Social Movement to Address Climate Change
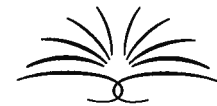
LOCAL STEPS FOR GLOBAL ACTION

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CHAPTER 6

TOWARD JUST CLIMATE-CHANGE COALITIONS

CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES IN THE STEP IT UP 2007 CAMPAIGN

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The environmental justice (EJ) movement is premised on the rights of all people to benefit from a healthy environment and to be meaningfully involved in and treated fairly during environmental decision making. When these rights are violated, environmental injustice occurs, often in the form of toxic waste, pollution, and environmental degradation, disproportionately causing harm to underresourced communities (i.e., communities of

color, women, and the poor). According to the International Climate Justice Network (2002), "The biggest injustice of climate change is that the hardest hit are the least responsible for contributing to the problem." To make things worse, the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) indicated that there is a growing climate divide between rich and poor communities regarding both where the effects of climate change will be the most acute and who is best prepared to address these effects. The report states,

> Poor communities can be especially vulnerable [to the effects of climate change], in particular those concentrated in high-risk areas. They tend to have more limited adaptive capacities, and are more dependent on climate-sensitive resources such as local water and food supplies. (2007, 8)

The Gulf Coast and Desert Southwest are two examples of vulnerable regions in the United States given in the IPCC report. Put simply, those in underresourced communities may not have the luxury of leaving an area that is experiencing the effects of global warming. Robert D. Bullard, Glenn S. Johnson, and Angel O. Torres argued that

> as we search for ways to rectify global climate change, we desperately need the input of the populations most likely to be negatively affected: people of color and other poor people in the North and in the developing countries of the South. (2005, 292)

The Bali Principles of Climate Justice sought to accomplish this goal by "broadening the constituency that provides leadership on climate change" (International Climate Justice Network 2002).

Campaigns such as Step It Up 2007 (SIU) and Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth* represent the emergence of climate change as perhaps the most important issue for the mainstream environmental (ME) movement. Yet, these campaigns often neglect to highlight the EJ implications of climate change. Even if mainstream climate-change campaigns acknowledge the disproportionate effects of global warming on traditionally underresourced and marginalized peoples, the principles of EJ,

such as equal representation, are not central to campaign development. We argue that a coalition between the EJ and ME movements is essential to address climate change, and we suggest ways to encourage development of such a coalition.

This type of collaboration is crucial for several reasons. First, environmental injustices are inextricably embedded in the climate crisis. Second, the maintenance of separate movements/campaigns on climate change can perpetuate injustice; the ME movement and its campaigns may receive more resources than the EJ movement/campaigns to address climate change, a common grievance of members of the EJ movement. Third, a united campaign for climate justice will be a stronger force for social change. Specifically, building a coalition between EJ groups and ME groups would reach broader constituencies, which is crucial for a problem as big as climate change. Finally, the people who are most directly affected by climate change tend to be already marginalized groups (IPCC 2007), so they may not be considered without the prodding of the EJ movement. A coalition campaign would embody the Principles of Environmental Justice, particularly principle seven, which recognizes "the right [of marginalized voices] to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making" (First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit 1991).

In this chapter, SIU acts as our case study to examine the possibilities and challenges of building a coalition campaign between the ME movement and the EJ movement to address climate change. We call for the two movements to strategically work toward a jointly developed *just climate-change campaign*. We begin by reviewing the possibility of coalition building between the two movements. Then, we set the scene for our analysis by presenting data on the (lack of) presence of EJ organizations and messages and of marginalized people at the events we attended. Next, we examine SIU as a case of two challenges to building environmental coalitions—accessibility of Internet technologies and green consumerism. Then, we offer some possibilities for coalitions, including the use of faith-based groups as bridges between the two movements. The final section of the chapter lays out practical

suggestions for ME movement practitioners interested in cooperating with the EJ movement.

THE POSSIBILITY OF COALITIONS

Our chapter assumes that the ME movement (specifically, the climate-change movement) and the EJ movement (specifically, the climate-justice movement) can indeed be compatible despite a long history of division and contention. Phaedra Pezzullo and Ronald Sandler suggested, "Since at least the early 1990s, activists from the EJ movement consistently have criticized what they consider the ME movement's racism, classism, and limited activist agenda" (2007a, 2). One Seattle interviewee echoed this sentiment when she shared her frustration with the lack of minorities involved in SIU events and the white, middle-class agenda of the SIU campaign:

> [I would] like to see more minorities at these events. Once again, it's about the middle-class white people. This is what I have been struggling with since college. How do I go to minority communities and connect those people to these issues? Yet, we need to figure out how to talk to more than Fremont and Ballard [two primarily white, middle-class neighborhoods in Seattle]. That's too easy.

This comment reflects that even if there is desire within mainstream environmentalists to add diversity to the movement, they may not know how to encourage involvement from marginalized peoples. Yet, this type of reaching out may meet resistance from members of the EJ movement who believe the whiteness of the ME movement provides a barrier to collaboration. Beverly A Wright, Pat Bryant, and Robert D. Bullard (1994) argued, "these [ME] groups cannot reach out to African Americans and people of color as long as they are nearly all white" (1994, 121).

Despite the history of animosity between the EJ and ME movements, Pezzullo and Sander argued that further institutionalization and receptivity of the EJ movement and the development of active EJ campaigns in ME organizations like Sierra Club and Greenpeace are signs of the potential for discussing collaboration and coalitions. "Ongoing conversations within both movements regarding the viability and direction of their

futures" may be the catalyst for exploring coalition building and cooperation between the movements (2007a, 12). Other scholars also argue for the potential for and necessity of collaboration between the EJ movement and the ME movement (Agyeman 2005; Agyeman, Bullard, and Evans 2002; Agyeman and Evans 2003; Faber 2007; Jamieson 2007).

There are at least two competing perspectives on the possibilities for collaboration between the EJ and ME movements: movement fusion and strategic coalitions. Movement fusion is the "coming together of two (or more) social movements by developing a common agenda" (Cole and Foster 2001, 164). The concept of *just sustainability*, or the "nexus of theoretical compatibility between sustainability and EJ" (Agyeman and Evans 2003, 48), exemplifies movement fusion. Through providing examples of successful cooperation between sustainability/environmental organizations and EJ organizations, proponents of just sustainability show that it is possible and desirable. Rather than fusing the two movements together, however, Pezzullo and Sandler argue for developing strategic coalitions between the movements. They suggest that certain fundamental differences limit "the prospects or even the desirability of...merging the two movements into one single, unified movement" (2007b, 311). Indeed, the conflict between the two movements can be productive for both movements.

Although we do not ascribe fully to either of these two models of coalition building, our chapter builds from Pezzullo and Sandler's (2007b) advocacy of the value of "campaign or issue-specific collaborations or alliances" between the EJ movement and the ME movement. We believe that the climate-change crisis is ripe for collaboration between the two movements and that specific campaigns can and should be developed to address climate change. Yet, we are not ready to give up the concept of movement fusion. While we do not advocate for the complete fusion of the EJ and ME movements because of their differences and the value of conflict between the two, we believe we should strive for fusion in a variety of strategic campaigns on climate change. In the next few sections, we will use SIU as a case study in the challenges and potential for collaboration on specific climate-change campaigns.

Setting the Scene

When we interviewed the national SIU organizers following the completion of the first SIU campaign, they claimed they had thought about the EJ implications of climate change when planning the campaign. Despite this awareness, however, our analysis reveals that there was little presence from the EJ movement or marginalized peoples in the SIU campaign. First, we observed a lack of EJ groups at the SIU actions. At actions that included tables and booths for other organizations, we did not observe representation from local EJ groups. In some places, this may be due to a lack of such groups. However, Oakland and San Antonio are home to several prominent EJ organizations that were not present at the SIU actions. Awareness of the lack of participation by EJ groups led the SIU national team to attempt to work with and learn from EJ leaders and groups, such Van Jones and the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in Oakland, California, to increase their participation at the SIU2 events that took place in November 2007.

Second, our analysis of speeches and messages of the events indicates limited inclusion of EJ principles. Instead, we observed that the SIU event messages focused more on what behaviors people could perform to slow global warming (i.e., buying lightbulbs and pressuring Congress) than on the consequences of global warming that disproportionately affect marginalized people and on the injustices of climate change. One of the national SIU organizers stated, "My sense is that that issue [environmental justice] was not dealt with...openly in most of these events."

There were, however, speakers at the Raleigh and Seattle events who highlighted EJ principles and issues. At the Raleigh action, Carlos Velazquez, Otomi Indian and director of natural resources and environmental affairs for the Southern Cherokee Nation, spoke about the effects climate change would have on indigenous people, especially the Inuit in the Arctic. Moreover, at the Seattle action, JiJi Jally also spoke about the EJ implications of climate change:

> As a Marshallese, I worry about the social injustice of the poor and developing people in the world suffering much more of the

> hardship linked to climate change...My country is a tiny country; it just has 70 square miles of land. Our entire social structure is linked to the land. If we lose our land to the rising seas, we cannot simply pick up and move to another location just as people in America can if their land is damaged or disappears.

At this event, Jally was the first speaker, and her comments were explicitly referenced by the speakers who followed her. A Presbyterian minister also talked about the religious community's commitment to environmental justice. Although EJ was not the theme of the entire event, Jally's comments were presented first and seemed to set the tone for the rest of the event. These two examples articulate the opportunities for weaving EJ implications of climate change into ME-movement campaigns on climate change.

Finally, our examination of field notes from researcher attendees and author observations reveal that a majority of participants and speakers at the SIU actions were white and middle class. An interview with the national SIU organizers confirms this finding across the national actions:

> We did do a really good job of engaging, you know, middle-class, white America—well, the middle-class, liberal white America—in our actions, but one thing that I think we should recognize that we failed at is something that the environmental movement in general has failed at, is really engaging minorities.

Although this result may not be surprising in places with large majorities of white people, such as Salt Lake City (79.2 percent White), Seattle (70.1 percent White), Raleigh (63.3 percent White), East Lansing (80.9 percent White), and Spokane (89.5 percent White), it should be surprising for the actions in Oakland (35.7 percent African American, 15.2 percent Asian American, and 21.9 percent Hispanic/Latina/Latino), Boston (25.3 percent African American, 7.5 percent Asian American, and 14.4 percent Hispanic/Latina/Latino), and San Antonio, (6.8 percent African American, 1.6 percent Asian American, and 58.7 percent Hispanic/Latina/Latino).[1] One participant in Oakland, California, noted her disappointment in the

organization of the SIU action: "I looked on the Web page and I saw the pictures coming in, and it was all white people. There was no diversity. Look around, everybody in this room is white." Moreover, the San Antonio event was organized by a young (thirty-something), white-collar professional woman, and the speakers, other than one Latino state representative, were all non-Latino white-collar professionals. The participants mirrored this demographic. That is not insignificant in San Antonio, where a majority of the population is Latino. Interviews and field notes from the other SIU locations reveal a lack of people of color among action organizers, speakers, and participants.[2]

Our data also address participants' economic class. At the San Antonio action, one researcher spoke briefly with twenty-five to thirty people attending the rally. With two exceptions, all of the interviewees were either white-collar professionals or students at an expensive private university. Of the two exceptions, neither lacked privilege. One has an advanced degree and explained that he "works full-time on environmental issues." The second said she has a small inheritance that enables her to "live a simple life and be involved in environmental and social justice issues" in San Antonio. The Salt Lake City Liberty Park action focused on using yoga, an activity that is primarily associated with middle- to upper-class people in the United States, as a way to address climate change. Our observations confirm a majority of middle-class to upper-class participants at actions across the nation.[3]

Despite the lack of participation from marginalized and underresourced people at the SIU actions, we did observe at least one action that succeeded in attracting a diverse set of participants: an action at Washington Square Park in downtown Salt Lake City, which drew up to five thousand people, had a noticeable presence of people of color. Interview data from the action reveal that the organizers specifically tried to raise awareness and educate a diverse audience, particularly the Latino population in Salt Lake City and the "Wal-Mart crowd." Interview and field note data from this event confirm the success of the attempt.

A just climate-change campaign would not only be based in a coalition between EJ and ME groups but would also make present the voices

and perspectives of marginalized and underresourced people—people of color, indigenous people, women, and poor people. Our data indicate that SIU did not successfully integrate EJ issues, members of the movement, and marginalized people into its campaign. One reason for this paucity may be the extant divide between the EJ movement and the ME movement, which we discussed above. Although the past divide poses a challenge, it does not need to be an insurmountable barrier to contemporary issue-based coalitions between the two movements. Certainly, an important part of making a just climate-change campaign is for the ME movement to *meaningfully* reach out, work with, and share its resources with EJ groups. Moreover, a just climate-change campaign must also make efforts to include marginalized and underresourced people, whether or not they are involved in the EJ movement. Such attempts will not be easy but are necessary.

CHALLENGES TO COLLABORATION

In this section, we will discuss two challenges to collaboration that we observed in the data from local SIU events: (1) the relationship between access and the digital divide, and (2) the role of green consumption in the campaign. Analysis of each reveals limitations in how the SIU campaign reached out to marginalized and underresourced peoples and the EJ movement. Our analysis also positions these shortcomings in the SIU campaign as challenges that must be addressed for future just climate-change campaigns.

Access and the Digital Divide

One reason for the lack of participation by marginalized and underresourced people may be related to the SIU campaign's reliance on the Internet as its main form of outreach and organizing. The organic, open-source structure of SIU promoted the potential for marginalized people and the EJ movement to sign up to host an event with their own take on SIU, learn about local SIU events, and generally participate in the campaign (see chapter 7, chapter 8, and chapter 11 for more discussion

of SIU as an open-source campaign). However, we argue that using the Internet as the primary means for disseminating information about the campaign may have widened the divide between Internet users and non-users. This digital divide extends beyond race and income to include geographical location, such as rural areas, where rates of Internet use are often lower (Whitacre and Mills 2007). Understanding the digital divide can help to explain why heavily relying on the use of the Internet for movement participation (i.e., online sign-ups to host events, dissemination of information about the campaign through the SIU Web site, blogs, and *Grist*, etc.) can result in a lack of participation of marginalized people, who may suffer the most from climate change.

The digital divide refers to the disparity of use of the Internet and unequal access to information communication technology (ICT) across classifications of race, gender, age, income, education, and geography (NTIA 2000a, 2000b, 2002; Rogers 2001; Mossberger, Tolbert, and Gilbert 2006). General concerns about information inequalities have come to the forefront in public and political debate over the last decade (Selwyn 2004; Van Dijk and Hacker 2000). However, much of the discussion about new technologies and social equality has presented an oversimplified notion of a digital divide between "haves and have-nots." This approach provides a limited view of the complex relationship between technological development and social justice (Rogers 2001). Selwyn argued that "there needs to be a political recognition that the crucial issues of the digital divide are not just technological—they are social, economic, cultural, and political" (2004, 357).

ICT, specifically the Internet, has tremendous potential to overcome existing social division, achieve greater social equity and empowerment, and improve everyday life for those on the margins of society (Mehra, Merkel, and Bishop 2004; Selwyn 2004). One critical way ICT can empower a community is by providing its members the capacity to more fully participate in society, creating what Mossberger et al. called "digital citizenship" (2006, 585). Among other things, ICT provides the opportunity to engage marginalized people in planning, policy implementation, and community-specific activities such as educational campaigns. This

helps to reengage underresourced and marginalized people with each other and the process of public-policy development, and may contribute to a more active and participative democracy (Bekkers, Duivenboden, and Thaens 2006; Mehra, Merkel, and Bishop 2004; chapter 8).

Grassroots environmental organizations have increasingly relied on the Internet to mobilize their members and organize protests (Kellogg 1999). Environmental advocates use a variety of electronic tools such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and the Internet to advance their cause and address environmental problems. Use of such technologies, however, requires a set of technical prerequisites. Environmentally burdened communities tend to be economically and technologically disadvantaged, with fewer resources to access scientific and technical information. Lack of meaningful access to computer technology, as well as a lack of computer skills, makes hope for an Internet-technology-enhanced just climate-change campaign contingent. To be more in line with the principles of EJ,[4] campaigns relying on ICT must address basic equity and enfranchisement issues (Schuler 2000). Although SIU's use of the Internet as the primary means for signing up event hosts, disseminating information about the event, and monitoring initiative progress had the potential to engage marginalized people in public-policy development, the lack of representation indicates that that potential was not achieved.

Researchers and practitioners (Schuler 2000; Tesh 2000; Warschauer 2003) have identified several ways to use ICTs to reach disadvantaged communities and provide opportunities for previously disenfranchised groups to have an equal voice in public-policy debates. These include: (1) leveraging existing local and regional social resources and networks, (2) extending the social capital of marginalized people, and (3) combining technological approaches with a broad range of traditional face-to-face advocacy approaches. When combined, these three strategies use ICTs *and* work with local social networks to minimize the effects of the digital divide and empower marginalized people to be digital citizens. In the remainder of this section, we discuss each of these strategies in the context of the SIU campaign. The national SIU campaign organizers

did not use these strategies. Through more systematic use of these approaches in relation to ICTs, specifically the Internet, environmental movements and campaigns can more fully engage traditionally marginalized people and create a more just climate-change movement.

Leveraging Local Networks

David Schlosberg (1999) has shown that the EJ movement typically relies on an organizational model that gathers strength through networks of diverse and geographically scattered local struggles. Online EJ resources that do not tap into local communities and social networks will not be able to mobilize environmentally burdened groups on the ground. Internet communication technology is most likely to increase the visibility and success of EJ in instances where existing people-based networks are well established and used in policy initiatives (Schuler 2000; Tesh 2000). By working directly with community-based organizations, local leaders, and educators, ME and EJ environmental practitioners will be more able to reach members of these marginalized and underresourced communities (Warschauer 2003).

Despite their desire to include underresourced people and address EJ issues, our data show that the national SIU organizers did not successfully access networks of underresourced people or reach out to established EJ organizations (by their own admission). One solution is for the central organizers to work with established EJ groups in future campaigns, which the SIU team did to a small extent for SIU2. But this is not enough. It is also crucially important for movements that are increasingly relying on ICTs to understand their audiences' relationships with ICTs. In order for the Internet to play a greater role in social and personal empowerment, we need to understand the practices, systems of relations, and context of particular minority and marginalized users of ICTs in order to identify local goals and how they use—or do not use—the Internet for meeting their objectives. This approach is crucial for several reasons. First, if we rely on the Internet as the primary means of campaign organization and participation, campaign success requires

reaching diverse populations, which is only possible when we understand how marginalized and underresourced groups use (or don't use) the Internet. The SIU campaign was designed so everyday people could sign up to be part of the campaign by organizing their own events; however, this design did not factor in the digital divide and the social and technological practices of marginalized people, making it less likely that some audiences would find out about the campaign, sign up to organize an event, or participate at a rally. Second, when used well, ICTs can empower marginalized people and help foster digital citizenship.

By penetrating existing social networks, working with established EJ groups, and better understanding the social practices of marginalized people, environmental practitioners can more fully empower these communities and engage them in critical policy initiatives. So, while we do not advocate for SIU and other campaigns to devote all of their resources to learning about how marginalized people use ICTs, they cannot rely solely on working with EJ groups to increase access and participation by marginalized people.

Extending Social Capital

To more fully engage marginalized people in movements and campaigns, practitioners must recognize the mediating role of economic, cultural, and social forms of capital in shaping individuals' engagements with ICT (Selwyn 2004). To be successful in their endeavors, practitioners must extend the social capital of these communities through the use of Internet technologies (Shulman et al. 2005, 504).[5] One way to accomplish this is by directly working with local organizations to educate community members on issues that impact them and train community members in Internet technologies so they can manage information for their own purposes, thereby increasing their social capital (Kellogg and Mathur 2003, 578). Environmentally burdened communities, if given access to and training in Internet technologies, would be able to better address environmental issues with more comprehensive information and greater political clout.

Our analysis of the SIU national Web page (including its recipe book for local organizers) and an interview with two of the organizers show that the national SIU organizers neither provided training in Internet technologies to potential participants nor encouraged local-action organizers to provide such training. The national format of the SIU campaign assumed that access to the Internet was a given. This assumption further marginalized those communities that do not use the Internet or have the necessary technological skills or social capital to address climate change through involvement in SIU. Moreover, our data from the local events we attended show that even in events that used Internet technologies (e.g., the Salt Lake City Washington Square event's computer bank for e-mailing representatives), the local organizers did not assist or train people to use ICTs for things such as sending e-mail messages to Congress. Nor did local SIU events address technological possibilities for continued long-term involvement with climate-change issues, which would increase the social capital of marginalized groups. Given the diverse people in attendance, the Salt Lake City action suggests the potential for providing access to ICTs, helping people learn how to send an e-mail and use other technologies, and demonstrating the value of ICTs as a long-term tool for citizen participation in decision making. Armed with information from the national SIU organizers about the Internet-usage practices of marginalized people and the value of providing training in Internet and other ICTs, local events could engage with, instead of marginalize, groups who are less likely to understand and use the Internet.

Using Internet Technologies to Augment Traditional Approaches

In order for a technologically enhanced movement to be successful and fully engage marginalized people, the Internet must be used in connection with other, more traditional means of social activism (Shulman et al. 2005). Internet resources can often augment local movement efforts and provide support for initiatives but cannot replace face-to face social activism. Personal interaction among advocates is critical. Internet-based communication systems can be used effectively for community development

only after its users have developed, through other means, trust in each other and a shared community identity or vision (Resnick 2002).

> Strategies that take into account the social nature of access, recognize the interaction between face-to-face and online communications, and combine Internet use with a broad range of other new and old media provide the best opportunity for promoting social inclusion through use of ICT. (Warschauer 2003, 197)

SIU used ICTs to organize face-to-face gatherings at the actions on April 14. This is the opposite of drawing on ICTs to supplement existing relationships and activist communities. Future campaigns might aim to develop a reciprocal relationship between ICTs and social networks by encouraging local meetings before and after the day of action. Connecting with existing social networks can also help reach this goal.

Internet technologies can be tools for community empowerment. Used creatively, they have the capability to engage traditionally marginalized people in discussions about the environment and strengthen the role of marginalized people in political decision-making processes. A combination of leveraging local networks, extending social capital though ICT skills, and not letting ICTs replace traditional networking can be effective strategies for engaging marginalized people. If a just climate-change campaign is going to rely on a open-source, Web-based model, as SIU did, the campaign must make sure that the campaign is accessible to marginalized and underresourced people who will be affected the most by climate change, not only through building coalitions with established EJ groups but also through understanding technology use and facilitating engagement.

Green Consumerism

A second challenge to integrating EJ and ME campaigns from our analysis concerns how green consumerism was often (perhaps inadvertently) presented as a way to solve global warming—a message that detracted from the justice implications of climate change. Human-caused climate change is closely linked to global patterns of consumption, economic

injustice, and social injustice. Underresourced and marginalized people in the United States and the world are poised to suffer the most from global climate change, and in some cases, rich and privileged people will actually benefit from it (IPCC 2007; Bullard, Johnson, and Torres 2005; Jamieson 2007). According to J. Timmons Roberts,

> The cry for "climate justice"—that is, EJ on the issue of climate change—is growing louder as impacts are being increasingly felt in poor nations threatened by the changes. These nations are at the same time tragically unable to cope with and respond to climate disasters, such as spreading drought and agricultural instability (most notably affecting sub-Saharan Africa), sea level rise (Pacific island atolls and Bangladesh being the most vulnerable), and hurricane risk. (2007, 293–294)

From an EJ perspective, climate change will affect the basic survival of underresourced people living in vulnerable regions. Both the Principles of EJ and the Bali Principles of Climate Justice emphasize the need to prevent the disproportionate effects of environmental problems, pollution, and climate change on marginalized peoples as primary. Despite both documents' recognition of the need for consumption practices to change, the EJ movement is emphatically not focused on hybrid cars or voluntary simplicity.

The SIU campaign, along with many other ME approaches to climate change, displaces EJ concerns with climate change by emphasizing changes in individual consumption patterns. At each SIU event, we saw strong advocacy for changes in individual consumption patterns (i.e., compact florescent lightbulbs [CFLs], hybrid cars, and other green products) that was sometimes framed as a complement to congressional action on climate change but was also often framed as a means to take individual action on climate change to the exclusion of congressional action.

Green consumerism has been identified by some as a prosocial, socially conscious form of consumer behavior (Moisander 2007) with the ability to raise awareness of climate change (Grønhøj 2006) and empower people to feel as though they can make change through a few easy changes

in their individual actions (i.e., walking instead of driving when possible, changing lightbulbs, and greening one's home). We recognize the importance of individual actions in a society with a strong individualistic bias; audiences like to learn of ways to solve problems in their own lives, and it is important to appeal to this aspect of audiences. However, we question the value of advocating green consumption when it may further marginalize and alienate underresourced people and exclude them from being a part of the solution to climate change. Many of the green products and services may be less accessible to underresourced and marginalized people in the United States. Moreover, focusing attention on individual consumer solutions can trade off with raising awareness about climate justice and the effects of continued human-caused climate change on underresourced and marginalized people. The high profile of consumer products at local SIU events, often overwhelming the calls for congressional action (e.g., chapter 4), was a sign to participants of what the SIU campaign was about. If the movement is primarily about changing consumption patterns, and maybe also about pressuring Congress to cut CO_2 emissions, it may rebuff EJ groups who are concerned with justice and effects on marginalized peoples.

At local SIU events, we observed a plethora of consumer solutions to climate change, and no critical examination of how consumerist solutions may detract from attention to environmental justice. Several of the events specifically catered to consumerism; booths and activities highlighted at the Austin, Bloomington, Lansing, Moscow, Raleigh, San Antonio, Salt Lake City, and Seattle actions encouraged attendees to make purchases to green their homes and make their next car purchase a hybrid to reduce their carbon emissions. While these individual consumer purchases do help mitigate the effects of global warming, they also encourage green consumers to assuage their own guilt about consumption as if it occurred in a political vacuum. Many of the vendors present at SIU actions took advantage of guilt by offering attendees opportunities to combat global warming by consuming. For example, at the Salt Lake City action, a booth offered ReDirect Guides (i.e., yellow pages for green products) with flyers that touted "10 easy things you can do to spend with intention"

and introduced "the planet's first card that helps prevent climate change with every purchase" (ReDirect Guide n.d.). This type of advertising clearly taps into the green consumer's implicit desire to do the right thing (e.g., fight global warming) by consuming "with intention," which can shortchange political action. The green consumer is able to feel that by making responsible consumer choices, they have done their part to address climate change. These actions prioritize consumer changes over understanding and addressing the social-justice implications of climate change, not to mention that underresourced people with less discretionary income may be excluded from these individual actions.

Many of the proposed solutions to global warming at the SIU events (i.e., hybrid cars, solar power, and green homes) are far too expensive and therefore unrealistic options for a large portion of society. While some affluent sections of the population are willing to pay up to 25 percent more for green products (Prothero 1990), many people cannot afford such prices. Johanna Moisander (2007) explained that the ability to engage in green behaviors is a function of personal resources (i.e., money) and opportunity (i.e., availability of products and services) for the consumer to perform the behavior. McCarty and Shrum (2001) added that it is difficult for those who are impeded by the cost of green items to see the long-term benefits of such items. These higher price tags can be discouraging for families that struggle to make ends meet. Emphasizing green consumerism as a primary part of the solution to the problem of global warming effectively excludes a large portion of the population from being a part of the "solution."

Green consumerism does not have to be just for the rich, and can be an important part of the solution to climate change. We must start thinking differently about consumerist solutions; this thinking must include marginalized voices and the EJ movement. For example, CFLs could be appealing to underresourced people concerned about the environment and the high price of electricity. Providing information about the long-term cost-saving benefits of CFLs could encourage even those with little discretionary income to start using them. Instead of providing free CFLs to middle- and upper-class white people who often attend ME rallies on

climate change and can afford to buy their own lightbulbs, ME groups could work with EJ groups to start distributing CFLs to underresourced people (modeling the urban gardens that many EJ groups have started). Changing consumer practices does not have to be mutually exclusive with pursuing EJ issues. Indeed, the seventeenth principle of the Principles of Environmental Justice states, "Environmental Justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible" (First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit 1991). What the EJ perspective does is highlight the injustices associated with consumerism and environmental problems such as climate change. The Bali Principles of Climate Justice state that "unsustainable production and consumption practices are at the root of this [climate change] and other global environmental problem[s]" and "combating climate change must entail profound shifts from unsustainable production, consumption and lifestyles, with industrialized countries taking the lead" (International Climate Justice Network 2002). Moreover, the Bali Principles argue that climate justice means that all people have access to necessities such as sustainable energy.

The design, implementation, and vision of the national SIU campaign did not sufficiently include EJ organizations and EJ principles into their campaigns. This insufficiency in the national campaign trickled down to the local actions with few exceptions, resulting in a primary emphasis in many events on consumerist solutions to climate change that exclude marginalized and underresourced people and detract from justice issues.

POSSIBILITIES FOR COLLABORATION

While our analysis of the SIU campaign reveals several challenges to a collaborative just climate-change campaign, we also observed possibilities for collaboration. An effective coalition between the two movements would not only have to increase access and participation but also address the institutional social capital, economic, racist, and classist assumptions in the proposed solutions to climate change. One way to do this

is for the ME movement to use existing networks. Since the EJ movement is already strongly linked to faith-based organizations (Agyeman and Evans 2004; Gottlieb 2006; Allen, Daro, and Holland 2007), one way to build a coalition between the ME and EJ movements is to work with faith-based organizations and groups that have social justice and EJ campaigns. Just as churches were co-opted by the civil rights movement (McAdam 1982) and various antiwar movements, faith-based organizations can play a strong role in a just climate movement.

Faith-based organizations—representing Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—are addressing environmental problems, including climate change. According to Roger Gottlieb, "religious environmentalism is truly a global phenomenon, involving members of virtually every religious group, race, and culture on the planet" (2006, 471). Several interfaith groups highlight that climate change will disproportionately affect poor people and countries (Gottlieb 2006). Environmental organizers such as SIU could take advantage of the strong, albeit sometimes factional and contentious, eco-justice movement rooted in Christian churches in the United States, where "those who take the eco-justice perspective seek to pursue the struggle for justice and for a healthy environment together" (Bakken, Engel, and Engel 1995, 5). As Gottlieb reminded us, the EJ movement was "spearheaded initially not by Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, or the World Wildlife Federation, but by the United Church of Christ" (2006, 491). The strong role that churches played in the civil rights movement, the antinukes movement, and various antiwar movements reveals that faith-based organizations can play strong and important roles in organized resistance.

Faith-based communities were not absent from the SIU campaign. The national campaign was allied with five faith-based organizations that focus on climate change or other environmental issues.[6] At the Raleigh, North Carolina, SIU event, at least one faith-based group, Interfaith Power and Light, was present with a table; in Seattle and Boston, religious leaders gave speeches that drew on environmental-justice principles; participants across locations self-identified as members of

churches or faith-based groups. A Presbyterian minister spoke at the Seattle main rally:

> People from our faith communities, are you out there? Can I hear a witness? [*shouting*] All right. I heard that we had twenty-seven churches, seven synagogues, three faith organizations, and lots of clergy today. That that's just the ones we counted as we were walking, so we had a terrific turnout. All these people wearing red are representing local faith communities. And they are here to witness to the fact that caring for the earth is an essential component of faithful living.

She went on to talk about how a commitment to environmental justice motivates religious groups to action, demonstrating that coalitions with religious organizations can effectively expand the reach of a campaign (e.g., members of thirty-seven religious organizations at the Seattle action) and frame environmental justice as a central motivation for action on climate change. An interview with a member of the First Baptist Church at the Kalamazoo, Michigan, event revealed that "as Christians, we need to practice stewardship of the earth." The church member had heard of the event through an article in the *Christian Century* magazine that called for Christians to participate in the climate-change movement. These instances suggest the potential organizational and moral resources for more fully co-opting religious networks toward building a just climate campaign.

Although we recognize the difficulty of creating alliances between the ME movement and the EJ movement, we argue that faith-based environmental groups may provide an interesting and fruitful bridge between the two movements. Because of the focus on justice and the linkages between the EJ movement and churches, incorporation of faith-based groups into SIU and future campaigns can both bring justice issues to the forefront and add new social networks of the movement. As Kim Allen, Vinci Daro, and Dorothy Holland suggested, "Alliances provide at least a temporary community of practice where different environmentalisms can

be learned and where new forms can be created. This is the most likely positive path for the future" (2007, 130).

CONCLUSION

The response to the global crisis of climate change has produced patterns of advantage and disadvantage that plague the global community (Agarwal, Narain, and Sharma 2002). These injustices must be addressed in our pursuit of a response to global climate change. "The need to insure that public policy—environmental or otherwise—does not disproportionately disadvantage any particular social group, and affords opportunity for all, must be a precondition for the move toward just and sustainable societies" (Agyeman and Evans 2004, 163). In our analysis of the SIU events, we found that environmental justice principles were not sufficiently integrated into the campaign and message. Addressing climate change requires a coalition built between the ME movement and the EJ movement, not only for the power of collective action but also to address the justice implications of climate change. As an outgrowth of the ME movement, the SIU campaign could have made better efforts to draw in members of the EJ movement into its campaign. Pezzullo and Sandler suggested that "when groups from both movements come to work together with respect for the other within the context of a well-defined, campaign-specific effort, domestically or internationally, a just partnership is not only possible, but desirable" (2007b, 317). In retrospect, the SIU campaign could have been an ideal opportunity to create such an alliance. But what could have been done in the SIU campaign to create alliances, invite new social networks to participate, and include the principles of environmental justice into the campaign? In the remainder of this paper, we lay out some practical suggestions for future movement builders and campaign organizers to reach out to the EJ movement and marginalized peoples, build coalitions through specific campaigns, and propose solutions that work to overcome (and at the least not further entrench) environmental injustices.

First, it is crucial to *infuse the Principles of EJ into a just climate-change campaign*. We suggest that ME practitioners can begin to do

this by creating alliances with established EJ organizations, ensuring participation venues for the people who will be affected the most from the effects of climate change, and developing solutions that address both climate change and its concomitant injustices. Because of the history of contention between the two movements, it is important for the ME movement to reach out to EJ organizations early in the development of the campaign. Rather than developing a campaign and then inviting EJ groups to be involved, a coalition campaign would be codeveloped by ME and EJ leaders or organizations and would draw on the principles of EJ in the development and implementation of the campaign. In such a campaign, it would be possible, for example, to reenvision the role of green consumerism and individual action, along with advocating policy changes, in ways that do not further marginalize underresourced people and entrench injustices. As we discussed above, changing consumer practices and sustainable living is articulated in the seventeenth principle of the Principles of Environmental Justice. Although an alliance with an established EJ organization is the ideal, it may not be possible for some campaigns to do so. In these cases, the Principles of EJ (see appendix A) can still be incorporated in the development of the campaign.

Second, in order for a just climate-change campaign to create opportunities for input from the marginalized and underresourced people who will be affected the most by the effects of climate change, the campaign organizers must *reach out to new social networks*. Overall, the SIU campaign was not successful in reaching new social networks (outside of the ME movement) of marginalized and underresourced people. In addition to working with established EJ organizations, we argue that tapping into existing networks of churches and faith-based groups can be an excellent way to reach not only marginalized and underresourced people but also networks of people who are already concerned about social and environmental-justice issues. On both national and local levels, organizers should reach out to faith-based groups that can rally their members to be part of the cause. We have already seen the success of using the social networks of churches in the civil rights movement.

Third, since marginalized and underresourced people may be less likely to have access to ICTs, *do not rely solely on the Internet for organizing*. In the case of the SIU campaign, the organizers relied on the Internet as the main means of participation in the campaign—local organizers signed up to host events on the SIU Web site; people found out about the SIU campaign on *Grist*, blogs, or through e-mail messages; and many actions called on participants to use e-mail to contact congressional decision makers. While we recognize the value of the Internet and other ICTs for social movements in the twenty-first century, we cannot assume that everyone is "plugged in." Organizers should combine ICTs with traditional organizing tactics such as face-to-face meetings. Moreover, making efforts to access new social networks cannot take place solely through the Internet. Campaign organizers can reach out to established EJ groups, faith-based groups, and community leaders through traditional means.

Fourth, when using the Internet and other ICTs, it is crucial that campaigns *understand how their potential audiences use ICTs* and *offer training in digital citizenship*. As we discussed, inequities in access to and use of ICTs make it so that we cannot assume that everyone is able to participate in a campaign digitally. Although it may require some shifting of resources within a campaign, learning about the usage practices of marginalized and underresourced peoples is crucial to a campaign that upholds the principles of environmental justice and creates opportunities for their input. Even if it is not realistic to perform a study of the use of ICTs for all audiences, it is safe to assume that a campaign that relies mostly on ICTs is not going to reach all audiences. In addition to learning about ICT usage, campaigns can offer training in using the Internet. On the national level, the SIU organizers set up a user-friendly Web-based system for local organizers to sign up for and design their events. The organizers were also available to talk over the phone. However, more effort could have been made to train new organizers in using the Internet. On the local level, events and actions could make available access to computers and offer on-the-spot training on how to use them to participate in the campaign. While the Salt Lake City event did provide

computers for sending e-mails to Congress, the setup seemed to assume that people were already knowledgeable in computer usage.

Finally, when developing a national just climate-change movement, national organizers must *teach local organizers how to engage the principles of environmental justice*. As we discovered in our analysis, the events that did a reasonable job of incorporating EJ into their events had organizers who were accustomed to working with EJ groups, as indicated in an interview with some of the organizers of the Seattle events. For a national campaign to be serious about the principles of EJ, it must think about its audience of local organizers with varied levels of understanding of EJ. The SIU campaign did an excellent job of providing resources for the local organizers to learn how to work with the media, for example. The campaign could have also produced guidelines for working with local EJ and faith-based organizations, incorporating the principles of EJ, and reaching out to new social networks.

ENDNOTES

1. All percentages came from the 2000 census (http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/).
2. Although we were able to gather rough estimates of the presence of people of color at the actions because of our participant observation at the events, it is important to note that visual markers of racial identity (i.e., skin color) are not the only way to measure racial and ethnic diversity.
3. Although our data are limited to events attended by the research team, they are fully consistent with other research on public participation in environmental campaigns (e.g., Pezzullo and Sandler 2007a).
4. The Principles of Environmental Justice were adopted in 1991 by the delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, DC. A copy of the principles is available in appendix A.
5. Although extending social capital does not necessarily guarantee ecological protection and better democratic practice (Peterson et al. 2006), in this case, social capital is important for an understanding of the relationship between access and the digital divide.
6. These groups were Eco-Justice Ministries, FUSE (Faiths United for Sustainable Energy), Presbyterians for Restoring Creation, the Academy of Evangelical Scientists and Ethicists, and the Regeneration Project.

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