particularly affected communities play a leading role in national and international processes to address climate change.

6. Climate Justice opposes the role of transnational corporations in shaping unsustainable production and consumption patterns and lifestyles, as well as their role in unduly influencing national and international decision-making.

7. Climate Justice calls for the recognition of a principle of ecological debt that industrialized governments and transnational corporations owe the rest of the world as a result of their appropriation of the planet's capacity to absorb greenhouse gases.

8. Affirming the principle of ecological debt, Climate Justice demands that fossil fuel and extractive industries be held strictly liable for all past and current life-cycle impacts relating to the production of greenhouse gases and associated local pollutants.

9. Affirming the principle of Ecological debt, Climate Justice protects the rights of victims of climate change and associated injustices to receive full compensation, restoration, and reparation for loss of land, livelihood and other damages.

10. Climate Justice calls for a moratorium on all new fossil fuel exploration and exploitation; a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants; the phase out of the use of nuclear power world wide; and a moratorium on the construction of large hydro schemes.

11. Climate Justice calls for clean, renewable, locally controlled and low-impact energy resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for all living things.

12. Climate Justice affirms the right of all people, including the poor, women, rural and indigenous peoples, to have access to affordable and sustainable energy.

13. Climate Justice affirms that any market-based or technological solution to climate change, such as carbon-trading and carbon sequestration, should be subject to principles of democratic accountability, ecological sustainability and social justice.

14. Climate Justice affirms the right of all workers employed in extractive, fossil fuel and other greenhouse-gas producing industries to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood based on unsustainable production and unemployment.

15. Climate Justice affirms the need for solutions to climate change that do not externalize costs to the environment and communities, and are in line with the principles of a just transition.

16. Climate Justice is committed to preventing the extinction of cultures and biodiversity due to climate change and its associated impacts.

17. Climate Justice affirms the need for socio-economic models that safeguard the fundamental rights to clean air, land, water, food and healthy ecosystems.

18. Climate Justice affirms the rights of communities dependent on natural resources for their livelihood and cultures to own and manage the same in a sustainable manner, and is opposed to the commodification of nature and its resources.

19. Climate Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

20. Climate Justice recognizes the right to selfdetermination of Indigenous Peoples, and their right to control their lands, including sub-surface land, territories and resources and the right to the protection against any action or conduct that may result in the destruction or degradation of their territories and cultural way of life.

21. Climate Justice affirms the right of indigenous peoples and local communities to participate effectively at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation, the strict enforcement of principles of prior informed consent, and the right to say "No."

22. Climate Justice affirms the need for solutions that address women's rights.

23. Climate Justice affirms the right of youth as equal partners in the movement to address climate change and its associated impacts.

24. Climate Justice opposes military action, occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, water, oceans, peoples and cultures, and other life forms, especially as it relates to the fossil fuel industry's role in this respect.

25. Climate Justice calls for the education of present and future generations, emphasizes climate, energy, social and environmental issues, while basing itself on reallife experiences and an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives.

26. Climate Justice requires that we, as individuals and communities, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources, conserve our need for energy; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles, re-thinking our ethics with relation to the environment and the Mother Earth; while utilizing clean, renewable, lowimpact energy; and ensuring the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

27. Climate Justice affirms the rights of unborn generations to natural resources, a stable climate and a healthy planet.

10 Principles for Just Climate Policy in US

1. Stop Cooking the Planet Global climate change will accelerate unless we can slow the release of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. To protect vulnerable Americans, we must find alternatives for those human activities that cause global climate change.

2. Protect and Empower Vulnerable Individuals and Communities Low-income workers, people of color, and Indigenous Peoples will suffer the most from climate change's impact. We need to provide opportunities to adapt and thrive in a changing world.

3. Ensure Just Transition for Workers and Communities No group should have to shoulder alone the burdens caused by the transition from a fossil fuel-based economy to a renewable energy-based economy. A just transition would create opportunities for displaced workers and communities to participate in the new economic order through compensation for job loss, loss of tax base, and other negative effects.

4. Require Community Participation At all levels and in all realms, people must have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Decisionmakers must include communities in the policy process. U.S. federal and state governments, recognizing their government-to-government relationship, must work with tribes as well.

5. Global Problems Need Global Solutions The causes and effects of climate change occur around the world. Individuals, communities, and nations must work together cooperatively to stop global climate change.

6. The U.S. Must Lead Countries that contribute the most to global warming should take the lead in solving the problem. The U.S. is four percent of the world's population but emits 25 percent of the world's greenhouse gases. All people should have equal rights to the atmosphere.

7. Stop Exploration for Fossil Fuels Presently known fossil fuel reserves will last far into the future. Fossil fuel exploration destroys unique cultures and valuable ecosystems. Exploration should be halted as it is no longer worth the cost. We should instead invest in renewable energy sources.

8. Monitor Domestic and International Carbon Markets We must ensure that carbon emissions and sinks markets are transparent and accountable, do not concentrate pollution in vulnerable communities, and avoid activities that harm the environment.

9. Caution in the Face of Uncertainty No amount of action later can make up for lack of action today. Just as we buy insurance to protect against uncertain danger, we must take precautionary measures to minimize harm to the global climate before it occurs.

10. Protect Future Generations The greatest impacts of climate change will come in the future. We should take into account the impacts on future generations in deciding policy today. Our children should have the opportunity for success through the sustainable use of resources.

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17.

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change

his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Universal Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth

Article 1. Mother Earth
 (1) Mother Earth is a living being.
 (2) Mother Earth is a unique, indivisible, self-regulating community of interrelated beings that sustains, contains and reproduces all beings.
 (3) Each being is defined by its relationships as an integral part of Mother Earth.
 (4) The inherent rights of Mother Earth are inalienable in that they arise from the same source as existence.
 (5) Mother Earth and all beings are entitled to all the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as may be made between organic and inorganic beings, species, origin, use to human beings, or any other status.
 (6) Just as human beings have human rights, all other beings also have rights which are specific to their species or kind and appropriate for their role and function within the communities within which they exist.
 (7) The rights of each being are limited by the rights of other beings and any conflict between their rights must be resolved in a way that maintains the integrity, balance and health of Mother Earth.

Article 2. Inherent Rights of Mother Earth
 (1) Mother Earth and all beings of which she is composed have the following inherent rights:
   (a) the right to life and to exist;
   (b) the right to be respected;
   (c) the right to regenerate its bio-capacity and to continue its vital cycles and processes free from human disruptions;
   (d) the right to maintain its identity and integrity as a distinct, self-regulating and interrelated being;
   (e) the right to water as a source of life;
   (f) the right to clean air;
   (g) the right to integral health;
   (h) the right to be free from contamination, pollution and toxic or radioactive waste;
   (i) the right to not have its genetic structure modified or disrupted in a manner that threatens its integrity or vital and healthy functioning;
   (j) the right to full and prompt restoration for violation of the rights recognized in this Declaration caused by human activities;
 (2) Each being has the right to a place and to play its role in Mother Earth for her harmonious functioning.
 (3) Every being has the right to wellbeing and to live free from torture or cruel treatment by human beings.

Article 3. Obligations of human beings to Mother Earth
 (1) Every human being is responsible for respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth.
 (2) Human beings, all States, and all public and private institutions must:
   (a) act in accordance with the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;
   (b) recognize and promote the full implementation and enforcement of the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;
   (c) promote and participate in learning, analysis, interpretation and communication about how to live in harmony with Mother Earth in accordance with this Declaration;
   (d) ensure that the pursuit of human wellbeing contributes to the wellbeing of Mother Earth, now and in the future;
   (e) establish and apply effective norms and laws for the defence, protection and conservation of the rights of Mother Earth;
   (f) respect, protect, conserve and where necessary, restore the integrity, of the vital ecological cycles, processes and balances of Mother Earth;
   (g) guarantee that the damages caused by human violations of the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration are rectified and that those responsible are held accountable for restoring the integrity and health of Mother Earth;
   (h) empower human beings and institutions to defend the rights of Mother Earth and of all beings;
   (i) establish precautionary and restrictive measures to prevent human activities from causing species extinction, the destruction of ecosystems or the disruption of ecological cycles;
   (j) guarantee peace and eliminate nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;
   (k) promote and support practices of respect for Mother Earth and all beings, in accordance with their own cultures, traditions and customs;
   (l) promote economic systems that are in harmony with Mother Earth and in accordance with the rights recognized in this Declaration.

Article 4. Definitions
 (1) The term "being" includes ecosystems, natural communities, species and all other natural entities which exist as part of Mother Earth.
 (2) Nothing in this Declaration restricts the recognition of other inherent rights of all beings or specified beings.

Appendix B

Adapted from

Resources for Organizers

By: Joshua Kahn Russell

https://joshuakahnrussell.wordpress.com/resources-for-activists-and-organizers/

Check out Build The Wheel – new wiki resource for organizers to share curriculum and training tools. A lot of this curriculum was adapted from, or developed by these outstanding training organizations: the Ruckus Society, Movement Generation, smartMeme, Training for Change, Beyond the Choir, Midnight Special Law Collective, Organizing for Power, and School for Unity and Liberation (SOUL)

Activist Tools

Nonviolent Direct Action & Civil Disobedience

Action Strategy & Planning Manual (Ruckus Society)
Overview of Nonviolent Direct Action (Trapeze Collective)
198 Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion (Gene Sharp)
Story Based Strategies for Action Design (smartMeme)
Shelter Under the Anti-War Umbrella (Solnit)
Scouting Manual (Ruckus)
Creative Direct Action Visuals Manual (Ruckus)
Direct Action Planning Steps (Ruckus)
Balloon Banner Manual (Ruckus)
Bird-Dogging (Ruckus)
Action Planning Manual (Ruckus)
Know Your Rights (Midnight Special Law Collective)
ACLU Guide to Civil Disobedience at Public Universities (ACLU)
Finding Tactics that Matter training tool (Training for Change)

Strategy Tools

Tactics to Strategy intro training agenda (Training for Change)
Three Circles Eco-Justice / Climate Justice Strategy (Movement Generation)
Tactic Star (Beyond The Choir)
Spectrum of Allies (Training for Change)
Spectrum of Allies part 2 (Organizing for Power)
Moving your allies training tool (Training for Change)
Story Based Strategy Campaign Model (smartMeme)
Stages of Movement Development (George Lakey)
Strategizing for a Living Revolution: 5 Stages for Social Movements (George Lakey)
The Eight Stages of Successful Social Movements (Bill Moyer)

Narrative Power Analysis (Beautiful Trouble)
Battle of the Story Worksheet (smartMeme)
Defining Strategy tool: Blanket Game (Training for Change)
Influence Map Worksheet (smartMeme)
Points of Intervention Worksheet (smartMeme)
Goal Setting tool: paper plate challenge (Training for Change)
Building a Successful Antiwar Movement (Beyond the Choir)
TFC Strategy Game (Training for Change)
Macro-Strategy Tug-of-war (Training for Change)
From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation (Gene Sharp – used by Tahrir Square organizers in Egypt)

Facilitation

56 Games, Warm-Ups, and Energizers (Levana Saxon & Joshua Kahn Russell)
Tips for Good Facilitators (Results Through Training)
Flip Chart Chart: Graphic Facilitation Techniques (Christine Valenca & Helen Spector)
Hints for Facilitators (Casagordita)
Taking Stock of Taking Stack (Training for Change)
How To Make Meetings Work in a Culturally Diverse Group (Lee Gardenswartz & Anita Rowe)
GAMES, WARM UPS, AND ENERGIZERS (Levana Saxon and Joshua Kahn Russell)
Sample Facilitation Training curriculum (Lisa Fithian)
Meeting Facilitation: the No-Magic Method (Berit Lakey)

Organizing

Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing
Understanding The Role of an Organizer training tool (SOUL)
How to Organize a Demonstration
Tornado Warning: 4 roles of social change agents training tool (Training for Change)
Thoughts and Exercises on Power (Lisa Fithian)
Organizer Training: fear and power [oriented toward Unions] (Lisa Fithian)
Organizational Self-Assessment training tool (SOUL)
198 Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion (Gene Sharp)
How to Pass a Local Resolution

Media

Media Manual (Ruckus)
Spokesperson Tips (smartMeme)
Values Based Messaging tool (Wellstone Action)
Why Stories Matter (Marshall Ganz)
Sample Op-Ed (Opinion piece) (RAN)
Frank Luntz's Playbook (a right-wing guide to media and messaging instructing Republicans on how to create a values-shift to the Right (Frank Luntz)

Outreach

Tips for plugging people in (Beyond the Choir & War Resisters League)
Class Rap (EAC)
Phonebanking (EAC)
Tabling (EAC)

Full Toolkits

Youth Organizing for Community Power / Movement Building (SOUL)
Re:Imagining Change: How to Use Story-based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World (HIGHLY RECOMMENDED!) (smartMeme)
Progressive Communicators Network Toolbox (PCN)
Get Some Action: Taking our place in the history of US social movements (Joshua Kahn Russell w/ Gopal Dayanenni, Sharon Lungo, Madeline Gardner)
Training for Trainers [order form for hard copy](SOUL)
Diversity and Anti-Oppression training tools (Training for Change)
Indigenous Peoples' Guide, False Solutions to Climate Change (Indigenous Environmental Network)
Rainforest Action Network Corporate Campaigning Activist Manual (RAN)

Recursos en español

Iconoclasistas (Sitio completo de herramientas de la activista, desde Argentina)

Resources on Privilege, Power, Race, Class, and Gender

Whiteness, Organizing, and Allies
White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack (Peggy Mcintosh)

Building a Racially Diverse and Anti-Oppressive Movement

A Note on Guilt
Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing
Student Environmentalists Learn Hard Lessons (SEAC)
15 Tools for Creating Healthy, Productive Interracial/Multicultural Communities
The Soul of Environmentalism

Environmental Justice & Climate Justice

Interview with Robert Bullard (Great Environmental Justice Primer)
Eco-Justice People's Movement Assembly Resolution (U.S. Social Forum)
Climate Justice Now! North America Manifesto (Climate Justice Now! North America)
Principles of Environmental Justice (.pdf)
10 Principles for Just Climate Change Policies in the US
Bali Principles of Climate Justice
Climate Justice Fact Sheet (Corpwatch)
We Speak for Ourselves: Indigenous peoples challenge the fossil fuel regime in Alberta (Dominion)
A Climate of Change: African Americans, Global Warming and a Just Climate Policy for the US (EJCC)

Class

Opening Pandora's Box: Adding Classism to the Agenda
Wanna Talk Values? (Class and Race intersections and classism among African Americans)

More...

Internalized Oppression and Disability

Recommended Readings

A Call to Innovation! (smartMeme)

Strategizing for a Living Revolution: 5 Stages for Social Movements (George Lakey)

Capitalism vs The Climate (Naomi Klein, "The Nation")

The Power of Nonviolent Direct Action – Daniel Hunter (final) (Daniel Hunter)

Decolonizing the Revolutionary Imagination (Patrick Reinsboro)

Out of the Spiritual Closet: Organizers Transforming the Practice of Social Justice (Movement Strategy Center)

Eco-Justice People's Movement Assembly Resolution (U.S. Social Forum)

Climate Justice Now! North America Manifesto (Climate Justice Now! North America)

Frank Luntz's Playbook (a right-wing guide to media and messaging instructing Republicans on how to create a values-shift to the Right (Frank Luntz)

The Gulf Oil Spill: A Hole in the World (Naomi Klein)

The Soul of Environmentalism: Rediscovering Transformational Politics in the 21st Century (Michel Gelobter, Michael Dorsey, Leslie Fields, Tom Goldtooth, Anuja Mendiratta, Richard Moore, Rachel Morello-Frosch, Peggy M. Shepard, and Gerald Torres)

Environmental Justice Leadership Forum on Climate Change, Principles of Climate Justice (2009)

Interview with Robert Bullard (Great Environmental Justice Primer)

Principles of Environmental Justice

10 Principles for Just Climate Change Policies in the US

Bali Principles of Climate Justice

It's Too Late to Compromise on Climate (Mateo Nube)

How to Break the Climate Stalemate Between the Global South and the North (Gopal Dayaneni, Mateo Nube)

War, Climate Change and Women (Movement Generation)

The Case for Holistic Economic Transformation (Movement Generation)

Resilient Cities: Building Community Control (Movement Generation)

Carbon Fundamentalism vs. Climate Justice (Gopal Dayaneni)

Mapping the Terrain: Campaign Research March 2009 (Michelle Mascarenhas-Swan)

Climate Justice – A Global View, Colorlines (Gopal Dayaneni)

Principles of Earth Democracy (Vandana Shiva)

What's Fair? Consumers and Climate Change, Redefining Progress (K. Ansje Miller)

The Right to Ecological Development, Left Turn (Jeff Conant)

This is What Denial Does (George Monbiot)

Who Gains from the Green Economy, Colorlines (Preeti Mangal, Tram Nguyen)

Food, Finance and Climate, Triple Crisis, A Three-Fold Opportunity (Vandana Shiva)

Green Market Hustlers (M.K. Dorsey)

What's Missing from the Climate Talks? Justice! (Friends of the Earth International)

Indigenous Peoples' Guide, False Solutions to Climate Change (Indigenous Environmental Network)

The City That Ended Hunger (Frances Moore Lappe, Belo Horizonte)

Policy Link, Healthy Food for All: Building Equitable and Healthy Food Systems in Detroit and Oakland

Who Says You Can't Change The World, Just Economies and Societies in an Unjust Planet (Beverly Bell and Other Worlds Collective)

A Call To Innovation (smartMeme)

Rich, Poor and Climate Change (Rachel Oliver, CNN)

The Poor Are Hit the Hardest By Climate Change, But Contribute the Least to it (Seattle PI, Poplock)

The Climate Gap– Poor Minorities Hardest Hit By Climate Change, New American Media (Ngoc Nugyen)

The Global Water Crisis (Maude Barlow)
Water Wars, Excerpts from Water Wars Book (Vandana Shiva)
An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism, Militarism and the The Environment (Winona La Duke)
Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice, Corpwatch (Kenny Bruno, Joshua Karliner, & China Brotsky)
Anti-Racism for Global Justice reader (Catalyst Project)
Decolonize This! reader (Catalyst Project)
Leadership Development and Collective Liberation reader (Catalyst Project)

Appendix C
Effective Climate Communication Resources

The Climate Web – Delivering actionable knowledge on climate change
http://climatographer.com/climate-web/

Seeing Is Believing: A Guide to Visual Storytelling Best Practices
www.resource-media.org/visualstory-lab/report/

The Story Group Climate Change Videos
www.thestorygroup.org/category/nationalclimateassessment/

"How to Tell a Great Story"
www.blogs.hbr.org/2014/07/how-to-tell-a-great-story/

The Psychology of Climate Change Communication:
A Guide for Scientists, Journalists, Educators, Political Aides, and the Interested Public
www.guide.cred.columbia.edu/

EcoAmerica – Building Climate Leadership
http://ecoamerica.org

EcoAmerica - Communicating on Climate: 13 Steps and Guiding Principles
www.ecoamerica.org/research/#comm13steps

EcoAmerica - American Climate Values 2014: Psychographic and Demographic Insights
www.ecoamerica.org/research/#ACV14

Climate Outreach – Europe's Leading Climate Change Communicators
http://climateoutreach.org/

Climate Outreach - Uncertainty Handbook - 12 practical and easy-to apply principles
for smarter communication about climate change uncertainties
http://climateoutreach.org/resources/uncertainty-handbook/

George Mason Center for Climate Communication
http://www.climatechangecommunication.org/

Australian Climate Council
https://www.climatecouncil.org.au/category/communications-tools

Yale Program on Climate Communication
http://climatecommunication.yale.edu/

Yale Climate Connections
http://www.yaleclimateconnections.org/

Climate Communication Science and Outreach
https://www.climatecommunication.org/

Climate Asia Communication Toolkit
http://www.bbc.co.uk/climateasia/resources/communication-toolkit

Climate Communications and Behavior Change: A Guide for Practitioners
http://dnr.wi.gov/topic/SmallBusiness/documents/sustainability/ClimateCommunicationsAndBehaviorChange.pdf

Communicating Climate Change to Mass Public Audiences
http://psych.cf.ac.uk/understandingrisk/docs/cccag.pdf

Climate Access
http://www.climateaccess.org/

Connecting on Climate Change: A Guide to Effective Climate Communication
http://www.connectingonclimate.org/

ICLEI Outreach and Communications Guide
http://www.cakex.org/virtual-library/climate-change-outreach-and-communications-guide

**International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs -
Training Manual on Advocacy, Lobbying and Negotiating Skills**
www.iwgia.org/iwgia_files_publications_files/0642_AIPP_Training_Manual.pdf

Resources for Communication and Public Engagement on Climate Change and Adaptation
https://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/291/docs/pdfs/SGCNWorkshop/PPT5_Moser_2013_Resources_for_Communication_and_
Public_Engagement_on_Adaptation-1.pdf

CARE Climate Change - Advocacy Tools and Guidelines
www.careclimatechange.org/files/toolkit/CARE_Advocacy_Guidelines.pdf

Purdue University Climate Change Toolkit
www.purdue.edu/discoverypark/climate/climate-change/toolkit/manual.pdf

Climate Advocacy Lab
http://www.climateadvocacylab.org/

Climate Nexus
http://climatenexus.org/

Climate Shift
http://climateshiftproject.org/

Climate Voices
http://climatevoices.org/

CoClimate
http://www.coclimate.com/

Common Cause
http://valuesandframes.org/

International Environmental Communication Association (IECA)
https://theieca.org/

Media, Communication and Cultural Studies Association Climate Change Network
http://www.meccsa.org.uk/networks/climate-change-network/

Metcalf Institute for Marine and Environmental Reporting Communication on Climate Change Guide
http://metcalfinstitute.org/resources/communicating-on-climate-change/

National Network for Ocean and Climate Change Interpretation (NNOCCI)
http://www.nnocci.org/

European Communication Research and Education Association Science and Environment Communication
http://www.ecrea.eu/divisions/section/id/16/

Susanne Moser Research and Consulting
http://www.susannemoser.com/

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http://www.ucsusa.org/action/science_network/

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      utMrHL-tPomuE-uKVv1Q-utMSyu-uL48so-utPkiu-tPoU4S-uLn5Wt-seQH5Q-sc5hT4-redepr-sb1LJB-t7hC3s-
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Notes

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