
HELP US SAVE OUR FARMS
NO PIPELINE
NO ATLANTIC COAST PIPELINE
Protect Our People & Places We Live
ACP
NITASKINAN
BUILD PUBLIC RENEWABLES
MAN CAMP
WARNING
POLLUTED WATER
ENGLISH RIVER WABIGOON SYSTEM IS KNOWN TO HAVE HIGH LEVELS OF MERCURY

How We Win!: A Qualitative Review of Successful Climate Justice Campaigns in North America in the Last 20 Years

Group 9: Cassandra Ciafro, Anna Henry, Frida Sofia Morales Mora, Thomas Nakasako, Dafne Ozcan, Nico Serreqi, Lea Vadez Reyes,

Climate Justice Organizing HUB: Mackenzie Harris

Supervisor: Dr. Jen Gobby

12/15/2023

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Introduction and Description of Client

Research Question

Literature Review

Intersectional Climate Movements

- Colonialism, Indigenous Sovereignty and Climate Justice
- Food & Water Justice and Colonialism
- Pollution, Racialized Communities and Environmental Racism
- Racism, the Carceral State and Climate justice
- Intersectional climate campaigns

Literature Review on Methodology

Methodology

- Qualitative Approach and Research Paradigm
- Data Collection Methods
- Data Processing

Results

- Campaign 1 - Stand LA
- Campaign 2 - Stop Cop City
- Campaign 3 - Keystone XL Pipeline
- Campaign 4 - Grassy Narrows
- Campaign 5 - #RightToBreathe/PES
- Campaign 6 - 13 Pueblos
- Campaign 7 - Trans Mountain Expansion Pipeline
- Campaign 8 - Atlantic Coast Pipeline

Campaign 9 - Public Power New York
Campaign 10 - Mi'kmaq Resistance
Campaign 11 - GNL Quebec
Campaign 12 - Standing Rock
Campaign 13 - Athabasca Tar Sands Resistance
Campaign 14 - Nitaskinan60
Analysis: Findings
Section 1: Context and Intersectionality
Section 2: Strategy and Tactics
Section 3: Challenges
Section 4: Identified Successes and Factors for Success
Discussion
Suggestions for Further Research
Limitations
Conclusion
Works Cited
APPENDIX

Executive Summary

How We Win was a research project supervised by Dr. Jen Gobby, and conducted by McGill students Cassandra Ciafro, Anna Henry, Frida Sofia Morales Mora, Thomas Nakasako, Dafne Ozcan, Nico Serreqi and Lea Vadez Reyes. It investigates the factors and conditions that led to successes for intersectional climate justice campaigns across Turtle Island (North America), plus the challenges they faced and how they were overcome.

Fourteen successful intersectional climate justice campaigns from Mexico (1), the so-called United States (___), and so-called Canada (___) were explored. 'Success' was defined as having achieved material gains, or advancements in physical, financial, legal, or electoral conditions. Surveys and interviews were used to answer a common set of questions about each campaign. The data presented multiple key themes, that emerges across several campaigns.

Results show that **direct action** is the strategy most commonly used to successfully overcome government opposition and police repression. **Legal action and political pressure** were most effective for procedural delays, reducing the economic viability of projects, and sometimes, for facilitating the recognition of Indigenous rights and sovereignty.

Coalition building was recognized as both a strategy and a success, leading to new campaigns and/or activist groups, and providing more perspectives and knowledge. **Community engagement** was also recognized as a strategy and a success, fostering collaboration and strong community support. The researchers concluded it was essential, not only for effecting change but also for maintaining strong, diverse and intersectional campaigns that engage a wide variety of activists.

The research concluded that a diversity of tactics is essential for intersectional climate justice campaigns to be successful. A diversity of actors, strategies, and tactics can contribute to the effectiveness of a campaign. They also indicated that government opposition and police repression against Indigenous sovereignty and rights campaigns were large challenges faced by movements. **Thus, community engagement and building strong, large, and diverse coalitions seem to be the most effective strategies, along with engaging in direct action.**

Introduction and Description of Client

How We Win! assesses the factors of success for a selection of 14 intersectional climate campaigns. Understanding the conditions and factors of success and the barriers faced and overcome, can help inform the strategies of current and future climate campaigns. Through this work, we strive to support grassroots climate movements. This project directly serves the Climate Justice Organizing HUB: "a support structure designed around the needs of grassroots social movement organizers in so-called Canada that respects organizers' knowledge regarding their own challenges and priorities. [...] Its mission is to help organizers find their way to building a critical mass of engaged people who are working towards a just transition" (Climate Justice Organizing HUB 2023). The HUB is currently developing a Climate Justice Wiki to "ease access to the movement by strengthening a common understanding of it" (Climate Justice Organizing HUB Wiki 2023). The Wiki provides useful definitions, descriptions, and information about climate justice, social movements, organizing, and other related topics. The report generated by this project will contribute to the Wiki, where it will serve grassroots climate organizers..

Research Question

The question explored in this project is the following: **what can be learned from the struggles and successes of intersectional climate campaigns across Turtle Island (NA) over the past 20 years, and what factors contribute to the success of these campaigns?**

It is important to clarify that, in this study, Turtle Island refers to Mexico, the so-called United States, and so-called Canada, although it usually refers to the broader continent of North America (NA). Additionally, material success refers to advancements in physical, financial, legal, and electoral conditions, with a focus on campaigns benefiting impacted communities. To qualify for this project, the campaign's ultimate goal need not be achieved; incremental successes that bring tangible change from pre-campaign to post-campaign were alsoconsidered.

The research question is essential to the mission of the HUB and the development of their Climate Justice Wiki. The organization's dedication to empowering emerging climate organizers and

activists necessitates an understanding of how successful intersectional climate campaigns in Turtle Island have achieved their goals and what elements have contributed to their success. By systematically examining the experiences of campaigns over the past two decades, this research aims to provide valuable insights for individuals striving to address climate justice issues effectively. These insights encompass understanding the conditions and factors contributing to these successes, the challenges encountered and surmounted, and the alliances and strategies instrumental in yielding these victories.

Moreover, the relevance of this research extends beyond the organization's goals. As climate change poses an increasingly urgent intersectional, global challenge, the need for successful strategies in advocacy, education, and activism is paramount. Analyzing past campaigns and their successes will yield practical lessons to guide current and future activists and organizers. These insights will not only inform the Climate Justice Wiki but also serve as a valuable resource for activists, scholars, and policymakers, ultimately contributing to the broader discourse on climate justice. Furthermore, understanding the factors that contribute to the success of these campaigns will enable support for marginalized communities and strengthen the overall climate justice movement. Thus, the research question is highly significant and relevant in light of the HUB's mission as well as the wider literature on climate justice.

Literature Review

Many environmental movements have emerged since the beginning of the climate crises to combat climate change, pollution, biodiversity loss, environmental racism and other related issues. Mainstream environmentalism emerged in the United States as generally white, middle-class activists mobilized around large, well publicized issues of pollution and conservation in the 1970s (Thomas 2022, 39-40). However, this orientation failed to properly consider the marginalized communities most affected by the environmental crisis (Curley and Lister 2020; Dawson 2010; Stoddart et al. 2018). The constrained focus of this type of environmentalism required an alternative, intersectional comprehension of both environmental and social concerns.

Environmental justice emerged to address the deficiencies of mainstream environmentalism, which overlooked activism by marginalized communities combating pollution in impoverished and racialized areas (Thomas 2022, 38). In 1991, the First People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit introduced the 17 Principles of Environmental Justice, integrating social justice concerns into the environmental movement (Dawson 2010, 325). This pivotal document prompted the inclusion of environmental justice as an objective for both the environmental movement and institutions like the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (U.S. EPA 2023).

The term "intersectionality" was first used and defined by the Black feminist scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989. In her seminal work, Crenshaw argued for an approach to social issues that integrates all aspects of one's identity. (Thomas 2022, 27). Crenshaw explored for instance how race and gender are both protected under law, but employers could exploit their intersection and legally discriminate against black women (Thomas 2022, 27). Therefore, intersectional social movements can be the remedy to combat various oppressive systems such as capitalism, colonialism, the patriarchy, and white supremacy (Amorim-Maia et al. 2022, 2). As these institutions of inequality are deeply connected and mutually reinforced; they must be dismantled simultaneously by an intersectional approach (Dhamoon 2011, 231).

Intersectional environmentalism emerged following the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests as a form of environmentalism that applies an intersectional approach to injustice, both external and internal to the environmental movement (Thomas 2022, 11). The movement is based on the 17 Principles of Environmental Justice and Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality (Intersectional Environmentalist 2023). Intersectional environmentalism recognizes the intersections of social injustice and environmental injustice and seeks to dismantle all systems of oppression for a more just society (Thomas 2022, 12-13).

Intersectional Climate Movements

Ongoing environmental justice movements highlight the disparities in the impacts of climate change as those of marginalized communities will be impacted the most, yet contribute the least to the climate crisis (Alook et al. 2023). Environmental justice movements are inseparable from the fight for

social justice as communities can experience multiple forms of oppression simultaneously, including those related to race, socioeconomic status, and disability (Crenshaw 1991). Without considering intersectionality, climate solutions risk perpetuating or worsening existing inequalities as different communities face varying degrees of vulnerability to climate change impacts (Ryder 2017, 86). In order to fully understand successful transformational intersectional climate campaigns, an understanding of how our current political and economic systems rely on the mistreatment of the planet and disproportionately vulnerable communities is crucial (Red Nation 2021).

Colonialism, Indigenous Sovereignty and Climate Justice

An intersectional approach to climate justice highlights the relationship between North American colonialism and the climate crisis. In so-called Canada, misinterpretation of Treaty Relationships by settlers has enabled the continued capitalist extraction, further driving climate change and infringing on Indigenous sovereignty. These original agreements, meant to facilitate peace and coexistence, have been distorted to justify violence against Indigenous communities while disregarding their sovereignty and vital role in land stewardship, safeguarding 80% of global biodiversity (Alook et al. 2023, 25; Red Nation 2021, 24). By asserting their sovereign land rights, Indigenous communities pose a significant threat to the settler state and have the potential to halt destructive resource extraction (Alook et al. 2023, 28). Indigenous-led movements such as the Standing Rock and the Trans-Mountain Pipeline resistances highlight the importance of centralizing Indigenous sovereignty as a means of opposition to resource extraction projects.

Food & Water Justice and Colonialism

Settler colonialism and environmental justice relate to food and water justice as restricting food availability is often the first weapon of colonial violence (Red Nation 2021, 117). The act of crop destruction and water pollution weakens Indigenous communities and forces reliance on colonial systems (Red Nation 2021, 118). In the U.S., food justice groups fight for sustainable and equitable food systems for communities of Colour, especially Black and Latinx communities who experience high food insecurity (Myers & Painter 2017). Intersectional environmental justice exposes environmental racism's complexity,

considering race, ethnicity, class, and gender play a role in food and water availability (Garth & Reese 2020). The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's protest of the Dakota Access pipeline exemplifies Indigenous mobilization communities against resource extraction endangering their water and sacred lands (Boelens et al. 2018).

Pollution, Racialized Communities and Environmental Racism

Environmental racism is a pervasive issue that intersects with climate change, as many toxic pollutants that stem from industrial development, contributing to environmental degradation while also affecting already vulnerable communities most impacted by a changing climate. Land pollution in racialized communities, resulting from contamination and industrial land use, exemplifies environmental racism and perpetuates systemic oppression (Ihejirika 2023). The polluting of racialized communities is exemplified by the ongoing mercury poisoning of the Wabigoon River, which has devastated the Grassy Narrows First Nations for the last 50 years (Wong 2017).

Racism, the Carceral State and Climate justice

The carceral state and climate justice are intertwined, disproportionately impacting marginalized communities while generating environmentally harmful infrastructure. Social justice movements like Stop Cop City Atlanta highlight the links between environmental justice, racism and the carceral state as they oppose the establishment of a police military facility in the Weelaunee Forest, on stolen Muscogee Land (Bethea 2022). The concept of incarceration, not rooted in Indigenous practices but rather a settler construct linked to racial slavery, disproportionately affects low-income communities, immigrants, and notably Indigenous and Black communities (Red Nation 2021, 58; Baker 2021).In so-called Canada, the aggressive policing of protests involves intervening in Indigenous and allied social movements through tactics of repression, surveillance, and criminalization. The policing approach is designed to exert control over these movements rather than facilitating their expression and advocacy (Ceric 2020, 354).

Legal injunctions like those placed against TMX and Coastal Gas Link protestors form a framework for the persecution of Indigenous people (Ceric 2020, 356-366; Red Nation 2021, 129). Therefore, the carceral system is a crucial tool in the legal arsenal of settler-colonial states, facilitating

access to resources and lands through the unjust imprisonment of activists (Ceric 2020, 354; Red Nation 2021, 59). This eases the operation of extractive capitalism, benefiting businesses through construction contracts, renovation projects or cheap labor (McGee et al. 2020; Sawyer & Wagner 2023).

Intersectional climate campaigns

The current capitalist settler system destroying the environment relies on the dispossession of Indigenous and Black lives through colonialism, environmental racism, the carceral state and food and water availability (Red Nation 2021, 13) The Red Deal envisions uniting Indigenous and non-indigenous people in a collective effort to combat the settler systems, and calls for the decolonization of Turtle Island (Red Nation 2021, 30). By addressing the intersection between environmental justice and social justice movements, we can lead the way to successful intersectional climate campaigns that will address the systems of oppression to create more impactful, equitable and sustainable solutions to the climate crisis.

Literature Review on Methodology

The methodological approach to understanding movements can broadly be split into two: quantitative approaches that use statistical analysis of larger sets of cases to categorize and assess movements, and qualitative approaches that use more subtle methodologies such as interviews or surveys to describe and interpret observations drawn from studying campaigns.

Quantitative approaches depend on large data sets, such as provided by the Environmental Justice Atlas and used by Schneidel et al. (2020). Feola and Nunes (2014) conducted a quantitative analysis of the Transition movement across 23 different countries. Quantitative approaches can indicate patterns across broad geographic, contextual, and thematic ranges. Qualitative methodologies such as case study analysis, cross-sectional analysis, and longitudinal studies lend themselves to the in-depth understanding of movements. De Moor and Wahlsrom (2019) used semi-structured interviews and participation during activist meetings to conduct case study narrative analyses on mobilizations during the 2009 and 2015 Conferences of the Parties (COP). Some studies mix qualitative and quantitative methods, such as Poland et al. (2018), analyzing data from surveys, interviews, and dialogue workshops to analyze subjective and objective success.

Some determinants of success, as identified in the literature, include preventative strategies, taking strong legal action against proposed projects, the involvement of activists in politics, and movements that are based in smaller towns or villages (Schneidel et al. 2020; Böhm 2015; Feola and Nunes 2014). This general overview of approaches to assessing successful environmental justice movements gives us key insights to understanding factors of success, research gaps, and relevant methodological approaches to assessing factors that determine success.

Methodology

Qualitative Approach and Research Paradigm

There is a long-lasting history of research done *about* activist movements; social movement scholarship has studied many activist movements to understand their overall functioning (Almeida 2019; Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013; Giugni and Grasso 2015). Such a body of work is very important but sometimes fails to take into account the wellbeing and interests of the research participants and their communities. On the other hand, participatory activist research emphasizes collaboration at all stages of the research between researchers, activist movements, and communities (Hunter, Emerald, and Martin 2013). This type of research aims at supporting the organization's and communities' objectives. We are drawing on this theoretical and methodological framework by working *with* the Climate Justice Organizing HUB. The HUB thus frames our research according to what information would be most useful to them and to the grassroot movements they work to support.

Data Collection Methods

As a first step, a comprehensive literature review was conducted, encompassing an examination of various climate justice movements as well as a review of previous methodological approaches used to analyze successes in this field. The focus was on the intersection of climate justice movements with various other systems of oppression including racism, sexism, settler colonialism, ableism, the carceral state, and lack of food and water sovereignty. Based on the acquired knowledge from the literature review, case study methodology was chosen as the research strategy for this project.

Case study methodology is defined as a qualitative research strategy that explores in depth a specific phenomenon with a contextual focus (Yin 2009; Priya 2021). Case studies are particularly useful in exploring the question of social movement successes because they are concerned with *why* or *how* things happen and offer insightful qualitative data in the form of narratives or anecdotes (Davies et al. 2011). A range of intersectional climate movements were identified as potential candidates for the case study methodology. The selection was based on a combination of movements from a preliminary list provided by the Climate Justice Organizing Hub and a list of movements identified during the literature review. We subsequently refined our selection to 14 case studies, using specific criteria as our guide: we chose cases in Turtle Island from the past 20 years; movements that had an intersectional approach to climate justice; and movements that achieved some form of material success in their campaign.

Within case study methodology, numerous data collection methods are available. Online research and primary source analysis were our primary data collection methods. After the case study selection, each researcher gathered background information on two of the fourteen case studies to gain a deep understanding of the movement. The research was not exclusively focused on academic literature, but non-academic sources too. This broader approach was motivated by the ongoing nature of many of these movements, allowing us to increase our understanding by analyzing materials such as interviews, press releases, and social media content directly generated by the movements themselves. Relying on non-academic sources written by the movements themselves is also part of an activist research paradigm. We recognize the expertise of the organizations and communities we are working with and we are taking their stories into account throughout the research process (Hunter, Emerald, and Martin 2013).

We developed a standard set of questions to research each campaign in a consistent way (see appendix 3). These include questions about the context, timeline, purpose, and material gains from the mobilization. The information gathered in the online research was summarized in a shared spreadsheet.

When possible, semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of perspectives within the movement. This allowed us to gather insights from participants' unique perspectives, rather than obtaining generalized information on a particular issue (Adeoye-Olatunde et al.

2021). All interviews were conducted remotely due to geographic constraints, lasted between 25 to 60 minutes, and participants were given the option of audio or video recording. Prior to the interview, questions and a consent form were sent to the interviewee for their review. Ethics approval was obtained for the conduct of these interviews. Recognizing that activists often have demanding schedules and experience high pressure, an alternative option was provided: a self-administered online survey that participants could complete at their convenience. The survey and the interview questions were the same, but the interview is the preferred method of data collection.

Purposive sampling was used as a sampling strategy to identify potential persons of contact for interviews (Noor 2008). The names of potential candidates were determined from published press releases, media campaigns, websites, and court files. Selection was focused on individuals who have prior experience as spokespeople or are actively engaged in advocating for the issue on social media (Appendix 1). Contact was initiated through email or social media, making an effort to reach out to multiple individuals within a movement when feasible. This approach increases the likelihood of successful communication and facilitates interview scheduling. Additionally, within the limits of our resources, we offered material compensation to interview participants. Offering an honorarium is a method through which researchers acknowledge and honor the valuable contributions of individuals and compensate them for their time. There is a long history of unethical practices for research conducted with Indigenous communities and there is a lot of mistrust among activists towards university researchers (Smith 2012). Therefore, as a group of settler researchers from McGill University we compensated all interviewees $50 for their time spent on the interview. These amounts are based on the mean compensation amount of $25/hour defined in a report on current practices in Toronto (Cheff 2018).

Data Processing

The objective of the analysis is to compare different successful climate justice movements and identify the common conditions and factors that lead to material wins. To achieve this, we employed a multifaceted approach that incorporates inductive reasoning, thematic analysis, and narrative analysis

throughout the data analysis process. Inductive reasoning is a form of reasoning that seeks to develop an overarching theory out of data that focus on specific cases (Scott 2014, 128).

In total, we conducted 4 interviews and one survey. All interviews were transcribed using Otter AI software, with each researcher responsible for transcribing their own interviews. In cases where the software transcription was inaccurate or incomplete, researchers manually transcribed the missing portions from the interview recordings. This is an important step in the research process because a good transcription allows for a stronger data analysis (Scott 2014, 64-65). Following transcription, we included the information that was complementary to our online research in the spreadsheet with online research to gain a deeper understanding of the movement. Because the interviews and surveys share a consistent set of questions, we developed a provisional coding scheme that aligns with the thematic areas related to the research questions (Appendix 2).

Thematic analysis aims at extracting the main explicit and implicit themes out of qualitative data (Guest et al. 2012, 10). It thus allowed us to identify the main themes and patterns in the online research, surveys and interviews in order to find similarities between the movements. To do this, we grouped information gathered by common themes to find similarities, differences, and patterns between movements. Where possible, we contextualized these results with findings from the literature. Once we found patterns within question groups, we considered patterns and interesting observations between different groups. We then synthesized all of our findings to answer the original research question.

Results

In this first part of the Results Section, we offer short summaries of each of the fourteen campaigns we included in our case study analysis:

Campaign 1 - Stand LA
Campaign 2 - Stop Cop City
Campaign 3 - Keystone XL Pipeline
Campaign 4 - Grassy Narrows
Campaign 5 - #RightToBreathe/PES
Campaign 6 - 13 Pueblos
Campaign 7 - Trans Mountain Expansion Pipeline: Campaign 8 - Atlantic Coast Pipeline:
Campaign 9 - Public Power New York
Campaign 10 - Mi'kmaq Resistance
Campaign 11 - GNL Quebec
Campaign 12 - Standing Rock
Campaign 13 - Athabasca Tar Sands Resistance
Campaign 14 - Nitaskinan60

Campaign 1 - Stand LA



Figure 1. Art piece describing the symptoms thought to be caused by the drill site pollution. (Photograph by Nancy Halpern Ibrahim 2023)

STAND-L.A. is an intersectional movement founded in 2013 dedicated to halting oil drilling in residential areas in Los Angeles due to the severe health issues it poses to communities (STAND LA 2023). The movement, driven by principles of environmental justice, health justice, and housing justice, has achieved notable successes through a multifaceted approach. The movement's strategies include coalition-building, community engagement, science-based research, effective communication, legal expertise, and political pressure.

The objective of one of their first campaigns, titled "People Not Pozos" (translated as "people not wells"), was to close the AllenCo drilling site which was polluting a low-income, minority community, and causing adverse health effects for residents (Cavallaro 2022). To raise awareness and educate the public, activists created a shocking art piece of eight styrofoam heads, each suffering from one of the symptoms thought to be caused by the drill site pollution[1] (see Figure 1). The activists initiated a door-to-door health and housing survey to gather data on the various symptoms experienced by residents and create a health report[2] (Andrade et al. 2017). They organized a community call-in campaign to the Air

[1] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.
[2] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.

Quality Management District (AQMD) and conducted a press conference, attracting the attention of Senator Barbara Boxer, the federal head of the environmental committee at the time. Senator Boxer called on the Environmental Protection Agency to perform an investigation and the AllenCo site was shut down (Herr 2021).

Following this success, the STAND-L.A. coalition was officially formalized and they began the "No Drilling Where We Are Living" campaign. Coalition building was very important for the success of this movement with extensive outreach efforts made to increase participation and strengthen the collective influence of residents (Liberty Hill Foundation 2023). In 2015, the AQMD modified the law to mandate fossil fuel extraction sites to disclose the chemicals they were using, and activists subsequently uncovered that each disclosed chemical corresponded precisely to the symptoms previously identified (Halpern Ibrahim Interview 2023). Now armed with concrete evidence, they could directly link the chemicals emitted by these sites to the adverse health effects. The data gathered from their health surveys showed a consistent pattern, replicable across many communities exposed to fossil fuel extraction. STAND L.A. was successful in getting E&B Natural Resources to electrify and enclose the Murphy drill site to keep toxic fumes out of nearby homes and reduce pollution, and they successfully advocated for a resolution prohibiting new oil drilling in the Inglewood oil field (Liberty Hill Foundation 2023; Stone 2023). They have also influenced legislative changes such as Senate Bill 1137, which bans new oil and gas wells within 3,200 feet of sensitive areas and has contributed to significant oil phaseout resolutions in Los Angeles, both at the city and county levels (Gross 2022; Stone 2023).

Oil companies, spearheaded by the California Independent Petroleum Association (CIPA) and the Western States Petroleum Association (WSPA), have exerted significant lobbying efforts to oppose legislative measures (Shafer & Klivans, 2023). CIPA successfully delayed the implementation of Senate Bill 1137 by qualifying it for a referendum in the November 2024 ballot (Groom 2023). Moreover, there are reports of the oil industry employing canvassers to use misleading tactics when gathering signatures to qualify the referendum for the ballot (Gross 2022).

Despite its substantial growth and impact on policy and legislation, the roots of this movement can be traced back to grassroots community organizing. **“For us [...] it's a justice issue. And it's also an equity issue. If there is a universal good, we have to start with the most vulnerable, because equity never ever trickles down. It has to start from the bottom[3]”.** The coalition continues to work together to stop oil drilling in Los Angeles and provide a safe and healthy future for all Angelenos.

[3] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.

Campaign 2 - Stop Cop City



Figure 2. Stop Cop City activists in Welaunee Forest, Atlanta (Photograph by Denne Hesse, 2023, https://decaturish.com/2023/02/judge-denies-request-for-restraining-order-to-stop-cop-city-construction/)

Stop Cop City is an intersectional movement that began in 2017 in Atlanta in response to the city's plans to build a 381-acre training facility for police and firefighters in an important green space known as Weelanee forest (Bethea 2023). The training facility was designed to be the biggest in the country with the majority of the funding expected to come from taxpayers despite the absence of public consultation about the project. The issue includes several intersections of climate justice such as the carceral state, racial justice, Indigenous sovereignty, health justice and more. The Weelanee forest, also known as South River Forest, is one of the largest green spaces in Atlanta. It provides essential ecosystem services such as the reduction of the heat island effect and the capture of stormwater runoff (Desai 2023). The green space also comprises the South River, one of the most endangered rivers in the United States due to historical sewage pollution (Emanuel et al. 2021).

Historically, this land belonged to the Muscogee Creek Nation before they were displaced by the 1830 Indian Removal Act (Bethea 2022). At the beginning of the 20th century it was the site of a

controversial low-security prison farm where several accounts of rape, torture, and violent racism against black inmates were recorded (Bethea 2022). Nowadays, the forest serves as an important green space for the residents of the predominantly Black surrounding neighborhoods (Mock 2023). After the project was announced, the Atlanta City Council solicited a session of public feedback that was attended by over a thousand people and lasted over 17 hours (Sydow 2023). The majority of people were against the project, but the council still ended up voting in favor of leasing the land to this police facility (Sydow 2023). Community members began organizing weekly events in the Welanee forest such as potlucks, reading groups, and teach-ins. The goal was to create a safe space to learn about the issue and connect people from all parts of Atlanta with the forest[4]. Direct action in the form of protests was also happening all over the city to spread awareness. However, lots of protesters were arrested and charged for racketeering and domestic terrorism (Rico 2023). During one of these protests, an activist named Manuel Terán ("Tortuguita") was shot fourteen times by Georgia state troopers (Goldberg 2023).

Activists also began a campaign for a ballot referendum, a process allowing constituents to directly vote on an issue of interest. Activists faced the challenge of gathering approximately 58,000 signatures from registered voters within a tight 60-day timeframe (Mock 2023). Complicating matters, DeKalb County, being an unincorporated borough of Atlanta, barred its residents from participating in the voting or signature collection process for the referendum. To overcome this obstacle, four county residents took legal action, filing a lawsuit against the City of Atlanta. They emerged victorious, securing the right for DeKalb residents to both collect signatures and initiate a new 60-day countdown (Sydow 2023). Over the course of two months, activists went canvassing door-to-door in various neighborhoods throughout the city and gathered over 116,000 signatures. (Franzen 2023) Currently, however, the government is trying to delay the signature approval process, introducing uncertainty regarding the inclusion of the issue on the ballot (Sydow 2023).

Most recently in November 2023, the coalition planned a peaceful protest and tree planting in the Welaunee forest, but they were met with physical resistance and tear gassed by the police (Bloomfield

[4] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.

2023). The government is attempting to postpone the referendum process until the construction of the police facility is completed, but it has not affected the determination of the activists as they continue their efforts unabated. **“Whether the win comes through the ballot, in the courts or in the streets, Cop City must never be built”** (Bloomfield 2023).

Campaign 3 - Keystone XL Pipeline



Figure 3. Representatives from Bold Nebraska and the Cowboy and Indian Alliance at the People's Climate March. New York City, September 2014. (Photo Jenna Pope for Bold Nebraska)
https://www.nrdc.org/stories/unlikely-takedown-keystone-xl

Initially proposed in 2008 by TC Energy (formerly TransCanada), the Keystone XL pipeline extension project was designed to dramatically increase the transport of crude oil from Alberta's tar sands to refineries on the Gulf Coast of Texas (Denchak and Lindwall 2022). The pipeline extension project was expected to transport 830,000 barrels of crude oil per day across the Canada-U.S. border if built (Denchak and Lindwall 2022). Simply transporting such large quantities of oil would increase the pipeline's carbon emissions, emitting over 70 million metric tons per year (Lindwall 2021). The project has been highly controversial since its proposal and has faced years of opposition by environmental activists, Indigenous communities and residents along its proposed route (The Canadian Press 2021).

Opposition against the Keystone XL pipeline extension project captures intersectional climate action as it addresses the interconnected nature of environmental issues and other social justice issues, including Indigenous sovereignty and rights. The pipeline is an example of environmental racism as its construction would have disproportionately affected Indigenous communities in Montana and South Dakota (Lindwall 2021). Even though the pipeline's proposed path was slightly altered so as to not explicitly cross Indigenous reservations in the U.S., it still ran the risk of jeopardizing multiple Indigenous lands and important sources for drinking water (Edelman 2021). The pipeline construction would have crossed agricultural areas and put environmentally sensitive areas at risk, including important water bodies such as the Ogallala Aquifer, a 175,000 square-mile freshwater system that serves as the main water source for millions of people (Adler 2015).

There were many different actors involved in the opposition against the KXL. Many grassroots activists, including Indigenous communities and environmentalists, were involved before larger organizers, such as 350.org (Adler 2015). However, they did aid in the organizing of the initial coalition consisting of national environmental organizations including the Natural Resource Defense Council (NRDC), the Sierra Club, and First Nations and Native American activist groups such as Idle No More and local landowners (Adler 2015). An initial win for campaigners came in 2015, when then-President Obama rejected a much needed cross-border permit for Keystone XL after years of large acts of civil disobedience and protest along the construction route and in Washington (Henn 2021). The project was then resurrected by the Trump administration, during which NRDC and their partners issued legal petitions, effectively delaying the completion of the project (National Resource Defense Council 2021). Finally, the project was fully put to an end in 2021, as the newly elected Biden administration rescinded a crucial permit for the KXL pipeline, effectively killing the project (Engelfried 2021).

Campaign 4 - Grassy Narrows



Figure 4. Photo from CBC article: Decades later, Grassy Narrows First Nation waits for solution to mercury poisoning, January 2017. (Photo Credit: Jody Porter/CBC). https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-january-18-2017-1.3939593/decades-later-grassy-narrows-first-nation-waits-for-solution-to-mercury-poisoning-1.3939601

Environmental justice in Grassy Narrows refers to the ongoing struggle for water and health justice in the Indigenous community in the Ojibwe First Nations Reserve in Grassy Narrows. The community members, Asubpeeschoseewagong Netum Anishinabek, have faced significant environmental and social justice challenges, due to unregulated mercury pollution in the Wabigoon River. In the 1960s, Dryden Paper Company Ltd. dumped an estimated 9,000 kg of untreated mercury into the English-Wabigoon river system, upstream from Grassy Narrows and Whitedog First Nations (Anderson 2020). This caused the Canadian Government to ban the consumption of fish from the local river system, effectively closing the communities fisheries and their main economic industry (Charlebois 1978, 205).

The effects of mercury contamination were particularly devastating to the Grassy Narrows First Nations, who were largely dependent upon fishing as their main subsistence and livelihood (Charlebois 1978, 204). With the closure of the communities' fisheries, 60% of Grassy Narrows and Whitedog's inhabitants had lost their jobs and were placed on welfare (Charlebois 1978, 205). Community members still remained reliant on the fish as a diet staple, and the resulting mercury poisoning has devastated the health of the community until today (Anderson 2020). A study published in 2005, by leading mercury

poisoning scientist, Masazumi Harada, found that there was a very high occurrence rate of Minamata Disease in Grassy Narrows with the most common symptoms being sensory disturbances, poor muscle control (ataxia) and tunnel vision (Harada et al 2005, 10). Many community members were diagnosed with Minamata Disease, even though mercury levels had decreased in the area, suggesting the risk of contracting a chronic type of Minamata even when consuming fish under mercury safety guidelines (Harada et al. 2005, 11). Researchers also found evidence supporting Congenital Minamata Disease as they documented young children with neurological symptoms due to the effects of methly- mercury during fetus development including cerebral palsy and intellectual development delays (Harada et al 2005, 6)

In 2017, the Ontario government pledged $85 million towards cleaning up the industrial mercury contamination in the Wabigoon River almost 50 years after the pollution had been identified (Porter 2017). While this was an important step in remediating the River, Grassy Narrows continued to demand fair compensation for mercury poisoning, which had been impacting 90 % of the population, including a mercury care home, quality health care and an environmental monitoring station (Free Grassy 2017). By 2021, the Liberal Government agreed to spend $90 million to build and operate the much needed public infrastructure to support those suffering from Minamata Disease (Porter 2021). However, by 2023, the specialized infrastructure project has failed to be granted any funding by the Government, citing the soaring cost as a major factor to delays (Forester 2023).

The people of Grassy Narrows are still fighting for social and environmental justice demanding that the Canadian Government; 1) Compensate everyone fairly for the mercury crisis, 2) Respect the Grassy Narrows Indigenous Protected Area, ending all logging and mining plans, and 3) Support the Community in restoring their way of life (Andrangi 2022). The activists of Grassy Narrows have engaged in many acts of protest and resistance over the years including letter-writing campaigns, hunger strikes, blockades and yearly protests and marches (Saku 2021; Gilson 2019). A major source of support for Grassy Narrows Activists was the formation of alliances with environmental NGOs like Rainforest Action

Network (RAN) and other grassroots organizers (Saku 2021, 28). Even though divergent values and motivations can pose an initial challenge to relationship building, the solidarity and support of non-Indigenous grassroots organizers can be crucial when it comes to funding, direct action, media relations and legal advocacy, evident through RAN's support during the 2004 blockade (Saku 2021, 29; Wallace 2010, 41)

The Grassy Narrows Case Study encapsulates the adverse impacts of environmental racism, with unequal effects on the health of an Indigenous community. The fight entails demanding accountability for past pollution and advocating for comprehensive cleanup efforts. It is intricately linked to broader Indigenous rights and social justice concerns, encompassing the assertion of land rights, protection of cultural practices, and correcting historical wrongs.

Campaign 5 - #RightToBreathe/PES



Figure 5. Philly Thrive. More than 300 people marching as part of the #RightToBreathe Mobilization. May 30, 2016. Photograph. Philly Thrive. https://www.phillythrive.org/_righttobreathe_mobilization

The 2016 Southport Campaign was a successful campaign that set out to stop Philadelphia Energy Solutions (PES) expansion plans for their oil refinery in Southport Philadelphia (Xiao, 2017). PES was the second largest oil refinery in the United States, a well known polluter and violator of the Clean Air Act (Xiao 2017). Philly Thrive, an intersectional grassroots organization led by Black, disabled, and chronically ill activists (ecoAmerica 2021), was a main organizer for this campaign (Brockmeier 2022). They mobilized local community members and collaborated with other activist networks such as ACTION United (Philly Thrive 2016b). Philadelphia has a deep history of constant pollution dating as far back as 1870 when oil began to be refined in the area (Hanley 2020). The PES refinery could process over 330,000 barrels of crude oil per day and was responsible for over 50% of Philadelphia's toxic air emissions (ecoAmerica 2021). This is one of the main reasons for the high rates of asthma, cancer, and

other respiratory problems amongst Philadelphians (Philly Thrive 2017). The residents who were at higher exposure from the pollution were low-income people of color, making this a case of environmental racism (Philly Thrive 2016a; ecoAmerica, 2021).

The campaign started on March 22nd, 2016 with the first protest against PES's expansion plans (Philly Thrive 2016b). Through teach-ins and community outreach, Philly Thrive collaborated with ACTION united to mobilize community members to demand their "Right to Breathe" on May 7th (Philly Thrive 2016b). This coincided with "Break Free 2016," a wave of resistance to fossil fuels infrastructure by activists across the globe (Philly Thrive 2016b). Throughout the campaign the hashtag #RightToBreathe was used across social media channels, and the image of sunflowers, symbolizing the belief in "a better future for Philadelphia with clean air, healthy families and a green economy," were seen during the protests (Philly Thrive 2016b). Due to the organization through small working groups, momentum was maintained throughout the campaign (ecoAmerica 2021). More protests and take-overs were planned, including a "Toxic Tour" of the oil refinery on July 26th led by Philly Thrive, ACTION United, LeftRoots, and Global Grassroots Justice Alliance (Philly Thrive 2016c). At this event, frontline activists shared global and local personal stories of how they have been impacted by the fossil fuel economies (Philly Thrive 2016c). Victory was declared in December when the expansion plans were officially canceled (Thompson 2016). Despite the cancellations, Philly Thrive continued with advocacy and mobilization of more campaigns until PES refinery went bankrupt in 2018 and finally shut down in 2019 after a series of explosions (Hanley 2020). Philly Thrive continues to organize for environmental justice with their campaigns and is now advocating for their "RightToThrive" and mobilizing efforts to repair and clean up 154 years of violence and pollution in their communities (Brockmeier 2021; Philly Thrive n.d.).

Campaign 6 - 13 Pueblos



Figure 6. EJ Atlas. *Saul Roque se dirige a la multitud*. n.d. Photograph. EJ Atlas. https://ejatlas.org/conflict/unidad-habitacional-la-cienega

The Movement of the 13 pueblos was a successful movement and campaign, started 2006, that sought to cancel the development plans for the La Ciénega housing units around the area of the Chihuahuita spring in Morelos, Mexico (Arnaut 2010). There was no prior consultation or proper Environmental Impact Assessment for this project (Navarro 2007). The 13 pueblos involved were Tepetzingo, Tetecalita, Temimilcingo, Acamilpa, Pueblo Nuevo, Tlaltizapan, Huatecalco, El Mirador, Benito Juárez, Tetelpa, Santa Rosa Treinta, San Miguel Treinta, and Xoxocotla (Velazco 2018). Most pueblos were made up of Indigenous communities, and campesinos or farmers. The infrastructure to deliver water from the Chihuahuita spring had been previously donated by President Lázaro Cárdenas to provide water to Xoxocotla and the neighboring pueblos back in 1934 (Arnaut 2010). This donation was of major importance as the communities had been struggling from a lack of water access all throughout

the Mexican Revolution due to hoarding and misuse by the large haciendas (estates) for the production of sugar cane (Arnaut 2010). Again, access to water was threatened by the La Ciénega housing units, as their planned locations were in the water replenishment areas of the spring (Arnaut 2010).

The 13 pueblos came together to resist these construction plans and advocate for their land sovereignty and water access (Navarro 2007). This was possible due to the creation of the consejo de los pueblos or the council of the pueblos. Here, members from each pueblo met every Sunday to learn about each other's concerns, devise their strategies, and find alternative solutions without government authority (Tabone 2008, 00:20:40). No association with government parties was allowed (Tabone 2008, 00:23:20). For three years, they protested, organized blockades, and counter-reports despite strong government opposition and police brutality (Navarro 2007; Tabone 2008, 00:53:10). This included the clash between police and residents at the Jojutla-Cuernavaca toll booth on June 4th, 2007, where several people were injured and arrested (Navarro 2007; Velazco 2018). The people of the 13 pueblos were often tear-gassed by police forces, bribed, and some individuals received death threats (Tabone 2008, 00:34:30).

On top of police brutality, they had to fight opposing narratives from the government and Conagua, Mexico's National Water Commission, that falsely claimed there was sufficient water for the construction of the housing units (Navarro 2007; Tabone 2008, 00:32:40). In September of 2007, 153 Indigenous leaders from Canada, the United States, Peru, and other counties in Latin America came together in Xochicalco for the Council of the 13 pueblos and the presentation of their manifesto (Rincón 2023 and Tabone 2008, 00:16:00). The manifesto was made in defense of the land, air, and water, and it outlined the current crisis and visions for the future (Pueblos de Morelos 2007; Casiba 2007, 1:08). It also accused the government and corporations of labeling the areas as "unproductive" to justify construction plans despite the presence of Indigenous and farmer communities (Pueblos de Morelos 2007). In September of 2008, a court case was presented in the Latin American Water Court where CEAMA (the State Water and Environment Commission) and Conagua were blamed for having authorized construction permits without proper assessment and not taking into account the needs of the surrounding communities

(Rincón 2023). In 2009, three years after the movement's conception, the project plans were canceled and the area within a 100 meter radius of the Chihuahuita spring was protected (Rincón 2023).

Campaign 7 - Trans Mountain Expansion Pipeline



Figure 7. McNabb, Brittney . *The Tiny House Warriors camp at Blue River, B.C.,*. Photograph. CBC News. July 3rd, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/tmx-pipeline-protest-tiny-house-loring-blue-river-1.5635691 /

The Trans Mountain Expansion project (TMX) is a pipeline expansion project that aims to construct a second pipeline, approximately parallel to the current trans-mountain pipeline that transports crude oil from Edmonton to the coast of British Columbia. The pipeline expansion project would almost triple capacity from around 300 million barrels a day to almost 900 million barrels a day (Trans Mountain 2016).

The pipeline expansion project was first proposed by Kinder Morgan in 2013, with an estimated price of just under $5 billion. The Canadian federal government purchased the pipeline in 2018 to keep the project alive after significant resistance and price increases. Since its proposal, the price tag for the project has increased sixfold, to over $30 billion today. Analysts and economists have stated that this

expansion project will have a net cost that will be passed on to taxpayers, even without considering other negative impacts of the project (Cunningham 2020).

Beyond the lack of justification for the pipeline expansion project, the project perpetuates other forms of injustice and violence. This includes a lack of proper consultation for free, prior, and informed consent by Indigenous peoples, as well as violence towards women and children due to aggressions from "man camps" that are created to work at these sites (Cunningham 2020). Furthermore, the project violates federal objectives towards a clean energy transition (Canada 2023; Coast Protectors 2023).

The expansion project has met fierce resistance from its onset, particularly in the form of direct action by First Nations. This direct action in blocking the pipeline construction has been supported by many academics, activists, and environmental organizations. Of note is the creation of a camp by the Tiny House Warriors of the Secwépemc nation that has physically resisted the project by inhabiting areas to be developed. This serves the dual purpose of resisting the expansion project and asserting Indigenous sovereignty on the land (Cunningham 2020).

The mobilization has faced a major challenge: both the owner and the judge of the project's feasibility, the Canadian government, is in a favorable position to impose the expansion project and issue construction permits. This poses ethical questions of the democratic processes behind this economically unviable, destructive project. Furthermore, this has also led to repressive monitoring and policing of activists, including a bill that prohibits approaching any of the construction sites (CBC 2019). Over 200 activists have been arrested for their involvement in mobilizations against TMX (Stand.Earth 2023).

The mobilization against TMX can only be considered a partial win; despite increasing public opposition, increased costs, countless delays, financial problems, and difficulties finding banks or insurers to host the project, its construction has not been halted. It is set to begin operations in 2024 (Cunningham, 2020).

Campaign 8 - Atlantic Coast Pipeline



Figure 8. Sierra Club, *Blowback: Why the Once-Inevitable Atlantic Coast Pipeline's Future Is in Doubt* Photograph. Sierra Club, December 6th 2017. https://www.sierraclub.org/compass/2017/12/blowback-why-once-inevitable-atlantic-coast-pipeline-s-future-doubt

The Atlantic Coast Pipeline was a pipeline development project jointly proposed by Dominion Energy and Duke Energy in September 2013. It was designed to transport almost 42 million cubic meters of gas daily from the Utica and Marcellus gas fields in West Virginia to Virginia and North Carolina (Zullo 2016). The proposed project received an Environmental Impact Statement in late 2016 and aimed at starting construction in 2017, with an estimated cost of $5.1 billion (Zullo 2016). The proposed project would have disproportionately affected predominantly African American communities, as well as Indigenous communities (CBF 2023).

However, the project was met with significant resistance. Environmental organizations, grassroots groups founded by residents and landowners, and a legal organization (the Southern Environmental Law Centre) converged in voicing public opinion and instigating legal battles against the pipeline. These mobilizations included, but were not limited to: signs on homes, marches, letters to relevant authorities, legal actions, public meetings, and non-violent actions. A significant legal win was the recognition of the

impacts on the Appalachian Trail, and that as a part of the National Parks System, the United States Forest service did not have the authority to issue construction permits (Appalachian Voices 2023; CBF 2023).

A coalition of environmental, conservation, and public advocacy groups signed a letter demanding that rigorous environmental assessment be conducted, citing pipeline engineers and environmental specialists that had stated the inappropriateness of the project (Southern Environmental Law Centre 2021).

In July 2020, Dominion Energy and Duke Energy announced the cancellation of the pipeline, citing ongoing delays, the COVID-19 pandemic, legal uncertainty, and increasing costs of construction. Announced the same week as the cancellation of the Keystone XL pipeline project, this was a significant win for local residents and the national climate justice movement (Dominion Energy 2020, Vogelson 2020).

Campaign 9 - Public Power New York



Figure 9. Holtermann, Gabriele. *Climate activists block Broadway demanding the passage of the Public Power Bill at a protest on June 2*. Photograph. The Villager. June 3rd, 2021. https://www.amny.com/news/climate-activists-cuffed-at-downtown-protest-over-public-renewables-act/.

In 2019, the state of New York adopted the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act (CLCPA) which commits to achieve 100% renewable energy by 2040 and at least 70% of electricity from renewable energy sources by 2030 (Pierpont and Eckel 2023, 4). In order to achieve the CLCPA goals and to ensure that social and economic justice is taken into account while doing so, Public Power New York (PPNY) led a campaign that lasted for approximately 3.5 years (from late 2019 to May 2023) and aimed to pass the Build Public Renewables Act in the state budget (Dawson 2023). PPNY is a state-wide grassroots coalition that brings together more than 20 environmental justice organizations, labor unions, and thousands of volunteers to pass the bill (PPNY n.d.e.). On top of advocating for climate justice, the coalition pays serious attention to the intersectional dimensions of the fight for renewable energy, such as racial and economic justice (PPNY n.d.a).

The Build Public Renewables Act will require the New York Power Authority (NYPA)–the largest US public power agency–to not only provide fully renewable energy to citizens by 2040, but also to ensure that economic, social, and racial justice are taken into account while doing so. The Bill will ensure that the energy jobs have high labor standards (Pierpont and Eckel 2023, 5), and that the transition to renewable energy is led by the public sector. The Bill will also ensure that the most polluting oil and gas plants, located mainly in low-income communities of color, will be shut down by 2030, and that energy is affordable for lower income communities (PPNY n.d.b).

The overall strategy of the movement was to put public pressure on politicians and get as many people involved and concerned as possible. For instance, the coalition encouraged people to call and send emails to Governor Kathy Hochul, the politician responsible for passing the bill (PPNY n.d.d). They organized public events to educate the larger public about the state of the current NY energy system, and got members of the movement campaigning for office on platforms that explicitly endorsed Public Power NY (Dawson 2023). However, the most important tactic was forming a state-wide coalition (PPNY n.d.e). Building alliances while many politicians were opposed to the Bill proved to be difficult; involving labor unions was particularly arduous because of the worker's skepticism of the notoriously anti-union renewable energy industry (Dawson 2023).

After nearly four years of campaigning, PPNY successfully achieved its goal when the New York State legislature decided to pass the Build Public Renewables Act in May 2023 and allocate a budget to the NYPA that would allow for its effective implementation (PPNY n.d.c).

Campaign 10 - Mi'kmaq Resistance



Figure 10. Aishaa, Fanny. *A beautiful reworking of an iconic image from Elsipogtog.* The original photo was taken by Ossie Michelin, a reporter for APTN and the woman is Amanda Polchies. Painting. Âpihtawikosisân. October 23rd, 2013. https://apihtawikosisan.com/2013/10/resources-on-elsipogtog/.

In 2009, the provincial government of New Brunswick granted Southwestern Energy Resources a permit to explore over a million hectares of land for natural gas extraction (Howe 2015, 49). During the years that followed, New Brunswick citizens opposed this decision by signing many petitions and organizing protests (Howe 2015). The citizen-led opposition to fracking was not heard nor taken into account by the government and in 2013, the latter allowed South Western Energy Resources and Irving Oil to conduct exploration for and extraction of natural gas on unceded Mi'kma'ki territory (Dahm 2014). The Elsipogtog First Nation was opposed to the project because it was hazardous to their lands and

waters. On June 5th 2013, South Western Energy Resources started to do seismic testing which led the Mi'kmaq of New Brunswick and their allies to start protesting against the project (Dahm 2014). There was a strong alliance between the province, the police, and the fracking companies; the state mobilized surveillance resources to stop the opposition (Crosby and Monaghan 2018; Warrior Publications 2013). The government opposition to the protesters and the strong police repression was the main challenge faced by protesters.

The Mi'kmaq struggle to protect their lands and waters is both a fight for Indigenous sovereignty and for climate justice. When thinking about intersectional climate activism in North America, it is important to keep in mind that so-called Canada and the United States are settler colonial states with a long history of colonial extractivism and violence. The long-lasting history of natural resource extraction in many Indigenous lands across Turtle Island is one manifestation of environmental racism and of the settler colonial structure (Curley and Lister 2020).

The Mi'kmaq Warrior Society played a large role in organizing blockades and resisting police repression (Warrior Publications n.d.). This campaign was thus Indigenous-led, but it also received support from other Indigenous groups and settler allies (Howe 2015; Crosby and Monaghan 2018). The Indigenous-led organization IDLE No More called for a national day of solidarity protest on December 2nd (Dahm 2014). The companies finally decided to abandon seismic testing and to leave the province until 2015 (Dahm 2014). In 2015, a temporary moratorium on fracking was announced by the government of New Brunswick and was extended indefinitely in 2016 (CBC News 2018; McCarthy 2016).

Campaign 11 - GNL Quebec



Figure 11. Hughes, Graham, and The Canadian Press. 2020. *A Greenpeace Banner Reading "No GNL" Is Shown Hanging from a Building under Construction on the Site of the MIL Campus of the University of Montreal* . Photograph. The Montreal Gazette. https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/icymi-covid-cases-up-heat-wave-warnings-carey-price-more.

The protests against the GNL Quebec project, which involves the development of a 750-kilometer natural gas pipeline operated by Gazoduq, the establishment of a gas liquefaction plant managed by Énergie Saguenay, and the creation of a terminal for the export of methane using supertanker vessels in Saguenay, QC, have emerged as a significant episode in environmental activism, symbolizing the potential for collective action to influence policy and corporate decisions (Kurdi 2020a).

The movement's inception in 2017, marked by an initial demonstration led by Innu Land and Water Protectors, set the stage for broader opposition to the GNL Quebec project. In the following years, efforts were consolidated by diverse actors, including local citizens, civil society groups, environmental

activists, opposition parties, and student associations, all uniting against GNL Quebec. Forming an informal coalition expanded the movement from a local to a national issue (L'Héritier 2021; Fiset 2021; Kurdi 2021; Bergamo 2021).

Strategic approaches employed by the movement played a pivotal role in shaping its trajectory. Utilizing petitions, polls, and active participation in official public consultations, notably through the Bureau d'audiences publiques en environnement (BAPE), the movement demonstrated a concerted effort to voice opposition through many formal channels with record-breaking participation (Fiset 2020; Kurdi 2020b). Decentralized actions, like hanging banners at symbolic locations, enhanced visibility and emphasized the project's lack of social acceptability (Kurdi 2021; Marie-Ève Maillé, Baba, and Marcotte 2023).

The global climate strikes on September 27, 2019, that drew half a million people and featured a speech by climate activist Greta Thunberg, provided the GNL Quebec movement with an international platform[5]. Moreover, financial setbacks in 2020 and 2021, marked by major investors, including Warren Buffett's firm, withdrawing support from the project, underscored the economic vulnerabilities of the GNL Quebec initiative (Houle 2020; Bourque 2021). The political landscape shifted as the BAPE Report came out in the movement's favor, prompting Quebec Premier François Legault to succumb to escalating public pressure and reject the project in July 2021 (L'Héritier 2021).

The official cancellation of the GNL Quebec project was not a singular triumph but the result of multiple contributing factors. The success is attributed to the movement's multi-level approach, engaging local, national, and international spheres, and its adeptness at turning passive allies into active allies, expanding the support base beyond its initial confines, and creating a unified front[6]. The movement against the GNL Quebec project is a prime example of how local grassroots organizing, amplified by other actors, can become a powerful tool for climate justice[7].

[5] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.
[6] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.
[7] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.

Campaign 12 - Standing Rock



Figure 12. Goldman, David. 2016. *A View of the Oceti Sakowin Camp, North of the Cannonball River, Where People Have Gathered to Protest the Dakota Access Pipeline*. Photograph. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/12/04/504354503/army-corps-denies-easement-for-dakota-access-pipeline-says-tribal-organization

The genesis of the Standing Rock protests can be traced back to Energy Transfer Partners' proposal for the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), intended to traverse sacred Indigenous lands. The campaign's primary objectives were threefold: safeguarding the Missouri River, protecting sacred lands and historical sites, and upholding the sovereignty and treaty rights of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Central to the tribe's argument was the contention that the DAPL breached Article II of the Fort Laramie Treaty, securing the right to the peaceful and uninterrupted utilization of reservation lands (Smithsonian 2015).

In March 2016, a pivotal moment occurred as Tokata Iron Eyes and the Standing Rock Youth uncovered plans to reroute the pipeline through sacred lands (Petronzio 2016; Elbein 2017). This

discovery marked the initiation of the #NoDAPL movement, led by teenagers who utilized online platforms, petitions, and grassroots mobilizations to galvanize resistance. The movement gained momentum, becoming a focal point for opposition to the pipeline. As tensions escalated, encampments like Sacred Stone and Oceti Sakowin became central to resistance (Yardley 2017). These encampments served as strategic hubs, fostering communal dynamics and providing a base for legal strategies employed by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe.

The ReZpect Our Water group played a critical role within the broader #NoDAPL movement by organizing relay runs, symbolizing the historic and spiritual practice of running among Native peoples, contributing to the movement's visibility (Joseph 2016). Social media, particularly the #NoDAPL hashtag, were crucial in amplifying the movement's message and reaching a global audience (Petronzio 2016). International advocacy efforts included engagements with the UN Human Rights Council and the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Medina 2016).

The zenith of the narrative unfolded in December 2016 when the Department of the Army denied an easement under Lake Oahe, effectively halting the pipeline's progression (Healy and Fandos 2016). This decision had socio-political ramifications, generating jubilation at the Oceti Sakowin camp and broader implications for Indigenous rights (Healy and Fandos 2016; Todrys 2021). Despite this legal success, setbacks emerged, notably President Trump's memorandum in 2017 to accelerate the project and the excessive use of force by police and private military personnel during violent confrontations with protestors (Hersher 2017; Levin and Woolf 2016; Peralta 2016; Levin, Woolf, and Carrington 2016). Yet, as the US administration office changes, with President Biden now in office, there remains hope for Standing Rock protestors to be heard (Todrys 2021).

The Standing Rock protests against the DAPL represent a journey of Indigenous resilience and global solidarity, its impact transcending geographical boundaries (Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon 2019). To this day, it remains a poignant reminder of the ongoing struggle for climate justice and the imperative to safeguard Indigenous sovereignty.

Campaign 13 - Athabasca Tar Sands Resistance



Figure 13. Embree, Zack. *2013 Tar Sands Healing Walk procession*. Photograph. *The Narwhal*. May 20, 2014. https://thenarwhal.ca/june-28th-final-tar-sands-healing-walk-simply-new-beginning-say-organizers/.

The Athabasca Tar Sands have been a site of environmental activism for decades. In 2014, however, a series of large development projects, including Shell's Pierre River Mine, were canceled due to "market forces and public opposition" (Rose 2014). It is estimated that public opposition to tar sands has cost the oil industry over $17 billion (Rose 2014). The Athabasca-Chipewyan First Nation (ACFN)

strongly challenged Shell's proposed development, seeking compensation for damage already done and legal recognition of native land rights on traditional territories outside of reserves (Lim 2014).

The ACFN has mounted significant legal opposition against Shell in the form of lawsuits and interventions in the regulatory process (Climate & Capitalism 2011; Narine 2015). Additionally, withdrawing from consultative committees proved effective, as these committees often had little impact, and oil companies could no longer claim Indigenous consultation (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014). In 2010, the Tar Sands Healing Walk was founded by a group of Indigenous activists including the ACFN (Leahy 2014). The Healing Walk, a 14-kilometer walk through the tar sands, was intended to build community and raise awareness about the damage caused by bitumen extraction (Leahy 2014). The Walk ended in 2014 after organizers felt its goals had been achieved (Leahy 2014).

An identified challenge to Indigenous groups was their relatively small size, which made it easy for large multinational corporations to ignore them (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014). To maximize effectiveness, large coalitions formed from diverse actors including Indigenous groups, environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs), labor groups, and religious groups (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014). On coalition building, Lubicon Cree activist Melina Laboucan-Massimo said, "'When we work in coalitions – the environmental movement, First Nations and the labor movement – there's such a convergence of diverse voices…we're really starting to see growing public accountability and public opposition being seen and taken seriously'" (Rose 2014). These coalitions extended beyond local communities to the international scale, raising public awareness and increasing pressure on oil companies (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014).

In the face of continued tar sands operation and pipeline construction, "wins" for Indigenous activists are hard to conceive and identify (Leahy 2014). However, the cancellation of Shell's proposed Pierre River Mine is demonstrative of an identified win for grassroots climate activists.

Campaign 14 - Nitaskinan60



Figure 14. Fournier, Emelia. *Solidarity camp for the Nitaskinan60 blockades in Manawan, Quebec*. Photograph. *APTN News*. March 18, 2022. https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/inside-the-atikamekw-nations-fight-against-the-deforestation-of-its-ancestral-lands/

Nitaskinan60, or the Kilometer 60 campaign, is an ongoing campaign for Indigenous sovereignty, environmental justice, and climate justice in Manawan, Québec, Canada. On February 17th, the Dubé family, Atikamekw First Nation and land custodians in Manawan, asked the Scierie Saint-Michel to cease illegal logging in the Dubé's ancestral maple grove (The North Star 2022). Scierie Saint-Michel refused to respect the family's authority, ignoring both a cease and desist letter and the harmonization agreement between the Québec government and the Atikamekw Band Council (The North Star 2022). In response, the Dubé family and Manawan community established a blockade on the road leading into the maple grove and announced a moratorium on logging in Manawan (Richardson and Fournier 2022).

The blockade started in February with the immediate goal of stopping the illegal logging and the long-term goal of Indigenous sovereignty and unity. Annette Dubé-Vollant, the family's spokesperson, stated, "'We want to create one nation, one territory. We don't want separate territories. They [the

government] have succeeded in dividing us, they have divided us for a long time. They still divide us in the community. It's the same in Wemotaci, they divide us by giving us envelopes [of money]. So that's what we're in the process of forming, a unified movement" (The North Star 2023). While campaigning, some activists expressed fear of danger to individuals, physical or legal (Josselin 2022). The greatest challenge, however, was a lack of government cooperation, forthrightness, and responsibility.

The Québec Ministère des Fôrets, de la Faune et des Parcs (MFFP) issued a report in May, 2022, concluding that the MFFP and Scerie Saint-Michel were both at fault (Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw 2022). However, the report neither offered reparations or compensation to the Dubé family or Manawan community nor penalized either of the responsible parties (Fournier 2022). One positive outcome of the MFFP's investigation, recognized by the campaign, was the publication of seven sustainable forestry recommendations for better community consultation and involvement (Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw 2022; Fournier 2022)

In August 2023, the Manawan case, which began 18 months earlier, was still unresolved (Dubé 2023). The campaign will continue until changes are officially put into place (Fournier 2022).

Analysis: Findings

Section 1: Context and Intersectionality

The analysis of our 14 case studies first looked at the contexts of each campaign and social justice intersections between environmental justice campaigns. The campaigns studied revealed a complex web of intersections, diverse goals and varying campaign lengths.

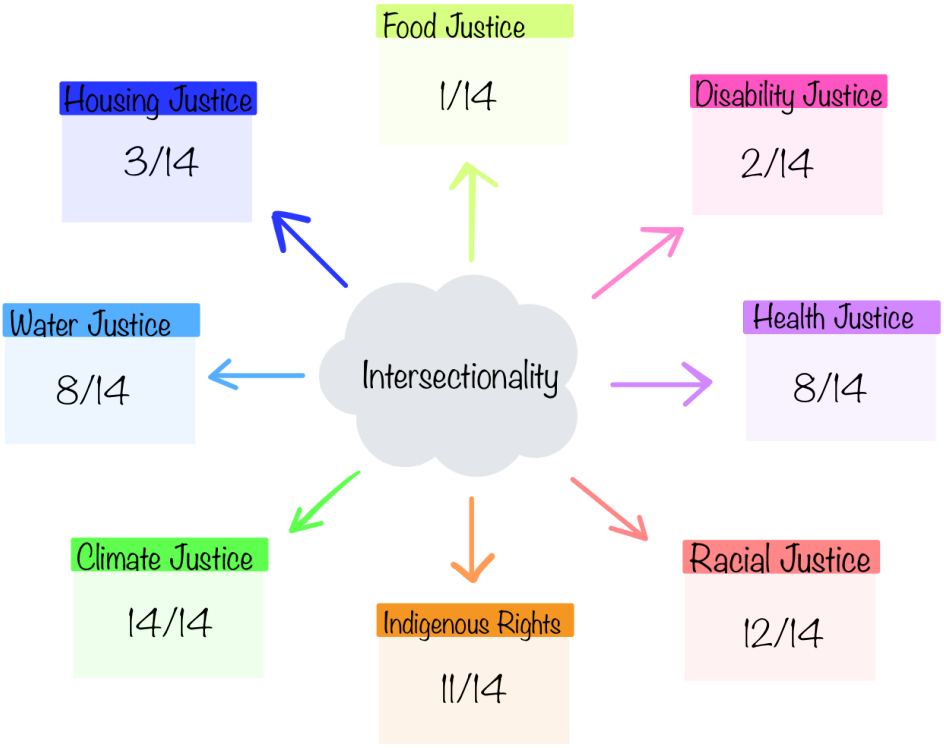


Fig. 15 Intersectional themes most common of the 14 case studies analyzed and how often those themes were found amongst the data set.

Many of the campaigns included **diverse social justice intersections**, including most that are explored in our literature review. This is in line with what is expected of intersectional environmentalism as it seeks to dismantle all systems of oppression (Thomas 2022, 12-13). Indigenous rights and sovereignty arose as the most common intersection between our case studies, reaffirming that it is central to many environmental and climate justice campaigns across Turtle Island; raising up the struggles of the

original stewards of the land (Alook et al. 2023, 25; Red Nation 2021, 24). This is especially relevant in the pipeline case studies such as Keystone XL, Trans Mountain and Standing Rock campaigns which saw extraction projects cut through traditional territories (Lindwall 2021; Cunningham 2020; Smithsonian 2015). By asserting their sovereign land rights, these communities were able to pose a significant threat to settler-colonialism and destructive resource projects (Alook et al. 2023, 28) **A majority of the successful campaigns we studied were started by local, directly impacted Indigenous communities**.

Other intersections between racial justice and health justice were centralin the campaigns analyzed as **land pollution disproportionately impacts racialized communities,** perpetuating systemic oppression (Ihejirika 2023). The exposure to contaminants and pollution from industrial development and land use has serious health implications for local communities, especially those that are already vulnerable (Patnaik 2020). The risk posed to important water bodies, such as in the Chihuahuita Spring in 13 Pueblos and the Mi'kmaq resistance, highlight the intersection between water and health justice in racialized communities (Arnaut 2010; Dahm 2014). Further, the Grassy Narrows Campaign exemplifies how polluting waterways can have terrible consequences for the health of local communities, especially those dependent on the natural landscape (Harada et al. 2005; Charlebois 1978, 204). The consequences of such exposure increase the likelihood of health justice and water justice intersecting with disability justice, evident in the Grassy Narrows campaign and the #Right to Breathe campaign in Philly (Harada et al 2005, 6; ecoAmerica 2021).

When looking across 14 case studies, campaigns can be organized into three different categories based on when activists got involved and began protesting their respective injustices; 1) since activity proposal, 2) after proposal, before activity begins, 3) after activity begins. Of the 14 case studies, the majority of campaigns began in Level 1, that is to say **activists became involved when an activity was first proposed and intervened early**. The 14 case studies can also be divided into four categories depending on the initial goals of the campaign; 1) stopping activity before it begins, 2) preventing further

development, 3) stopping current activities and 4) other demands; including compensation and policy reform. Of the 14 case studies, **the majority of campaigns set out to 1) stop activities before they began**. By acting early and aiming to stop an activity prior to it starting, the majority of campaigns were able to utilize a strategy that has been identified as particularly useful; directly disrupting company operations (Bradshaw, 2015, p. 437).

The 14 case studies also varied in length of time activists campaigned for, ranging from just 6 months to over 50 years (Global Nonviolent Action Database 2023; Wong 2017). Some research has identified the duration of a protest relevant to the success of the campaign, citing that longer duration can increase the chances of getting a desirable result (Tetteh 2023, 51). However, the duration of a campaign and its impact on success is an under examined phenomenon (Lewis and Ives 2023, 2). Whether or not, protest duration contributes to protest success or failure remains to be seen; and within our data set is undeterminable as half of the campaigns are considered to be 'ongoing.'

Section 2: Strategy and Tactics

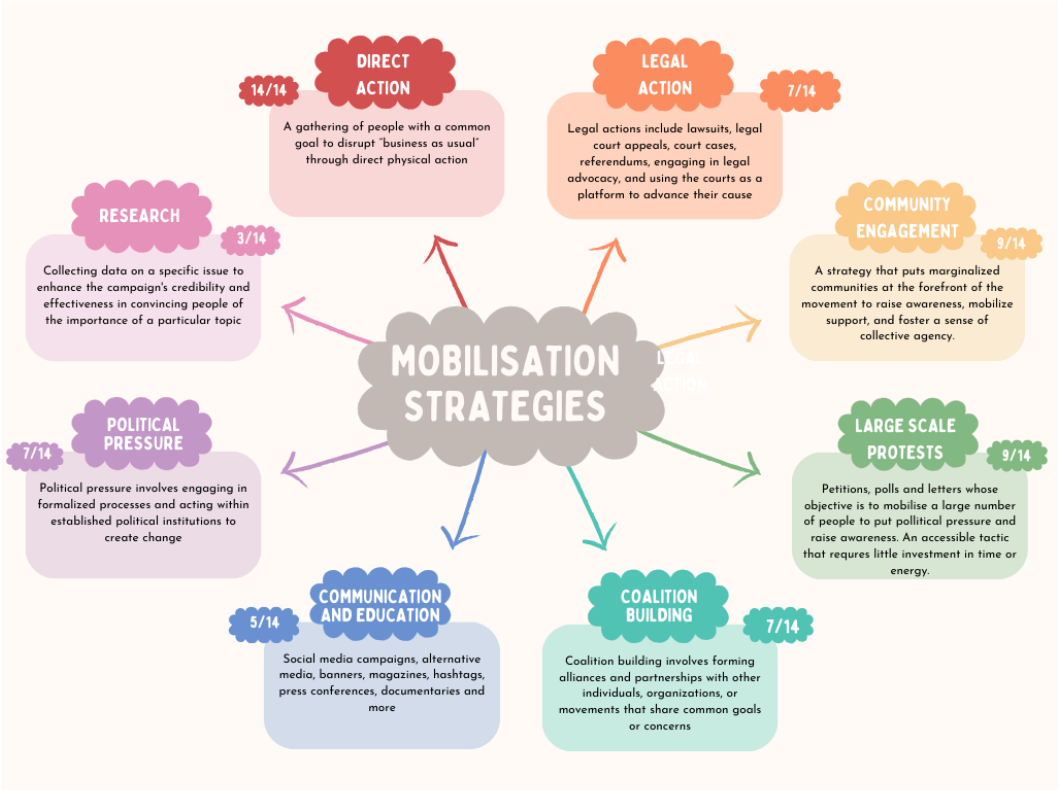


Fig. 16

All campaigns we studied used multifaceted strategic approaches to address climate justice issues, push for immediate action, and hold powerful entities accountable. **All campaigns participated in a form of direct action** which we defined as a gathering of people with a common goal to disrupt "business-as-usual" through direct physical action (Activists Handbook 2023). The goal is to express dissent, raise awareness, and pressure those in power to address their concerns. Direct action can take different forms, including protests, marches, protests, marches, sit-ins, civil disobedience, strikes and blockades. Direct action is an accessible strategy because it does not require any specific resources or expertise.

Community engagement was identified as a key strategy in ten out of the 14 campaigns. Community engagement is a strategy that puts marginalized communities at the forefront of the movement to raise awareness, mobilize support, and foster a sense of collective agency. Engaging the

affected communities ensures that their voices are heard, experiences are considered, and solutions are inclusive and representative of their needs. Community engagement includes a multitude of activities such as canvassing, community meetings, workshops, teach-ins, reading groups, focus groups, speak-ins and public events. Some notable examples from our study include large-scale events like the Standing Rock Relay Runs, the Grassy Narrows River Run event or the 3-day Tar Sands Healing walk or smaller events like the weekly potlucks in Welaunee forest for Stop Cop City. (Gilson 2019; Joseph 2016; Leahy 2014; Sydow 2022). It was also recognized as an immaterial success in and of itself, fostering collaboration and a strong sense of community within campaigns.

The drafting of petitions or letters was a strategy used in ten out of 14 campaigns. **Petitions and letters were used as tools to demonstrate people's dedication to the cause and get the attention of decision makers** while not requiring excessive time commitments. While direct action remains a common strategy, it's essential to acknowledge that not everyone possesses the ability or privilege to partake in protests and the risk of arrest or criminalization is more serious for oppressed communities (Hinton & Reed 2018). Frequently, people in the most marginalized communities are busy and can't attend protests. Hence, petitions offer a valuable alternative, allowing the inclusion of voices from these groups without imposing a substantial time commitment. The biggest success was the Stop Cop City petition which gathered more than 116,000 voter signatures in favor of including the issue on the ballot to be voted on (Franzen 2023).

Half of the campaigns used strategies related to coalition building. Coalition building involves forming alliances and partnerships with other individuals, organizations, or movements that share common goals or concerns. Coalition building was recognized as a success when campaigns led to the permanent creation of a new entity or group (Grassy Narrows, Stand L.A., 13 Pueblos, Public Power NY). Coalitions were characterized as contributing diverse knowledge and perspectives and increasing the size and strength of campaigns. For movements like Stand L.A., coalition building strengthened the collective influence and fostered a broader participation in various actions (Liberty Hill Foundation 2023).

Half of the campaigns also used legal action and political pressure strategies. **The combined objective of legal action and political pressure is to disrupt established procedures, ultimately diminishing the economic viability of a project.** Political pressure involves engaging in formalized processes and acting within established political institutions to create change. Examples of this strategy include policy change, call campaigns, attending public meetings or consultations, withdrawing from councils, running for office or organizing successful election campaigns. The process of political pressure is dynamic and can lead to several challenges. The participation and interaction of politicians with Public Power NY was recognized as both a challenge and a solution because the organization faced strong political opposition but also benefited from strong political alliances (Dawson 2023). Legal strategies were used as a tool for activists seeking systemic change as it operates within the framework of established laws and regulations. Legal challenges were only considered a material gain if they were successful. Unsuccessful legal challenges were a strategy for delaying projects but not a material success *per se.* Legal actions include lawsuits, legal court appeals, court cases, referendums, engaging in legal advocacy, and using the courts as a platform to advance their cause. Engaging in legal action may also contribute to the recognition of Indigenous rights or sovereignty by the government.

Five of the campaigns used communication platforms to educate the public about the issues and raise awareness. Examples of communication strategies include social media campaigns, alternative media, banners, magazines, hashtags, press conferences, documentaries and more. Recognizing the inclination of mainstream media to align with government perspectives, campaigns are increasingly turning to alternative media sources and social media platforms to ensure their messages reach a broader audience[8].

Three of the campaigns conducted independent research, a strategy that involves collecting data on a specific issue to enhance the campaign's credibility and effectiveness in convincing people of the importance of a particular topic. Stand L.A. conducted a health and housing survey to gather data on the harmful effects of oil drilling in their neighborhood and activists for the Atlantic Coast Pipeline

[8] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.

conducted an impact assessment to prove the harmful effects of pipeline construction[9] (Andrade et al. 2017; Appalachian Voices 2023).

There was a wide range of actors involved across all case studies including community members, Indigenous groups, non-profit organizations, academics, businesses, legal groups, health groups, and student groups. The most recurrent type of actors across the case studies were activist networks made up of community members, volunteers, Indigenous groups, and environmental organizations. **Actors from unions participated in 4 out of 14 case studies. For the Public Power NY campaign, the involvement of labor unions was identified as a turning point in the struggle**. (Dawson 2023; Public Power New York n.d.a.)

The least recurrent type of actors were academics, businesses, legal groups, health groups, and student groups. That said, for the GNL Quebec campaign, students made up the largest fraction of supporters with 54 student associations representing more than 350,000 members. Student's involvement was also identified as crucial in our interview with Louis Couillard from Greenpeace: "The student and youth movements also played an important role in creating pressure as they worked with local mobilizers[10]". Academics were defined as actors in the TMX Pipeline and GNL Quebec campaigns. Academic Tim Takaro camped in a tree scheduled to be cut down for the construction of the TMX pipeline and this gathered significant media attention that reached different audiences (Cunningham 2020). David Suzuki, a well known celebrity and academic, was involved with the campaign against GNL Quebec. He, along with Greenpeace, supported the campaign by following the leadership and guidelines provided by two citizen collectives[11]. The involvement of academics or well-known experts helped these campaigns gain wider media attention.

Different actors contributed to the campaigns by sharing unique knowledge or perspectives on the issue (8 out of the 14 case studies) and demonstrating official support for a campaign through statements or signing of petitions (half of the case studies). The research for the Athabasca Tar Sands case

[9] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.
[10] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.
[11] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.

study states that, “Dominant political and industry actors were largely able to overlook the movement until a diverse and influential set of social movement actors began collaborating and shifting these local struggles transnationally.” (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014). **This suggests that the diversity and number of actors contributing their respective knowledge and support seem to strengthen campaigns**.

Organizations and coalitions such as 350 from Keystone Pipeline, Philly Thrive from #RightoBreath/PES, and Stand L.A. were identified to have performed significant outreach initiatives, coalition building, and organizing between the different actors for their respective campaigns. Although from the research it cannot be identified if there were any “main actors” or “main organizers” within coalitions or groups involved for a specific campaign, it is clear that these three took leadership in that area.

The following quote is from our interview with an activist involved with the resistance against TMX Pipeline:

> “It's a loose coalition, there's not a lot of structure to it. There has been a lack of structure in the coalition when it comes to making decisions when it comes to allocation of resources…the lack of structure has meant that we are being pulled in like 25 directions all at once. We need to unravel this notion that structure is our enemy. And if we refuse to define what leadership looks like, on the basis that leadership is hierarchical. It just means that leadership goes, unaccounted [for], and it goes unchecked[12].”

Here it is expressed that a lack of structure within the coalition was a challenge. They also expressed that there is a necessity to define what leadership is. In their perspective, leadership is inherently hierarchical. However, Stop Cop City was identified through the research as having a “decentralized coalition”, meaning that there was no hierarchy in the way the coalition operates[13]. An analysis on the types of internal structures within coalitions was not part of the scope of this research

[12] Activist, interview by Lea Vadez Reyes, online, November 27th, 2023.
[13] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.

project, therefore, further research would be required to assess which type of structure contributes to most to successful campaigns

In summary, we observe that all the movements were carried out by a wide array of actors, ranging from activists, locals, environmental organizations, to law firms and unions. In parallel, all movements used a multifaceted strategic approach. Different strategies have different levels of accessibility or feasibility due to resource requirements or expertise (such as conducting independent studies or legal challenges), time commitment (such as direct action), scale (such as community engagement and petitions), or political support. Only half of the movements used strategies related to coalition building. This may suggest that involvement from diverse actors, whether or not they are organized in a coalition, results in a plurality of tactics and mobilization strategies. As our sample was chosen to contain successful movements, this may confirm large-n findings that mobilization success increased dramatically when mobilisations were diverse (Schneidel et al. 2020).

Section 3: Challenges

The most common challenge that campaigns had to face was strong government opposition: 7 campaigns out of 14 faced that challenge. We defined government opposition as any instance where the government, either through direct opposition (e.g., Trump administration accelerated the Dakota Access Pipeline (Mufson 2016)) through indirect actions (e.g., the province supporting financially oil companies and police (Crosby and Monaghan 2018; Warrior Publications 2013)), or through lack of intervention (e.g., lack of government intervention to give penalties to the logging company (Fournier 2022) a government is working against a campaign. This was manifested as opposition by politicians in the Public Power New York campaign (Dawson 2023).

Four campaigns faced strong police repression. We defined police repression as any instance where the police are arresting protestors, using physical violence or threats of physical violence to oppose the campaign. In every campaign where there was a strong police repression, the government was also strongly opposed to the campaign. This was the case for instance in the Mi'kmaq resistance where the

government spent almost 10 million dollars in policing certain protests (Warrior Publications, 2013). The link between government opposition and police repression may be direct as governments fund the police.

Three campaigns faced legal challenges (i.e., an opposition to the campaign through legal means): in the campaign that resisted the Atlantic Coast pipeline, protesters had to go to trial for resisting screening and surveying the land (Cockerham 2015). Opposition from big industries and fossil fuel companies was also a challenge faced by three campaigns (Dawson 2023; Crosby and Monaghan 2018; Groom 2023; Gross 2022; Shafer & Klivans 2023).

Another important challenge faced by four campaigns was the **difficulty to create and foster alliances.** This happened when conflict or diverging opinions between different activist groups led the campaign to be slowed down (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014; Dawson 2023). The following quote is from our interview with an activist involved with the resistance against TMX Pipeline:

> "It's a loose coalition, there's not a lot of structure to it. There has been a lack of structure in the coalition when it comes to making decisions when it comes to allocation of resources…the lack of structure has meant that we are being pulled in like 25 directions all at once. We need to unravel this notion that structure is our enemy. And if we refuse to define what leadership looks like, on the basis that leadership is hierarchical. It just means that leadership goes, unaccounted [for], and it goes unchecked[14]."

Here it is expressed that a lack of structure within the coalition was a challenge. They also expressed that there is a necessity to define what leadership is. In their perspective, leadership is inherently hierarchical.

Misinformation and uncertainty (i.e., slowing down of a campaign due to lack of information or spread of misinformation provided to citizens) were also challenges that two campaigns faced (Tabone 2008). An activist from Stand LA stated more specifically that "education is absolutely a power tool, and so we have to bust through because all of these corporate entities are always going to try to use a

[14] Activist, interview by Lea Vadez Reyes, online, November 27th, 2023.

monopoly of understanding, a monopoly of technology and monopoly of knowledge."[15] Health-related challenges (i.e., any instance where health problems linked directly with the struggle put protesters at risk and thereby complicates the movement's organization) were also faced by three campaigns (McGrath 2016; Kraus 2013; Howe 2015, 164; Crosby and Monaghan 2018; Peralta 2016).

In the face of these challenges, movements adapt their strategies and tactics. The movements studied cited several strategies they used to overcome these challenges.

The most common strategy was direct action, which was used by 7 of the movements to overcome challenges. We only found one instance in which movements cited direct action as a strategy to overcoming a challenge, when Mi'kmaq blockades impeded company access to equipment. (Crosby and Monaghan 2018). However,direct action nonetheless seems to be an important strategy. Indeed, **all movements had some form of direct action,** illustrating how activists in very different movements decided independently that it was a necessary strategy. **This strategy faced significant repression,** such as a bill that prohibits approaching construction sites, arrests for involvement in mobilisations in the TMX pipeline resistance, resistance against the Dakota Access Pipeline, Stop Cop city and 13 pueblos campaigns, which suggests a fear and desire to limit this form of action (Levin 2016; Navarro 2007; Rico 2023; Stand.earth 2023; Velazco 2018). Finally, **increased project costs and delays to construction were achieved through direct actio**n. Companies themselves cited it as a factor of project cancellation, such as in the cancellation of the Atlantic coast pipeline, where increased costs due to opposition was cited as a factor to cancel the pipeline (Dominion energy 2020). One activist interviewed underlined how the choice of **target of the direct action was vital in determining how useful the action was**. They compared an action targeting insurance companies, to an action targeting a random museum: the former was a strategic action, whereas the latter did not significantly contribute to success.[16] Although **movements don't directly cite direct action as a factor of success, there is a lot of evidence that it is nevertheless important to overcoming challenges.**

[15] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.
[16] Activist, interview by Lea Vadez Reyes, online, November 27th, 2023.

Coalitions, used widely as a strategy in itself, were also used to overcome challenges faced by movements. Coalitions strengthen movements by having a wide array of different actors, increasing the knowledge and resource base of a movement. This may strengthen the response to a particular challenge. For instance, the *Appalachian Voices* coalition resisting the construction of the Atlantic Coast pipeline partnered with the Southern Environmental Law Firm, which was a key factor of success in the cancellation of the pipeline. Certain movements such as Stop Cop City developed a "decentralized coalition", meaning that there was no hierarchy in the way the coalition operates[17]. This may have contributed to limiting leadership challenges within the coalition.

Education and public engagement that was cited as an important strategy in several of the movements yet was not a primary lever to overcome challenges. This may suggest one of two things: either education and public engagement is a broader strategy to increase public acceptance but is not cited as a way to overcome challenges, or strategies to overcome challenges are tailored to the specific challenges faced. None of the movements faced strong public backlash as a challenge.

Finally, legal challenges and large public demonstrations (such as marches, petitions, and polls) were both strategies that were used to overcome government opposition. Indeed, these strategies target systems of power, and are thus an efficient strategy against government opposition.

[17] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.

Section 4: Identified Successes and Factors for Success

To determine how campaigns recognized success and what they attributed their successes to, both academic sources and online sources were researched, and in some cases, activists were consulted. Unfortunately, there was a significant gap in the academic literature on several movements including StandLA, StopCopCity, #RightToBreathe, 13 Pueblos, Public Power NY, and Nitaskinan60. Table 1 presents what campaigns identified as successes, whether material gains or immaterial gains. Table 2 presents what campaigns identified as factors or conditions for achieving those successes.

Table 1

Identified Successes				
Success	**Material or Immaterial Success?**	**How the Research Team Defined This Success**	**Source of Data** - Academic article - Online communication - Interviews with activists	**Number of Campaigns Associated with this Success**
Cancellation of Projects or Practices	Material	The temporary or permanent cancellation of projects or practices.	- Academic articles - Online communication	10/14
Legislation and/or Policy Change	Material	The enactment of policy or laws that align with the campaign's goals.	- Online communication	3/14
Recognition of Indigenous rights/sovereignty	Material	Formal recognition that Indigenous rights or sovereignty were/would have been violated by a project or practice.	- Academic articles	2/14
Building new and diverse coalitions	Immaterial	Building new alliances and partnerships with other individuals, organizations, or movements that did not exist before the campaign.	- Academic articles - Online communication	4/14
Community engagement	Immaterial	A strategy that puts marginalized communities at the forefront of the movement to raise awareness, mobilize support, and foster a sense of collective agency.	- Academic articles - Online communication	5/14

The studied campaigns achieved notable material successes in reshaping the trajectories of opposed projects. **The cancellation of projects and practices emerged as a prominent success,** exemplified by the Keystone Pipeline movement's success in the cancellation of Phase 4 of the Keystone XL pipeline (Climate Justice Organizing Hub 2023). The Atlantic Coast Pipeline movement explicitly acknowledged the termination of the pipeline as a significant success (Appalachian Voices 2023). Similarly, GNL Québec experienced success through the Legault government's rejection of the GNL Québec Project following the BAPE report, marking a notable cancellation[18] (Climate Justice Organizing Hub 2023). **Legislation and policy changes constituted another common form of material gains.** Public Power NY attributed success to the passage of the Build Public Renewables Act (BPRA), challenging the fossil fuel industry and redirecting federal funds to boost public power from renewables (Climate Justice Organizing Hub 2023). Stand L.A. celebrated successes such as the passage of Senate Bill 1137 which bans new oil and gas wells within 3,200 feet of sensitive areas and the contribution to significant oil phaseout resolutions in Los Angeles (Gross 2022; Stone 2023). Standing Rock achieved success through the denial of an easement for the Dakota Access Pipeline, a regulatory decision influenced by the protests (Climate Justice Organizing Hub 2023). Other movements are still in the process of changing legislation but have achieved partial successes. Stop Cop City was successful in creating a ballot referendum by gathering more than 116,000 voter signatures and the Grassy Narrows movement successfully acquired $85 million from the government for a mercury cleanup in 2017 (Climate Justice Organizing Hub 2023; Franzen 2023). **The recognition of Indigenous rights and sovereignty was recognized as a success** in the Standing Rock, Athabasca Tar Sands, and Mi'kmaq resistance campaigns (Todrys 2021; Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014; Williams 2013).

Community engagement, namely raising public awareness or elevating the campaign's issue of focus was the most commonly cited immaterial success, referenced by five campaigns. Philly Thrive, active in the #RightToBreathe campaign, reports that they have "fundamentally transformed the

[18] Louis Couillard, interview by Dafne Ozcan, online, November 8th, 2023.

media narrative around fossil fuel infrastructure in the city of Philadelphia" (ecoAmerica 2021). Public Power NY, Stop Cop City, and GNL Québec all generated **greater public awareness and education on their respective issues.** In the GNL Québec, this increased education led to an increased public demand for climate action (L'Hértier 2021). Four campaigns also cited **building new coalitions or groups as an immaterial success.** This includes Indigenous alliances (Grassy Narrows), new representative bodies (13 Pueblos and Stand L.A.), and new campaigns (TMX Pipeline - tiny house warriors) (NWOnewswatch 2023; Navarro 2007; Cunningham 2020). **Community engagement was considered not only a strategy but also a success for various movements**. For instance, Stop Cop City successfully created a new community around Welaunee Forest and a support system for those struggling with various forms of oppression[19]. Stand L.A.'s success was linked to community engagement and putting the most marginalized communities at the forefront of the movement through workshops and events[20]. Nitaskinan60 identified community-oriented practices as a key part of success in their recommendations for sustainable forestry (The North Star 2022). The Athabasca Tar Sands Resistance was successful in building a community around the movement through events such as potlucks and educational workshops (Leahy 2014).

Table 2

Identified Conditions and Factors of Campaign Success			
Factor of Success	**How the Research Team Defined this Factor of Success**	**Source of Data** - Academic article - Online communication - Interviews with activists	**Number of Campaigns Associated with this Factor of Success**
Coalition Building	Forming diverse alliances and partnerships with other individuals, organizations, or movements that share common goals or concerns.	- Academic articles - Online communication - Interview with activist	7/14

[19] Keyanna Jones, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, November 9th, 2023.
[20] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.

Community Engagement	A strategy that puts marginalized communities at the forefront of the movement to raise awareness, mobilize support, and foster a sense of collective agency.	- Academic articles - Online communication	6/14
Procedural Delays and Disruptions	Delays or disruptions in legal or regulatory processes that lead to reduced viability for the project/practice.	- Academic article - Online communication	4/14
Mass Mobilization	Organized effort to involve individuals and groups in supporting the movement's cause, generating collective action.	- Online communication - Interviews with activists	3/14
Science-based Research	Using scientific data and research to support its claims and influence key decision-makers.	- Online communication - Interviews with activists	2/14
Legal Expertise	Profound understanding of zoning, land use, and regulations, guided by expert support, crucial for navigating complexities and advancing movement goals.	- Online communication	1/4
Direct Action	A gathering of people with a common goal to disrupt "business-as-usual" through direct physical action. The goal is to express dissent, raise awareness, and pressure those in power to address their concerns.	- Academic article	1/14

Academic research on the Keystone Pipeline, Trans Mountain Expansion, and Atlantic Coast Pipeline campaigns cited **procedural delays and disruptions as key contributing factors for success.** Online communication on the Atlantic Coast Pipeline campaign also explicitly cites this as a factor for success (Appalachian Voices 2023). On the Keystone Pipeline campaign, Ted Hamilton writes, "Where harmful projects depend on quick and uncontroversial approval, interruptions of the process are almost always useful for environmental advocates" (Hamilton 2016). Both the Keystone and Atlantic Coast pipeline projects suffered direct interruptions and delays, giving time to change public opinion and reducing economic viability (Hamilton 2016; Dominion Energy 2020).

Moreover, **both academics and campaigns themselves cited coalition building as contributing to success**. Academic research on Grassy Narrows, Standing Rock, and the Athabasca Tar Sands and online communication by Stand LA, Stop Cop City, and the TMX Pipeline campaign all recognized coalition building as an important factor for success (Saku 2021; Estes and Dhillon 2019; Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014; Liberty Hill Foundation 2023; Franzen 2023; Cunningham 2020).

In the Grassy Narrows campaign, alliances with ENGOs and other partners generated a larger campaign and international media attention (Saku 2021). The Athabasca Tar Sands campaign also experienced international support due to coalitions of ENGOs, Indigenous groups, religious groups, and labor organizations (Carter and Haluza-DeLay 2014). **Raising public awareness and community engagement** was cited as a factor for success in several campaigns including the Atlantic Coast Pipeline, GNL Quebec, and Stop Cop City (Dominion Energy 2020; Marie-Ève Maillé, Baba, and Marcotte 2023; Liberty Hill Foundation 2023). The success of the movement against the TMX Pipeline is attributed to the resilience and dedication of individuals along the pipeline route. This highlights how persistent resistance has played a crucial role in achieving success (Cunningham 2020). **Direct action was recognized only once as a factor for success**, due to the Mi'kmaq resistance's blockades that impeded company access to equipment (Crosby and Monaghan 2018). While direct action is only explicitly cited as a factor for success once, it is important to note that all campaigns engaged in direct action.

Discussion

Based on the analysis of fourteen successful intersectional climate justice movements, **we observe that a diversity of tactics is essential for climate justice campaigns to be successful.** Direct action is both widely accessible and widely used by campaigns to demand change. Targeting legal and regulatory procedures with direct action, legal action, or political pressure has proven effective at canceling or halting a project or practice. Employing multiple tactics, such as direct action and legal action, requires different forms of knowledge and expertise. **Engaging community members and**

building strong coalitions can effectively diversify the campaign and increase the body of expertise accessible to the campaign. Community engagement and coalition building are not only effective strategies for achieving a campaign's goal but are also forms of success in their own right. In several campaigns, **communication and raising public awareness** led to greater support for the campaign and lowered the social acceptability of targeted practices or projects. Raising public awareness can also be understood as a form of success, as the campaign grows in presence. Campaigns must expect to face challenges such as government opposition and police repression. This is especially important for campaigns involving Indigenous rights and sovereignty, considering the settler-colonial context of Turtle Island. In our study, all of the campaigns that faced police repression involved Indigenous rights and sovereignty. To overcome challenges, **continued direct action and coalition-building** seem to be most effective. However, coalition-building also carries with it the challenge of forming and maintaining alliances.

The environmental justice movement has brought attention to the inherent inequalities in environmental consequences that disproportionately affect minority groups and low-income populations. (Bullard and Johnson 2002) **The primary objective of intersectional climate justice campaigns should thus be to put marginalized communities at the forefront of the movement**: "In order for these issues to gain traction in communities of color, it has to come from them. It has to come from their voice and their language, and from behaviors and manifestations that really reflect them[21]". Success is however not singular: it stems rather from a combination of actions that address all the intersecting aspects of a movement. Success increases dramatically when mobilisations are diverse and take strong legal action. (Schneidel et al. 2020) A diversity of strategies and of stakeholders is thus essential to raise awareness for an issue and build solidarity because a widespread mobilization demonstrates a genuine commitment as people invest their time and efforts in advocating for a cause.

A study by Poland et al. demonstrated how community building as a side effect of local involvement can emerge as a notable perceived success and catalyst of social change (2018). For

[21] Nancy Halpern Ibrahim, interview by Nico Serreqi, online, October 31st, 2023.

intersectional movements, **community engagement is an important strategy to bring together stakeholders with different reasons for participating in the movement under one common goal**. The intersectionality of environmental justice movements helps bring people together from all different dimensions of an issue. Spreading awareness about how a campaign is connected to other issues can bring together stakeholders with different backgrounds and reasons for participating in the movement under one common goal. Reverend Keyanna Jones explains how educating people within the movement about the intersectionality of an issue aided the mobilization of individuals: "This is what we are fighting so hard for, not only for this land, we're fighting for our community, we're fighting for our bond, we're fighting for this thing that brings us together, but also keeps us alive, keeps us going and gives us a greater quality of life" (2023). Power lies with people, and whether these movements have 10 or 10 000 participants, what matters is the continued participation and dedication of people to the movement. Our study shows that community engagement can be considered a success in and of itself: fostering a real sense of community can help the advancement of these movements and create a shared sense of purpose.

When thinking about intersectional climate activism on Turtle Island, it is important to keep in mind that so-called Canada and the United States are settler colonial states with a long history of colonial extractivism and violence (Curley and Lister 2020). Our findings show that the most challenging obstacle faced by campaigns was a strong government opposition, which was often coupled with police repression and violence. Almost every campaign that faced a strong government and police repression were led by Indigenous communities defending their rights and sovereignty. In a survey completed as part of this project in November, journalist and activist Miles Howe, who was involved in the Mi'kmaq Resistance campaign, wrote that the main challenge faced by the campaign was "belligerent and violent private security and national police force" which attempted numerous times to "undermine community strength[22]." **Recognizing the impacts that structural racism and ongoing settler colonialism might have on intersectional climate campaigns and more specifically on Indigenous Land defenders is crucial for addressing effectively the challenges faced.** This is consistent with the findings of Schneidel

[22] Miles Howe, survey, online, November 7th, 2023.

et al. (2020), who showed that the degree of criminalization, physical violence, and assassinations during environmental campaigns significantly increased when Indigenous people were involved.

Being able to overcome obstacles during a campaign is crucial for achieving success. Engaging the community and building a strong coalition was not only an effective strategy that contributed to achieving success, but it was also a useful tool to overcome challenges. **When facing police repression for instance, it is important to strengthen the coalition in order to support activists and communities more at risk of experiencing direct criminalization or police violence.** This finding is once again consistent with Schneidel et al. (2020), who suggest in their research that there should be a specific support for Indigenous defenders in order to enable successful mobilizations.

Suggestions for Further Research

What we have learned from our research on the 14 campaigns is that community engagement and coalition building with diverse actors were significant strategies contributing to success and were also identified as immaterial successes. Unique knowledge, perspectives, expertise, and resources from a variety of different groups can enable the implementation of the diverse tactics and strategies necessary for the success of a particular campaign. These factors can also contribute to the creation of successful responses to challenges a movement may face. Community engagement and coalition building can therefore be a core feature of successful campaigns. However, the scope of this research did not include how community engagement and coalition building are successfully sustained or organized. Questions such as what internal organizational strategies or structures lead to campaign success, or what strategies of community engagement are more effective in enabling action or sustained engagement within a movement are areas for further research. Expanding to these questions could provide replicable blueprints for grassroot activists to build coalitions and community engagement for their respective campaigns. For future research we also recommend:

- A larger amount of case studies from which to gather data in order to derive concrete patterns of success.
- A longer timeline to allow ample time for contacting a large number of participants and for thorough analysis of the data gathered.
- Continuing to interview participants who are directly involved in a particular campaign as a method to gather data in order to obtain information and insights that may not be known or available otherwise.

This further research and recommendations could effectively close the information gaps we encountered and could help us identify more factors contributing to campaign success.

Limitations

Over the course of our research process, we faced numerous challenges. The first limitation in our research process is the selection of movements to study. The case studies were suggested by our client, the Climate Justice Hub, and upon further research some of the cases presented as success were only partial successes. Our methodology may have been more rigorous to have chosen campaigns through a more standardized process, but time limitations would have made that hard.

In developing the methodology, we faced a challenge in selecting, contacting and conducting interviews. To select interviewees in a consistent way, we developed a common priority list to follow when identifying potential interviewees (Appendix 1). To address lack of responsiveness, we expanded our search for contact information by considering social media alongside websites. We also provided a comprehensive description of our project and our client to activists in our contact email to mitigate potential mistrust towards academia. Faced with a lack of responses from interviewees, we adapted our methodology to include more comprehensive online research of communication by the movement, press articles and academic articles.

Next, we faced a significant challenge in staying consistent in our analysis as our team was composed of diverse researchers with different expertise, focusing on different movements. To stay

consistent, we developed a clear record of key words that we defined for consistent analysis across movements.

There were some discrepancies between the information gathered from online research compared to that from interviews. Articles will always be subjected to a certain level of bias from the author or the media company. Therefore getting information from someone who was directly involved in a campaign will provide different insight into the process and factors of success. For instance, online research attributed much of Stand LA' success to legal actions and legislative changes, often featuring politicians prominently. In contrast, during an interview with Nancy Halpern Ibrahim from Stand LA, she emphasized that the true catalyst for success lay in the intelligence and resourcefulness of the community. (2023) That said, online research is not incorrect, it only presents part of the picture and it is important to acknowledge this when conducting research.

Finally, in qualitative research, the categories we sort data into can change the meaning of the data and impose certain thematic narratives (Hecker 2023). Although we cannot fully eliminate this bias, where possible, we worked in groups, using discussion on thematic interpretation to minimize personal biases in the interpretation of the data.

Conclusion

This comprehensive analysis of intersectional climate campaigns across Turtle Island over the past two decades yields valuable insights into the dynamics of success and challenges of these fourteen movements. The multifaceted nature of the campaigns, characterized by the combination of direct action, legal challenges, diverse coalitions, and community engagement emerges as a central theme. This diverse approach proves to be essential in achieving success in these cases, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding of the complex issues at hand.

Community engagement and coalition building emerge as linchpins for success, underscoring the importance of fostering collaboration and centering marginalized voices, especially those of Indigenous communities. Diverse actor involvement, ranging from activists and locals to environmental

organizations, law firms, and unions, characterizes these campaigns. This diversity not only contributes to a plurality of tactics and mobilization strategies but also enhances the overall success of movements. The ability to build strong coalitions and alliances significantly contributes to the resilience and impact of intersectional climate campaigns, enabling a broader spectrum of perspectives to be considered and presents a stronger, unified front.

Our research indicates that taking legal action is crucial for causing delays in procedures, impacting the economic feasibility of projects, and securing government acknowledgment of Indigenous rights or sovereignty. Naturally, using legal expertise strategically becomes a vital factor in dealing with the complexities of climate activism. Additionally, when government opposition is tangled with concerns about Indigenous rights and sovereignty, it makes these campaigns even more complex.

Acknowledging setbacks as integral to the journey, successful campaigns demonstrate resilience and adaptability. Despite not every legal challenge resulting in success, the strategic value of delays and the potential for future achievements are recognized and leveraged to propel the overall success of these movements.

In conclusion, the lessons learned from the struggles and successes of these fourteen intersectional climate campaigns across Turtle Island provide a roadmap for future climate justice endeavors. By embracing diverse strategies, fostering community engagement, understanding the intersectionality of challenges, and adapting to setbacks, future climate campaigns can navigate the complexities more effectively, contributing to meaningful and lasting change in the pursuit of climate justice.

Works Cited

Activist Handbook. 2023. “Activist Handbook.” *Activist Handbook | Campaigning Guides for Activists*. https://activisthandbook.org/.

Adeoye-Olatunde, Omolola A., and Nicole L. Olenik. 2021. “Research and Scholarly Methods: Semi-Structured Interviews.” *JACCP: Journal of the American College of Clinical Pharmacy* 4 (10): 1358–67. https://doi.org/10.1002/jac5.1441.

Adler, Ben. 2015. “The inside Story of the Campaign That Killed Keystone XL.” Vox. November 7, 2015. https://www.vox.com/2015/11/7/9684012/keystone-pipeline-won.

Adrangi, Maryam. 2022. “Why We March with Grassy Narrows.” Accessed November 15, 2023. https://rabble.ca/indigenous/why-we-march-with-grassy-narrows/.

Almeida, Paul. 2019. *Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization*. Oakland, California: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520964846.

Alook, Angele, Emily Eaton, David Gray-Donald, Joël Laforest, Crystal Lameman, and Bronwen Tucker. 2023. *The End of This World: Climate Justice in so-Called Canada*. Between the Lines.

Amorim-Maia, A.T. et al. 2022. Intersectional climate justice: A conceptual pathway for bridging adaptation planning, transformative action, and social equity, Urban Climate, Volume 41, 101053, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.uclim.2021.101053.

Anderson, Charnel. 2020. “Grassy Narrows.” The Canadian Encyclopedia. Accessed November 11, 2023. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/grassy-narrows.

Andrade, Anakaren, Tony Carrera, Francisca Martinez, Lizet Pantoja, Margaret Rubens, and Erick Zerecero. 2016. “Assessing the Health and Community Impacts of Oil Drilling Near Homes in South Los Angeles,” October. https://www.ioes.ucla.edu/project/stand-la/.

Adrangi, Maryam. 2022. “Why We March with Grassy Narrows.” Accessed November 15, 2023. https://rabble.ca/indigenous/why-we-march-with-grassy-narrows/.

Appalachian Voices. 2023. “Canceled: Atlantic Coast Pipeline.” *Appalachian Voices*. Accessed December 16. https://appvoices.org/pipelines/atlantic-coast-pipeline/.

Arnaut, Alberto. 2010. Movimientos sociales e identidad: el caso de los movimientos en Xoxocotla, Morelos. *Cultura y representaciones sociales*, *4*(8), http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2007-81102010000100158&lng=es&tlng=es

Baker, Elijah J., Fabiana R. Lake, and Cambria Wilson. 2021."Rooted in Oppression: Why the U.S. Policing and Carceral Systems Are Issues of Systemic Environmental Injustice." Environmental Justice 14 (6): 411–17. https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2021.0031.

Belgard, Nic Sanford. 2023. "The Land at The Center of Cop City and Why We Must Defend It." *Indigenous Peoples Power Project* (blog). March 9, 2023. https://www.ip3action.org/the-land-at-the-center-of-cop-city-and-why-we-must-defend-it/.

Bergamo, Laura. 2021. "LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE et LES PARTIS D'OPPOSITION UNI·ES CONTRE GNL/GAZODUQ." Greenpeace Canada. March 30, 2021. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/fr/communique-de-presse/47015/la-societe-civile-et-les-partis-dopposition-uni%C2%B7es-contre-gnl-gazoduq/.

Bethea, Charles. 2022. "The New Fight Over an Old Forest in Atlanta." *The New Yorker*, August 3, 2022. https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-south/the-new-fight-over-an-old-forest-in-atlanta.

Bloomfield, Cody. 2023. "Stop Cop City Activists Plan Mass Return to Weelaunee Forest." Truthout. November 5, 2023. https://truthout.org/articles/stop-cop-city-activists-plan-mass-return-to-weelaunee-forest/.

Boelens, R., Vos, J., & Perreault, T. 2018. Introduction: The Multiple Challenges andLayers of Water Justice Struggles. In R. Boelens, T. Perreault, & J. Vos (Eds.), Water Justice (pp. 1-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi:10.1017/9781316831847.001

Böhm, Timo. "Activists in Politics: The Influence of Embedded Activists on the Success of Social Movements." *Social Problems*.. https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spv020.

Bourque, Olivier. 2021. "Deux Coups Durs Pour GNL Québec." Le Journal de Montréal. July 8, 2021. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2021/07/08/gnl-quebec-largue-par-son-banquier.

Bradshaw, Elizabeth A. 2015. "Blockadia Rising: Rowdy Greens, Direct Action and the Keystone XL Pipeline." *Critical Criminology* 23 (4): 433–48. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-015-9289-0.

Brockmeier, Erica K. 2022. "After the shutdown, what comes next for the former Philadelphia Energy Solutions refinery?". Accessed October 15, 2023
https://penntoday.upenn.edu/news/after-shutdown-what-comes-next-former-philadelphia-energy-solutions-refinery.

Bullard, Robert D., and Glenn S. Johnson. 2000. "Environmentalism and Public Policy: Environmental Justice: Grassroots Activism and Its Impact on Public Policy Decision Making." *Journal of Social Issues* 56 (3): 555–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00184.

Canada, Environment and Climate Change. 2023. "Government of Canada." *Canada.Ca*. / Gouvernement du Canada. August 25. https://www.canada.ca/en/services/environment/weather/climatechange/climate-plan/clean-electricity-regulation.html.

Carter, Angela V. Haluza-DeLay, Randolf. 2014. "Joining Up and Scaling Up: Analyzing Resistance to Canada's "Dirty Oil."" In *Activist Science and Technology Education*. Edited by Larry Bencze,

and Steve Alsop, pp. 343-362. Cultural Studies of Science Education, Volume 9. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4360-1.

Casiba. 2007. “Los 13 pueblos hacen entrega de Manifiesto”. YouTube video, 1:08. Accessed November 28, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=weoP7AgCqRY

Cavallaro, Mara Marques. 2022. “The Deadly Consequences of Urban Oil Drilling,” October 19, 2023. https://www.thenation.com/article/environment/los-angeles-oil-drilling-nalleli-cobo/.

CBC News. 2023. “Trans Mountain Pipeline Project Runs into Fresh Construction-Related Hurdle | CBC News.” *CBCnews*. CBC/Radio Canada. August 24. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/trans-mountain-pipeline-construction-delay-1.6946053.

CBC News. 2019. “Trans Mountain Monitoring Anti-Pipeline Activists through Social Media | CBC News.” *CBCnews*. CBC/Radio Canada. November 25. https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/tmx-docs-reports-1.5370221.

CBC News. 2018. “Province extends fracking ban 'indefinitely' after failing to meet its own conditions.” CBC. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/shale-gas-fracking-gallant-moratorium-1.4715225.

CBF. 2023. “Atlantic Coast Natural Gas Pipeline.” *Chesapeake Bay Foundation*. Accessed December 16. https://www.cbf.org/about-cbf/locations/virginia/issues/atlantic-coast-natural-gas-pipeline.html

Ceric, Irina. 2020. “Beyond Contempt: Injunctions, Land Defense, and the Criminalization of Indigenous Resistance.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 119 (2): 353–69. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-8177795.

Charlebois, Clarence T. 1978. High Mercury Levels in Indians and Inuits (Eskimos) in Canada. *Ambio* 7, no. 5/6: 204–10. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4312386.

Cheff, Rebecca. 2018. “Compensating Research Participants: A Survey of Current Practices in Toronto.” *Wellesley Institute.*

Cision Canada. 2018. “Nitaskinan: No Progress with Québec, the Atikamekw Maintain Blockade.” *Cision Canada*. June 28. https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/nitaskinan-no-progress-with-quebec-the-atikamekw-maintain-blockade-510434361.html

Climate & Capitalism. 2011. “Athabasca Chipewyan People to Sue Shell Canada over Tar Sands.” *Climate & Capitalism*. November 30. https://climateandcapitalism.com/2011/11/30/athabasca-chipewyan-people-to-sue-shell-canada-over-tar-sands/.

Climate Justice Organizing HUB. 2023. *Climate Justice Organizing HUB*. https://www.lehub.ca/en/.

Climate Justice Organizing HUB Wiki. https://en.wiki.lehub.ca/index.php/Main_Page

Coast Protectors. 2023. *Update on Resistance to the Trans Mountain Pipeline* . https://www.coastprotectors.ca/learn.

Cockerham, Sean. 2015. “Battle heats up over controversial Atlantic Coast Pipeline.” *McClatchy DC*. https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/economy/article25186207.html.

Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw. 2022. “COMMUNIQUÉ | Comité de travail CDAM, CNA et MFFP.” June 14, 2022. https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100064311084574.

Couillard, Louis. 2023. Diving into the GNL Quebec Protests: Interview with Greenpeace Campaign Mobilizer Louis Couillard Interview by Dafne Ozcan.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." Stanford Law Review 43(6): 1241-1299.

Crosby, Andrew A, and Jeffrey Monaghan. 2018. *Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Curley, Andrew, and Majerle Lister. 2020. “Already Existing Dystopias: Tribal Sovereignty, Extraction, and Decolonizing the Anthropocene.” In *Handbook on the Changing Geographies of the State*, edited by Sami Moisio, Natalie Koch, Andrew E.G. Jonas, Christopher Lizotte, and Juho Luukkonen. Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788978057.00035.

Cunningham, Nick. 2020. “Canada’s Trans Mountain Pipeline Inches Forward, but Opposition Intensifies.” *DeSmog*. August 14. https://www.desmog.com/2020/08/14/canada-trans-mountain-pipeline-tiny-house-warriors/.

Dahm, Hayden. 2014. “Mi’kmaq indigenous campaign prevents hydraulic fracturing in Elsipogtog, New Brunswick, 2013.” Global Nonviolent Action Database. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/mi-kmaq-indigenous-campaign-prevents-hydraulic-fracturing-elsipogtog-new-brunswick-2013#case-study-detail.

Dawson, Ashley. 2010. “Climate Justice: The Emerging Movement against Green Capitalism.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109 (2): 313–38. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-2009-036.

Dawson, Ashley. 2023. “How to Win a Green New Deal in Your State.” *The Nation*, May 2023. https://www.thenation.com/article/environment/dsa-new-york-build-public-renewables-act/.

Davies, Martin. 2011. *Study Skills for International Postgraduates*. Palgrave Study Skills. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Deehan, Laura. 2023. “Statement: Gov. Newsom Signs Orphan Well Prevention Act.” Environment California. October 7, 2023. https://environmentamerica.org/california/media-center/statement-gov-newsom-signs-orphan-well-prevention-act/.

Denchak, Melissa. 2015. “The Dirty Fight over Canadian Tar Sands Oil.” *NRDC*. December 31. https://www.nrdc.org/stories/dirty-fight-over-canadian-tar-sands-oil.

Denchak, Melissa and Lindwall, Courtney. 2022. “The Keystone XL Pipeline: Everything You Need To Know.” March 15, 2022. https://www.nrdc.org/stories/what-keystone-xl-pipeline.

Desai, Aditi. “Opinion: Why Environmentalists Should Oppose ‘Cop City’ and Defend the Atlanta Forest.” 2023. *State of the Planet* (blog). February 24, 2023.

https://news.climate.columbia.edu/2023/02/24/opinion-why-environmentalists-should-oppose-cop-city-and-defend-the-atlanta-forest/.

Dhamoon, Rita Kaur. 2011. Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality. *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 1: 230–43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41058336.

Dubé, Annette. 2023. "Février 2022: La famille Dubé dénonce la coupe non autorisée de l'érablière sur le Nitaskinan." August 12. https://www.facebook.com/Tcinet.

ecoAmerica. 2021. "Replication guide:Philly Thrive". Accessed October 15, 2023. https://ecoamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ea_replication_philly-v2.pdf.

Edelman, Adam. 2021."Biden Reversed Trump on the Keystone XL Pipeline. Native American Groups Want More." NBC News. April 29, 2021. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/joe-biden/biden-reversed-trump-keystone-xl-pipeline-native-american-groups-want-n1265025.

Elbein, Saul. 2017. "The Youth Group That Launched a Movement at Standing Rock." *The New York Times*, January 31, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/31/magazine/the-youth-group-that-launched-a-movement-at-standing-rock.html.

Emanuel, Ben, Jacqueline Echols, Ricky Leroux, and Fletcher Sams. "South River" in *America's Most Endangered Rivers 2021*. American Rivers. https://www.americanrivers.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/SouthRiver_MER2021_FINAL_Report.pdf

Engelfried, Nick. 2021. "How Defeating Keystone XL Built a Bolder, Savvier Climate Movement." The Commons. February 10, 2021. https://commonslibrary.org/how-defeating-keystone-xl-built-a-bolder-savvier-climate-movement/.

Estes, Nick, and Jaskiran Dhillon. 2019. *Standing with Standing Rock Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*. Minneapolis; London University Of Minnesota Press.

Featherstone, Liza. 2023. "Why New York Could Be the New National Model for Climate Policy." The New Republic. April 6, 2023. https://newrepublic.com/article/171652/new-york-build-public-renewables-act-hochul.

Feola, Giuseppe, and Richard Nunes. 2014. Success and Failure of Grassroots Innovations for Addressing Climate Change: The Case of the Transition Movement. *Global Environmental Change* 24: 232–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2013.11.011.

Fiset, Marie Christine. 2020. "Léger Poll: Quebecers Do Not Want GNL Québec and Do Not Want to See Public Funds Invested." Greenpeace Canada. December 2, 2020. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/44913/leger-poll-quebecers-do-not-want-gnl-quebec-and-do-not-want-to-see-public-funds-invested/.

Fiset, Marie-Christine. 2021. "Tous Les Partis Sauf La CAQ S'opposent à GNL/Gazoduq." Greenpeace Canada. March 18, 2021. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/fr/communique-de-presse/46756/tous-les-partis-sauf-la-caq-sopposent-a-gnl-gazoduq/.

Forester, Brett. 2023. “Grassy Narrows Chief Questions Federal Commitment to Mercury Care Home amid Delays, Soaring Costs .” CBC News. Accessed November 11, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/grassy-narrows-delays-mercury-care-home-1.6882699.

Fournier, Emelia. 2022. “Atikamekw Council of Manawan Accepts Plan to Stop Illegal Logging.” *APTN News*. June 29. https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/atikamekw-council-of-manawan-accepts-recommendations-to-stop-illegal-logging-on-its-territory/.

Franzen, Timothy. 2023. “Stop Cop City Ballot Initiative Has over 116,000 Signatures.” American Friends Service Committee. September 14, 2023. https://afsc.org/news/stop-cop-city-ballot-initiative-has-over-116000-signatures.

Free Grassy. 2017. “Grassy Narrows Wins $85 Million for a Mercury Cleanup!” Free Grassy Narrows: Support Grassy Narrows First Nation. Accessed December 1, 2023. https://freegrassy.net/grassy-narrows-wins-85-million-for-a-mercury-cleanup/.

Garth, Hanna, and Ashanté M.Reese. 2020. *Black Food Matters: Racial Justice in the Wake of Food Justice.* University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctv182jtk0

Gilson, Shelby. 2019. “Burgeoning Courage and Power: Faces of Youth Activism in Grassy Narrows.” Pulitzer Center. Accessed November 12, 2023. https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/burgeoning-courage-and-power-faces-youth-activism-grassy-narrows.

Giugni, Marco, and Maria T Grasso. 2015. “Environmental Movements in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Heterogeneity, Transformation, and Institutionalization.” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 40: 337–61. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-102014-021327.

Global Nonviolent Action Database. 2023. “Mi’kmaq Indigenous Campaign Prevents Hydraulic Fracturing in Elsipogtog, New Brunswick, 2013.” GNA Database. Accessed November 16, 2023. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/mi-kmaq-indigenous-campaign-prevents-hydraulic-fracturing-elsipogtog-new-brunswick-2013#case-study-detail.

Goldberg, Shoshana K. 2023. “Remembering Tortuguita.” Human Rights Campaign. March 21, 2023. https://www.hrc.org/news/remembering-tortuguita-indigenous-queer-and-non-binary-environmental-activist-and-forest-defender.

Goldman, David. 2016. *A View of the Oceti Sakowin Camp, North of the Cannonball River, Where People Have Gathered to Protest the Dakota Access Pipeline*. Photograph. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/12/04/504354503/army-corps-denies-easement-for-dakota-access-pipeline-says-tribal-organization.

Groom, Nichola. 2023. “California New Oil Well Approvals Have Nearly Ground to a Halt.” *Reuters*, July 13, 2023, sec. Energy. https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/california-new-oil-well-approvals-have-nearly-ground-halt-data-show-2023-07-13/.

Gross, Liza. 2022. “Oil Industry Moves to Overturn Historic California Drilling Protection Law.” *Inside Climate News* (blog). October 10, 2022. https://insideclimatenews.org/news/10102022/oil-industry-california-drilling-protection-law/.

Guest, Greg, Kathleen M MacQueen, and Emily E Namey. 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Hamilton, Ted. 2016. “The Virtues of Uncertainty: Lessons from the Legal Battles Over the Keystone Xl Pipeline.” Vermont Journal of Environmental Law 18 (2): 222–86.

Hanley, Steve. 2020. “Biggest Oil Refinery Cleanup In US History Begins In Philadelphia”. Accessed October 12, 2023.https://cleantechnica.com/2021/02/22/biggest-oil-refinery-clean-up-in-us-history-begins-in-philadelphia.

Harada, Masazumi, Masanori Hanada, Takashi Miyakita, Tadashi Fujino, Kazuhito Tsuruta, Akira Fukuhara, Tadashi Orui, et al. 2005. Long-Term Study on the Effects of Mercury Contamination on Two Indigenous Communities in Canada (1975-2004). *“Research on Environmental Disruption” Vol. 34 No. 4.*

Healy, Jack, and Nicholas Fandos. 2016. “Protesters Gain Victory in Fight over Dakota Access Oil Pipeline.” *The New York Times*, December 4, 2016, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/04/us/federal-officials-to-explore-different-route-for-dakota-pipeline.html.

Hecker. 2023. “A Comprehensive Guide on Bias in Research.” *ATLAS.Ti*. September 26. https://atlasti.com/guides/qualitative-research-guide-part-1/research-bias.

Henn, Jamie. 2021.“Here’s How We Defeated the Keystone XL Pipeline | Sierra Club.” n.d. Accessed October 28, 2023. https://www.sierraclub.org/sierra/here-s-how-we-defeated-keystone-xl-pipeline.

Hernández Navarro, Luis. 2007. “Morelos: siembra de concreto, cosecha de ira”. https://www.jornada.com.mx/2007/08/07/index.php?section=opinion&article=019a1pol. Accessed November 22, 2023.

Herr, Alexandria. 2021. “What Is a Sacrifice Zone? The Environmental Racism of Oil Drilling in L.A.” PBS SoCal. Accessed October 30, 2023. https://www.pbssocal.org/news-community/what-is-a-sacrifice-zone-the-environmental-racism-of-oil-drilling-in-l-a.

Hersher, Rebecca. 2017. “Key Moments in the Dakota Access Pipeline Fight.” Npr.org. Npr. February 22, 2017. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/02/22/514988040/key-moments-in-the-dakota-access-pipeline-fight.

Hinton, and Reed. 2018. “An Unjust Burden.” *Vera Institute of Justice*. https://www.vera.org/publications/for-the-record-unjust-burden.

Horne, Kahawihson. 2023. “The Atikamekw Nation.” *Plan Nord and Indigenous Peoples*. Accessed December 7. https://ioana-radu.ca/fpst/the-atikamekw-nation/.

Houle, Jean. 2020. “GNL Québec: Un Investisseur Majeur Se Retire à Cause Des Blocus Autochtones.” Www.journaldemontreal.com. March 5, 2020. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2020/03/05/le-projet-de-gnl-quebec-encaisse-un-veritable-coup-de-masse-1

Howe, Miles. 2015. *Debriefing Elsipogtog: The Anatomy of a Struggle*. Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.

Hughes, Graham, and The Canadian Press. 2020. *A Greenpeace Banner Reading “No GNL” Is Shown Hanging from a Building under Construction on the Site of the MIL Campus of the University of Montreal* . Photograph. *The Montreal Gazette*. https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/icymi-covid-cases-up-heat-wave-warnings-carey-price-more.

Hunter, Lisa, Elke Emerald, and Gregory Martin. 2013. *Participatory Activist Research in the Globalised World: Social Change through the Cultural Professions*. Explorations of Educational Purpose, V. 26. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4426-4.

Ihejirika, Maudlyne. 2023. “What Is Environmental Racism?” NRDC. Accessed October 7, 2023. https://www.nrdc.org/stories/what-environmental-racism.

Johnston, Jill E., Temuulen Enebish, Sandrah P. Eckel, Sandy Navarro, and Bhavna Shamasunder. 2021. “Respiratory Health, Pulmonary Function and Local Engagement in Urban Communities near Oil Development.” *Environmental Research* 197 (June): 111088. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envres.2021.111088.

Joseph, Alli. 2016. “Running for Their Lives: Native American Relay Tradition Revived to Protest Dakota Access Pipeline.” Salon. Salon.com. September 12, 2016. https://www.salon.com/2016/09/12/running-for-their-lives-native-american-relay-tradition-revived-to-protest-dakota-access-pipeline/.

Kraus, Krystalline. 2013. “Activist Communique: Member of the Mi’kmaq Warrior Society may lose his leg after RCMP attack.” *rabble.ca*. https://rabble.ca/indigenous/activist-communique-member-mikmaq-warrior-society-may-lose/.

Kurdi, Loujain. 2020a. “What GNL Québec Is and Why You Must Block the Project.” Greenpeace Canada. July 28, 2020. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/41055/what-gnl-quebec-is-and-why-you-must-say-no-to-it/.

Kurdi, Loujain. 2020b. “BAPE on GNL Québec: HISTORIC PARTICIPATION EXPOSES the FLAWS of an OUTDATED PROJECT.” Greenpeace Canada. November 5, 2020. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/44494/bape-on-gnl-quebec-historic-participation-exposes-the-flaws-of-an-outdated-project/.

Kurdi, Loujain. 2021. “No to GNL Québec* : Banners Blossom across the Province in Rejection of the Project.” Greenpeace Canada. September 3, 2021. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/46568/no-to-gnl-quebec-banners-blossom-across-the-province-in-rejection-of-the-project/.

Leahy, Derek. 2014. “June 28th: Final ‘Tar Sands Healing Walk’ Simply a New Beginning, Say Organizers.” *The Narwhal*. March 20. https://thenarwhal.ca/june-28th-final-tar-sands-healing-walk-simply-new-beginning-say-organizers/.

Levin, Sam, and Nicky Woolf. 2016. “Dakota Access Pipeline: Police Fire Rubber Bullets and Mace Activists during Water Protest.” *The Guardian*, November 3, 2016, sec. US news. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/02/dakota-access-pipeline-protest-arrests-standing-rock.

Levin, Sam, Nicky Woolf, and Damian Carrington. 2016. “North Dakota Pipeline: 141 Arrests as Protesters Pushed Back from Site.” The Guardian. The Guardian. October 28, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/27/north-dakota-access-pipeline-protest-arrests-pepper-spray.

Lewis, Jacob S, and Brandon Ives. 2023. “Repression, Backlash, and the Duration of Protests in Africa.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433231186449.

L’Héritier, Isabelle. 2021. “HUGE VICTORY! People Power Defeats Proposed GNL Quebec Gas Plant.” Greenpeace Canada. July 21, 2021. https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/49307/huge-victory-people-power-defeats-proposed-gnl-quebec-gas-plant/.

Liberty Hill Foundation. 2023. *The Power of Persistence: The Fight to End Neighborhood Oil Drilling in Los Angeles*, (Los Angeles, CA: Liberty Hill Foundation, 2023) https://libertyhill.org/pop.

Lim, Audrea. 2014. “How First Nations in Canada Are Winning the Fight against Big Oil.” *The Nation*. September 10. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-first-nations-canada-are-winning-fight-against-big-oil/.

Lindwall, Courtney. 2021. “The Unlikely Takedown of Keystone XL.” 2021. June 29, 2021. https://www.nrdc.org/stories/unlikely-takedown-keystone-xl.

Marie-Ève Maillé, Sofiane Baba, and Guillaume Marcotte. 2023. “Social License to Operate: Social Acceptance in the Quebec Context.” *The Extractive Industries and Society* 15 (September): 101269–69. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2023.101269.

McCarthy, Shawn. 2016. “New Brunswick extends fracking ban indefinitely.” Warrior Publications. https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/2016/05/27/new-brunswick-extends-fracking-ban-indefinitely/.

McGee, Julius Alexander, Patrick Trent Greiner, and Carl Appleton. 2021. “Locked into Emissions: How Mass Incarceration Contributes to Climate Change.” Social Currents 8 (4): 326–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496520974006.

McGrath, John Michael. 2016. “How the waters of Grassy Narrows were poisoned.” *TVO Today*. https://www.tvo.org/article/how-the-waters-of-grassy-narrows-were-poisoned.

Medina, Daniel A. 2016. “Standing Rock Sioux Takes Pipeline Fight to UN Human Rights Council in Geneva.” NBC News. NBC News. September 20, 2016.

https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/standing-rock-sioux-takes-pipeline-fight-un-human-rights-council-n651381.

Mock, Brentin. 2023. “Atlanta’s ‘Cop City’ Neighbors Have No Voting Rights to Stop It,” Bloomberg. October 4, 2023. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2023-10-04/-cop-city-referendum-aims-to-repeal-planned-atlanta-police-training-center.

Moor, Joost de, and Mattias Wahlström .2019. Narrating Political Opportunities: Explaining Strategic Adaptation in the Climate Movement. *Theory and Society* 48, 3: 419–51. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-019-09347-3.

Mufson, Steven. 2016. “Trump dumped his stock in the Dakota Access pipeline owner over the summer.” *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/11/23/trump-dumped-his-stock-in-dakota-access-pipeline-owner-over-the-summer/.

Myers, A. M., & Painter, M. A. (2017). Food insecurity in the United States of America: an examination of race/ethnicity and nativity. Food Security, 9(6), 1419–1432. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-017-0733-8

Narine, Shari, ed. 2015. “Shell Withdraws Pierre Mine Project Application.” *Ammsa.Com*. https://ammsa.com/publications/alberta-sweetgrass/shell-withdraws-pierre-mine-project-application.

National Defense Resource Council. 2021. “Keystone XL Pipeline Lawsuits.” NRDC. Accessed November 5, 2023. https://www.nrdc.org/court-battles/keystone-xl-pipeline.

Noor, Khairul baharein. 2008. “Case Study: A Strategic Research Methodology.” *American Journal of Applied Sciences* 5 (November). https://doi.org/10.3844/ajassp.2008.1602.1604.

NWOnewswatch. 2023. “Four First Nations Create Alliance to Protect Territorial Lands.” *NWONewswatch.Com*. January 31, 2023. https://www.nwonewswatch.com/local-news/four-first-nations-create-alliance-to-protect-territorial-lands-6464092.

Patnaik, Aneesh. Jiahn Son, Alice Feng, Crystal Ade. 2020. “Racial Disparities and Climate Change.” Accessed October 5, 2023. https://psci.princeton.edu/tips/2020/8/15/racial-disparities-and-climate-change.

Peralta, Eyder. 2016. “Dakota Access Pipeline Protests In North Dakota Turn Violent.” *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/09/04/492625850/dakota-access-pipeline-protests-in-north-dakota-turn-violent.

Petronzio, Matt. 2016. “How Young Native Americans Built and Sustained the #NoDAPL Movement.” Mashable. December 7, 2016. https://mashable.com/article/standing-rock-nodapl-youth.

Pierpont, Brendan, and Matthew Eckel. 2023. “Public Power & Climate Leadership Feasibility of 100% Fossil-Free NYPA by 2030.” New York City: Public Power New York Coalition. http://publicpowerny.org/nypa-report.

"Pierre River Mine Project." 2015. *Impact Assessment Agency of Canada*. Government of Canada. April 14. https://iaac-aeic.gc.ca/050/evaluations/proj/59539.

Philly Thrive. 2016a. "Philly's Oil Refinery Reality". Accessed November 3, 2023 .https://www.phillythrive.org/philly_s_oil_refinery_reality.

Philly Thrive. 2016b. "#RightToBreathe Mobilization". Accessed November 23, 2023.https://www.phillythrive.org/_righttobreathe_mobilization.

Philly Thrive. 2016c. "DNC Toxic Tour". Accessed November 3, 2023. https://www.phillythrive.org/dnc_toxic_tour.

Philly Thrive. 2017. "Philly Thrive Review". Accessed November 20, 2023. https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/phillythrive/pages/111/attachments/original/1486401882/Philly_Thrive_Review.pdf?1486401882.

Philly Thrive. n.d. "Philly Thrive organizes for Environmental Justice!". Accessed November 20, 2023. https://www.phillythrive.org/#:~:text=Our%20Right%20to%20Thrive%20campaign,most%20impacted%20by%20the%20refinery.

Poland, Blake et al. 2018. The Emergence of the Transition Movement in Canada: Success and Impact through the Eyes of Initiative Leaders. *Local Environment* 24, 3: 180–200. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2018.1555579.

Porter, Jody. 2017. "Ontario Announces $85M for Mercury Cleanup near Northern Ontario First Nations." CBC News. Accessed October 20, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/ontario-mercury-cleanup-1.4180631.

Porter, Jody. 2021. "Grassy Narrows to Get $68.9M More from Ottawa for Centre to Care for People with Mercury Poisoning." CBC News. Accessed October 20, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/grassy-narrows-mercury-care-facility-ottawa-funding-1.6117975.

Priya, Arya. 2021. "Case Study Methodology of Qualitative Research: Key Attributes and Navigating the Conundrums in Its Application." *Sociological Bulletin* 70 (1): 94–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038022920970318.

Public Power New York. n.d.a. "About Us." Public Power NY. Accessed November 18th, 2023. https://publicpowerny.org/about/.

Public Power New York. n.d.b. "The Bill." Public Power NY. Accessed November 18th, 2023. https://publicpowerny.org/legislation/.

Public Power New York. n.d.c. "New Yorkers win historic victory for Public Power." Public Power NY. Accessed November 18th, 2023. https://publicpowerny.org/press-releases/new-yorkers-win-historic-victory-for-public-power/.

Public Power New York. n.d.d. "Take Action." Public Power NY. Accessed November 27th, 2023. https://publicpowerny.org/take-action/

Public Power New York. n.d.e. “Partners.” Public Power NY. Accessed November 27th, 2023. https://publicpowerny.org/our-partners/

Richardson, Lindsay, and Emelia Fournier. 2022. “Inside the Atikamekw Nation’s Fight against Deforestation of Ancestral Lands.” *APTN News*. March 18. https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/inside-the-atikamekw-nations-fight-against-the-deforestation-of-its-ancestral-lands/.

Red Nation. *The Red Deal: Indigenous Action to Save Our Planet*. 2021. NY: Common Notions.

Rico, R.J. 2023. “61 Indicted in Georgia on Racketeering Charges Connected to ‘Stop Cop City’ Movement.” AP News. September 5, 2023. https://apnews.com/article/atlanta-cop-city-protests-rico-charges-3177a63ac1bd31a1594bed6584e9f330.

Rincón, Victoria. 2023. “Movimiento de los 13 pueblos contra la Unidad Habitacional ‘La Ciénega’, México” https://ejatlas.org/conflict/unidad-habitacional-la-cienega?fbclid=IwAR1v7Swo4-DMEAF4OFbh1ojEfFrTFapo2zg3kWjBhF9DHQsoc6uewZeKXyA

Rose, Chris. 2014. “‘Citizen Interventions’ Have Cost Canada’s Tar Sands Industry $17B, New Report Shows.” *The Narwhal*. November 3. https://thenarwhal.ca/citizen-interventions-have-cost-canada-s-tar-sands-industry-17b-new-report-shows/.

Ryder, Stacia S. 2017. A Bridge to Challenging Environmental Inequality: Intersectionality, Environmental Justice, and Disaster Vulnerability. *Social Thought & Research* 34: 85–115.

Saku, James C. 2021. Environmental Activism on the Ground: Small Green and Indigenous Organizing. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51 (2): 355–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2021.1914997.

Sawyer, Wendy and Wagner, Peter. 2023. “Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2023.” Prison Policy. Accessed September 16, 2023. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2023.html.

Scheidel, Arnim et al. 2020. “Environmental Conflicts and Defenders: A Global Overview.” *Global Environmental Change* 63: 102104. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102104.

Scott, Wendy. 2014. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Edited by Uwe Flick and Katie Metzler. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Shafer, Scott, and Laura Klivans. 2023. “California, Oil Industry Brace for Big-Money Battle Over Rule Limiting Drilling Near Schools and Homes.” KQED. February 15, 2023. https://www.kqed.org/news/11940704/california-oil-industry-brace-for-big-money-battle-over-rule-limiting-drilling-near-schools-and-homes.

Smithsonian. 2015. “Standing Rock Sioux and Dakota Access Pipeline | Teacher Resource.” Si.edu. Smithsonian: National Museum of the American Indian. 2015. https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/plains-treaties/dapl.

Solis, Nathan, and Christian Martinez. 2023. “California Will Cap Hundreds of Orphaned Oil Wells, Some Long Suspected of Causing Illness.” Los Angeles Times. July 19, 2023. https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-07-18/california-announces-plan-to-close-problem-orphan-oil-wells.

Stand Earth. 2023. “Stopping the Trans Mountain Pipeline.” *Stand.Earth*. September 14. https://stand.earth/our-work/campaigns/stopping-the-trans-mountain-pipeline/#:~:text=The%20pipeline%20is%20opposed%20by,over%20200%20having%20been%20arrested.

STAND- L.A. 2023. “About STAND LA.” Stand LA. Accessed November 29, 2023. http://www.stand.la/about-us.html.

Stekelenburg, Jacquelien van, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans, eds. 2013. *The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes. Social Movements, Protest and Contention*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Stephenson, Amanda. 2023. “Trans Mountain Pipeline Project Runs into Fresh Construction-Related Hurdle | CBC News.” 2023. *CBCnews*. CBC/Radio Canada. August 24. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/trans-mountain-pipeline-construction-delay-1.6946053.

Stoddart, Mark C.J., Jillian Rene Smith, and Paula Graham. 2018. “Oil Opposition: Creating Friction in Energy Politics.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Energy and Society*. Edited by Debra J. Davidson and Matthias Gross. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190633851.013.26.

Stoll, Shannan Lenke, and Shannan Lenke Stoll. 2019. “First Nations Celebrate Win against Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion - Yes! Magazine Solutions Journalism.” *YES! Magazine*. November 26. https://www.yesmagazine.org/environment/2018/08/30/first-nations-celebrate-win-against-trans-mountain-pipeline-expansion.

Stone, Erin. 2022. “No More New Oil And Gas Drilling For LA.” LAist. January 26, 2022. https://laist.com/news/climate-environment/no-more-oil-and-gas-drilling-for-l-a.

Stone, Erin. 2023. “Inglewood Oil Field.” LAist. Accessed November 7, 2023. https://laist.com/brief/news/climate-environment/county-takes-step-to-end-drilling-at-inglewood-oil-field.

Stop Cop City (2023) *Stop Cop City*. Accessed: 16 October 2023. Available at: https://stopcop.city/

Southern Environmental Law Center. 2021. “Large Coalition Implores Governor, State Environmental Agency to Protect Virginia Waters.” *Southern Environmental Law Center*. September 29. https://www.southernenvironment.org/news/large-coalition-implores-governor-state-enviromental-agency-to-protect-virg/.

Sydow, Mira. 2022. “Abolitionists and Environmentalists in Atlanta Band Together to ‘Stop Cop City.’” *YES! Magazine* (blog). Accessed November 18, 2023. https://www.yesmagazine.org/environment/2022/03/22/atlanta-organizers-abolition-environmentalists.

Sydow, Mira. 2023. “Will Atlanta’s ‘Stop Cop City’ Referendum Make It Onto the Ballot?,” October 26, 2023. https://www.thenation.com/article/activism/stop-cop-city-ballot-referendum-atlanta-georgia/.

Tabone, Francesco, director. 2008. *13 Pueblos, En Defensa Del Agua, El Aire Y La Tierra.* UNAM, GAIA A.C. 63 min. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LiU7X51EGcg.

Tetteh, Prince. 2023. "Driving Demands of a Successful Protest: A Comparative Analysis of Drivers That Leads To a Successful Outcome of Protest". Master’s Theses. *The University of Southern Mississippi.* https://aquila.usm.edu/masters_theses/963

The Canadian Press. 2021. “A Timeline of the Controversial Keystone XL Pipeline Project.” CTV News. Accessed November 5, 2023. https://www.ctvnews.ca/business/a-timeline-of-the-controversial-keystone-xl-pipeline-project-1.5271188?cache=.

The Narwhal. 2023. “What Is the Trans Mountain Pipeline - and Why Should I Care?” *The Narwhal*. December 14. https://thenarwhal.ca/trans-mountain-pipeline-explainer/.

The North Star. 2022. “The Families of Manawan Mobilize to Defend Their Lands.” *The North Star*. March 3. https://thenorthstar.media/the-families-of-manawan-mobilize-to-defend-their-lands/.

The North Star. 2023. “Indigenous Blockade Forces Quebec Forestry Company to Back Down.” *The North Star*. April 3. https://thenorthstar.media/indigenous-blockade-forces-quebec-forestry-company-to-back-down/.

Thomas, Leah. 2022. *The Intersectional Environmentalist: How to Dismantle Systems of Oppression to Protect People + Planet.* Voracious / Little, Brown and Company.

Thompson, Zalaka. “Our Victory”. Accessed November 18, 2023. https://www.phillythrive.org/our_victory.

Todrys, Katherine Wiltenburg . 2021. *Black Snake: Standing Rock, the Dakota Access Pipeline, and Environmental Justice*. University of Nebraska Press.

US EPA, OEJECR. 2015. “Learn About Environmental Justice.” Overviews and Factsheets. February 13, 2015. Accessed October 15, 2023. https://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice/learn-about-environmental-justice.

Velazco, Salvador. 2018. “(Des) colonialidad del poder en 13 pueblos en defensa del agua, el aire y la tierra.” 5, no. 9 (2018): 22–44. https://doi.org/10.5195/ct/2017.249.

Vogelsong, Sarah. 2021. “What Sank the Atlantic Coast Pipeline? It Wasn’t Just Environmentalism.” *Virginia Mercury*. January 20. https://www.virginiamercury.com/2020/07/08/what-sank-the-atlantic-coast-pipeline-it-wasnt-just-environmentalism/.

Wallace, Rick. 2010. “Grassy Narrows Blockade: Reworking Relationships between Anishnabe and Non-Indigenous Activists at the Grassroots.” *International Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue Internationale d’études Canadiennes*, no. 41: 37–68. https://doi.org/10.7202/044162ar.

Warrior Publications. n.d. “Blog Archives.” https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/tag/anti-fracking-new-brunswick/

Warrior Publications. 2013. “New Brunswick anti-fracking resistance cost $9.5M in extra policing.” https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/2014/02/04/new-brunswick-anti-fracking-resistance-cost-9-5m-in-extra-policing/.

Williams, Ambrose. 2013. “Elsipogtog Anti-Fracking Struggle: Where to Go from Here?” Warrior Publications. December 7, 2013. https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/2013/12/07/elsipogtog-anti-fracking-struggle-where-to-go-from-here/.

Wong, George H.C. 2017. ‘Mercury poisoning in the Grassy Narrows First Nation: history not completed’, *CMAJ : Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 189(22), p. E784. https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.733011.

Xiao, Yin. 2017. “Environmentalist groups stop construction of oil export terminal in Philadelphia, 2016”.https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/environmentalist-groups-stop-construction-oil-export-terminal-philadelphia-2016. Accessed October 12, 2023.

Yardley, William. 2017. “Last Holdouts Are Cleared from Main Dakota Access Pipeline Protest Camp.” Los Angeles Times. February 23, 2017. https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-standing-rock-20170223-story.html.

Yin, Robert K. 2009. Case Study Research : Design and Methods Fourth ed. Applied Social Research Methods Series, 5. Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Zullo, Robert. 2016. “Long-Awaited Draft Environmental Statement on Dominion’s Atlantic Coast Pipeline Released.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. December 31. https://www.richmond.com/business/article_8e98ba37-dd42-51df-859d-0ebf2fa252a0.html.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Priority List for interviews:

1) People involved for a long time (one of the main organizers and directly impacted by the issue(s) being addressed.
2) Grassroots voices and organizers
3) Campaign spokespeople
4) Academics who were also activists
5) People in larger organizations (NGOs) who were part of coalitions
6) Politicians who were organizers as well (started as activists, got involved with politics to push forward the issue)

Appendix 2
Survey/Interview Questions

- What changed? What did your work achieve (along the way or in the end)?
- What were the expected and unexpected challenges faced during the campaign and how did you overcome them?
- What conditions or factors do you think helped you succeed?
- What advice would you offer other intersectional movements to achieve transformational impacts?
- Each student adds 1 or 2 more specific questions according to each movement.
- Open ended question to give the participants a chance to share.

Appendix 3

Online case study research:

1. What was the initial goal of the campaign?
2. When did it start? How did it start? Who was the movement founded by? (don't need to dive deep)
3. How long did organizers/community members have to campaign?
4. Is this an intersectional movement? If so, what different facets of injustice does it address?
5. What strategies (overall approach) / tactics (distinct actions) does the movement use?
6. In academic research about this movement, what was success attributed to?
7. In online communication (including social media) by the movement, what was success attributed to?
8. In academic research about the movement, what was identified as successes?
9. In online communication by the movement, what was identified as successes?
10. What were the main obstacles and challenges faced by the movement?
11. How did the movement overcome these challenges?
12. Have there been any material gains from this mobilization?
13. Have there been other forms of success (such as immaterial gains)?
14. Different actors : How did the collaboration between different players (i.e. communities, groups) come together? Who was involved and how did the alliance between different folks/movements help achieve success. This assumes alliances achieve success, first ask if there was an alliance. What did each 'player' bring to the table?
15. Other notable information
16. Potential contacts

Appendix 4

Email Template

English:

Hello,

I am writing to you on behalf of my research team at McGill University, we are a group of undergraduate students under the supervision of professor Jen Gobby and in collaboration with the Climate Organizing Hub (https://www.lehub.ca/en). We are conducting a research project on the successes of transformational intersectional climate campaigns. Our objective is to perform a qualitative analysis to better understand: What conditions and factors led to those wins? What barriers were faced and overcome? What alliances and strategies helped build sufficient power to generate wins? Moreover, the goal is to make the information accessible in a report for other groups within the Hub's network to learn from. We want to emphasize the importance of intersectional movement because the systems of oppression and exploitation that perpetuate environmental injustice are the same systems driving social injustice.

We are reaching out to you because you are part of the (Name) initiative. We believe this initiative meets the criteria of success for our study and we would like to learn more about the journey that led to it. If you are available we would like to conduct a short interview with you (25-30 minutes), or you can complete a survey with our questions on your own time. We have included a link to the questions for you to consult. Moreover, if you do not have the capacity to participate in this research project, but you know someone else who would be willing to, we would be very grateful for any opportunity to talk to someone. It would be amazing if you could get back to us within … days/weeks.

+ Add that we'll send them the report once it's finished
+ Send them the consent form
+ Write that we can send them a survey in a follow-up email

Thank you for your time and we hope to hear from you soon.

Best,

(Name)

Français:

Bonjour,

Je vous écris en représentant de mon équipe de recherche à l'Université McGill. Nous sommes un groupe d'étudiants de premier cycle sous la supervision du professeur Jen Gobby et en collaboration avec

l'organisme Climate Organizing Hub (https://www.lehub.ca/en). Nous menons un projet de recherche sur les succès des campagnes climatiques intersectionnelles transformatives. Notre objectif est d'effectuer une analyse qualitative pour mieux comprendre : Quels sont les conditions et les facteurs qui ont conduit à ces victoires ? Quels sont les obstacles rencontrés et surmontés ? Quelles alliances et stratégies ont permis de construire un pouvoir suffisant pour générer des victoires ? En outre, le but est de rendre l'information accessible dans un rapport pour que d'autres groupes puissent s'en inspirer. Nous tenons à souligner l'importance du mouvement intersectionnel, car les systèmes d'oppression et d'exploitation qui perpétuent l'injustice environnementale sont les mêmes que ceux qui sont à l'origine de l'injustice sociale.

Nous vous contactons car vous faites partie de l'initiative (Nom). Nous pensons que cette initiative répond aux critères de réussite de notre étude et nous aimerions en savoir plus sur le parcours qui y a conduit. Si vous êtes disponible, nous aimerions mener un court entretien avec vous (25-30 minutes), sinon vous pouvez répondre à notre questionnaire pendant votre temps libre. Nous avons inclus un lien vers les questions pour que vous puissiez les consulter. Par ailleurs, si vous n'êtes pas en mesure de participer à ce projet de recherche, mais que vous connaissez quelqu'un qui serait prêt à le faire, nous vous serions très reconnaissants de nous donner l'occasion de parler à quelqu'un. Ce serait formidable si vous pouviez nous répondre dans un délai de ... jours/semaines.

Nous vous remercions pour le temps que vous nous avez consacré et espérons avoir bientôt de vos nouvelles.