



## From Anthropocentrism to Ecocentrism: Making the Shift

Online E-Conference | 14-30 April 2007

### PANEL PERSPECTIVES

(Adapted from *Ignition: What You Can Do to Fight Global Warming and Spark a Movement*, Jonathan Isham and Sissel Waage, eds. Available July 2007. Copyright © 2007 Island Press. Reproduced by permission of Island Press, Washington, D.C.)

## Shaping the New Climate Change Movement

**Mary Lou Finley**

*Antioch University Seattle, Seattle, Washington*

*“Perhaps a spark will ignite a massive uprising of popular will.”* Ross Gelbspan, *Boiling Point*

Change is in the wind. As the United States struggles to recover from the effects of Hurricane Katrina, as we face the reality of how climate change is changing so many of our precious landscapes, groups dedicated to fighting global warming have formed all around the country, and we are starting to see the potential of this groundswell. In September 2006, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed the California Global Warming Solutions Act, a clean-energy bill that puts a cap on that state's greenhouse gas emissions. In November 2006, the change in congressional leadership in Washington brought the promise of the consideration of such a bill at the national level.

In this paper, the current state of the climate change movement and its long-term potential are examined. To do this, we'll use Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan (MAP) model of social movements, which he developed over many years of training activists and eventually summarized in *Doing Democracy*<sup>1</sup> (a book that he and I co-authored with two others). The MAP model includes principles describing the fundamental dynamics of social movements; the four key roles for social movement activists; and the eight stages of successful social movements.

Specifically, I use the MAP model as a guide for thinking about two questions: If we are to successfully jump start the climate change movement, what is now called for? Can the strategies of past decades,

including those that I witnessed during my days in the civil rights movement, help to us to move forward?

The insights of the MAP approach, based on the experience of many activist groups and nonviolent movements over several decades, can provide important guideposts for this new groundswell. As I detail here, the model can help to develop strategic thinking, build new initiatives, and maintain the morale of activist groups over the long haul.

The MAP model begins with eight principles. These principles can guide the development of movement strategies and tactics. (See Isham and Waage (eds), *Ignition*,<sup>2</sup> for further discussion of potential strategies and tactics.)

**# 1: Social movements have brought significant societal change, although even activists may be unaware of it.** It's sometimes easy to lose sight of what can be achieved through citizen-based action. Victories of earlier movements have been monumental, and include clean air and water laws, women's right to vote, the eight-hour work day, Social Security, unemployment compensation, civil rights for African Americans, disability rights, and rights for gays and lesbians.

**# 2: The people hold ultimate power.** The theory and practice of nonviolence, as embodied by Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi, are based on the fundamental insight that the people hold ultimate power. It is also the foundation of democracy.

**# 3: *Movement goals should be framed in terms of widely held values.*** Movements should clearly articulate the connection between current issues and values such as democracy, the protection of our children, preservation of life, love of nature, and social justice.

**# 4: *Powerholders may profess to honor widely held values, but their actions often conflict with those values.*** Revealing violations of widely held values by powerholders, such as oil companies and national politicians, is a key strategy for mobilizing the public in support of change.

**# 5: *Every movement needs analysis, vision, and strategy.*** A wide range of strategies is needed for reaching many different sectors of society and pressuring recalcitrant powerholders.

**# 6: *Movement activities must seek to awaken and mobilize the public.*** Movements can measure their progress by observing shifts in public opinion. An awakened and mobilized public can demand change and begin to implement change in its own communities.

**# 7: *Building coalitions across communities is critically important.*** Building bridges among social justice groups, business groups, a wide range of religious groups, and others in broad coalitions is critical. As a movement grows, it gains adherents from the societal mainstream, who in turn should be welcomed to the movement.

**# 8: *Change emerges from empowered people in motion, and they can become virtually unstoppable.*** As people win even small victories, they begin to feel more empowered. The movement builds momentum, drawing people to it as it gains strength and visibility. Training, education, and community building for movement participants can support the process of empowerment.

Building on these core principles, the work of activists and leaders in the civic, business and public sector will need to take many different forms as the climate change movement grows. The MAP model outlines four roles for activists, all critical for movement success: the citizen, the rebel, the social change agent, and the reformer.

**The citizen.** Activists in the citizen role show how the movement advocates for the common good and stands

for widely accepted values such as justice for all and a livable future. In the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King, Jr. was acting in the citizen role when he called on the United States to honor its commitments to democracy. Climate activists can articulate a vision for a renewable energy, post-carbon society that will serve the needs of all, preserving a livable world for our children and grandchildren as well as for others around the world.

**The rebel.** Rebels protest injustice, often through non-violent direct actions such as marches, rallies, petition campaigns, and civil disobedience, or more frequently, through simple efforts such as street-corner vigils, informational leafleting, and group visits to public officials. Rebel actions call public attention to the issue, stimulate public dialogue and sometimes play a crucial role in confronting recalcitrant powerholders. Civil rights activists in the rebel role organized sit-ins and boycotts, rallies and marches, and a multitude of other public actions. Rebel actions among climate activists have included a hunger strike in the summer of 2005, led by members of Energy Action; a sit-in and organized arrest in the spring of 2006 in the home state office of Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.), led by members of GlobalWarmingSolution.org; and a protest and organized arrest in the fall of 2006 at the Maryland headquarters of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, led by members of the U.S. Climate Emergency Council.

**The social change agent.** Social change agents are the movement's organizers. They focus on public education, organize new segments of the community in support of the movement's goals, and nurture new leaders. As they adapt the framing of movement issues to the needs of disparate constituencies, they build the movement's strength. They also continue to deepen their analysis, encouraging others to seek underlying causes, and be open to a major paradigm shift. Civil rights field workers were the social change agents of that movement, as they worked with different constituencies in towns and cities across the South. Social change agents in the climate change movement include the leaders of Energy Action, Evangelical Climate Initiative, Green House Network, Clean Air-Cool Planet, Climate Crisis Coalition, Massachusetts Climate Action Network, and Chesapeake Climate Action Network.

**The reformer.** Reformers work closely with mainstream institutions, negotiating for change by filing

lawsuits, testifying at hearings, lobbying, participating in official meetings, and carrying out other such tactics. Reformers often play an important role near the beginning of a movement, trying to make the official channels work. In the later phases of a movement, they help to craft the laws and agreements which codify the movement's success. Reformers also nurture and support other activists by providing educational materials, research, trainings, and consultation on both organizational and technical issues. In larger professional opposition organizations paid staff often play this role. In the civil rights movement, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund played the reformer role very effectively when, for example, it filed school integration court cases. Reformers in the climate change movement include James Hansen at the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, who has forcefully testified about the perils of global warming; Mayor Greg Nickels of Seattle, who has lead the Mayor's Climate Change Initiative; the public and non-profit leaders of 12 states and 13 environmental groups that sued the Environmental Protection Agency to classify greenhouse gases as a pollutant that must be regulated under the Clean Air Act; and business leaders in groups such as the Society for Organizational Learning, which are bringing the message of the need to transform our investment priorities in the corporate world.

Some movement activists and leaders may play all four roles; others may specialize. Both approaches can be successful. Nonetheless, tensions often arise in movements between people and groups playing different roles. Reformers and rebels are particularly prone to conflicts. A larger understanding of the importance of all four roles can help diminish these tensions and support the cooperation and collaboration essential for movement success.

As social change agents and rebels emerge to complement the long term work of reformers and citizens, the climate change movement appears to be in the midst of a major shift in relation to these four roles. This shift is an important signal of the movement's progress and strength. Reformers have done much of the work in the past, toiling through government and United Nations forums, seeking to bring international agreements to fruition. It has been, for all its limitations, powerful work. Scientific research and analysis has helped make visible to the public the interrelationship between pine beetle infestations in northern

forests, the melting tundra, and the growing strength of hurricanes, for example, as well as clarifying, at least for those who have been attentive, the potential for climate catastrophe. Climate change reformers, in collaboration with activists in the citizen role, have also worked at the state and local level with government officials willing to initiate and support change, with growing success. The California Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006 is an especially notable victory.

A base of grassroots activists doing social change agent and rebel work has only recently begun to develop. Since 2001, local climate change and global warming groups have formed and do the organizing work of social change agents. The Massachusetts Climate Change Network and the Chesapeake Bay Climate Network were early innovators, as was the Green House Network, with its training workshops for activists (modeled after the early civil rights movement nonviolence workshops), and Energy Action, with its inspiring campus-based mobilization of college students.

In the years ahead, more grassroots work will be needed. Activists need to take on a range of institutions: in the automobile industry and the electric utilities, for example. Then they need to take on many locally specific projects, such as improving agriculture and forestry in ways that can alleviate global warming, organizing businesses to change their fuel practices, strengthening public transportation, bicycling, and other car alternatives, building a biodiesel industry, and working with people in communities to make the changes that they personally can make, such as changing their driving habits. This work needs to pervade every institution in society, as we seek to make the needed transformations. Social change agent activists can take the lead in these organizing efforts.

The climate change movement also needs to strengthen its rebel contingent; at some point it will be necessary to confront entrenched power that refuses to change. The movement will need to confront utility companies forging ahead with building new coal plants, governments that refuse to adopt emission reduction legislation, and automobile manufacturers who refuse to switch to low emission vehicles. As Ross Gelbspan, author of *Boiling Point* and *The Heat is On*, has said, we "should be outraged"<sup>3</sup> that our government leaders have refused this work, and, in many instances, actively attempted to undermine it. A contingent of climate activists needs to study nonviolent campaign building

and prepare to bring the issue to public attention in dramatic ways. More and more people will be needed, in their everyday lives as citizens, to advocate for climate-stabilizing changes in their own communities.

## **EIGHT STAGES OF SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Moyer's MAP model also describes eight stages in a movement's progress; each stage has its own strategic requirements and pitfalls. In addition, activist roles shift in importance as the movement progresses from stage to stage. Seeing the climate change movement through the lens of MAP stages can provide strategic suggestions for today's climate activists and may help activists recognize successes along the way as the movement gains strength.

### **STAGE ONE: Normal Times (Mid-1800s to 1979)**

During Stage One the problem exists, but is largely unrecognized, invisible, and not publicly discussed.

The buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere began with the use of coal in the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. After World War II a massive increase in the use of fossil fuel occurred, spurred by the increasingly widespread use of oil. Scientist Gordon MacDonald and Friends of the Earth president Rafe Pomerance called attention to global warming in early 1979. Together, they asked the Carter administration to address global climate disruption. The National Academy of Sciences Charney Report of 1979 confirmed initial scientific reports, indicating that there was “no reason to doubt that climate change will be the result.”<sup>4</sup> The period of ignorance was over.

### **STAGE TWO: Proving the Failure or Limitation of Existing Institutions (1979-2001)**

In Stage Two, the problem has been recognized by a few, and efforts are made to resolve it through mainstream institutional channels. Citizens and experts may testify at public hearings, file lawsuits, introduce legislation and otherwise seek to bring change. The movement may win modest local victories, but full-blown success is unlikely.

Following the initial discovery of the problem of global warming, the United Nations became active at the international level. Although widely opposed by the “carbon lobby” (largely the U.S. oil and gas industry), the consensus about global warming continued to grow among scientists. Important landmarks in this

stage include the alarming testimony on Capitol Hill in 1988 by climate scientist James Hansen, the publication in 1989 of Bill McKibben's *The End of Nature*, the signing in 1992 of the Framework Convention on Climate Change, the publication in 1995 of the first Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report, and the Kyoto Protocol, signed in 1997 and entered in force in February, 2005. Work throughout this stage was eventually successful in awakening the public in Europe and in other nations, such as Canada.

For all its strengths however, this international work had two critical limitations. First, the United States refused to support the growing international consensus, and, in 1997, the Senate voted against signing the Kyoto Protocol. Close U.S. government ties to U.S. oil companies resulted in the government echoing corporate arguments that challenged the science of global warming, and cited negative effects on the U.S. economy that would result from any new regulations. The lack of agreement from the United States, source of one-quarter of the world's greenhouse gases, was a major limitation of this work. Secondly, the Kyoto treaty does not begin to go far enough. The Kyoto Protocol targets call for only modest reduction of greenhouse gases worldwide, whereas preventing climate catastrophe will require cuts of 80 percent within a generation.

An increasing sense of urgency led to discussions about global warming at the state and local levels in the early 1990s. By the late 1990s, when it became clear that the Senate was not going to approve the Kyoto Protocol, work began in earnest in some states. New Jersey became a leader with a comprehensive program for lowering greenhouse gas emissions. Nebraska passed regulations on agricultural practices that were geared toward decreasing climate effects. Other states passed new requirements of some sort. These state-level initiatives represented important victories and laid the groundwork for future work to come. A number of states, led by Michigan, however, passed resolutions which “decided any future efforts to reduce greenhouse gas threats”<sup>5</sup> as a risk too great for the economy. These resolutions, along with the limited nature of the successes, indicate that the movement was still in Stage Two.

This stage ended with President George W. Bush's withdrawal from the Kyoto process in 2001, indicating the limitations of working through existing institutions, most notably the federal government. Further, this

definitive change alarmed leaders on college campuses, in businesses, in local communities, and elsewhere. In their organizations and networks, these leaders began to build new activities, signifying the beginning of the next stage.

### **STAGE THREE: Ripening conditions (2001-2006)**

During Stage Three, a growing number of citizens become aware of the problem. Activists mobilize existing organizations and networks, such as churches, synagogues and mosques; local civic groups; and business and professional associations. It is a time of much public education, small-scale protests, local victories, and widening public concern.

Beginning in 2002 the evidence of global warming became more visible. In the spring of 2002 the Larson Ice Shelf B in Antarctica, approximately the size of Rhode Island, collapsed. In September 2003, the largest ice sheet in the Arctic ruptured. Scientists reported that the earth was warming much faster than earlier anticipated. In the summer of 2003 thirty-five thousand Europeans died as a massive heat wave struck the continent. Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Ross Gelbspan reports that:

*Ironically the year 2003 also seemed to mark a sea change among many segments of American society on the climate issue. The failure of the world's diplomats to enact meaningful solutions has generated a groundswell of grassroots and voluntary climate action around the country.<sup>6</sup>*

By the spring of 2005, new levels of public education and awareness were visible. *The New Yorker* published Elizabeth Kolbert's three-part series on global warming, with a dramatic magazine cover showing a cartoon-like drawing of the heart of New York City under water, with dolphins circling submerged skyscrapers. On June 13, 2005, *USA Today* headlines announced "The Debate's Over: Globe is Warming." The article stated:

*...Don't look now, but the ground has shifted on global warming. After decades of debate over whether the planet is heating, and if so whose fault it is, divergent groups are joining hands with little fanfare to deal with a problem they say people can no longer avoid.<sup>7</sup>*

Even President George W. Bush had to acknowledge the new reality, when, at the July 2005 G-8 summit in Scotland, he abandoned his strategy of arguing that the science of global warming was inconclusive, and instead claimed that voluntary controls would bring sufficient change.

At the state and local levels, an infrastructure supporting renewable energy has begun to be established. In 2004 California passed tougher emissions standards. In 2005 Washington and then other states followed. California has net metering of electricity, and its governor pushed a "million roofs" project to install rooftop solar photovoltaics. In June 2005 the national Conference of Mayors passed a resolution promising to work on global warming.

At the same time, signs of stirring appeared even at the national level. Rep. Jay Inslee (D-Wash.) and others introduced legislation to support the New Apollo Project, a massive proposal supported by environmental and labor groups to transform U.S. energy systems to renewable energy and less polluting, more efficient technologies. The energy bill that passed in the summer of 2005, although loaded with subsidies for the oil, coal, and nuclear industries, also included modest provisions for renewable energy and conservation. While this bill represented a minor success in movement terms, it was nonetheless a significant indicator of the beginning of changed perceptions in Congress. Fortuitously, a set of converging forces are also playing a significant role in the growing climate change movement: the end of the cheap oil era, the disastrous war in Iraq, and the coming of age of the renewable energy movement and renewable energy technology.

Between 2004 and 2006 gasoline prices at the pump rose drastically – at some times doubling and reaching more than \$3 per gallon. The price of oil has risen, hovering between \$60 and \$70 a barrel, up from less than \$30 in 2003. In the first six months of 2005 the mainstream press began to cover "peak oil," whose analysts report that world oil production will peak sometime between 2007 and 2020, and result in drastically increased prices as demand far outstrips supply. Coupled with increased demand from China and other developing countries, this impending peak in oil production clearly portends the end of the cheap oil era in the very near future. Drastic increases in the price of gasoline at the pump have resulted in the general public asking if the era of cheap oil is over. These changes

have sparked an interest in alternative fuels and more fuel efficient vehicles like the hybrid Toyota Prius and Honda's Civic hybrid as well as new biodiesel manufacturing efforts.

The second converging force is the war in Iraq, with its painfully high costs in life, limb, and public treasure. By the fall of 2006, the Iraq war had entered a very visible crisis, leading to the rejection of many Republican supporters of the war in the November elections, and a Democratic takeover of the U.S. House and Senate. An October 2006 survey conducted by Democracy Corps, a Democratic Party strategy group, found that “reducing dependence on foreign oil” was the voters’ top national security priority, and that, as study co-director Stan Greenberg suggests, the public wants government to impose “much higher auto mileage standards on Detroit and more stringent energy codes on buildings and appliances.”<sup>8</sup>

Finally, on a more positive note, renewable energy technologies, quietly under development since the oil crisis of the 1970s, are available and close to ready for public use, in itself a virtual miracle under the circumstances. Wind farms are already in use and preparations for expanding them are occurring in rural areas as far apart as Iowa and Washington State. Solar photovoltaics can generate rooftop electricity for homes and businesses. Hybrid cars are here, with plug-in hybrids coming soon. As Gus Speth articulates so vividly in *Ignition*,<sup>9</sup> what is needed is a massive mobilization to scale up the technological experiments already well underway.

The powerholders’ long-held argument – that the scientific evidence on whether human activity causes climate change is inconclusive – has been thoroughly discredited. The movement’s alternative – transformation to a clean-energy future – is taking concrete shape, as Iowa farmers discuss selling wind rights, investors hold conferences on how to invest in renewable energy, and climate legislation is introduced into the Senate in January 2007 by Bernie Sanders (D-Ver.) and Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) and others, and the House Science and Technology Committee begins to hear from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change scientists in mid-February 2007.

#### **STAGE FOUR: Take-off (2005-2007)**

Movement take-off puts the issue on the public agenda, where it begins to be hotly debated. Movement

take-off may be spurred by a major “trigger event,” such as a nonviolent direct action campaigns, other forms of movement activity such as the consciousness-raising groups of the early women's movement, or dramatic and publicly visible events that occur independent of movement activity such as the deployment of new nuclear weapons systems, a new environmental disaster, or an industrial accident. During take-off movement groups proliferate, new tactics evolve, and the movement appears to be everywhere. This period is generally short, from six months to two years.

The climate change movement in the United States seems to be in the midst of movement take-off. The converging climate disruptions of the last several years – from melting ice sheets and desperate polar bears to Hurricane Katrina and record forest fires – have caught the public's attention, and have served, cumulatively, as a “trigger event” for launching movement take-off. At this point, the take-off process is still in motion, fueled by a wide array of public education efforts. The film *An Inconvenient Truth* has been reaching new audiences, including many who do not think of themselves as environmentalists. In addition, news reports have kept global warming before the public with accounts of “global warming gases seep[ing] out of thawing perma-frost”<sup>10</sup>, “melting glaciers...vast fires...and early sea-season floods”<sup>11</sup> linked to global warming and a National Academy of Sciences report that “Earth's temperature ...is the highest since the last ice age, about 12,000 years ago.”<sup>12</sup> Activist work is also escalating, with projects such as Focus the Nation, aimed at mobilizing the nation in a day-long event on January 31, 2008 in full swing (See Eban Goodstein in *Ignition*).<sup>13</sup> California's success in passing climate change legislation in August, 2006 is leading the way, showing how state government can take major steps toward climate stabilization; this will help mobilization elsewhere. The release of the Fourth Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report in February 2007, declaring that global warming is “very likely” caused by human activity, has been deemed “a landmark development”<sup>14</sup> and began immediately to spur new climate action.

Further activist work, however, is needed, to propel the movement to full-scale national take-off. While it is always difficult to predict how movement take-off will culminate, determined activist efforts can generate the public ferment out of which full-scale movement take-off will come.

What then, might this activist work look like? It will need a proliferation of climate activist groups, working at all levels of society, from neighborhoods to communities to the state and nation. Local grassroots climate action groups or networks, perhaps modeled after the highly successful Massachusetts Climate Action Network and the Chesapeake Climate Change Network, are one important element. If there is little organizing and public awareness in a local area, an action group of five to twenty-five people will be enough to do significant work. Such a group should have as its goal the awakening of the local public. Using existing community networks is a time-tested method for organizing new groups.

These groups, whether large or small, can respond to news reports about climate problems with a call for change. Whether the news is melting tundra in Alaska or changes in the Greenland ice sheet or a drastic increase in forest fires in the West, the local group needs to help the public see such change as a part of the larger climate crisis picture, and – at the same time – a reason for local people to take immediate action. Through issuing press releases and other means of gaining public attention, even a small group can become known as the local voice for climate action.

Such a group might have both a protest/political pressure arm and – in Gandhi's terms – a constructive program arm. For the protest work, the group could select a target goal for the local community and make specific demands: to electric utility companies for more wind farms and no new coal plants; to the automobile dealers for low emission vehicles; to local transportation officials for new bike paths, bus improvements, or improved train service; to local industries for emission-lowering strategies.

Other demands will also emerge and can be developed. Nonetheless, it is important at the beginning to pick a small number of targets, so that the campaigns can be pointed and communicate to the public clearly. As the movement progresses, activists will see other linkages and new sub-movements will emerge to address them.

Local groups may use nonviolent direct action campaign strategies, such as vigiling, leafleting, and street theater to bring relevant information to the public. In some communities it may be possible to gain public attention through press conferences, press kits and

public meetings. Because public education is central to this work, speakers bureaus and house meetings can be important tools.

In addition, for its constructive program work, the group can promote changes individuals can make, such as the installation of rooftop photovoltaics, driving hybrid cars, or switching to public transportation. Guy Dauncey and Patrick Mazza's book, *Stormy Weather: 101 Solutions to Global Climate Change*<sup>15</sup> is full of a multitude of suggestions for action groups.

In addition to local community organizing, sector-based organizing is also important. Student mobilization, religious community mobilizations, and business community mobilization have already begun in some places, and these efforts need to be nourished and extended. For example, religious and ethical communities could frame the climate crisis as a an issue of responsible stewardship of “God’s creation” as well as a moral issue, because developed nations are responsible for an oversized share of global warming, but it is the world’s poor who will be most severely affected. Information about the effect of rising sea levels on the small island nations, which will likely be inundated, could be particularly compelling. Religious and ethical groups might build alliances with people in those nations.

In this process of awakening the public, presenting a clear vision for a renewable energy, climate-stabilized future is essential to help people to face the immensity of the crisis and to mobilize their own energies for change. Clear paths of action also need to be made visible. As movement take-off occurs in more and more localities, a convergence of sources can bring a national movement take-off, perhaps because of a major action campaign, a new climate disaster, or both.

#### **STAGE FIVE: Perception of Failure: A Detour for Some Activists (Future)**

After movement take-off, while work is proceeding to Stage Six in many arenas, some activists may become discouraged and suffer burnout. Those activists who believed that fundamental change would come on the heels of take-off are especially vulnerable. Some respond by withdrawing from the movement whereas others may call for more “militant” action, which can threaten the movement’s non-violent identity and undermine the growth of public support.

Should this discouragement begin to happen to climate activists, others can respond by encouraging them to move on to the work of Stage Six or perhaps, to shift their work to another corner of the climate change movement, where take-off has not yet occurred.

### **STAGE SIX: Building Majority Public Support (2007? Onward)**

After movement take-off comes the real work of reaching the vast majority of the public. Public education campaigns and developing constructive “next steps” ideas are the key vehicles for this work. It is important to show how the issue affects people from all segments of society. Different framing of the issue may be needed to reach different groups. As public support widens to a majority, and some powerholders support movement goals, the movement can work through mainstream institutions such as state legislatures and professional organizations, to win important victories on some movement goals. Local direct-action campaigns continue to be important, especially in response to “re-trigger events”. During Stage Six the movement is engaged in a kind of “chess game” with the powerholders, in which powerholders' moves must be immediately countered to ensure ongoing progress.

In the climate change movement, the work of Stage Six will build on and further develop the organizing begun earlier, but strategic shifts will also be needed. Outreach needs to extend to even more sectors of the population, and strategies may involve less non-violent action, more lobbying and related tactics as mainstream support builds and it becomes possible to move the climate stabilization agenda forward through mainstream institutions. Actions of the powerholders also become more intense as they sense the public tide turning against them, requiring careful monitoring and creative responses from the movement.

Although climate change movement strategies for Stage Six need to be developed by a broad range of climate activists, the MAP model suggests types of strategies which can be particularly useful at this point in the movement's history. These strategies range from public education programs to direct action campaigns.

**Public education programs.** Activists need to continue and further expand massive public education programs by using speakers bureaus, the media, study

guides for groups, Internet sites, and all other communication tools. Particularly important is the development of targeted public education campaigns for specific audiences, framing the issue in appropriate ways for each audience. Examples include discussion guides for religious and ethically based groups on the ethical implications of global warming; conferences for investors on opportunities in renewable energy; seminars on the effects of global warming on marine life for fishermen and fishing communities as well as recreational anglers; and information on new automobile technologies such as plug-in hybrids for automotive publications.

**Constructive program: personal and household change.** A wide variety of people should be engaged in making personal and household changes that individuals can make immediately. Examples are installing solar photovoltaics for homes, driving less, buying low-emission cars, growing gardens and eating locally grown food, and conserving electricity.

**Strategic campaigns.** The movement needs to identify key demands and create strategic campaigns for each movement issue. These campaigns could include increasing the number of low and no-emission cars, trucks, and buses (and decreasing the number of standard vehicles); switching electricity generation as quickly as possible from fossil fuels to renewable sources and conservation; shifting government subsidies from oil and gas to renewable sources such as wind and solar.

Other demands and sub-movements might focus on expanding the passenger rail system, developing local food systems to minimize transport of food, and building bicycle paths to encourage less driving. Groups already working on these issues could be linked to the climate change movement. As public support grows on these issues and victories can be won in those venues, it will be possible to work through mainstream institutions such as city councils and state legislatures.

**Respond to retrigger events and continue to wage campaigns.** To keep the issue on society's agenda, the movement needs to be prepared to respond to “re-trigger events” such as new evidence of global warming or powerholders' refusals to act on important issues. Responses can include press conferences, nonviolent actions such as vigils and informational picketing, email blitz campaigns, and other activities that highlight powerholder violations of widely held values and link

their refusal to act with the new problem. The movement will need to respond in creative and publicly visible ways to changes in powerholder strategy or attempts to offer watered-down solutions.

***Continue to build the movement.*** Movement building work is especially important in Stage Six, because we can expect a proliferation of new local groups that, in addition to their work in their own communities, must be coordinated into coalitions to mount larger campaigns. There will be work in organizing, strengthening, and supporting local grassroots groups; offering training in developing democratic participatory group processes in these groups to keep them vital and keep activists engaged when needed; and training for groups in strategizing and waging nonviolent campaigns.

***Develop alternatives and articulate the paradigm shift.*** The public may see that powerholders' actions are inadequate, but may not yet be ready to support movement alternatives. Therefore, the desirability and viability of these alternatives needs to be highlighted.

In the latter phases of Stage Six there is general agreement that action is needed, but massive debate about what to do persists. Can biodiesel and ethanol provide adequate fuel? Should we invest in a massive shield in the atmosphere or a new passenger rail system? Will we try to help the poor countries of the world cope with climate refugees or will we rebuild our electricity infrastructure? Will "acceptance of wind farms be our generation's way of avowing our love for the next,"<sup>16</sup> as energy analyst Charles Komaroff suggests?

Anticipating these controversies, activists will need to think long and hard about the kind of future wanted. Will we commit to social justice as well as ecological sustainability, to democracy and community decision-making as well as renewable energy, to what Tom Anathasiou and Paul Baer call a "social justice approach... (with) a necessary compromise between the North and the South,"<sup>17</sup> the rich and the poor nations? Are we ready for this movement to be a part of a larger movement for social transformation toward a just and sustainable future, toward "earth community" as David Korten calls it in his recent book *The Great Turning: From Empire to Earth Community*?<sup>18</sup> Global warming is clearly part of a much larger issue, the need to transition to a fully sustainable society. In addition, paralleling the climate crisis is a rising crisis in

social inequality, as incomes sink at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale, both in the US and globally, the "war on the middle class" takes its toll, and people of color in the U.S. suffer massive rates of incarceration and other tribulations. Movements are building to address these issues, and finding common ground with them will be an important challenge. Leaders in the climate change movement need to support activists in seeking these larger transformative goals, while also encouraging continued focus on the movement's immediate goals.

Indeed, the larger issue of sustainability can provide a frame for thinking about which choices the movement will support. For example, how will the movement deal with nuclear power as an option? Nuclear power is controversial among climate change activists, with some like James Lovelock arguing that it is the only thing that can buy us enough time, and others like environmental correspondent Mark Hertsgaard claiming that our money could take us farther toward solutions if invested elsewhere, given the immense costs of nuclear power plant construction.<sup>19</sup> Viewed from the perspective of long term sustainability, the health and safety risk of nuclear power make it a weak choice. This controversial issue within the movement will need to be addressed.

During Stage Six, powerholders will increasingly realize that public support for their position is waning and they will change their strategies. These actions can be important signals of the movement's growing strength, indicating new limitations on the powerholders' options, pushing them to fall-back positions that may have higher costs for them. We need to be aware of such changes and be ready both to publicize them as signs of the movement's growing strength and to counter them creatively.

During this stage as public support grows, we can also anticipate powerholders' attempts both to undermine the movement through efforts to co-opt the movement's goals and rhetoric and to disrupt the movement through surveillance, use of agent provocateurs, and attempts to discredit or control the movement. The movement needs to be prepared to minimize the effect of these undermining efforts. During Stage Six there will be multiple coalitions around many issues. Some issues will move quickly to success while others will require sustained organizing.

## **STAGE SEVEN: Success (Future)**

Movement successes can be achieved when the movement has broad public support and many powerholders have been persuaded to support the movement's goals, if only for pragmatic reasons. Success may occur through a dramatic showdown and clear victory, such as the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 after the Selma to Montgomery march. Alternatively, success may be reached through a quiet showdown, such as when a "victorious retreat" is announced by the powerholders, or through attrition, in which old plans are simply shelved and the movement's perspective dominates public decision-making. Particularly in cases of quiet showdown and attrition endgames, it is important for the movement to claim the victory, so as to help activists see the fruits of their work.

The California-based climate change movement achieved an important success with its passage of the 2006 Global Warming Solutions Act. Other successes will surely follow in the next few years. The construction of new coal plants might be stopped. Investor interest in renewable energy sources will help to propel forward their adoption. With loud enough customer demand, Toyota could bring its plug-in hybrids to the United States shortly.

Because local governments have expressed a willingness to act, and because some of the needed changes can be made via increased consumer demand and new profitable investments, success could be reached fairly quickly on a number of issues if a massive public education effort can be mounted. Changes at the national level will be likely only at the end of long struggle.

## **STAGE EIGHT: Continuing the Struggle (Future)**

After victory is achieved, the movement's work is not over. Some activists must monitor implementation of agreements and guard against backlash. Others can go on to work on another movement goal, share movement energy with new movements, or move toward broader social transformation.

California will give early clues to the unfolding of this work. Activists there need to support, monitor, and publicize implementation of its wide-ranging 2006 law.

Finally, we need to remember that activism is fundamentally an act of the heart. People need to be in touch with what they love, and when they feel that

threatened or in some other way in need of them, they will respond. Ideas and policies are important and can inform that action, but the motivation to act comes from our caring – for our friends, our family, our children, about the earth, and about one another. We must not hesitate to articulate our own caring, because it will help other people find theirs.

People are also motivated to act because they want to make a difference, they want to believe there is meaning to their lives, they want to believe that they can make a meaningful contribution. Taking action to bring change can bring a new sense of dignity. As we organize, we need to make space for people in our communities to claim that sense of meaning and dignity in the work.

We also need to keep our hearts open to all who might join with us. Barbara Deming, a longtime nonviolent activist, poet, and theoretician, urges us to remember the "two hands"<sup>20</sup> of nonviolence: one hand raised, saying no to injustice, and the other hand extended, reaching out to one's opponent seeking reconciliation, and inviting them to join the movement. She reminds us that we are all part of the problem as well as part of the solution, and that, although we must be strong in our refusal to support injustice, we must also be ready to extend a hand and welcome those who decide to join us further down the line, even those who once opposed us. Our goal is to build a new consensus, a new society, and we need to have faith that even the most recalcitrant can be brought around to join us.

My hopes are that we will find a way to communicate a sense of possibility to the American public and that together we can see in this transformation of our way of life a new richness in our connection to one another and to the natural world, upon which all that we know and love depends. It is the climate that surrounds us.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>16</sup>C. Komanoff, "Whither Wind? A Journey Through the Heated Debate Over Wind Power" *Orion* 25(5), Sept/Oct., 2006, p.37.

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