Conceptions and praxis of justice:

an analysis of activist perspectives from within current South African climate justice movements

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Courtney Morgan

Supervisor: Dr Siân Butcher

848201

Abstract

This research seeks to investigate how climate justice movements in South Africa conceptualise and operationalise justice. Justice is relevant to the discussion around climate change because there is an unequal experience of the crisis. Those who are affected most by the climate crisis are those who, historically did not create the issue and now bear a higher environmental and climate disadvantage. They are also not economically, or socially equipped to deal with the effects of climate change. Justice is also a concept which is often researched philosophically or theoretically and not as an implementable practice, it is complex because it is defined differently by different groups. To conduct this research, a feminist, qualitative approach was taken, using in-depth semi-structured interviews with activists who have been key in initiating and organising climate justice movements in South Africa, and document analysis. The activist participants shared insights into the history of current climate justice movements in South Africa; their own conceptions of justice shaped and shifted through their involvement in struggle; challenges facing current climate justice movements and those obstructing the building a united climate justice movement. The participants also detailed practices they employed for operationalising their conceptions of justice, both in current movements and what is needed for a united climate justice movement in the future. Ultimately, this dissertation argues that South African climate justice activists, because of their involvement in other social movements have a necessarily multi-faceted conception of justice, in the context of a highly complex issue and are facing unique and unprecedented challenges as a movement. Additionally, that these multi-faceted, socioeconomic, ecological, intersectional, systemic and democratic conceptions of justice forged through struggle make a significant offering to the understanding of justice, beyond the climate justice movement. This dissertation also argues that in the movement, there is a need to build convergences and solidarities across sectors, movements and groups of society in a way that does not compromise the radical demands of the climate justice movement.

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I, Courtney Morgan (848201) hereby submit my Masters dissertation for examination, for the Degree of Master of Arts to the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other university, and I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. I confirm that I have checked all copies of my dissertation and declare that no pages are missing or poorly reproduced.

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List of acronyms

AIDC	Alternative Information and Development Centre
ANC	African National Congress
CER	Centre for Environmental Rights
CJC	Climate Justice Charter
COP	Conference of the Parties
COPAC	Co-operative and Policy Alternative Center
EFS	Emancipatory Future Studies
EJNF	Environmental Justice Networking Forum
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OMCJ	One Million Climate Jobs
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SAFSC	South African Food Sovereignty Campaign
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Convention on Climate Change
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organisation

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The most immediate threat facing humankind is climate change, which not only affects climatic patterns in the long term but exacerbates existing inequalities and causes devastating climate shocks in the short term (Burnham et al., 2013). It threatens the existence of human and non-human life, threatens natural planetary processes and systems and its effects are very difficult to predict. In the face of the climate crisis, rampant inequality and increased suffering, it is necessary for action to be taken in the next two decades (Patterson et al., 2018). The kind of societal change that is required is "rapid, intentional trajectories of decarbonisation, and the interconnected technical, economic, social and political changes that this entails" (Patterson et al., 2018: 1). The climate crisis has plunged the earth into a period which is marked with rapid and unprecedented change and precarity.

All around the world, inequality is being felt in different ways by different groups, and due to climate change, these are constantly being compounded and evolving (Burnham et al., 2013). Some examples of these are rising food prices due to drought conditions, increased privatisation of water and other precious resources and unforeseen inequalities that could arise. Although this is experienced globally, in South Africa, the link between climate change and inequality is particularly relevant. There is an interesting juxtaposition that South Africa finds itself in, where the country is both one of the most unequal countries in the world as well as one of the biggest carbon emissions contributors (Levi 2021). The country suffers from chronic inequality, persistent unemployment as well as a historic dependence on coal (Levi 2021). South African scholars and activists alike agree that while there is a need for the country to create alternatives to carbon dependence, there is also a need to do this in a way that allows for communities to thrive. The question of justice is significant in this context, because even without the threat of climate change and its potential to compound inequalities, South Africa already suffers from high levels of inequality and poverty, already necessitating struggles for justice.

To confront the reality that climate change has social justice implications, there have been social movements developing around the world**,** addressing various aspects of climate change (Yaka 2019). These movements are growing, but not always successful due to many reasons: growth-oriented political economies, weakness of the movement, conflict within the movement, lack of funding or weak leadership. In the South African context, civil society

movements have played a large part in the history of resistance in the country and are an integral part of this young democracy, (Ballard et al., 2005), in recent decades, these have been joined by environmental and climate justice movements in the country (Death 2014).

In South Africa, the climate justice movement has a complex history, emerging from the environmental justice movement and coming after the liberation movement in the early 1990s (Patel 2009). Although the movement has come a long way in terms of its discourse, it is still grappling with issues of justice, race relations and legacies of apartheid. It is also struggling with the historical links that communities have to mining and a liberal view of environmentalism that pushes for capitalist development even in the context of climate breakdown (Scott and Barnett 2009; Leonard 2018) (See section 2.4). The environmental movement in South Africa also lacks a united and consolidated stance, for a variety of reasons (Death 2014). In addition there is the problem of climate education, where globally, but particularly in South Africa, there are low levels of what many refer to as climate literacy, where people are not necessarily linking the changes they notice to climate change, or do not entirely agree that these changes are man-made (Levi 2021). These challenges are not entirely different to the ones experienced globally, but carry their own South African nuances due to this movement being in the early stages of democracy for the country.

1.2 Problem statement

Movements have had an impact on the way that we understand people's lived experiences, and some movements have fundamentally shaped the way we see struggles (Ballard et al., 2005). Whether it was the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in the post-apartheid era or the liberation movement; social movements can and have been a powerful tool for change (Vandormael 2007). Not only do their outcomes change the political landscape, but movements themselves are sites of thinking and rethinking concepts, they are constantly reconstituting how we understand democracy and justice (Yaka 2019). Justice, in the context of movements is an integral concept, one that is dynamic and has different implications in different spaces. Its complexity presents both a theoretical and operational concern (Yaka 2019). Social movements need not import or apply a certain theory of justice, but rather it might be the case that social movements through their praxis, shape and reshape justice. According to Walker (2009) when those who are already marginalised are further exposed to an event which reduces their wellbeing, and the cause of this event is due to the actions of others who are less marginalised, this is where a call for justice is needed.

Part of the complexity of justice is that it is used in different ways by different people, and its implications differ depending on how it is used. For example, the climate justice movement uses the term in more ways than one. The use of the word justice in the concept of *climate justice* differs from, for example, its use in the term *intergenerational justice,* and even more different still in the concept of *environmental justice* (see Section 2.4). These various definitions have been explored by scholars globally and there are a number of categories that are relevant, these are: distributive justice, procedural justice, recognitional justice, epistemic justice and associated theories (see section 2.6). There is a need to examine these various understandings of justice, how they are being used by movements, where they are relevant and how they can be operationalised. It must be noted that there is no single *right* form of justice. Furthermore, justice is a process, it is constantly changing, must constantly be changing and will constantly change.

The global climate justice movement differs from those movements that have a clear end goal because justice in this context is so difficult to quantify. Climate change is an existential crisis leading the earth down an unpredictable path (Mickelson 2009). It is a movement that is essentially imagining a new way of being, it is not just looking to change one aspect of life such as healthcare or education. This movement is dynamic, place specific, ever changing and employs an imaginative lens, trying to establish a future that is liveable for all humanity. Although this is necessary and could completely transform the current way of life, presenting an opportunity for justice to be achieved, and to vastly improve the material conditions of vulnerable peoples, the movement has many challenges that must be recognised and addressed (McAdam 2017). Although there are lessons to be learnt from past movements such as civil rights, anti-colonial and social movements (Vandormael 2007; Madlingozi 2007), the climate justice movement cannot function in the same way, it cannot employ the same tactics. The climate justice movement is tackling a growing, evolving and violently destructive opponent: the ever changing and worsening climate crisis. Thus, the movement that is required to overcome it needs to be equally dynamic and evolving if it is to address all the complexities of the climate crisis.

1.3 Rationale and aims

The rationale for this research can be summarised as wanting to contribute to the literature on climate change in South Africa with my focus on climate justice activists, as well as the literature on movements by including climate justice; extend the research around justice

beyond theory and into practice (including feminist methods of knowledge production and implementation) and into movement and climate justice literature; and finally to contribute to the movement in a meaningful and tangible way.

First, with the bulk of climate change research globally focused on scientific effects and mitigation strategies (Patterson et al., 2018), there is currently not enough research on climate justice movements, especially beyond the global scale in specific contexts, and on movements themselves. South Africa has world renowned climate scientists who have worked on various global reports including the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report namely Gina Ziervogel, Luleka Dlamini, Coleen Vogel and Francois Engelbrecht. They cover topics such as drought and heat wave effects; surface temperature modelling; municipal adaptation models and others. In movement literature, a large portion of research in South Africa has focused on other forms of social, political and environmental movements, with less on the relatively new climate justice movement. This is where my study seeks to contribute to both climate change and social movement research, internationally and locally, by exploring how the South African climate justice movement, and how activists within existing movements, conceptualise and operationalise justice. I do this through qualitative research with four case studies (see Section 4).

Second, integrating the discussion around justice into the discussion around solutions to climate change is a rationale for this research. Justice is an age-old concept, one that many theorists have taken on and devoted their careers to studying (Yaka 2019). This is about examining justice as an implementable concept, and looking at how to operationalise it, instead of it being seen just as a philosophical question of morality and values (Okereke 2010; Yaka 2019). In this way, notions of justice can enter the realm of practice and the minds of the everyday person, using language that is concrete and tangible, backed up by strong and informative research (Burnham et al., 2013).

Related to implementation, feminists, and particularly ecofeminists have a unique take on conceptualising and operationalising justice (Banerjee and Bell 2007; MacGregor 2009, 2010; Gaard 2015). This comes out of important scholarship around women's exclusion in global negotiations and discussions about climate action, the vulnerabilities of women in communities that will bear the brunt of climate impacts, the integral role they play in movement building as well as social reproduction. These scholars also make important connections between the exploitation of the environment and the exploitation of women,

and how this impacts calls for justice (see Chapter 2). Part of the rationale to expand the research around justice is to engage feminist contributions, especially in terms of its scales, subjects and modes of analysis (Nagar et al 2002). Thus, this research takes a feminist approach to studying activists' understandings of justice and implementation strategies as understudied sites of agency; in sites at close proximity to the researcher (see Chapter 3). At these sites is where we can learn about knowledge production processes, power dynamics and uneven access and other intersectional concerns within an understudied scale of analysis in climate change's planetary concerns.

The final rationale, in addition to the academic aim of documenting and analysing climate justice movements' understandings of justice, is to also provide a resource that is materially useful to the South African climate justice movement in the form of shorter articles, op-eds, summaries, videos and workshops if possible. Integral to climate justice action is the building of a concrete movement, which has an imagination and the potential to shape an entirely new system. This strategic, political aim is informed by arguments that it is not enough to just link action to theory in this paper, it must be able to be applied in the real world, with real results and outcomes (Routledge and Driscoll Derickson 2015).

1.4 Research Question and sub-questions

How are current climate justice movements and activists in South Africa conceptualising and operationalising justice?

1. Through the lived experiences of activists in the movement, what are the paradigms, frames of reference and events that enabled/catalysed currently operating South African climate justice movements?
2. How do they define and understand 'justice' in the climate justice movement?
3. How are different types of justice relevant to the climate justice movement? And how have they changed over time?
4. What are the barriers and challenges that prevent climate justice action?
5. In what ways are movements 'practicing' or operationalising justice? What are some of the goals, aims, and strategies used to achieve justice?
6. How are current movements reshaping or rethinking justice for other movements?

1.5 Outline of the thesis

This thesis has nine chapters, beginning with the introduction which provides the background of the study and rationale, and its central research questions. The second chapter, the literature review, outlines the existing literature on various themes related to my topic, namely climate science and South African environmental policy; contentious politics and social movements; environmental justice and its movements; climate justice and conceptualising justice in relation to climate justice. The third chapter on the methodology details the qualitative, feminist research approach, introduces the case studies and activists sampled therein, and documents the data collection and analysis methods used in this research.

What follows are four analytical chapters. Chapter four explores the activist biographies of participants as well as the histories of the case studies. Chapter five analyses activist conceptions of justice, shifts and influences. Chapter six details the challenges for current movements as well as the climate justice movement as a whole. Chapter seven explores activist praxis and how they operationalise their conceptions of justice. Chapter eight critically discusses these analytical chapters and their findings with the literature and conceptualisations of justice, and explores three emergent arguments. These emergent arguments are: that South African climate justice activists due to their histories in other social movements have a multi-faceted conception of justice; that these multi-faceted understandings of justice that were forged through struggle make a significant offering for justice, even beyond just climate justice movement and finally that in the movement there is a need for solidarities and convergences across sectors while still honouring the radical demands of the climate justice movement. Finally, chapter nine is the conclusion which summarises the thesis and outlines future avenues for study.

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

In order to conduct the research in a way that is helpful to the movement and the scholarship around climate change, social movements and environmental justice, it is important that the existing literature is explored. The literature can give us a helpful insight into what the literature is already saying about these themes, where the gaps are and where possible convergences can be built. This literature review chapter situates the study within a number of themes: climate science and South African environmental policy; contentious politics and

social movements; environmental justice and its movements; and climate justice and its movements. The chapter then outlines various ways of conceptualising justice, and in relation to environmental and climate justice specifically.

2.2 Climate Science and SA environmental policy

2.2.1 African and South African Climate science

Climate change is generally accepted as "variations in temperature and rainfall patterns" (Rankoana 2016: 8). The climate science is largely in agreement that Africa is at an increased vulnerability to the climate crisis (Engelbrecht et al., 2015; Vogel et al., 2019). This vulnerability plays out in two ways. Firstly the physical impacts of rising temperatures and climatic change are projected to be high in Africa. Already, there is observable evidence that there is an increase in temperature over Africa, and in some areas this is recorded as double the global rate of temperature increase. Secondly, the continent has a "relatively low adaptive capacity" due to a number of things, including having a large portion of the continent rely on the earth for sustenance and livelihood (Engelbrecht et al., 2015: 1). Africa's ability to deal with the impacts of climate change is also dependent on socioeconomic conditions. Vogel et al. (2019) add that this heightened vulnerability will not only affect the continent physically, but will also have a significant impact on development.

From the South African perspective, there is general agreement that climate change and its impacts present significant challenges (Chersich et al., 2018). Research and experiences of those on the ground confirm that rainfall has become increasingly uncertain, impacting crop production and the ability for communities to grow food. Other notable changes in environmental conditions include temperature levels, drought, reduction in water sources and biodiversity, soil degradation, marine conditions and quality of the air (Rankoana 2016; Chersich et al., 2018). It is also having an impact on the health and wellbeing of humans, both physically and mentally (Chersich et al., 2018), with particularly negative impacts on the informal economy and cultural life for those in rural areas (Rankoana 2016: 1). Globally, but particularly relevant for South Africa, climate change "heightens the pre-existing vulnerabilities of women, fishing communities, rural subsistence farmers and those living in informal settlements" (Chersich et al., 2018: 1).

2.2.2 Climate governance in South Africa

In general, South Africa's legislation, and the interpretation of governing documents make space for action to be taken, in line with the climate science. Post-apartheid policy has also had to grapple with environmental governance's exclusionary history. Prior to democracy in

South Africa, colonial and apartheid governments alike had a strong focus on preserving environmental spaces, but this was done in a way that actively excluded black South Africans and dispossessed them of their familial land in favour of preserved land for the enjoyment of an elite class (Patel 2009; Musavengane and Leonard, 2019). It is important to point out that the policies around the environment have been largely harmful to black South Africans, from forced removals to lack of access to water and food; historically, conserving the natural environment has been more important than black lives who simultaneously were never allowed access to that environment (McDonald 1998: 74; Patel 2014).

With democracy, South Africa in recent years has been depicted as a leading state in relation to dealing with environmental issues. This is reflected in the Constitution of the country which states the right to a clean and safe environment, as well as the role the country plays in global treaties and agreements (South African Justice Department n.d). South Africa is also a signatory to key agreements on the environment including the Kyoto Protocol and played host to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 and the COP meeting in 2011 (Patel 2014: 170). Although on the global stage it appears the country is making strides with environmental justice, the experience on the ground seems to differ and

> "there is evidence that processes of marginalisation, poverty, inequality, environmental degradation and a lack of sustainable outcomes remain; and what's more, are entrenched by the very processes aiming to address them" (Patel 2014: 170).

Patel (2014) argues that environmental policy decisions since the dawn of democracy have shown shifts as a result of various social and economic conditions and stimulants. At the local level, Patel (2014) outlines three moments of environmental policy, each characterised by a different objective: "addressing sustainable development, achieving environmental justice and addressing the impacts of climate change through adaptation and mitigation measure" (p. 169). The first moment signified a move away from a narrow conservation focused model to one more aligned with democracy and sustainable development. The second moment then emphasised a more participatory model where the demands of vulnerable communities were to be taken on. The third then signified a closer attention to global trends as related to climate change and the role of the city scale in those policy decisions. Some key environmental and climate policies in South Africa were: the National Environmental Management Act (1998) and its amendments; the Municipal Systems Act (2000), with the National Climate Change

Response White Paper (2011) being the first comprehensive national outline for dealing with climate change (Rossouw and Wiseman 2004; Patel 2014; Ziervogel et al., 2014).

Patel (2014) argues that the third moment needs to address the disparity between policy and practice and advance a deeper and more efficient form of climate governance, one that does not rely on the untransformed institutions of the past that further entrench poverty and inequality. Chanza and de Wit (2016), also talking about climate governance emphasise that being able to effectively implement mitigation and adaptation schemes, climate governance needs to be strong. To strengthen climate governance, they suggest that indigenous knowledge be integrated into the strategy. The overlap between those two concepts is apparent, and they argue that

> "it becomes necessary to invigorate the participation of communities, with their [indigenous knowledge], in designing climate change interventions, which in this view can be a means to attain the objectives of climate governance" (Chanza and de Wit 2016: 1).

Simply put, in terms of the climate policies in place, Chersich et al. (2018) state that although the policies in some ways are admirable, the "country's response to climate has been hampered by policy uncertainty and corruption" (p. 2).

2.3 Contentious politics and social movements

2.3.1 Defining and theorising social movements

In the context of corruption and climate governance that needs strengthening, affected communities and civil society groups have emerged to mobilise in the absence of adequate implementation of policy. Contentious politics is a term used commonly in the discipline of sociology referring to

> "concerted, counter-hegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together to challenge dominant systems of authority, in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries" (Leitner et al., 2007: 157).

Some disciplines use contentious politics to refer to what others call social movements. The definition that Ballard et al. (2008) use, from the South African context is this:

> "social movements are thus, in our view, politically and/or socially directed collectives, often involving multiple organisations and networks, focused on changing one or more

elements of the social, political and economic system within which they are located" (p. 2).

When trying to identify a movement, Madlingozi (2007) highlights that one should look for particular characteristics such as: goals that are oriented at policy or system change, mass and collective action that is not within the limits of the institution, sustained action over some time and a level of organisation. From here, this is what is referred to as 'movements' in the rest of the document, and the general characteristics used to define movements in this study.

There are multiple theories and tools for identifying movements, their motivations and strategies which have evolved since the 1960s. Although not the focus of this thesis, some examples include: relative deprivation theory, resource mobilisation theory, conflict theory, political process theory, and new social movement theories. These vary in their emphases on how material versus ideological, collective versus personal, interests shape and define social movement origin, function and action. Jasper (2010) identifies several social movement theories, one of the most common is *the political process paradigm*. Referred to as the American stream, these movements have a focus on the mobilisation of resources and making connections and collaborating with the state; he points out that this worked well for movements which were made up of repressed peoples, such as the civil rights movement. This approach ended up being heavily critiqued for neglecting the concerns and desires of its actors, in favour of more professional positions, creating staff and raising money. Jasper (2010) highlights that this theory is not a theory of action, but rather a means to act. For explaining current social movements, Jasper (2010) presents the *rational – choice paradigm* as a theory of action, which notes the significance of individuals and their own behaviours in a movement. This theory has been critiqued for its negation of structural issues and its focus on the individual, without recognition that there are systems and communities which these individuals are a part (Driscoll and Krook 2012). There is also a critique made by feminist political scientists who posit that the rational choice paradigm often has an unconscious bias, and tends to have sexist tendencies because its idea of *rationality* and the *norm* is the behaviours and the experiences of men (Driscoll and Krook 2012). Feminist and queer movements were also key in recent decades in bringing the importance of a wider diversity of people and their experiences into the movement. Jasper (2010) sees this as an integral part of current movements, as the way that people relate to the world they live in, and how they respond to events, which plays a central role in the research and praxis.

Sen and Avci (2016) critique Western social movement scholarships' neglect of the independence struggles in the global South. Some of these movements were civil rights movements, anti-war protests, feminist movements and environmental movements. The specific theories that Sen and Avci (2016) see shaping those movements were deprivation theory, resource mobilisation theory, political process theory, structural strain theory, and new social movement theories. These theories explain the different reasons why various movements begin, ranging from the deprivation of resources to political circumstances.

2.3.2 Post-apartheid movements

In the post-apartheid era, various authors have explored aspects of post-apartheid movement building, including Sinwell (2011) on the disjuncture between the struggles of the working class and the academic perspective; Frenkel (2008) on feminist movements and women's roles in post-apartheid South Africa; White (2010) on farm worker movements; Ngwane (2011) on service delivery struggles and many more.[1] Ballard et al., (2005) argue that the post-apartheid political leadership has not been successful in addressing certain social ills, and that it is the job of social movements to act as a counter balance to highlight the plight of the poor. After apartheid, there was a realisation that the struggle for freedom was not entirely realised with the fall of apartheid and there were still movements that were necessary (Gibson 2012).

There are a number of categories that Ballard et al. (2005 in Madlingozi 2007) suggest to categorise the different social movements that exist in post-apartheid South Africa. First is the group of social movements which demand better service delivery and are directed at the government. For example, the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, fighting for access to electricity for those living in Soweto, and the Anti-Privatisation Forum, a grouping of organisations fighting for access to electricity, housing and worker rights (Madlingozi 2007: 87). Another category are those who "oppose the state, banks and private landlords through opposition to evictions and attempts to secure tenure" such as the Landless People's Movement (Madlingozi 2007: 87). A third category includes those unions who fight for fair working conditions and labour rights; the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and many of its members would fall into this category. Another category is those movements who are concerned with pollution and other environmentally deteriorative practices; an

[1] This is in conversation with research on growing post-apartheid community protest more generally (Alexander et al 2018).

example of this being the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (Madlingozi 2007: 88). The last grouping of social movements include those who oppose multinational corporations regarding reparations and debt accumulated during the apartheid era (Madlingozi 2007: 88).

Madlingozi (2007) goes deeper into why local social movements occur, and states that the neoliberal agenda imposed by the democratic government has not delivered to the poor, and does not take full advantage of the South African Constitution which is a progressive document that allows for the eradication of inequalities left behind by apartheid. Similarly, Gibson (2012) shares this sentiment about the Freedom Charter, and that the promises were not realised in post-apartheid South Africa where the needs of the people have not been met. Madlingozi (2007) also argues there are two approaches that South African movements can take: rights-based movements or counter oppositional movements. A rights-based movement is aimed at holding government accountable to the rights that are allowed for and enshrined in the Constitution, still working within the same system. On the other hand, a counter oppositional movement would usually act on a single issue which is then used to address broader economic challenges, and most commonly anti-capitalist.

Also critical to some social movements is building an *epistemic community* (Vandormael, 2007): a group of professionals who are part of the movement, and are able to advise and push government to make fitting policies. This tactic was notably used by the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) from 2000 to 2004 with the use of a group of professionals well versed in science and medical expertise around AIDS. This group or *epistemic community* assisted in the campaign in ways that complimented the general tactics of the social movement (such as mass action, engagement and negotiating, legal action and petitions), in this case they were able to "pressure the government to frame its policy within the orthodox domain of HIV/AIDS" (Vandormael 2007: 220). Globally, particularly in the activism around HIV/Aids, becoming familiar with science, what some may refer to as "expertification" was a prominent practice in the movement, especially in the face of misinformation (Vandormael 2007: 222). In this way, TAC was able to demand that the government implement appropriate policies, not because of an ideological agreement but rather grounded in science. This epistemic campaign alongside a grassroots movement has relevance too to the climate justice movement.

2.4 Environmental justice and its movements

2.4.1 Defining environmental justice

One particularly relevant movement for this study and closely related to climate justice, is the environmental justice movement. Environmental justice was a term officially coined in North America around the 1980s when low-income, black communities fought against the toxic waste being dumped around their communities. The movement has its roots in concerns around poorer and black communities being disproportionately exposed to hazardous waste, and this is where its roots of justice are (Schlosberg and Collins 2014). It must also be noted that indigenous peoples have also been fighting for water, food and land for decades (Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010). Because of this, Schlosberg and Carruthers (2010) argue that the environmental movements built by indigenous peoples provide a "broad, integrated, and pluralistic discourse of justice" (Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010: 12).

There are various definitions for environmental justice, and it is important to refer to some of the most common understandings while not trying to establish one definition, since different definitions arise because of peoples' varying contexts, and these definitions should be embraced (Holifield 2001). Holifield (2001) takes his understanding of environmental justice from the Environmental Protection Agency of the US: "to ensure that all people, regardless of race, national origin or income, are protected from disproportionate impacts of environmental hazards" (Holifield 2001: 80). For Schlosberg and Collins (2014), the environmental justice movement is defined as highlighting

> "distributive inequity, lack of recognition, disenfranchisement and exclusion, and more broadly an undermining of the basic needs, capabilities, and functioning of individuals and communities" (Schlosberg and Collins 2014: 3).

Temper and De Bene (2016) emphasise "environmental justice as both a social movement and a research subject" (p. 41). For various groups such as activists, academics and organisations, the environmental justice question has allowed for a point of intersection. In 1980s America when the activism around environmental degradation and dumping was at its height, academia around environmental justice acted to supplement that important activist work going on. In recent decades both as an academic subject and in its activism, environmental justice has grown into an integral movement not only for environmental justice but in the fight for social justice. It has also been a space of questioning, growing and shaping understandings of justice:

> "vocabularies and theories of justice conceived of and commonly used in activists' campaigns have been transferred onto the academic research agenda through two-way knowledge exchange and uptake of ideas" (Temper and De Bene 2016: 41).

Increased environmental degradation and awareness around the issue has resulted in many social justice movements and even the social sciences in academia, becoming more "environmentalized" (Temper and De Bene 2016: 42).

What is referred to as an *ecological turn* globally has resulted in three main considerations for Temper and De Bene (2016) (p. 42). Firstly, the environmental justice movement is key in highlighting how intricately humans are linked to each other which encompasses an intergenerational element as well as a closer link and solidarity with the labour movement. Another consideration and contribution that the environmental justice movement has offered is the linkage that the environmental issue has with the social, and its deeply political nature that is not and cannot be removed from economic justice demands. Third, it is integral in shifting how nature is viewed by humans, not just as a "place where we live, work and play", but rather as something we are part of and have an intrinsic connection to (Temper and De Bene 2016: 42).

2.4.2 Environmental justice in South Africa

In South Africa, the environmental justice movement arrived with the dawn of democracy and "the concept of environmental justice, which first found expression in 1992 at a conference organised by Earthlife Africa" began being taken more seriously (Patel 2009: 96). Before this, it was easy for those fighting for social justice and against apartheid to view the environmental space as one that was a white liberal issue, far removed for their own fight (McDonald 1998; Patel 2009). This saw activists beginning to link environmental issues to social justice, and reframe it as a 'brown' (not just 'green') concern, defined as the issues usually associated with quality of life such as education, waste management and housing (Scott and Barnett 2009). During the 1990s, environmental issues were vastly re-imagined and took on a more political inflection (McDonald 1998). There were key forces, namely the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF) who were integral in connecting the environmental issues with poverty and inequality,

> "environmental debates in South Africa have shifted from an historically racist and exclusionary discourse to one in which the definition of 'the environment' has

> expanded to include the working and living environments of black South Africans" (McDonald 1998: 73).

With the shift, a number of organisations began to see the importance of the environment and sustainable development quickly became a component in the policy agenda, and subsequently environmental justice was part of this (Patel 2009: 96). At the time, both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress recognised that there was a need to include the environmental issue in their policies. In this way, the environmental issue became larger than just preserving the natural environment but started being concerned with land reform, calls for equitable housing, sanitation and issues around electricity provision to the rural areas (McDonald 1998: 75). Cock (2004) adds that there was no clear boundaries or blueprint for the environmental justice movement and that it was a grouping of a number of movements with varying demands. Rather than a difficulty, for Cock (2004) this presented an opportunity to unite and create more of a mass movement,

> "this embryonic environmental justice movement is bridging ecological and social justice issues in that it puts the needs and rights of the poor, the excluded and the marginalised at the centre of its concerns" (p. 1-2).

The amalgamation is made up of movements against three main concerns; racism, poverty and environmental destruction. It is made up of various groups, including community organisations, NGOs and everything in between (Cock 2004: 2). It is important to note that the environmental movement that Cock (2004) describes is a deeply grassroots driven movement with a

> "social base [that] is distinctively different from the middle-class composition of the mainstream environmental movement which focuses on curbing species loss and habitat destruction, that is on 'green' issues" (Cock 2004: 2).

There were some prominent struggles for the environmental justice movement in South Africa over the years, around mining, pollution, access to water and others. One of the struggles that reflect how justice is not always achieved, if the policy is directed at conservation and lacks of a human aspect is around the instalment of water management devices in vulnerable community in Cape Town around 2007 (Mahlanza et al., 2016). As part of their efforts to conserve water, these devices meant that vulnerable communities were the ones shouldering the cost of conservation, where these communities had greater

responsibilities for conserving water with greater monetary cost to them, as opposed to addressing big business or commercial farms. This fundamental issue, that poor communities were being prevented from meeting their need for water was brought up and backed up by NGOs and unions alike. Similarly there have been notable protests across the continent with regard to environmental justice, from women's protest against coffee export agriculture instead of indigenous crops in Kenya to protests against oil exploration in the Niger Delta for decades (Brownhill and Turner 2019).

2.4.3 The evolution of the environmental justice movement and its challenges

Schlosberg and Collins (2014) provide a good history of how the environmental justice movement partly led to the climate justice movement. Essentially, the environmental justice movement called for the concerns of environmental sustainability and everyday social concerns to be united. As the movement evolved, so did its definition of justice. Looking at the North American case, Perez et al. (2015) argue that the movement has shifted in three ways. The first is to introduce a more formal structure to enable organisations to explore various funding streams and build more long-lasting structures. The second has been to, with the lack of political standing, establish networks and collaborative work and building alliances with other organisations. These alliances were made across differing types of organisations with various levels of legitimacy and funding:

> "[Environmental justice] groups have been able to overcome hurdles and barriers [i.e. limited resources]… by working with and forming partnerships/alliances… [T]he movement is able to grow because of these relationships" (Perez et al., 2015: 6).

The third finding is that the environmental justice movement has expanded its scope, in that it does not only focus on what is generally accepted as environmental justice causes, but rather expanded to include issues around health, access to spaces and climate (Perez et al., 2015). Eventually, it was clear that the dumping of toxic waste around black and poor communities was inherently bad, but was also a symptom of the bigger, more entrenched systemic issue of inequality (Schlosberg and Collins 2014). The movement then settled on the idea that the purpose of the environmental justice movement is to address both existing and future injustices surrounding the distribution of environmental disadvantages (Schlosberg and Collins 2014). These changes in the environmental justice movement have been in response to a number of things including both funding challenges and political strain (Perez et al., 2015).

The environmental justice movement, in terms of organising and sustaining the struggle has had its fair share of challenges. One of the main challenges that Perez et al., (2015) outline is the lack of funding for environmental justice causes. This hinders the movement but also cripples the organisations as they cannot sustain the organisation just on volunteers. In relation to the funding issue, there is also the challenge of gaining political relevance in the face of larger NGOs who have a hegemony in the space (Perez et al., 2015: 5). According to Perez et al. (2015) there is also a challenge of "making environmental justice central in discussions at the local, state, and federal level" (p. 5). In this context, many believe that not only is it important to build networks but also to build stronger relevance in policy making spaces where those policies can be used to amplify and achieve the demands of communities (Perez et al., 2015).

There was also the more practical and everyday challenge of creating meaningful partnerships for the community while still managing the logistics of the movement such as maintaining funds and staff. One of the more conceptual and ideological challenges, although progress has been made, is the "lack of understanding of environmental justice communities on the part of NGOs that do not engage with communities on the ground dealing with environmental injustices" (Perez et al., 2015: 7).

In the South African context, one of the challenges that the environmental justice movement faces is the power of extractive industries, who historically have been given permission to develop massive projects and carry out environmental degradation in the process. These historic links that mining corporations have with the government as well as local traditional leadership have continued into democracy, sustaining the unfair granting of mining licenses, even in the face of protest from communities (Leonard 2018: 13).

Another challenge facing the movement is a harmful dominant narrative of ecological modernisation. Scott and Barnett (2009) point out how, in South Africa, the dominant narrative around the solutions to environmental issues is to push for ecological modernisation, where capitalist development and environmental protection can coexist. Bond (1999) emphasises that the ANC government, granted, took control of the country with the environmental condition already in dire need of support, but still made decisions about the environment in the interest of corporate South Africa and not the people. He provides three key projects of the late 1990s which brought into question the importance of the environment to the ANC: first, "how levels and financing systems of basic-needs

infrastructure… were chosen… with an instrumentalist regard for ecological inequalities" (p. 1); second, how the decisions and uneven distribution of natural resources between those who need small scale infrastructure and large-scale infrastructure for economic development speaks to a disregard for environmental conditions, specifically the Zinc smelter and establishment of an Industrial Development Zone in Port Elizabeth. Third the case of expanding the catchment of water from Lesotho to Johannesburg and its possible environmental consequences (Bond 1999: 1). This along with the qualification, in the often quoted section of the Constitution that affirms the rights to an environment that is not harmful, that sustainability and conservation must happen "while promoting justifiable economic and social development" is an illustration of ecological modernisation at play (Bond 1999: 3).

Ultimately, the challenge for activists is to move away from an idea of ecological modernisation and instead, address the core issues. Pulido (2017) states that the US environmental justice movement was successful in the 1980s in stopping new dumping, but did not actually address the reason why they were experiencing this injustice: the environmental racism at the system's core. For Pulido (2017), environmental racism is state-sanctioned violence against communities of colour, and therefore activists in the environmental justice movement must see the state not as an ally but rather as an actor that is directly implicated in the injustice, as in the case of Flint, Michigan's lead crisis through privatised water. She also argues that movements and researchers must not only understand the *outcomes* of racial and environmental injustice, but look at underlying structural issues that also drive environmental racism, especially white supremacy and racial capitalism (Pulido, 2016). This focus on the structural nature of environmental issues is also shared by Temper and De Bene (2016) who emphasise that

> "only a transformative approach and the restructuring of dominant economic models, social relations and institutional arrangements can address social, political, economic and environmental inequities" (p. 42).

An intersectional environmental justice that takes seriously systems of oppression is also called for by Jampel (2018). She emphasises that "intersectionality as a knowledge project includes activism for collective liberation, analysis and explanation of phenomena, as a field of study and traveling theory" and argues that racial justice is a key component of that (p. 1). Intersectionality as a concept finds its origins in the movements for liberation lead by black

women throughout history; at the centre of it was the idea that for true liberation to be achieved, both race and gender issues needed to be addressed. The environmental justice movement is one of the movements that has to take up the intersectionality question (Jampel 2018). Intersectionality is not only an integral part of social justice movements, it is also key to the environmental justice movement because of its implication for intergenerational justice:

> "Intersecting processes of racism, classism, sexism and ableism do not only lead to differential exposure and vulnerability to environmental injustice in the present. Such processes also have intergenerational effects such that populations subject to systemic oppression experience further marginalization" (Jampel 2018: 7).

Rodriguez-Labajos et al. (2019) point out that environmental movements of the Global South and indigenous groups are more inclined to oppose systems of oppression, particularly the food and energy systems. They emphasise the fact that in the Global South, the discussion around alternatives and new initiatives for the future is very alive, in contrast to the movements of the global north for the most part.

2.5 Climate Justice

2.5.1 History of Climate Justice Activism and movements

Towards the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, the environmental justice movement evolved and extended its reach, by encompassing more issues as well as extended geographically because more regions began to take on the cause such as Latin America, Russia and South Africa. As the movement continued, for some groups it began to organically evolve into the climate justice movement, beginning to take seriously the issues of climate change amidst growing demands from vulnerable groups and against the backdrop of increasingly undeniable scientific evidence that climate change was indeed human induced (Tokar 2013). While environmental justice groups still exist in tandem with the climate justice movement, their emergence and development have been intertwined.

The climate justice movement was also catalysed by indigenous peoples' concerns about their land struggles and linked to international movements against globalisation (Tokar 2013). In addition, a number of notable related global events have been key spaces for climate justice mobilising, such as 1997's Kyoto Protocol; 2005's Hurricane Katrina; the 2007 protests by the Durban Group for Climate Justice at a UN meeting in Bali; the 2010 grassroots Cochabamba Summit in Bolivia (Tokar, 2013; Schlosberg and Collins, 2014; Gach, 2019). On a global and

institutional level, the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report which announced that it was “unequivocal” that climate change was human induced and the 2015 Paris Agreement is most notable (Tokar 2013: 1). The Paris Agreement was ratified by over 180 countries and was a non-binding agreement aimed at addressing particularly large emitters of carbon. Although the treaty was not as effective, or progressive as most hoped, it was an integral step in the evolution of the thought process around climate change. Through analysis of texts from the treaty, Gach (2019) shows that there has been a shift in people’s minds: that climate change is not simply an environmental issue but is rather an issue we must address for the sake of justice and human rights. He also proves that the concept of climate justice is increasingly becoming part of the international vocabulary.

2.5.2 Climate Justice Definitions and principles

The definition of climate justice that Patterson et al. (2018) present centres equity:

> “this approach highlights equity in multiple ways: between privileged and disadvantaged groups within a society, between genders, between ethnicities, between the global North and South, and across generations” (pg. 4).

This approach is about equity and that all people should have access to the same environment, and the same amount of access to that environment. According to Routledge et al. (2018), climate justice emphasises and stresses the need for self-determination, access to and ability to use and control certain resources, the valuing of different knowledges and overall a more just future, economically, socially and ecologically. Some of the material demands that come out of that movement are to stop the extraction of fossil fuels and pursue energy transformations and more community controlled systems including food and energy. Given that the climate justice movement is one that is consciously context specific, it is also in certain spaces about the rights of indigenous peoples.

Gach (2019) outlines nine principles to understanding climate justice: understanding the three types of justice—distributional, procedural and recognition; understanding that different countries have different capacities for climate change mitigation and are unequally vulnerable; understanding climate debt; reparations/compensation for damages due to climate shocks; recognising that climate change is linked to human rights; that climate change will affect indigenous communities and the ability for them to practice their cultures; how can climate change and the policies created to mitigate it make a negative impact on social issues such as gender, race and class discrimination; that climate justice rejects market solutions and

techno-fixes and, finally, drawing a connection between climate change and the global systems of globalisation, neoliberal, capitalism etc. Essentially the movement "is based on principles of social justice, democratic accountability and participation, and ecological sustainability" (Schlosberg and Collins 2014: 12).

2.5.3 Theoretical underpinnings of Climate Justice in South Africa

In the South African context, a common theoretical undercurrent in climate justice spaces is democratic socialist ideas, particularly with a focus on system change. This plays out in two prominent theories: both ecosocialism and an ecosocialist feminism are notable in the South African space. This is not always the case, globally some speak of climate justice in the context of abolition (Ranganathan and Bratman 2021); migration (Chu and Michael 2019); disability justice; racial justice (Jampel 2018) or others.

Ecosocialism and democratic ecosocialism are outlined as a re-imagination of a socialism marred by a history of failures and defeat by capitalism in the 20th century (Baer 2016; Cock 2018). Even in contemporary times, there is a hope to still realise the goals of socialism, although imagining it in a different way: "such as radical democracy, global democracy, and Earth democracy" (Baer 2016: 3). The goal is to still achieve a world where people are afforded their basic needs, is deeply democratic and that also has an ecological emphasis. In recent times, as socialist forces become more concerned with the environment, more scholarship around Marx and the environment emerged, particularly John Bellamy Foster's *Marx's Ecology* (Baer 2016: 5). Here, it is pointed out that there is a metabolic rift between capitalism and nature. Lowy (2018) notes a number of authors predating Bellamy Foster, namely Raymond Williams who coined ecosocialism, Andre Gorz who was a philosopher, Barry Commoner, a biologist and James O'Connor (p. 7).

Lowy (2018) presents ecosocialism as a critique of two prominent theories, firstly, market ecology which still seeks to work within the system of capitalism, and productivist socialism which neglects the ecological aspect and states that it is "incompatible with a just and sustainable future" (Lowy 2018: 1). Ecosocialism, according to Baer (2016), "seeks to come to grips with the growth paradigm inherent in capitalism and to which post-revolutionary societies in the past subscribed and still do today" (p. 5). This idea holds resonance with some Marxist scholars and some in the climate space including ecofeminists Ariel Salleh and Vandana Shiva. Lowy (2018) does not outline specific principles, but emphasises that,

fundamentally, ecosocialist policies must be "founded on non-monetary criteria, such as social needs, individual well-being, and ecological equilibrium" (p. 1).

Democratic ecosocialism, then, is a fusion between the historical conceptions of democratic socialism and the more recent emergence of ecosocialism (p. 5). According to Baer (2016), it is

> "imperative that progressives reinvent the notion of socialism by recognizing that we live on a planet with limited resources that must be more or less equitably distributed to provide everyone with enough, but not too much" (p. 5).

There are five principles outlined that democratic ecosocialism encompasses, these are:

> "an economy oriented to meeting basic social needs- namely adequate food, clothing, shelter, education, health, and dignified work: a high degree of social equality; public ownership of means of production; representative and participatory democracy; and environmental sustainability" (Baer 2016: 5-6).

In the South African context, Satgar (2018) emphasises the destructive nature of capitalism, and places democratic ecosocialism as an alternative, which is a "radical practice and conception of democracy as people's power, mediated by an ethics to sustain life" (p. 14). He adds that although not explicit in the definition given, ecosocialism must also be feminist and anti-racist. Satgar (2018) outlines five moments in history that are important when looking at democratic ecosocialism:

> "(i) a Marxist ecology critique of actually existing 'socialism'; (ii) greening Marxism through ecology; (iii) refinding a complex ecology in classical Marxism; (iv) utilising a historical materialist ecology and theory of capitalist crisis to engage with current environmental problems; and (v) the rise of ecosocialist forces in the world championing systemic alternatives" (p. 11).

Cock (2018) adds that democratic ecosocialism is built on the foundations of "sustainability and justice" (p. 224). It dismisses a system that prioritises growth and production, while noting the need for human beings to live in balance with nature and preserving resources for generations to come.

These anti-capitalist and ecologically focused struggles, for many, are also ecofeminist: "global, horizontal, subsistence-oriented, decolonized commoning political economy, or what

we call 'ecofeminist ecosocialism'" (Brownhill and Turner 2019: 5). Ecofeminism takes from the green or environmental movement that the human population has transformed the environment. It then borrows from the feminist movement a concern that society usually subjugates women, finally, it theorises that these two types of domination are linked to each other. These authors also argue that not only are ecofeminism and ecosocialism intricately linked, they should exist together and that "Ecosocialism that is not ecofeminist at heart is not worth its salt" (Brownhill and Turner 2020: 1). They argue that ecofeminism needs to be the framework for achieving ecosocialism, because of its revolutionary potential. The difficulty though, is that according to Cock (2018), "there is no blueprint for a democratic eco-feminist-socialism" (p. 224). Speaking from the South African point of view, it is imperative for Cock (2018) that the alternative system of an ecofeminist ecosocialism is constructed from below through democratic practice. With the unity of ecosocialism and ecofeminism, taking into account the knowledge and power that peasant women hold and recognising the importance of ecological justice, the divisions sewn by capitalism of racism and sexism can be overcome (Brownhill and Turner 2020).

In addition to being important for the theoretical framework, women are also integral actors in implementing practices. Women in Africa, along with ecofeminists have been fighting against corporations for decades, this merging has resulted in a politics largely focused on creating a fossil-free society. They have also been fighting to obtain land on which to grow food for their families. There is no doubt that global protests for food and energy sovereignty originate in protests, initially led by peasant women, from below (Brownhill and Turner 2020: 4).

2.5.4 Climate Justice Movement strategies and challenges

Tokar (2013) outlines three strategies that climate justice movements employ: strategic interventions at the global level, specifically UN negotiations; challenging fossil fuels corporations directly, and thirdly, addressing false solutions to climate change. Another strategy for the climate justice movement to employ is solidarity. In recent years there have been key moments which have allowed collaboration between environmental justice movements and indigenous communities, namely the Keystone pipeline case. The Keystone Pipeline was an oil pipeline that was set to be built between the United States of America and Canada, stretching over 1000 kilometers. Environmental groups and indigenous peoples alike, opposed the new pipeline build for two main reasons: first that the new investment into this

meant there was going to be increased investment in the oil fields and further pushes the fight for renewable energy; and second, the potential for spills and environmental impact in indigenous communities (BBC 2021).

Although there has been progress to achieve meaningful solidarity, a lot still needs to be done. Unfortunately, the environmental justice movement has been tainted by a history of white liberal discourse and

> "successes in outreach and greater inclusion are also marked by the persistent marginalization of the communities that are most vulnerable to and least responsible for dangerous climate futures" (Black et al., 2016: 288).

They emphasise that although there seems to be solidarity between climate justice forces and immigrant justice groups in the case presented by Black et al. (2016), for climate justice organisations it seems this is strategic as opposed to meaningfully trying to address the systems of oppression, even entrenched in some of these organisations. Ultimately, the movement has to do more to "dismantle histories and institutionalizations of white privilege" (Black et al., 2016: 288). As most of the climate justice literature agrees, climate justice has the potential to be a unifying movement bringing together a range of movements around the world, but it is not without its challenges.

McAdam (2017) looks at why the attention around climate has not led to the emergence of a grassroots movement in the US, and arguably the same can be said for the South African experience. Movements need three factors: a political idea or ideology; availability of resources for such changes to be made and ability to frame the issue or change in such a way that is relevant both on an intellectual level as well as an affective level for people. The argument is that currently, there is a challenge in that those factors are interacting in such a way that is making it difficult for a movement to arise. Possibly because institutional power is in the hands of those who are in opposition to this kind of movement arising, and there is little to no sympathy for the cause.

Another challenge is that according to Tokar (2013) climate justice is only taken seriously intermittently by local groups, and there have been various attempts to unite this movement globally. Routledge et al. (2018) state that much of the global climate change policy making which takes place at the level of the UN is done with a nation-state as the main actor, and does not in any way go out of the bounds of a neoliberal economic system. This kind of

approach has, since its establishment decades ago, not yielded much and does not equip most of the world to overcome the climate crisis.

The four distinct challenges to the building of climate justice movements that McAdam (2017) presents are: firstly, that people do not have a personal connection with the issue. Second is that climate change is seen as a long-term issue and thus its relevance is questioned. Third is that climate change discourse has not been able to evoke fear or anger in people, which are the two emotions that usually spark action. Finally, for climate change, there is a confusion around extreme weather events. There is not necessarily a link between the weather shocks to the greater concept of climate change (McAdam 2017).

An additional challenge that the movement is facing is the individualising of the climate crisis and placing individual responsibility on people. Driscoll Derickson (2016), in her critique of the term resilience, mentions that it encourages communities to deal with, or make do with poor conditions within the same system. She compares the term resilience to sustainability, stating that both are often used to reinforce the status quo, and puts the responsibility on the community to be resilient to either climate change or capital. Her conclusion is that we should be working toward enabling communities to change their conditions and have future imaginaries. This call for independence along with other calls for a socioecological approach, could be helpful to the climate justice movement (Driscoll Derickson 2016). Individualising the climate crisis is also part of the reason that a feminist approach is important. MacGregor (2010, 2014) argues that the narrative around climate change has been intentionally shifted to the private sphere. This not only gets policy makers off the hook, but it also forces people to change practices in their personal lives, such as buying specific goods or eating a certain way. Thus, more pressure is ultimately put on women because of the feminisation of the home and the unpaid social reproductive labour done by women.

Given these challenges, there are a various future strategies that the literature proposes. McAdam (2017) calls those in the climate justice movement to promote ownership of the climate change issue, to mobilise communities that are most vulnerable, to bring to people's attention the short-term and immediate effects of climate change and finally to not only evoke emotions of fear and anger in people but to also present a message of hope. In addition, MacGregor (2014) states that there needs to be a politicisation of climate change and the

> "dominant framing of climate change has produced a depoliticized view of nature as the enemy, which can only serve to reduce further the political potential of environmentalism as a social movement that is dedicated to remedying destructive human-nature relations" (MacGregor 2014: 5).

Tormos-Aponte et al. (2018) posit that what the movement and the analysis of movements needs is *polycentricity,* which is defined as "many centres of decision making that are formally independent of each other" and that this polycentricity ultimately needs to be politicised (Tormos-Aponte and Garcia- Lopez 2018: 1). They argue that this can be done through two methods: the scope of institutional analysis must be broadened to account for the role that social movements play, and it must analyse the ways in which social movements are internally structured and the power relations that are at play within them. They put diversity at the centre of this approach, placing significant value on diversity of ideas, diversity of tactics and structure; it is also an approach that is decentralised and allows for multiple centres which avoids one main leader being captured and destroying the movement. Ziervogel et al. (2021) agree that having a diversity of strategies and viewpoints is important: "one way of supporting more democratic and inclusive knowledge creation is to approach capacity building through a transdisciplinary lens" (Ziervogel et al., 2021: 3). This approach must most importantly include the voices of those being impacted by the climate crisis, which would enrich the movement because it cultivates "legitimacy, accountability and ownership of both the problem and the possible solutions" (Ziervogel et al., 2021: 3).

Scott and Barnett (2009) argue that activists have the job of not only gathering scientific information, but also have the job of understanding, packaging and disseminating it for the community. The importance of this argument is to value scientific knowledge but not in a way that undermines the value of people's knowledge. Finally, the movement as Mickelson (2009) ultimately concludes, presents the opportunity to "move beyond a politics of the possible to a politics of the improbable" (Mickelson 2009: 1). Part of promoting this kind of politics is exploring the various conceptions and understandings of justice.

2.6 Conceptualising Justice in relation to Environmental and Climate Justice

In relation to climate change, rational choice theorists often point out that justice, morality or the greater good cannot be the most effective way to avoid climate change. In contrast, Okereke (2010) argues that justice and ethics *is* suited to the discussion about climate change at the international level, and to ignore it would allow the benefits reaped by the powerful to

continue within the system. Thus, discussing justice, in relation to the theory and practice around climate justice is important.

Okereke (2010) states that there are four ways that justice is relevant to the climate regime, which are rooted in the fact that countries have different historical realities and have had different contributions to the climate crisis. Firstly, mitigation and burden sharing which is about climate regimes making sure that there is an appropriate distribution of risks, costs and benefits. Second is impact and adaptation, this is a notion that developing countries are already vulnerable to impacts of climate change such as climate shocks and failing crops and should not also then take on the cost of adaptation, there needs to be some kind of compensatory fee. Third, is for procedural justice: all parties who are affected must be able to equally participate in the decision-making processes. This is especially important for climate change negotiations because it requires global cooperation. The last dimension presented by Okereke (2010) is systemic injustice. This is about addressing the fact that global institutions still uphold the conditions which reinforce historical injustices. Okereke (2010) concludes that because of the various understandings of justice, there needs to be a pluralist approach in the context of climate change.

In an attempt to encourage that pluralist approach, this section explores various conceptions of justice in the literature on environmental and climate justice. These include distributive, procedural and recognitional justice including socioecological justice; epistemic justice and theorising justice through movements and praxis.

2.6.1 Distributive, procedural and recognitional justice and their extensions

Walker (2009) points out that for the environmental justice movement, in its earliest stages, the most predominant understanding of justice was *distributive*. Burnham et al. (2013) explain distributive justice as the understanding that the effects of climate change will be felt across time and space and distributed unequally and therefore should be approached with a redistributive response. Walker (2009) adds that distributional justice is not only about inequality in the impacts and distributions but also the responsibilities, both within nations and globally. Cook and Hegtvedt (1983) describe distributive justice as being about the "fairness in allocation situations" (p. 218). There are three main aspects of distributional justice according to Mabogunje (1980), these are: what governments are providing to their people in terms of public goods; the accessibility of those goods and finally the distribution of externalities among the classes. Distributive justice is particularly concerned with physical,

social and economic access (Mabogunje 1980: 40). Okereke (2010) adds that a lot of understandings of justice recognised that there is a need for distributive justice from rich to poor countries, but the thinking ends there. There is no further interrogation or will to actually disrupt or address the structures which reproduce global inequalities, it is important to look beyond this.

Taking the idea of distributive justice further, the capabilities approach presented by Schlosberg and Carruthers, (2010) looks not just at the distribution of resources or services, but how the distribution increases or decreases the wellbeing of people and contributes to the way in which they live their lives. This theory gives preference to human freedoms and flourishing, and thus injustice is any act or reality that places a barrier to that potential (Sen in Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010).

Later, the environmental justice movement became increasingly concerned with *procedural* forms of justice, where there was a call for the community to be involved in the making of policy and in the processes of regulation and decision making (Walker 2009). Procedural justice highlights that for the fair distribution of burdens and benefits, all parties must be involved in decision making. The issue of procedure is essentially an issue of democracy, where there needs to be inclusion and open channels of processes and decision making. This has to allow for access to various spaces, movement between spaces and openness. This is fundamentally about allowing the flow of not only people, but information and ideas, not just within a space but across borders and boundaries. It is important that those who are being affected are involved in the decision making, but often there is an inaccurate reading of who is affected (Walker 2009).

Women historically have often been excluded from discussions around climate change and issues that women have been organising around for decades are often neglected. This exclusion from the discussion means that at the highest level of decision making, climate change is discussed as an issue that is neutral, meaning that the discussion is missing integral perspectives and experiences (MacGregor 2010, 2014 and Gaard 2015). Not only is the decision-making process gender-blind, it actively neglects the voices of communities who have a deep connection with nature, and is also a highly westernised process, where indigenous voices are not heard (MacGregor 2014). The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) mentions women as being particularly vulnerable to climate change, and outlines that they are critical to combating it, but does not provide a

framework in which women can equally participate. As Gaard (2015) puts it "in order to perform that *critical role* however, gender parity in climate discussions is a minimum requirement" (p. 14). Adding more women to the decision-making processes, distributing benefits and disadvantages will arguably still not be enough to completely eliminate injustice; due to the exploitative roots of capitalism, injustice will still occur.

There have been numerous attempts throughout history to include women in climate change proceedings. There were some initial efforts at the United Nations 1985 conference in Nairobi, particularly pointing to the Chipko's movement in India which was a movement led by peasant women who were protecting their trees and livelihoods (Gaard 2015). This was formalised in 1991 when the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) was responsible for organising the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet which attracted more than 1500 women from 83 different countries, a starting point for feminist discourse to be included in UN processes. A few decades later, as Malone (2015) tells us, in 2010 the idea that women should be more involved in policy making was starting to have an effect. The 18th conference of parties to the UNFCCC held in Doha adopted a decision to make sure that the conference was gender balanced in all sectors of the conference.

Burnham et al. (2013) then point to a possible third type of justice: that of *recognition.* This is the idea that social and cultural differences must be recognised and rights should be afforded to people with these differences in mind. This addition, according to Yaka (2019), of recognition as one of the conceptions for justice is a foundational part of allowing communities self-realisation and self-respect. Misrecognition, whether cultural or institutional is key to how the unequal distribution of environmental advantage and disadvantage can be explained. Nancy Fraser combines recognition with redistribution in her model of justice, and later also added the importance of *representation* (Yaka 2019). Her argument is that in order to have justice, there must be representation- this is echoed in a lot of recent social justice movements. Redistribution, recognition and representational justice corresponds to the economic, cultural and political aspects of social justice and is a helpful way to think of how an understanding of justice has this multitude of struggles.

Walker (2009), bringing in the geographical perspective states that there is more than one way that recognition is spatially constructed. At the foundation of misrecognition, there are the processes of disrespect and stigmatisation which are often cultural and institutionally enforced, some of which, on a smaller scale are intertwined with place. It is often linked to

the stigmatisation of places through concerns around safety etc. often, a part of environmental justice activism has to be to reclaim spaces. While the stigmatised places are often used as literal dumping sites, it is also true for the opposite, that spaces of privilege are looked at as needing to be clean, preserved etc. In addition to place stigmatisation, there is also the phenomenon of people moving through spaces in which they do not fit, or supposedly disconnected from is also an example of misrecognition. Burnham et al. (2013) also emphasise that scale, as geographers would agree, is very important to the discussion around justice, this is because broad scale vulnerability assessments will not be able to get to the root of the crisis and will be too surface level in order for any real transformation.

In order to sufficiently expand and apply recognition, there also needs to be recognition that there is an intrinsic link between human and non-human, and that this relationality is a matter of justice (Yaka 2019). She argues instead for a *socio-ecological justice* which sees humans and nature as one. Looking at human life as separate from nature, and understandings which look at sociality vs ecology are simply insufficient for us to understand or address the deeply ecological nature of our social existence, incapable of making sense of the current crisis. This unity with nature is often seen in community and indigenous struggles. When one attempts to locate socioecological justice in the discourse, it is different to environmental justice in that it does not simply look at the unequal distribution of environmental disadvantages, and it is also not simply ecological justice because it does not only look at human relationships with the non-human realm. Socioecological justice is

> "an attempt to go beyond the duality of environmental vs ecological justice- either protecting nature from human society (rights of nature) or protecting humans from environmental hazards and deprivation (rights of humans regarding the environment)" (Yaka 2019: 364).

Sticking to just one type of justice, whether it distributive, procedural, or recognition, does not and cannot capture the entire scope of justice and many scholars have emphasised the need to take a closer look at the **processes** which allow for distributional injustice to be created. Walker (2009) notes that the three aspects to justice "are not competing notions, nor are they contradictory or antithetical. Inequitable distribution, a lack of recognition and limited participation all work to produce injustice and claims for injustice" (Walker 2009: 625). He also states that **"**within the environmental justice movement, one simply cannot talk of one aspect of justice without it leading to another" (Walker 2009: 625).

2.6.2 Epistemic justice

Epistemic justice in relation to environmental and climate justice is largely about creating a space where there is "increased participation in research and decision making and a change in how environmental science is conducted" (Temper and De Bene 2016: 42). Part of the question of how to achieve the kind of transformation that environmental justice desires, is about what kind of knowledge exchange is required. According to Temper and De Bene (2016),

> "Conflicts over the environment are epistemic struggles wherein other forms of the political, other economies, other knowledges are produced and theorized and hegemonic worldviews are questioned and reformulated" (p. 42).

Thus, activists within the movement validly call for heightened cooperation between activists and those in research and decision making positions (Temper and De Bene 2016). The movement has been a space where the development of citizen science has been able to thrive. Activists have been encouraged to participate in practices around the exchange and co-construction of data in the face of data produced by the government and corporations. This is powerful as a practice, but also symbolically as it gives communities power to participate in the knowledge production, innovate and have a sense of "re-invigorating political imaginaries" (Temper and De Bene 2016: 42). It is also important for the movement because it encourages researchers to see social movements as more than static sites to study, and more as shapers of knowledge (Temper and De Bene 2016).

2.6.3 Theorising justice through movements

Where do these various conceptualisations of justice emerge from? Critical for this study is Yaka's (2019) argument that within the space of environmental justice and arguably climate justice as well, there is an opportunity for struggle to inform the theory of justice rather than the other way. Struggles for justice on the ground cannot always and will not always fit into the scope of theoretical justice. So instead of trying to find an appropriate definition of justice that environmental justice fits into, Yaka (2019) argues that there is a possibility that the current theories of justice need to be negotiated, and their boundaries pushed in order to accommodate environmental justice and climate justice. This is shared by Temper and De Bene (2016) who see the environmental justice movement as a space where theory and practice are deeply linked, and an illustration of the "role of social movements, not as objects to be studied, yet as creators of knowledge" (p. 43).

Yaka (2019) uses a case study of Turkey, where young women were fighting against the building of hydropower plants because of their impact on the flow of rivers, to put forward a specific analysis of justice theory. Yaka (2019) uses an "action-theoretical perspective" coupled with the "extended case method" to show that an empirical case study is an integral part of expanding the scope of justice (Yaka 2019: 354). She highlights that theories of justice which exist usually follow a moral frame, taking into account concepts of fairness, obligation and moral status etc. and argues that the distribution paradigm and the capabilities approach are both examples of this. These theories, according to Yaka (2019) set out a social fabric that should be adhered to or strived for, but fail to include those involved in the society as "authors" (p. 354). There is another approach to justice which sees the importance of everyday experiences of injustice felt by people, and the link it has to justice theory. This approach rejects the idea that justice is a predetermined set of principles, and looks at it as an ongoing process, constantly being expanded and broadened by the very struggles that emerge. It sees justice as always existing between what has not yet been achieved, and what has historically existed as justice. It is those who are experiencing injustices which are not covered by historical justice that are striving for the yet to be achieved, and therefore it is true that the theories of justice cannot be looked at as separate from the struggles for justice. There has to be space for "justice to come" (Yaka 2019: 354). This is also a relevant addition from ecofeminism, in that its history is not just theoretical, and is an example of a theory that was largely shaped in movements and more importantly is about linking movements (Gaard 2015). These are key points of departure for my study's approach to climate justice activists – as authors and creators of knowledge, shaped by situated lived experiences inside and outside movements – and how they conceptualise and operationalise justice in the current movement, and understand its challenges and future. Ecofeminism takes from the green or environmental movement that the human population has transformed the environment. It then borrows from the feminist movement a concern that society usually subjugates women, finally, it theorises that these two types of domination are linked to each other.

2.7 Conclusion

This section has explored themes in the literature including climate science and South African environmental policy; contentious politics and social movements; environmental justice and its movements; and climate justice and its movements. It also outlines various ways of conceptualising justice in relation to environmental and climate justice, and how theorising

justice through movements is understood. The next section outlines the methodology used in this study.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this section, the qualitative, feminist research approach that this dissertation takes is explained. It explores the process of choosing case studies and their role as more than just profiles but rather as sites of conceptions of justice. From this, it then expands on the process of choosing the participants and details the in-depth interviews that were conducted and other data collection methods used in this dissertation including the online nature of the interviews due to the pandemic and document analysis. The section then explains how thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. There is then a discussion on doing the research during the COVID-19 pandemic, the ways in which it affected me as a researcher and the limitations it presented. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations taken in this research, particularly given its feminist approach and pandemic context.

3.2 Research Approach

In order to address my research questions, I took a qualitative research approach in this dissertation. Qualitative research uses what is referred to as soft data which is reflected through words, symbols and photos, drawing out meanings, explanations and concepts as opposed to working with numbers or 'hard data' in quantitative research (Kothari 2004; Neuman 2014; Lune and Berg 2017). Usually, qualitative research makes use of case studies, requiring a researcher to "describe details of the causal mechanism or process for a narrow set of cases" (Neuman 2014: 168). It takes seriously varying contexts of research, and is executed by using "principles from interpretive or critical social science" (Neuman 2014: 167). An advantage of qualitative research is that it assists in explaining and understanding the society around the researcher (Tracy 2013).

In terms of outcomes and research aims, quantitative research is often quite straightforward, where there is one hypothesis that is either proven to be correct, or incorrect. But in qualitative research, it is often that a researcher, upon further interrogation will have to rework and develop new hypotheses throughout the research process, and the process of researching is "a long hard road, with elusive data on one side and stringent requirements for analysis on the other" (Lune and Berg 2017: 12), following what Neuman (2014) refers to as a "nonlinear research path" (Neuman 2014: 169). What this kind of approach does is emphasise the value of experience and recognises that the data collected may present new ideas and new hypotheses to the researcher; in a qualitative research project that follows a

non-linear research logic, the researcher is alive to this possibility. The researcher within qualitative research is encouraged to interpret data, rather than just collecting it (Neuman 2014: 170). This kind of project will often be descriptive and have a research design that is not predetermined, but rather emerges as the research continues. Another aspect very important to qualitative research is context: the data is always analysed and interpreted keeping context and place in mind (Mattern 2020).

In addition, this dissertation has a feminist orientation, as a lens through which the project was conceptualised (c.f. Sharp 2005) as well as a methodological approach. According to Nagar et al (2002) when looking at the analysis of global processes, there are three omissions in research which feminist research recognises. These omissions include the sites of research; the scale at which research is seen as relevant, and who or rather *what* is seen as relevant subjects of study. For Nagar et al (2002), these exclusions of certain sites, scales and subjects can be remedied by employing a feminist approach to analysis. Thus, where research generally focuses on large scale or formal structures, corporations, large international institutions, economies and states or cities as sites and scales and subjects of research, a feminist analysis would bring in more small scale, often perceived to be informal sites of research such as the community, organisations, households and their makings and remaking; including people's lived experiences and the body as significant actors and subjects of research, shaped by and also shaping multiscalar processes (Nagar et al 2002). Particularly for this research, focusing on community based movements, small organisations and the experiences of people in them in relation to wider processes of climate change and its governance, neoliberalism, and racialised and gendered inequality was in line with Nagar et al's (2002) challenge to consider alternative sites and scales of analysis vis-à-vis global processes of climate change.. These points are also particularly relevant for a geographical research project, which takes into account varying scales and sites of research.

The feminist thread in the project also extends to the methodologies used to conduct this study. Feminist methodologies focus and encourage an approach to research that is non-hierarchical and one that values an exchange of knowledge between researcher and participant (Sultana 2007; Blakely 2007). It recognises the bias within questions, and how the methods used could possibly reflect or reinforce unequal power dynamics (Sultana 2007). It is also characterised by the idea that researchers have an ethical obligation to recognise "their own power, the potential for its abuse, and issues of reciprocity" (Tracy 2013: 56). As a

geographer, feminist studies are particularly important as Massey (in Bridger 2013) points out, “a feminist analysis in the broadest sense is one done from an anti-sexist perspective and can be concerned with any subject” (p. 5). What this highlights is that socio-spatial processes in any form can be studied through a feminist lens and thus is relevant to the discipline of Geography (see Section 3.5 for further discussion of feminist research ethics).

Given that this is a research project dealing with a societal issue, this research is committed to not only profiling the perspectives of activists from climate justice case studies but is also committed to consciousness raising and is an attempt to contribute meaningfully to transformative and progressive scholar activism (Routledge and Driscoll Derickson 2015). Choosing a group of participants who are from various spaces and backgrounds was an intentional decision because, as a feminist oriented study, I am also committed to including the voices and perspectives of others to be amplified, as opposed to my voice as the researcher being the most dominant (Tracy 2013). The feminist orientation however, does encourage the researcher’s voice to be heard and first person speech is encouraged (Berg and Lune 2012: 133).

Finally, as someone who has been active in the climate justice space, my research also took the approach of ‘studying sideways’, exploring and analysing the experiences and narratives of other activists, rather than policy makers, government officials or elites (studying ‘up’) or vulnerable communities (studying ‘down’) (Hirshfield and Ramahi 2018: 3). The latter come with various imbalances in power through age difference, racial difference, class difference or other inequalities. Studying sideways is unlike studying up or down because it looks at those in groups akin to those the researcher is part of and looks to “understand the motivations, perspectives, and practices” of these groups (Hirshfield and Ramahi 2018: 3). One of the advantages is that participants are easier to recruit because there is a familiarity between the participant and researcher. A disadvantage is that given my involvement in the space it was possible that I took for granted my own knowledge and understanding and there is a possibility in sideways studies for the researcher to miss some points because they presume their own views are shared with their participants.

3.3 Case studies as sites of conceptualising and operationalising justice

This study explores activists’ perspectives and narratives from within four case studies of climate justice movements currently organising in South Africa. After some discussion and consultation with those in the space, it became clear that these were less case studies and

more sites of research. It is not about the case studies and movements in and of themselves, but rather about the activists and thinking happening within these movements. I did not do an extensive profile of the actual movements or campaigns, but rather, I was interested in the experiences and perspectives of the activists for histories and narratives.

In terms of selecting case studies, it was important to me to choose movements that could give a diversity of perspectives and faced a diversity of challenges. From a number of movements and organisations, four were chosen because they were movements or campaigns within movements, not organisations; they were local, and they are all relatively new movements but with established histories and spaces for conceptualisation that have not necessarily been studied in this way before. Together, the four cases provide a diversity of tactics and organisational structures, and are made up of different age groups and foci. Therefore, it is likely that the activists within them have different perspectives on justice, which would allow me to have a broad view of the perspectives out there, and thus an enriched project.

The first three case studies that were chosen were; the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign, the Climate Justice Charter and Friday School Boycotts. The fourth, Life After Coal came out of the initial interviews that were conducted as being an important campaign in the country. Section 4 presents detailed histories of each case based on interview and documentary analysis.

3.4 Data collection methods

3.4.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews

My primary data collection method was conducting in-depth interviews, a common practice for qualitative research when the researcher attempts to assess where ideas come from and why they arise (Kothari 2004: 3). An in-depth interview is a form of qualitative research which requires the researcher to conduct an “intensive” interview with an individual of interest (Boyce and Neale 2006: 3). According to Boyce and Neale (2006) it is a good idea to use this method when attempting to look at “perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation” (Boyce and Neale 2006: 3). These are most effective when the researcher is looking to understand the ideas and thoughts of an individual as opposed to group ideas or group interviews which would give a much broader perspective. This method can be used as the sole method of data collection, but can also be used paired with another method for

triangulation (Longhurst 2010). For this study, interviews were conducted online with leaders and activists of the chosen movements, supplemented by documentary analysis.

I conducted my interviews in a semi-structured manner. Semi-structured interviews are conversation-like exchanges between the researcher and the participant. A semi-structured interview combines different techniques from both structured and unstructured interviews. For a semi-structured interview, there is usually some kind of fixed set of questions but the structure of the interview is more relaxed and allows for adaptation in the moment if necessary (Longhurst 2010: 103), as opposed to a structured interview where there are set questions with a uniform way of conducting the interview. A semi-structured interview also differs from an unstructured interview, where there is no concrete set of questions to be asked. It is similar to an unstructured interview in that it allows the researcher to adjust and change as the interview goes and there is more of an opportunity of a back-and-forth discussion between the interviewer and the participant where knowledge is shared in both ways (Kothari 2004).

The advantages of using interviews as a method of research are that firstly, you are able to gather more data and often, data that is quite rich. It is easier to gain the information needed because the interviewer (particularly in the case of an in-depth interview) can directly ask for clarity or more information if needed, as opposed to having to email back-and-forth. It also affords the researcher greater control and choice in who the participants are as opposed to just anybody who would answer an online survey or the like (Kothari 2004: 98; Boyce and Neale 2006). There are also disadvantages associated with in-depth interviews as a method of data collection including that it is time consuming (Boyce and Neale 2006).

The process before the actual interview takes place varies but generally, the first step would be to plan who the participants will be, what kind of information is required from them, while also making sure that ethics protocol is followed. Secondly, to establish a set of guidelines for the interview including interview questions depending on the structure of the interview (Boyce and Neale 2006; Longhurst 2010). In my case, I designed a set of questions I wanted to get through as an outline (see appendix 1), but I did not structure the interview in a way that only answered those questions strictly, I also shared my own background in some interviews and the lengths of the interviews varied depending on where the conversation went.

3.4.2 Defining the Sample

The sampling technique used was deliberate and purposive. This is a method of sampling where the researcher has the freedom to make choices around who they would like to include in the study, based on the research objectives. Within purposive sampling there are also a number of options including judgment sampling where the researcher is able to use their own reasoning to select participants (Kothari 2004: 15). Because of my experience in the climate justice space, purposive sampling was the most appropriate sampling tactic for my research, because it allowed me to use my "special knowledge or expertise" about the space to select participants (Berg and Lune 2012: 39). The participants were chosen through personal experience and looking at the existing movements and obtaining contacts for those shaping these movements.

Furthermore, when purposively choosing the participants, I was clear that I needed to approach activists from a variety of movements that mobilise different groups and make use of different tactics in order to get a broader range of perspectives (as discussed in section 3.2). I also chose activists who had been involved in movements for a range of time periods, including those who could contribute longer-term insights. Because this study's feminist orientation recognises the importance of positionality and power relations, I was also clear that I would like to have a balance in terms of race and gender, as well as a range of age groups. The varying age groups allowed for different understandings of justice to be shared, given the various political climates each age group would have experienced, so I kept this in mind when approaching potential participants. There was only one person that I approached who ended up not being part of the study because they did not respond in time, this did not limit the study in any way because the movement they would have represented, was already well represented in the study.

I intentionally approached participants who were part of initiating and coordinating the movements for two reasons. One, because part of the study was finding out how conceptions of justice were operationalised, I wanted to focus on the conceptions of justice of those who would be integral in implementing the practices of the movement. Second, because they were accessible and would have had access to internet and would not require travel to interview during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Having begun the one-year Masters in February 2020, it became clear that I would be conducting my research under uncertain and shifting COVID conditions, and thus would have

to navigate my interviews under national lockdowns of one form or another. This meant that the participants chosen would have to have access to and know how to effectively navigate an online platform, in this case, Zoom. This had an impact on the sampling process because of course I could not travel and visit various communities to interview members, hence the focus on leading activists currently in functioning movements, who would be more likely have access to Zoom. Conducting the interviews was only possible because my participants were all able to connect to the internet for the duration of the interview. It must be noted that movements or activists not included in this study does not mean that those movements do not have conceptions of justice, do not practice justice or are not legitimate justice movements. There are of course a larger pool from which more activists could have been selected, but given the constraints of this study and the context in which it was done, these particular activists were chosen.

The smallest case study was the school boycott, where I interviewed the one student leader who was the initiator of the strike. For the Climate Justice Charter, three representatives were interviewed, two for the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign and two for the Life After Coal campaign. There was also a labour representative interviewed who has been part of the Charter discussions, as well as the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign in some capacity (see Table 1 for more detailed demographics). The interviews are referenced in this dissertation using the initials of the participants.

Table 1: Demographics of the participants

Participant activists	**Movement**	**Race and gender**	**Age group**
VS	Charter	Indian M	50-60
JC	Charter	White F	30-40
FA	Charter	Indian F	40-50
RN	School Strikes	Indian NB	18-25
HD	OMJC and Charter	Indian F	40-50
JR	OMCJ	White M	50-60
SN	OMJC	White F	40-50

ML	Life After Coal	Black F	40-50
BP	Life After Coal	Coloured M	40-50

3.4.3 Organising and conducting remote in-depth interviews

Due to the pandemic and the nature of the subsequent lockdowns, the interviews were conducted on the online platform, Zoom. This presented both logistical and ethical challenges (discussed below). With interviews being one of the most common research methods in qualitative research studies, it was integral that alternative practices were explored in order to still achieve similar results as if the interview was in person. Luckily, given the various limits that researchers are faced with around the world including funding, even before the pandemic, researchers were opting for online interviews over in-person interviews (Janghorban et al., 2014). Online platforms such as Skype and in my case, Zoom enable researchers to conduct interviews online, with audio and video options (Janghorban et al., 2014). Some of the difficulties associated with these set ups is that I could not observe body language, especially with interviews where participants opted to have their video off to save data, but under the circumstances, that was a limitation that did not hinder the research significantly.

Interviews were set up by sending an initial email requesting participation with an information sheet as well as consent form (see appendix 2 and 3). For those who did not respond to the first email, there was a second email sent. Once affirmative responses were received from all but one from the group I reached out to, a date for the interview was set up and they took place from September to November 2020.

The interviews lasted from one hour to an hour and a half. I began each interview by confirming consent and gaining permission to record the interview from the participants. A consent form was sent beforehand with the request to conduct the interview, some participants responded with the signed form, some were sent to me after the interview via email while some gave verbal confirmation. Upon receiving consent, I continued by explaining the scope of my research. The type of open-ended questions asked were around participants' backgrounds as activists prior to and within the movement; their own conceptions of justice; their tactics in operationalising it in the movement; challenges they faced; how they have come to their understanding of justice, and their perspectives on past movements and how we can learn from them in order to build a new one [See Interview Schedule in Appendix 1].

With the permission of the participants I recorded the interviews; the recordings were kept on my password protected computer with the sole purpose of transcribing them accurately.

Through the interviews, I was also able to get some helpful suggestions for further participants to reach out to as well as some relevant reading material. A notable example of how the interviews were also a space of recruiting participants, was that in a number of interviews the issue of labour was brought up and this was something that was a flagged absence in my study, I then reached out to somebody in labour and included them in the research.

3.4.4 Document collection and analysis

The secondary form of data collection and analysis that I made use of was document analysis. In general, document analysis is the process of "reviewing and evaluating documents" (Bowen 2009: 27). It is about interpreting documents in a way that can shed light on or explain aspects of the chosen topic of research (Bowen 2009). It is also a valuable form of data collection because documents are fixed and are a credible form of data; they are referred to as "non-reactive" data, in that it can be analysed over and over without being changed by the researcher (Bowen 2009). What is different about this form of data collection is that has been produced without any intervention or effort from the researcher. Not only do documents give a researcher further insight into the research questions, but used in conjunction with the interviews it strengthens the argument to have data from more than one source, often referred to as "triangulation" which is the "combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Bowen 2009: 28).

The types of documents can vary; it could be background documents, academic pieces, newspaper articles, websites, books and more (Bowen 2009). There are three main categories of documents one can look for. Firstly there are public records which would be any kind of document that was a record of proceedings such as project reports, plans, handbooks or transcripts of meetings. Second, personal documents which would consists of any document written from an experiential point of view about activities or proceedings, these could be personal reflections on events or public posts such as blogs and articles. Third, physical evidence from events, anything from pamphlets to training guides and other helpful documents (O'Leary 2014).

To collect these documents, I used a number of collection methods. During my interviews I asked the participants to send me any documents from their organisations that they thought

helpful; some did that once the meeting was concluded, I then followed up via email about this request. I also collected documents which were in the public domain, specifically from the websites of the movements. Doing document analysis entailed looking through these documents provided by the organisations and activists or found online which could allow for a broader view into how the organisation looks at justice and various practices not mentioned in the interviews. Although these analyses are secondary to the interviews, they were a helpful enrichment of the data collected from interviews.

3.5 Data analysis methods

Data analysis is important because it is the point at which the researcher is now finding patterns within the data, and ultimately making sense of it (Marshall and Rossman 1994; Neuman 2014). In qualitative research, this process is usually a long, uncertain one that requires a level of innovation (Marshall and Rossman 1994: 111). Qualitative data analysis can take various forms, such as narrative analysis, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, ethnographic analysis or thematic analysis.

I predominantly used thematic analysis for analysing both interviews and documents. This method is executed by pinpointing themes that reappear in the data (Clark and Braun 2014). It is about looking for, finding, and outlining patterns within the data that has been collected. It must be emphasised that this goes beyond just reflecting on the patterns, it is about effectively interpreting the data so that there is some kind of narrative, or story created by the data (Braun and Clarke 2012). Although a number of patterns and themes can emerge from the data, the data must be analysed with the research questions in mind, so as to focus on the relevant data for the specific research (Braun and Clarke 2012). There are two primary aspects of thematic analysis that make it a helpful practice when doing qualitative research and these are “accessibility and flexibility” (Braun and Clarke 2012: 58).

Clarke and Braun (2014) present six steps to follow in the thematic analysis process, these are: looking through the data and finding potential themes of interest; identifying preliminary “codes”; searching for themes that fit the codes; reviewing and finalising themes; “defining and naming themes” and finally to actually put together the project (p. 2). For clarity, codes are small bits of the data that appear interesting and reflect meaning, whether surface level or deeper meanings.

I also made use of participant quotes as a form of evidence. Quotes are helpful in writing up qualitative data because it provides the reader with evidence that the researcher is

deciphering the data in a way that reflects the participants' perspectives accurately (Guest et al., 2012). In addition to the analysis and interpretation of the data, direct quotes from the interviews were used because of their potential to, if framed with other relevant information, provide concrete evidence to support the overall argument, in a way that is "fair and accurate" (Graff and Birkenstein 2010: 42). When including quotes there are a number of ways in which they can enrich the study. For one, quotes should be integrated into the text and used as a tool to support the text in a way that is contextually relevant (Tracy 2013: 279).

With the permission of the participants, I recorded my interviews using the in-app feature and that was my starting point for data capturing and analysis. This was helpful because it allowed me to stay present during the interview without worrying too much about taking extensive notes (Longhurst 2010). I began by replaying the recording back and using a dictate feature to initially transcribe the interviews. I then went through each interview and while listening to the interviews a second time, I corrected what the dictate feature did not transcribe correctly and also formatted the interviews per questions and highlighted some initial quotes and interesting sections, this would correlate with the first step in Clarke and Braun's (2014) extensive process of thematic analysis; which they refer to as "familiarising" (pp.1). This data processing took approximately 2-3 days per interview. Once the transcriptions were completely accurate, I began the more in-depth analysis.

Firstly, I put together a table of the analytical questions and used those to organise the relevant data from across the interviews in one place. Secondly, I went through each response and cut unnecessary parts and anecdotes out, leaving just the parts of the response that were immediately relevant to the question. This is what is referred to as deductive coding which means that from my research question and literature I had already been working with, I established some themes that I then looked for in the data that I had collected (Neuman 1997: 422; Boyatzis 1998). At this point I had a table with short, succinct answers to the questions as well as longer, more detailed versions of the interviews. With this table I did some initial open coding, which correlates with the second step in Clarke and Braun's (2014) process. What this entails is to, after looking at and becoming familiar with the data, begin to highlight themes in the data. With my first round of analysis, I did this by going through the table I had and colour co-ordinating different themes in each question, and created an initial code tree or outline document using these themes, which is step three in the process, referred to as "searching for themes" (Clarke and Braun 2014: 2). By looking closely at each question, I could

identify the themes that would later make up my chapters, and using specific codes, so the same wording in each response to link up similar answers.

As the process continued, I looked for more patterns and linked themes and codes until a coherent argument was shaped through the data. My feminist lens also encouraged paying attention to my own biases and blind spots in this process, which I was conscious of while drawing out themes and links. These include my proximity to some of the movements and my prior knowledge of the space. Once that process was completed, I did a second round of analysis where I was able to look at the codes and tried to either separate or group some themes together, creating subcategories and deepening my thematic analysis, this process is referred to as axial coding (Neuman 1997: 423-424). Axial coding is essentially the first round of rearranging the data into various categories, it is the next step once open coding has been concluded and the data appears more disconnected from its original presentation, it is about "intensive coding around one category" (Berg and Lune 2012: 193; Tracy 2013: 195).

Once the coding was done, I expanded my analysis by zooming out and looking at the bigger picture, looking across the different themes and moving away from just questions. Doing this zooming out and multi-scalar thinking, after multiple rounds of coding was an attempt to really hone the data and continue to combat my own potential bias with how I was reading the data. I formulated in-depth mind maps of each theme, including subthemes and code words in my own words to link back to the coding tables, which stayed in the participant words. With these mind maps, I wrote initial thematic outlines of each theme, separating out the subthemes and finding relevant quotes for each section and informally listed where there were shared ideas and overlap between participants. It was from those outlines that each theme grew into an entire narrative with quotes and interpretation. Once each theme had its own substantial section, I was able to zoom out even further and look at how some of these themes could be grouped together to create more in-depth chapters which moved beyond just the interview questions but started answering the research questions as a whole.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Because this research involved people, I applied for permission from the Wits Ethics Committee by submitting the appropriate ethics forms and was approved (protocol number: H20/07/28, see appendix 4). In conjunction with this, I developed an information sheet and consent form for all participants (see appendix 2 and 3), with the assurance that their data

will only be used for this project and will not be shared with any third party, thus confidentiality can be guaranteed. Because part of this project is to document named movements, and I interviewed coordinating and leading activists of these movements, anonymity cannot be guaranteed in this regard and the participants were made aware of this. All of this was communicated in the consent form given to participants, and if any of the participants were opposed to having themselves, their movement or position named, I would have not shared this information in the final dissertation, but no such issue was raised.

When thinking about ethical considerations, it is of the utmost importance, specifically to feminist scholars that the researcher is able to reflect on their own experiences and participation in the topic they are studying, and recognise positionality and privilege when researching (Sultana 2007; Bridger 2013; Gunaratnam and Hamilton 2017). It is important because this means that when data is collected and analysed, and ultimately written up, it is done with this positionality and inherent bias in mind. Part of the ethical consideration is also that researchers are reflexive, which means that the researcher recognises that they are situated within the society that they are studying (Berg and Lune 2012). For feminist geographers, positionality is equally important because it partly addresses the question around different forms of knowledge, what is valued and the way in which they are produced, and thus "rooted in broader societal debates and relationships, this positionality can work towards building knowledge that is durable, relevant and theoretically rich" (Oldfield and Patel 2016).

For feminist geographers, it is important that the researcher takes note of the politics that come along with knowledge, the production of knowledge as well as the analysis and dissemination of that knowledge. A value in feminist scholarship and intentionally and thoughtful reflexive research is that it "can open up the research to more complex and nuanced understandings of issues" (Sultana 2007: 376). It is also essential that this is not done superficially or as an add-on, but is considered throughout the process. Another feminist geographer, Sharp (2005) notes that

> "making a method feminist implies politicizing a methodology through feminism… it is not just the processes through which data is collected then that make it feminist, but also the way in which projects are conceptualised and how we as researchers act as people" (p. 305),

meaning that the conduct of the researcher is also partly what contributes to what makes the study feminist (Sharp 2005: 305). My own positionality in this process is that I am a non-black woman of colour in South Africa, who has been afforded a level of privilege. In relation to my participants, for the most part, I did not differ significantly in education level or class from them and have some level of familiarity with them due to my involvement in climate justice activism.

Drawing from the work of Sultana (2007), it is necessary to note the politics around being an insider, even if it is just to a certain extent. As referred to by Morris et al. (1999), this would be called the emic approach, or the insider approach. Emic research usually takes on an approach that looks at the perspectives of the researcher and their "self- understanding" (Morris et al., 1999: 781). I inhabited this emic perspective in some ways having been a part of the participatory process of consultation and writing the Climate Justice Charter and also being a climate justice activist and involved in the larger movement. This is an advantage in the sense that I am able to contact people in the space with ease and I have a deep knowledge of the space for the most part. But it could also present a disadvantage in that I may have blind spots as a researcher because I am embedded in the space, but I attempted to limit that by including and critically engaging a range of data sources and participants.

Remote interviewing also introduced additional ethical considerations. Conducting the interviews over Zoom may have been of concern for participants who may have felt they are not completely protected in terms of privacy, although none of my participants expressed discomfort in this regard and consent was given to record the session for transcription purposes. But even with online interviews, ethics standards must still be met and were still observed, with consent being given by participants (Janghorban et al., 2014). Through consent forms and information forms, it was made clear that the interviews are private and data will not be openly shared with another person in its raw form.

3.7 Limitations

Conducting research during the COVID-19 pandemic presented a number of challenges, and in some ways exacerbated existing ones. For one, the challenge of loneliness during a research masters is one that was exacerbated during the pandemic because any working groups, informal writing groups or seminars that I could have attended during the course of the year were not as readily available. In addition, it was difficult to not be able to physically go to the libraries or informally gather with peers in post graduate rooms. It also meant that retreats

and meetings with my fellowship programme cohort, Emancipatory Future Studies (EFS), was prevented from taking place as intended; update meetings happened online instead. All meetings with my supervisor from March 2020 onward, which is the majority of the one-year degree, happened online. There were around 2-3 in person meetings that took place between us before the lockdown was announced, which was before any substantial work had been done. Although this relationship was strong throughout the degree, having the meetings online did present a challenge. As mentioned, COVID also had a bearing on how accessible the participants were, meaning all participants had to have access to the internet and Zoom. Overall, the general anxiety and stress around the pandemic itself, my family's possible exposure and the uncertainty around various factors made it difficult at times to focus solely on the research.

3.8 Timeline

The project is funded by the Emancipatory Future Studies program which is a funding program that funds one-year MA degrees in the Humanities. Having registered in February 2020, this one-year time frame remained in place, but had to be more flexibly navigated given the precarity of pandemic conditions. Once the initial hard lockdown was over, work on my proposal and ethics application was completed. At the start of July, my ethics application was submitted to the University committee, along with my proposal to an external reader. By the end of July my proposal was submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, and accepted shortly after. Once ethics approval was granted (by end of July), I commenced data collection from September to November. From November onward, I analysed the data and drafted the outline of the dissertation. Thereafter the writing and revising process continued, until thesis submission in April 2021.

3.9 Conclusion

This section has detailed the methodology used in this study, namely the feminist approach and qualitative research methods. It outlined the process that I used to choose case studies, collect the data and analyse the data making use of thematic analysis. It also covered the ethical considerations and limitations I experienced. The next section of the dissertation is organised into four analytical chapters: reflecting on origins: movement histories and activist biographies; activist conceptions of justice; challenges and operationalising understandings of justice in the current and future climate justice movement.

4. Reflecting on origins: movement histories and activist biographies

4.1 Introduction

Given that this is a study that takes feminist methods of research seriously, it is important that participants are seen as more than just objects of study, but are recognised as living beings with backgrounds, lived experience and agency. This was important because it allowed better insight into the responses given, knowing where certain activists had come from and how movements had started. These histories and biographies also shape conceptions and practices of justice, as the following chapters will demonstrate. This chapter begins by presenting an individual history of each activist who participated in the study, from their own point of view. Second, it will cover the narrative histories of each movement, from the perspective of the activists interviewed and document analysis. The varied lengths and depths of these narratives are due to varied levels of details shared by the activists.

4.2 Activist Biographies

4.2.1 Participant RN

Participant RN, being the youngest activist began their activism in high school. They learned about climate change and its effects at school and became concerned, but it was only once they attended their first protest action outside the Gauteng Legislature did they begin to become more passionate about the crisis. They began to get involved through ARTivism, which is a form of activism that uses art as a tool for protest, doing protest plays and demonstrations. They were then also able to join some local groups including one of the Extinction Rebellion chapters, and others. RN continued to attend protests but it was really the Australian fires at the beginning of 2020 that sparked the desire to take up the school strike to demand the Department of Forestry, Fisheries and Environmental Affairs to declare climate emergency in South Africa. The boycott started with just one student sending a message to the department and striking from school on a Friday, this quickly gained attention from the media and other students. Many joined physically and others sent solidarity. RN then started their own Artivist group for other creatives to join and collaborate, they were able to perform at several protests.

4.2.2 Participant BP

Participant BP, a middle-aged man of colour, for the most part began his work in movements through the environmental justice movement,

> *"how I got involved in the climate justice movement is by my involvement in the environmental justice movement and how I got involved in the environmental justice movement was my involvement in community struggle*".

This was largely because this participant lived in South Durban near an Engen oil refinery, the first introduction to the struggle was to challenge the environmental racism and environmental injustice in the context of the oil refinery. It then moved them to start communicating with people around the area who were going through similar struggles, and this began to build the foundations of an environmental justice movement. His work in the community started in the early 1990s working on social justice issues around housing and occasionally, in environmental and green issues. By the mid-1990s, a variety of different people from across South Durban were being brought together around these issues, this was also coupled with the fact that these people were living in apartheid defined areas. That group became the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA) which is still in operation. As this organisation began to grow, it was around 1995/6 when the alliance connected with the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF). BP started off as an organiser with the local community alliance and then moved on to play a larger role with the EJNF on the provincial scale and later national.

Then in 1999, BP made the decision to leave the EJNF and start his own organisation, Groundwork with some comrades. The organisation had a number of foci, but started working with communities around toxic dumps and coal and oil refineries, expanding their work to various sites around South Africa such as Sasolburg, Cape Town and still a strong presence in South Durban. BP pointed out that around 2007 they were already warning about crises to come, such as the breakdown of ESKOM. He has been committed to community organising around environmental and climate injustice:

> "*if we fail against the powerful in stopping climate crisis and the climate you know the type of post climate world where everything collapses the only thing that's going to save us in future is because we built democratic process amongst ourselves*".

Throughout the years of the organisation, there was a link to the labour movement, as well as various international engagements, including some keystone reports which shifted the conversation in the country. Through research and reports done by the organisation, the

discussion around coal took more of a center stage in South Africa, especially when issues around ESKOM and the national power supply worsened.

Around 2015/16, the Life After Coal campaign, an alliance of three organisations (including Groundwork) with an explicit climate justice agenda, became a reality. So for BP, getting into the climate justice movement was about trying to understand equity, equality and justice at the community level, and then through the environmental justice movement at the national and international level.

4.2.3 Participant ML

Participant ML has been a social or socioeconomic justice activist for quite a long time, since her youth working on various issues. She attributed this to the fact that she had to start working at an early age because her parents could not afford to pay for her university fees so she had to join the labour movement. After her studies she began to shift and joined more people's organisations, particularly in ones around where she grew up in Soweto. She then found herself in a variety of social movements including the anti-war coalition, Palestinian solidarity groups and others, until joining one of the most prominent environmental justice groups in the country, EarthLife Africa. *"I know people would always say I'm an environmental justice activist but I preferred to be much broader".* In recent years, as part of an alliance with two other organisations, she is part of the Life After Coal campaign, working in various areas and with affected communities around South Africa.

4.2.4 Participant VS

For participant VS, his intersection with environmental and climate justice goes back 20 years to the ecovillage project that he was involved with in Ivory Park, Johannesburg, and even earlier than that with the Greenhouse Project in the mid-1990s. Prior to joining these groups, VS was doing work on cooperatives and other grassroots issues when he was working for a trade union think tank, having been initially trained in labour law. Instead of becoming a lawyer, VS chose to work in communities encouraging alternatives such as cooperatives and others. The Greenhouse Project was an attempt by activists to create a learning space around ecology and demonstrate some alternative ways of living and is still in operation. The Ivory Park ecovillage was started by a group of activists opposing dumping and pollution. It was one of the first of its kind, pioneering various things such as mud brick and rammed earth housing, gardening and farming projects even including alternative financing avenues.

In 1999, VS then set up the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Center (COPAC), and continued to try and make this alternative city model work, working with various vulnerable groups including retrenched metalworkers. He was also involved in the implementation of the Cooperative Banks Act, having been appointed by the Minister of Finance to serve on the board of that agency and served on it for six years. VS attended the World Social Forum as well as the COP17 hosted in South Africa.

In 2014, there was a national consultation around the need for a food sovereignty campaign, which was then launched the next year. In 2018 the discussion around a Climate Justice Charter began, what followed was a two year consultation period before the Charter was finalised and launched. VS was a key activist involved in the inception and organising for the Charter. In relation to the activist schools and assemblies run by the Charter movement, VS emphasised that

> "*the idea was prefiguration; it wasn't to think about movement building in the old National Liberation way, here you're trying to build the basis for a new form of social and ecological reproduction which is much more complex".*

4.2.5 Participant JC

Participant JC, being one of the youngest participant, did not have a very long history in activism but started off their activism in 2015 by volunteering with the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign (SAFSC), after taking an environmental sociology course at university. This then expanded and she began working more formally on issues around food and climate and other campaigns that needed her help, including the Climate Justice Charter. She is an organiser with that movement and associated projects.

4.2.6 Participant FA

Participant FA, a woman of colour who grew up during apartheid started her climate justice activism working for a large environmental justice organisation in 2003. After her stint at this organisation, she began doing corporate governance and corporate accountability holding companies accountable for their pollution. Then around 12 years ago, she began working for a prominent environmental justice group, where she took on a number of roles, as campaigner, researcher and other necessary interventions. One of her first climate change reports was around SASOL, a huge polluter in South Africa. Through this kind of work and activism she was able to attend multiple COP negotiations between 2009 and 2013, she eventually took the decision to stop due to her politics. She then found herself working with

COPAC where she now has done work on the Climate Justice Charter and related activism and research.

4.2.7 Participant HD

Participant HD's involvement in climate change work started in 2015, after working on justice issues since 1996 including issues around water provision to communities. She was involved specifically in the struggle against water management devices. She then got involved directly with the climate change issue when she joined a trade union think tank who had already been tackling the issue for many years before that. She also has a history in the education policy unit at a local university, and a lot of the work had elements of justice because they were trying to address some of the inequalities both at schools as well as at tertiary institutions. She was an active member in the consultations around the Charter and championing the movement in unions, and has also been, to a certain extent, involved in the One Million Climate Jobs campaign. In both cases, she provided a much needed labour lens.

4.2.8 Participant SN

Participant SN found herself involved in the One Million Climate Jobs campaign close to the time of its inception in 2011, before COP17. She was working free-lance at the time after many years working in trade unions in South Africa, as well as doing policy work for local governments. Her background has always been with the public sector and public sector understanding of energy and importance of energy and electricity.

In 2013 she took on a formal coordinator role with the campaign, during which time there was a national meeting in Johannesburg which brought together labour, environmental organisations and others under the same banner. It was also while she was playing this role that a signature campaign was launched as part of the campaign. SN has since moved on from OMCJ but still works with the public sector on similar issues.

4.2.9 Participant JR

Participant JR reflected on a discussion he had with another activist around 2011, about a campaign going on in in the UK, which was called the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign. At the time, they felt that this campaign would fit perfectly with the sociopolitical landscape of South Africa and agreed to pursue this idea for the country. JR has over the years played a role in research and writing for the campaign, both for the public sphere and internal movement documents. This participant focused more on the history of the movement than their personal history in the interview.

4.3 Intellectual histories of movements

4.3.1 One Million Climate Jobs

In 2011, a campaign, which brought together a grouping of labour, social movements as well as other organisations in South Africa, calling for the creation of one million climate jobs in South Africa inspired by a UK campaign of the same name. The campaign was launched in the lead up to the COP meeting happening in Durban in that same year (SN). COP17 put climate justice more squarely in the site of environmental organisations, trade unions and community organisations, providing "*an impetus to bring together the different organisations*" (JR). For most of 2011 there was a research process conducted to determine how many jobs could be created in various sectors. The report that was the result of this research process was then published at a parallel process at the COP towards the end of 2011 (SN).

The thinking behind the campaign was that there were two main issues in the country: one being climate change which of course is a more global issue but then also more specifically for South Africa, the inequality and unemployment crisis. The One Million Climate Jobs campaign (OMCJ) was an attempt to address both of these issues, the idea that mitigation and adaptation strategies would be able to create at least one million jobs, was key to bringing together these forces (SN, JR). In this form, climate justice was not presented as an alternative to economic development.

The aim of the movement was to move the country from the current Minerals Energy Complex as they term it, to a low carbon, equitable, sustainable and affordable South Africa through a just transition. They outline specific ways in which one million climate jobs can be created in the reports which are researched and written through the campaign. Job creation potential is highlighted in a number of sectors including transport, renewable energy, tourism, agriculture and more (AIDC 2016). Part of the OMCJ campaign was to answer questions that labour and workers had, including where the economy was going and what kinds of jobs were going to be available, in the process of moving from a high carbon to a low carbon society (HD). For activist HD, this was part of the campaign's recognition that there was a direct relationship between jobs and climate change and that workers should not be collateral damage in the transition.

4.3.2 Climate Justice Charter

The Charter comes out of years of thinking and organising for climate justice by various activists, notably with the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign (SAFSC), which intensified during the drought that was experienced (FA, VS, JC). This activism was around

making it clear that the challenges being faced by communities had a climate change element to it, and therefore climate change began taking a more central role (FA). The Charter came at a time where government and activists were at a gridlock and not much was happening on either side, and that there were many different groups working on climate justice or issues surrounding climate change, and instead of working in silos it would be "*more powerful if we can build a movement as we all coming together and work like we did in the 80s"* (FA). The Charter was an attempt to have a more strategic kind of politics that, as VS put it:

> "*takes us beyond just symbolic disruption, beyond just tactical disruption …it lays the basis for strategic disruption and literally a climate justice project in the country that could be mass driven and mass based*" (VS).

Towards the end of 2018, COPAC and SAFSC hosted a workshop in Johannesburg with the aim of embarking on a journey to write a Water Sovereignty Charter for South Africa. At this meeting of activists from around the country, it was revealed that the project had to be extended, and that in fact, there was a need for a Climate Justice Charter for South Africa. This Charter, as discussed would be a document similar to the Freedom Charter that outlined principles and goals for a new world, but with an added, more practical outlining of alternatives.

Throughout 2019, constituency dialogues were held to begin the writing process. The dialogues were held in Johannesburg where constituents gathered for a day to discuss various issues related to writing the charter, including break away groups to answer targeted questions. The various dialogues were focused on these constituents: media, youth, labour, drought affected communities, environmental/social justice groups and faith-based organisations. After inputs were made from these groups, a draft Charter was launched at the end of 2019; for the first half of 2020 the draft was circulating and was available for comments and editing, with a final charter having launched towards the end of 2020; open for endorsements and adoption. The process was a multi-pronged approach, it was not top down and also allowed for a lot of engagement particularly from labour (HD).

This document is one that envisions a future that is socially just, through climate justice. It has goals, guiding principles and system alternatives which are aimed at aiding society to make the transition to a climate just society that allows for the flourishing of human and non-human life. The dialogues were an attempt to bring constituencies together, creating a safe space to

share ideas on the alternatives. What is important about the Charter is that it opens the space for more forces to come together and is led by systemic thinking about the alternatives. The Charter highlights certain principles of justice and challenges the capitalist system which is working against workers (HD). The goal is to engage Parliament about adopting the Charter, but also to use the Charter as a tool to build consciousness and a united climate justice movement. Perhaps something that was not fully conceptualised from the onset, but an important aspect was also building what is now referred to as the Climate Justice Charter Movement, in addition to the goal of having the charter itself adopted (JC).

4.3.3 Life After Coal

Life After Coal is a coalition of three organisations, namely Earthlife Africa, GroundWork, both South African environmental justice organisations, and the Centre for Environmental Rights, a legal NGO. ML shared a brief background of EarthLife: an environmental justice organisation that was formed around 32 years ago. Some of the campaigns taken on were around sustainable development and climate change. Much of the work done is around making connections between issues and encouraging people to take action around any injustice that they find around themselves but particularly on environmental issues or ecological issues, energy justice is crucial to this (ML).

BP, speaking from the point of view of GroundWork, another alliance partner, stated that in 2009 there was already a strong thrust against coal generated energy and particularly that they had appealed to the World Bank to not fund ESKOM any further. A report that came out of this appeal was then released and this was key in shifting the view of coal and encouraging more to understand that coal is in fact bad for the environment (BP).

The three organisations came together through the work they had all been doing with regard to minimum emissions standards, air quality and energy democracy, fighting against coal, then advocating for renewable energy sources for the country. The Medupi project has been one of the projects that catalysed the Life After Coal Campaign, along with the ESKOM report (ML, BP). The alliance launched in mid-2016 with each organisation playing a specific role (ML).

The aim of the Life After Coal campaign is to discourage any new coal-fired power stations from being developed in South Africa. It is also aimed at looking at ways in which currently operational coal-fired power stations and mines can reduce their emissions, and eventually encourage a complete phase out of coal, ultimately calling for a just transition. Some of the

work done by the alliance was also around challenging the legislation or policies that allow for electricity generation by coal, using a number of arguments including climate change and water licensing agreements, etc. (ML).

One big win for the campaign was the first ever South African climate change case which was launched against the government in 2017, and won (Life after Coal, n.d) (see Section 7.2.3 for further discussion). There have also been other cases including challenging the coal-fired independent power producers; successful campaigns against Khanyisa power station and others. Overall, Life After Coal tackles

> "*big issues that people on the ground may not be familiar with or they are experiencing negative impacts of but are unable to link. So our job has been to link those issues with their everyday struggles and that's part of movement building*" (ML).

4.3.4 School Strikes (for climate)

In August 2018, a Swedish teen named Greta Thunberg began a school strike, where she missed school to protest for climate action (BBC 2020). Every Friday, she sat outside the Swedish Parliament building with a sign saying "School Strike for Climate". This protest went viral on social media, and quickly sparked a movement around the world under the hashtag #FridaysforFuture (BBC 2020). Although young people, especially in the global south had already been protesting for climate action, Greta emboldened the youth and brought much needed attention to the issue. All around the world, young people joined the protest and boycotted school on a Friday, some groups organising mass walk outs every Friday to protest at parliament.

At the beginning of 2020, a few high school students in Johannesburg joined the call. A turning point for RN, a grade 12 student at the time and the lead activist in this, was the Australia fires, where they decided to act after imagining if those kinds of fires had hit South Africa. The noted that the repercussions would have been devastating for our population which is more unequal than that of Australia with a weaker economy. The idea was that if a grade 12 student could understand this, *"then surely people in government with degrees in everything can also see that, why aren't they doing anything about it?"* (RN). They noted that their response came out of anger about the inaction around the climate crisis (RN).

Every Friday the students sat outside one of their schools, for the entirety of the school day, boycotting their classes in the name of climate justice, ultimately calling for the government

to declare a climate emergency. The boycott is in support of climate justice with one of the demands being that they wanted to meet with the department of Environment, Forest and Fisheries' Minister, Barbara Creecy. The demand for a meeting was never directly met, however they were able to engage the Minister at a youth panel organised by a different organisation. The boycott was done in the participants' own capacity, without being affiliated with any organisation. The choice to do a school strike came from the idea that something drastic needed to be done, something that would, if enough media was generated, push the government to answer them.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the climate justice activists who participated in this study through their personal biographies. In line with feminist research methods, these work to situate participants as living humans with agency, rather than objects of study. This chapter also chronicled the histories of the four case studies, using data from the participants and documents. The next chapter analyses the activists' conceptions of justice.

5. Conceptions of justice: activist perspectives

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore how these South African climate justice activists understand and envision justice through thematic analysis. To follow, it will cover shifts in understandings, explaining how these participants' understandings of justice have changed or not since being in the movement. Finally, it will explore sites of influence, that is, what and who influenced the activists to arrive at their understandings of justice.

5.2 Multi-faceted conceptions of Justice

Justice, as illustrated in the literature can be defined differently by different members of society. Methodologically, justice can take on a number of forms. Participant activists shared a diversity of these conceptions, but six understandings were particularly resonant: justice as equality, power and respect; distributive justice; justice as system change; justice as democracy; procedural justice; and justice as valuing the Earth. In addition to these specific understandings of justice that will be expanded on below, there was also cross cutting ideas pointing to a kind of justice that calls for human beings to be treated the same, and not to be judged or ill-treated due to class, race, gender etc.

5.2.1 Justice as equality, empowerment & respect

Most of the participants shared more general and overarching understandings of justice, and all of the activists who mentioned these expanded on them and also paired them with other conceptions of justice. They used terms such as equality, equity, fairness, respect, power and the importance of human rights which are generally accepted aspects of justice, and cut across the different conceptions available. Four of the participants mentioned that some form of equality and equity is necessary for justice. JC spoke about the need to *"promote real equality and justice and so that people can be viewed and treated and accepted as equal and with dignity*" (JC).

SN emphasised that, especially in the South African case with high unemployment rates, inequality is a prominent issue that needs to be addressed. For SN and BP, this need to eradicate inequality was intricately linked to power[2] as well.

[2] Although there are many definitions of *power* the definition used in social sciences is usually the definition developed by Max Weber which states that power is about one's ability in any given relationship to exert one's own will or desires over others (Warren 1992). This being said, there are various definitions used in sub disciplines and with different inflections. The ways in which power as a concept is understood varies, even amongst the activists in this study. Thus, there cannot be a clear or distinct definition, as there is no way of knowing the training that the activists have gone through and how they are defining and using the concept.

More than half of the participants emphasised that justice was really about empowering people in society and allowing them a level of control over their lives and choices. It was reflected that being able to take control of one's life and life choices is something that many in South Africa, due to circumstance, unemployment, lack of education, family history and apartheid legacy are unable to do entirely. This kind of justice for VS was about a "*politics that empowers the people from below to take charge of their destinies to express their power"* (VS). HD and RN both pointed to this idea that people should have the power to choose various aspects of their lives, including being able to choose for example, what level of education one wants to obtain, without constraint, and that those choices would be respected.

Another way that the participants spoke about power and empowerment was about freedom from power over: for SN, there is a need to create a society "*where power is not exercised against each other and to harm and to undermine some people*" (SN), this means that one person living their lives should not impact negatively on another and where life is not hindered by others living. This ties with the concept of what BP referred to as "*power regimes"*: that one's power should not be linked to gender, sex, race, class or any other aspect of one's identity, but that everybody should have equal power.

An accompanying document to the One Million Climate Jobs report adds to the understanding of justice as being about the distribution of power and resources:

> "*Climate change is a deeply political issue – it reflects relations of power and inequality and demonstrates the fundamental injustice in the present distribution of power and resources in the world. Climate change is the result of the over-consumption and waste of the elites, mainly in the rich industrialised countries of the North. But it is the people of the South and the poor and vulnerable communities of all nations who suffer most from the impacts of climate change. It is also the poor and vulnerable people who do not have the resources to adapt, while rich people in both the North and the South have the means to protect themselves and their lifestyles."* (One Million Climate Jobs, 2011: 16)**.**

Respect was mentioned in a number of ways, the first being that justice requires that the rule of law be respected (as discussed below in Section 5.2.4) (ML). FA held a more personal notion of justice as respect, and related it to fairness: "*a fair system*" as she put it, will still afford you

respect, even if there is a difference of opinion, this is also coupled with the concept of acceptance. This also extended to the respect for human rights. For HD, respect was not only a fundamental for justice, but also for democracy and that as democracy is exercised, this must be "*enshrined within respect"* (HD).

These understandings can also be encompassed by the fight for social justice. In campaign documents, both the One Million Climate Jobs report as well as the Climate Justice Charter emphasise the importance of social justice, *"it is vital that social justice struggles around these issues incorporate struggles around climate change*" (AIDC 2016: preface). As one of the eight principles in the Charter: "*Climate justice is social justice. Confronting all forms of discrimination and oppression as it relates to race, class, gender, sex and age, to secure climate and social justice"* (p. 4).

5.2.2 Distributive justice

Basic needs and access to them was brought up by a number of the participants, all pointing to this idea that everybody should have access to what they need for survival. For RN, their conception of justice was very much that: "*every human being deserves to have their basic rights met, and deserve the best chances simply because they are human*" (RN).

It was also emphasised that when referring to access, this meant more than just surface level access and rather, it was about affordable access to real services that every human being should receive at birth. A number of participants added that access to employment was also key to distributive justice, in addition to the general ideas around access to services and equal rights. Although they shared the opinions that employment should not determine your survival, both HD and SN stated that it was necessary to be available. For SN, access and control go hand in hand, and having real access to food, jobs, clothes and other necessities would allow people to have more control over their lives, and thus achieve justice. The labour representative and an activist from the OMCJ campaign, both directly involved with jobs and job creation were most vocal about jobs. SN emphasised the importance of class: *"any discussion of justice has to then also recognise, class difference that some people are not in a class position to live in a state of justice"* (SN). Some people are unable to access the processes and means to achieve justice, due to their class position in the capitalist economic system that we find ourselves in.

5.2.3 Justice as systemic change

When asked about their conception of justice, more than half of the participants in some way pointed to the need for system change. For VS, it was more than just about ending various symptoms of an oppressive system, it was about fundamentally changing that entire system:

> *"Justice means that it's not just the end of racism; it is about transforming the entire system and the Freedom Charter pointed us in that direction towards systemic change and it was a programmatic vision and it was a movement vision, it was a people's vision"* (VS).

Interestingly, this participant was a representative from the Climate Justice Charter, so the link to charterism, and this activist's own experience of it was evident. It also points to a uniquely South African understanding of justice because of the importance that the Freedom Charter had in the anti-apartheid struggle. The majority of those who described systemic change as part of their vision of justice were explicitly anti-capitalist; a few were about a people-centred society and one participant conceptualised systemic change as gender justice.

Both historically and in the context of the climate crisis, VS, who had the most to say about the ills of capitalism given his deeply Marxist training, put it poignantly, stating that capitalism is both anti-human and anti-nature, pointing out that capitalism's goals or interests are not compatible that of humanity. He presented the theory of *Democratic Ecosocialism* (discussed further in section 5.3: sites of influence) as an alternative system for pursuing justice. JR shared this anti-capitalist view and noted that capitalism goes beyond just trying to make profit: it seeks to maximise that profit and the majority of people are directly and immediately negatively affected by that and excluded from the benefits. To SN this meant that we had to move away from a society where the means of production were only accessed by a few. For JR, this is the root cause of the climate crisis, which is particularly relevant for the discussion around climate justice, and the practices it needs to employ. JC stressed that the system change needed to be deep and restorative in nature. Long standing changes need to be made as opposed to quick fixes: *"in order to have justice we need to make sure that all the wrongs that this capitalist system has done to the people and to nature, those need to be made right"* (JC), but that is not the end of it. In order to make sure justice is lasting, "*real justice means changing the system to make sure it can't happen again"* (JC).

An anti-capitalist conception of justice was also reflected in the Charter itself as a number of the goals presented in the Charter are about moving away from a system where growth and

profit is prioritised over human life. It explicitly mentions that capitalism cannot fix the issue of climate change,

> "*The climate crisis will not be avoided, and its effects will not be remedied within the system which created it. Capitalist solutions to the climate crisis will not work, and will only entrench inequalities because it will still be done with profit making in mind"* (COPAC 2020: 35).

Others did not explicitly mention capitalism, but alluded to an anti-capitalist understanding of justice: *"it's putting people before profit"* (RN). This was characterised as a society where "*capital accumulation is not the point"* (HD) and where:

> *"your chance at survival shouldn't be determined by what you do or how much money you earn and I feel like justice is really putting people first and ensuring that people have everything they need to not just survive to live."* (RN).

This points to a deeply people-centred understanding of justice, a society where people are not just afforded the rights to survive, but that the conditions are created for people to live a decent life. It is also about how growing one's systemic thinking to include the ecosystem and future generations, as discussed further in the Shifts in understanding section (5.3).

Just one of the participants explicitly spoke about systems change as needing to encompass gender justice. Their definition of justice included having spaces be safe for women to navigate the streets by themselves, and the need to address the issue of violence and sexual abuse against women (HD). She also added that the system needs to be able to alleviate some of the stress put on women to do reproductive labour, and allow for them to have more choice in the way they conduct their lives and careers. To do this, HD emphasised the need for a shift in system, which also gives it an anti- capitalist lean,

> "*I think if women are able to have the social productive work recognised and if not remunerated but at least have conditions either in the workplace or within a welfare state that could actually give credence and value to the work that they do"* (HD).

Although not mentioned explicitly by the representatives from this movement, the Climate Justice Charter itself has a significantly eco-feminist lean. It is reflected in the language used when describing both the issues and solutions, "*We cannot let grassroots women and children be the shock absorbers of this crisis*" (COPAC 2020: 8).

The just transition is another aspect of system change that was mentioned in passing by some of the participants, but an explicit definition of it was not expanded on. However, this was a strong thread in the documents. In the introductory document to the Charter, there is mention of the "deep just transition", and this remains central to a number of the other documents. A just transition is defined in the document as

> "*represents a transition from a carbon-based society to a low or zero carbon society but in a manner that limits the negative impacts on workers and communities. It seeks to transform energy, food, transport and all major social systems to ensure we sustain life. The key issue is that industry must bear the burden of the transition not workers and communities"* (COPAC 2020: 5).

5.2.4 Justice as democracy

Six of the participants (VS, HD, ML, SN, BP, and JC) mentioned that the kind of justice they envisioned was one that involved democracy. Particularly for South Africa, democracy is a central point, "*we have unique and real true forms of democracy enshrined within principles of understanding and respect, love, care"* (HD). The idea here was that democracy is not about having the freedom to inflict pain on others, "*democracy can't be where I have the democratic right to say what I like and therefore I can hurt someone, I can be violent, I could be racist*" (HD). Their conceptions of a just democracy are not shallow understandings but rather envision a transformative democracy and about making sure there is a "*very strong commitment to democracy and participatory democracy, deep democracy"* (VS).

A participatory vision of democracy was explicitly mentioned by three of the participants, and as a core principle in the Climate Justice Charter. Participatory democracy is a system where the people have a voice, that voice is heard and respected and their interests are put above those of business and corporations: "*prioritising the needs or the rights of the most vulnerable*" is utterly essential to achieving justice (JC). In such a context, it would then be possible for people to not only own their problems, but also own the solutions to those problems. This would mean that people were able to empower themselves and thus "*not have a society that's just controlled by elites"* (VS), but rather raise up the voices of the people. For the Charter, this meant "*All climate and deep just transition policies must be informed by the voices, consent and needs of all people, especially those facing harm*" (COPAC 2020: 10).

So with participatory democracy taking a foregrounded position in these visions of justice, it was also important to some activists to recognise how the state plays a role in stifling voices

and shutting down participatory spaces: *"we also have to struggle against the state so we can push it to take up working class and community interests rather than the interests of big oil and big business"* (SN).

It is evident that participation is important and people's power is key, but it is also important that that power is exercised through democratic processes and engagement with the state.

5.2.5 Procedural Justice

Thus, when envisioning justice three of the participants (FA, BP, SN) noted the role that the state should play in enabling procedural and institutional justice.

> *"It has to be about the role of the state in playing a role in ensuring equality, we know that the state is not going to do that right now because it's captured by particular interests so then we also have to struggle against the state"* (SN).

There was a recognition that the state should be playing a certain role but also a recognition by activists that in the current context—a capitalist, neoliberal society where the interests of industry are above the people—the state is not creating an environment for equality to be achieved, thus there needs to be a ground up effort to ensure justice. This then brought up the question of power and how it is constituted. VS shared his own understanding and theory of this:

> "*power doesn't just sit in an institution called the state, power is diffused, it's in all our social relations and how we aggregate and constitute that power becomes very important and for me what that means is that we've got to constitute structural power."* (VS).

This point brings nuance to the relationship that society and movements should have with a state and a government.

Two of the participants articulated a procedural notion of access in relation to justice: access to policy processes, legal proceedings and decision-making. The rule of law was mentioned by one participant, from the Life After Coal campaign: "*rule of law is respected in order for society to thrive socially, economically and politically"* (ML). This conception is fitting because they have been known to use the courts to secure the rights of communities, in addition to other practices. And although it can be argued that historically the law has not always been humane, ML stressed that in envisioning justice, and a democratic society, there is also a need for the people to be able to understand and use the justice system.

For FA, fairness in those processes was an important aspect of justice; that there is a need for a "*fair system that doesn't shut you down because you have a difference of opinion*". It is also about access to leadership, and being able to interact and communicate with those who are meant to represent the people, in a transparent manner. BP outlined his own experience in trying to bring certain issues within the activist space to the attention of the President and not being able to do that with ease, whereas when an international group did the same thing, it was swiftly responded to. He envisioned instead:

> *"if I pick up the phone to Cyril Ramaphosa, he should answer. Justice is when the resident that is next to SASOL can pick up the phone to Cyril and Barbara Creecy and say 'industries polluting, we are sick, come deal with it' and you don't get a telephone answering machine, you don't get a secretary but you get [the] President. Because we do know when the CEO of SASOL phones the President, the CEO of SASOL is going to get the President"* (BP).

Again this points to this issue of the voices of industry being more important to the government than that of the people. The only way that the distribution of resources and decision making will become fairer to the people and not in the favour of profit is to achieve procedural justice: where processes that are required by the state are fairly organised and the voice of the people is valued in decisions about resources, land and the environment.

5.2.6 Justice for the earth

Two of the participants shared a conception of justice that explicitly included nature, emphasising the intrinsic value of the earth and our need to restore and maintain balance with it. Of course this idea was shared by the other participants and were outlined in other ways by them (see section 5.3: shifts in understanding), for example those calling for system change because of capitalism's onslaught on both humans and nature are evidence that they value the earth. The interesting aspect to this argument was that these two participants reached this concept from two different paths. HD drew on a religious background and theology that *"God created everything in balance and there's a reason for why there's homeostasis"* (HD). She spoke about needing to balance our own needs as humans with the needs of nature to regenerate and survive, as she believed that God[3] created us in harmony and balance with the earth. This conclusion that humans are in harmony with nature is key

[3] It must be noted that although climate justice has no theological grounding, it is a broad movement that is able to bring together various groups of society and there are definitely arguments to be made around a religious duty to protect the Earth in various religions.

for many environmental activists, whether it originates from theology or not, as was the case with BP. With his background in environmental justice and growing up experiencing firsthand the ills of pollution, BP shared his conceptions of how nature, or the earth does not exist just for the survival of human beings, but rather we need the earth in order to survive. Justice then is a way of interacting with other human beings that is equitable and fair, but also interacting in a way that will not destroy the relationship with nature. This idea emphasises the intrinsic value of nature, not for our use or for our exploitation but the value it has inherently.

5.3 Shifts in understanding of justice since being in the climate justice movement

If justice is indeed shaped within movement, then that also means the definition of justice has to be able to change and evolve, or at least that the activists within movements are able to have their definitions of justice change organically. For some participants they did not record a change in their understanding and stated that the fundamentals remained the same, and the rest fell into two categories. One being that their definition expanded to include nature and the second is that it became more systemic.

5.3.1 Fundamentals are the same

Three participants (FA, HD and BP), all seasoned activists, expressed that the way in which they defined justice had not changed over the years. Rather, their original standpoint had been strengthened through experience; the vehicle for achieving that justice had just changed as opposed to its content and the context they were operating in had remained the same. The first of these being BP who grew up near a refinery in South Durban and had an environmental inflection from the beginning. He noted that his understanding of justice came after years of debate and discussion, and thus the one articulated now has not changed. In addition, "*I believe government is set up in a way to protect and to maintain the privilege of those that have the privilege"* (BP): because this context has not changed, his vision of justice remains the same and relevant. Another participant, HD expressed that she did not see a change in her approach or method of understanding of justice, and rather that it has strengthened through the various activist spaces she has worked in. In her recognition that her understanding of justice has not changed, she did note that perhaps practices of how to implement that may have changed. This came after an experience she had at a conference with a government department with regard to water access, where she was able to gain some ground just by rewording demands in a way that did not seem offensive. FA mentioned that although justice and seeking it might be different now as opposed to fighting an unjust

government during apartheid, her understanding of justice being all encompassing means that for various movements you can extract different strands of that all-encompassing definition.

> *"the fundamentals of justice have not changed, which is about equality, it's about respect, and having rights having basic human rights so the fundamentals have not changed, it's just the vehicle"* (FA).

In this case it is the climate justice movement, but she did express that the vehicle could have easily been a different movement, since ultimately justice is about fighting for equality, human rights and fairness.

5.3.2 Expanding to include nature/ecology

Close to half the participants expressed that their understanding of justice had expanded during their time in the climate justice movement to include nature. This of course does not mean that the rest of the participants do not include ecology in their understandings of justice, just that they did not explicitly mention that this had been a change. This could be because, as mentioned, for example one of the participants grew up near a refinery so environmental justice was always a part of their definition. Another participant came to their understanding directly through the climate justice movement and so it was part of their understanding from the outset.

VS expressed that they now think about justice in ecological terms, this includes the recognition that human beings are only able to survive by "*the life-giving commons of water in all its forms, land, biodiversity, the earth this is a commons that really doesn't belong to anybody and cannot be commodified"* (VS). This understanding sees justice as beyond just for human beings, it is about justice for all life forms, human and non-human. What is important here is that this is not an anti-human form of justice, but rather recognises our interconnectedness with nature and the role that we play in the larger ecological cycle. SN shared this viewpoint, stating that her understanding of justice had become "*a lot broader because I think it has broadened out to how humans interact with nature which definitely wasn't part of my thinking before"* (SN). This was not only true in the way that she understood justice but this link between nature and humans is also relevant to how humans should be living. ML added that each facet of the human world can be linked to nature, including the economy and politics and it needed to be understood that if we do not achieve environmental justice, or climate justice, there would not be a place for these things to even exist. Similarly,

JC expressed her understanding of justice initially being about people but through learning more about the red-green alliance, it was clearer that justice had to include the environment*: "before that justice to me was just about people, individual humans and more and more it's become about actually we aren't the centre of the universe"*. She also emphasised that nature is inherently important and not just for our use, but it has the right to survive regardless of its use to us.

5.3.3 Becoming more systemic

The realisation that justice is not just about human beings undoubtedly also brings up questions around why all kinds of injustice and oppression are linked, and for some of the participants, they started thinking more systemically about this. Firstly, four of the participants (VS, JC, RN, JR) explicitly mentioned that they saw capitalism as the root cause, and their understanding of justice became more about system change, and explicitly anti-capitalist. JC added that not only was her understanding anti-capitalist, it was also her understanding that part of justice is righting the wrongs of the past, these wrongs being the effects that capitalism has inflicted on all living and non-living things, referencing a sort of inter-generational restorative justice. Making direct links to the climate justice movement, JR stated that even in very recent history, about a decade ago not many people would be making the connection between capitalism and climate change as opposed to the current trend, where it would be difficult to find an activist that denies that link. For JR, this was a healthy and necessary shift: "*It's important for us to recognise that there has been a positive shift, which means to say the struggle continues*".

Some of the participants also referenced some kind of systemic change that now involved an ecological aspect, for some this was termed emancipatory ecology. JC stated she began looking at human beings as part of an ecosystem: *"it has definitely changed from just being about an individual, to now about the whole ecosystem"* (JC). Pointing again to emancipatory ecology, VS included that there needs to be justice for those most affected and dispossessed by "*ecocidal capitalism*" and its onslaught on non-human and human lives, and so a justice that is anti-capitalist privileges the needs of those:

> *"Justice from this standpoint of emancipatory ecology has to be for those who are the victims of this ecocidal system and who stand to lose the most and to have the greatest harm inflicted on them but yet they are not causing these problems"* (VS).

The youngest participant, RN expressed that their view of justice had changed since being in the climate justice movement because it became much more deep rooted and systemic. In high school they were taught about closing the tap and other ways in which every day people could change their own behaviours to help avoid climate change, but by being in the movement, their vision of injustice became clearer, and they were able to "*realise just how much ordinary people aren't to blame, it's industries"* (RN). So while the ideals of what needed to happen, and being anti-racist and ecologically aware were always there, the realisation that these systems of oppression were not individually enforced but rather a result of intentional projects such as colonisation and apartheid was key in shifting their understanding of justice. Through being in the movement and reading Malcolm X etc, this participant was able to develop a nuanced understanding of justice, where system change is integral.

5.4 Sites of influence

Understanding how the participants conceive of justice is important, but perhaps equally important is how they arrived at that conception: what or who are the influences that shaped activists' nuanced understandings of justice. There were a range of influences shared, but generally they fell into four main categories: reading and learning about theory and scholarship; personal life experience including spirituality; through movements, specifically the anti-apartheid movement; and finally place and space. In summary, one participant simply responded: "*Influences are everywhere*" (JR).

5.4.1 Theory and scholarship

Five of out the nine activist participants (VS, SN, JC, HD, and RN) cited particular scholars that had influenced the way they look at justice. Three referenced some kind of Marxist thinking, in a number of variations including ecofeminists and democratic Marxism. Interestingly, all three had some kind of background and training within the labour movement in South Africa. Some mentioned democratic Marxism, others democratic ecosocialism and some had more of focus on nature and emphasised emancipatory ecology as a theory that influenced their understanding. Specifically, VS noted that "*emancipatory ecology recognises that we are living and enabled by the commons*" and that the commons are the "*bedrock for the reproduction of life*" (VS). VS also emphasised a non-dogmatic Marxism and one that *"realises that it has to be in dialogue with other currents of critical thought and anti-capitalism";* for him, this was democratic ecosocialism. This meant a move away from strict and dogmatic strains of thought often seen on the left which some may say is one of the obstacles to a united movement as well as a grounded and relevant form of it. SN and HD, both women who

mentioned Marx, also mentioned a feminist Marxism, one highlighting the influence of a prominent South African environmental justice activist and scholar, Jacklyn Cock. The other pointed to various scholars, both African and international, who had influenced her understanding of justice: namely Ruth Pearson, feminist scholar from the UK; Jayati Ghosh, an Indian development economist; Dick Forslund, an economist based in South Africa and others.

Other scholarly influences mentioned were not specific to Marxism or climate justice, but rather philosophers of justice, environmental and political activists, or more personal theoretical influences. These included John Rawls, an American political and moral philosopher; Chico Mendes, a Brazilian environmentalist known for his activism around the Amazon as well as prominent historical political figures such as Mahatma Gandhi and Malcolm X, who themselves have been integral in shaping political theory. Some South African names were also mentioned such as Lebohang Pheko, an analyst and activist, and Duma Gqubule, an economist and financial consultant and writer. More personally, HD mentioned some high school teachers who made a lasting impression in teaching her agency and to think more deeply about her identity and position in South Africa. Interestingly, these scholars and theories are grounded and relevant for the South African context and not much reference was made to what many would see as global climate justice figures, and dominant US environmental justice scholarship.

5.4.2 Personal experiences

For the majority of the participants, personal experience shaped their understanding of justice. This means that how they grew up, who they grew up around, when and where they grew up and the choices they made had an impact on their activism and their understanding of justice. For SN it was her life path to university and getting involved in the anti-apartheid movement at her university that was instrumental in her understanding. For the youngest participant, RN, who was a student at the time of the interview, the subjects they chose at school, taking history and being exposed to literature and stories from the past was an important moment in their understanding of justice. For HD, it was the racism and sexism she experienced in her adult life, including in the professional setting, that contributed to her conception of justice: "*the various spaces one works in on the left, we all face challenges, sometimes it's patriarchal, sometimes it's race*". BP spoke specifically about his environmental

justice awakening which happened due to him growing up close to an oil refinery, where he saw the direct effects of the pollution on the communities around him.

Some activists reflected on the role of religion in their personal life experience as a site of influence. Although just one participant explicitly referred to her religion as an aspect of her current activism and conception of justice, there were two others who alluded to religion as integral in their upbringing, but did not mention its relevance in their adult lives. One spoke more generally about her progressive Christian household where the ideas of equality and fairness were inculcated; and another mentioned his family's involvement in the Hindu temples and their role in the struggle against apartheid: "*my political home was my family, my religious space; my grandmother, my father and my mother were all activists, they opened the temples to the United Democratic front"* (VS). While not necessarily pointing to a religious approach to justice, these undoubtedly played a role in shaping them in some way.

Overwhelmingly, every single participant that was over the age of 30 and not white responded that growing up under apartheid and living in an inherently unjust society, shaped their understanding of justice. This was simply put by FA: *"as an activist growing up under apartheid, fighting apartheid, it was very clear in my mind as to what justice is about"* (FA). To these activists, growing up under oppression put justice in clear focus. Not only did these activists grow up under the regime, they were also active in fighting against it, thus many of them had their political awakening in that struggle first (as discussed in the next section) and then coming to climate justice - an illustration that indeed, social justice is climate justice. This experience shaped the activists into what they are today, and for ML this was coupled with the death of a loved one and a struggle for basic needs so she also felt first-hand the unjust nature of apartheid and the inequality.

To grow up in an unjust society is clearly impactful on one's understanding of justice, but these participants took it even further and were actively involved in the fight against this injustice. So it was really their upbringing, but coupled with their activism that shaped their understanding, quite simply put; "*know the history of struggle is a school to learn from"* (VS).

5.4.3 In movements

Movements are often a site of not only organising but also building and shaping knowledge, this includes the knowledge around justice, how to define it and how to achieve it. Struggle in general often breeds these discussions, as put by VS:

> *"learning from the history of people's struggles is very important and that's a long history and it's a rich history and that is very crucial for my own activism."* (VS).

More generally, BP alluded to this learning being an ongoing process, "*I listen, I observe, I feel and I participate"* (BP). This is the idea that one's involvement in struggle influences and shapes the understanding of justice, and that this does not have to be static. Participants mentioned a range of movements that had had such effects, from the anti-apartheid movement to the climate justice movement itself.

Anti-apartheid struggle

As mentioned, due to growing up and experiencing first-hand the atrocities of apartheid, many of the participants were pushed to be a part of the struggle against it. Four of the participants (VS, SN, ML, and FA) explicitly mentioned the anti-apartheid movement as one that shaped them. The shaping of justice in movements can happen in a number of ways. VS, for example, was inspired by the leaders within the anti-apartheid movement such as Chris Hani and others: figures who had a particular understanding of justice and were able to use that understanding to garner support. Coupled with this influence of leaders in the struggle, VS specifically mentioned the Freedom Charter as an influence.

FA, it was also clear to her that her understanding of justice was shaped and moulded in the anti-apartheid movement:

> *"when I started as an activist, I started under apartheid right, so justice then was very different. It was about democracy, it was about equality, it was about getting rid of an atrocious government"* (FA).

It was also made clear by HD that being confronted with the discrimination that apartheid brought, it pushed her to become active:

> "*I was born in apartheid and as result of that every one of us, people of colour who have gone through that kind of political experience and have been ostracised on the basis of the colour of our skin would want to engage. I think by and large and in various spaces in our lives wanting a fight for justice"* (HD).

One of the four participants did not mention growing up in apartheid as an influence, presumably because they are white, but did mention being part of the anti-apartheid movement. This is an interesting example of how an issue can inspire those who are not

directly affected or even beneficiaries as in this case, to fight against it, if there is a sufficient and broad enough understanding of justice, removed from personal experience.

Other struggles

It was not only within the anti-apartheid movement that people were conscientised. For the youngest participants who would not have been born yet for the anti-apartheid struggle, they pointed to the climate justice movement itself as being their space of learning and shaping their conception of justice. For VS, if one uses an anti-capitalist and social transformation foundation, there are a number of movements around the world where one can learn about justice. Some mentioned were indigenous movements around the world, feminism and other decolonial movements, including the work of Chico Mendes. ML, SN and HD agreed that there are other movements which shaped them, all highlighting the labour movement as an influential space. JC also added that learning about the red-green alliance (an alliance between socialist leaning forces and environmental forces) through the movements she was involved in helped her shift from a narrow understanding of justice to one that was more nuanced. Another movement also mentioned that was an inspiration was the environmental justice movement in South Africa, a movement that four of the participants originated in, with an additional one working on environmental justice issues such as access to water. As HD pointed out, it is within these spaces that your own perspectives are then built on, strengthened or challenged, highlighting how her own gender and racial justice focus was cultivated within the labour movement.

5.4.4 Places and spaces

A number of participants named physical sites having a role in shaping their understandings of justice. As we look at *movements* as an example of a site of shaping conceptions of justice, it is also important to recognise the physical and concrete sites that influenced some of my participants. Three of the participants (RN, SN and JC) mentioned that educational institutions were formative in their understanding of justice. Two of them, who are both under the age of 35 and therefore would not have been affected as directly by the apartheid education system, expressed that the actual content of what they were learning at school and university (in History and Social Sciences particularly) opened their eyes and helped them come to their understanding of justice. The other participants who mentioned this, SN, who would have attended university during apartheid did not explicitly mention the material, but rather spoke of the space and how she was able to join movements on campus.

Given that apartheid was largely a geographical project that separated people both socially and physically on the basis of race, geography also had a significant impact on the participants and not only shaped their understandings of justice, but also encouraged them to become activists in the anti-apartheid struggle. So, in addition to the institutions, the places that people grew up in also helped shape their conceptions of justice. As mentioned, BP's deeply environmental perspective of justice was largely influenced by where he grew up near a refinery in South Durban. This meant that not only did he see the immediate effects of being exposed to these toxins, he was also surrounded by others who saw these effects and were inspired to take action against this pollution, thus creating a space of activism and exchange of knowledge. South Durban, to this day remains a vibrant activist space, fighting various large international companies daily (CER n.d).

VS grew up in Pietermaritzburg where his family was deeply involved in the anti-apartheid struggle. He mentioned that his family's involvement in the running of the Hindu temples in the area led to them becoming a space of organising when they were opened up to the United Democratic Front, and members were encouraged to join the movement. Living in a place outside of the "metropole" of Durban, Pietermaritzburg was exposed to the segregation that apartheid brought but was also able to be a home to many of the country's prominent activists and make a significant contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle.

For HD, growing up in an area created under the apartheid regime and the geography of its Group Areas Act influenced her to be an activist and shaped her understanding of justice. She grew up in the township of Lenasia where around the early 1950s, under apartheid laws, Indian people were moved from central areas in Johannesburg such as Fordsburg, further south, closer to Soweto (Desai 2008). Lenasia, seeing directly the effects of the apartheid separate development regulations, became a space of resistance. The majority Indian community was integral in the struggle against apartheid and the tricameral parliament, an attempt by the National Party to superficially involve Indian and Coloured people in leadership while still excluding Black South Africans. Lenasia was home to some of South Africa's most prominent anti-apartheid activists including Ahmed Kathrada. HD expressed that living in Lenasia surrounded largely by other Indian people, it was easy to tie identity to India, and not South Africa; she explained how leaders and teachers in this space encouraged her to recognise her identity as South African. Lenasia remains a majority Indian space, still

feeling the effects of apartheid, although not untouched by the influences of neoliberalism and also still cultivating an activist culture.

Similarly, ML also lived in an area created through segregation and apartheid, Soweto, and explicitly named it as an influence on her understanding of justice. She pointed out that living in a place surrounded by anti-apartheid activists, surrounded by activist meetings and action meant that she was constantly exposed to resistance and was able to shape her understanding of justice in this context. Soweto was a township created using the Urban Areas Act of 1923, this was done to separate Black South Africans from white residents in Johannesburg, and forced removals took place, moving black people from around Johannesburg including Sophiatown to Soweto (Gilbert and Crankshaw 1999: 2378). Historically, Soweto was a key site of organising against apartheid, the space was constantly organising and struggling against the regime. In the 1970s, Soweto solidified its place in history with the 1976 student uprising taking place, a historical event, commemorated to this day in South Africa. Like Lenasia, Soweto has also produced some of the country's most famous activists, and remains a space of organising and learning.

5.5 Conclusion

Overall, these climate justice activists had conceptions of justice which were robust, deeply political and reflective of the country's strong movement history. The conceptions of justice included nuanced notions of equality, democracy and valuing the Earth; in addition to the more foundational forms of justice including distributive and procedural justice. Some of the participants also reflected shifts in their understandings of justice in two ways: an expansion of their conception to include ecology and becoming more systemic. Finally, the chapter outlined the sites of influence for the participants' understandings of justice which included theory and scholarship; personal experience; through struggle and places and spaces.

6. Challenges facing the climate justice movement: present and future (activist perspectives)

6.1 Introduction

Given that these movements have existed for many years and this has not resulted in a mass, united climate justice movement across the country, they have undoubtedly faced obstacles and challenges along the way. Across these movements there are of course shared challenges. The challenges outlined in this section are both challenges for building the movement in the future, as well as challenges that the campaigns reported facing currently. Many of these challenges manifest in different ways for different contexts. There are six main categories that the challenges fall into: current global conditions; national conditions; building relevance at the grassroots including connecting climate change to the struggles on the ground; building alliances with labour; building alliance with other organisations including other climate organisations and civil society organisations, and finally negotiating internal movement dynamics.

6.2 Global conditions

When describing challenges to a united climate justice movement, and within the current campaigns, some of the participants mentioned global conditions, such as global power dynamics, the level of consciousness and action around the world as well as the issue of urgency.

6.2.1 Power dynamics

One challenge felt globally is the nature of current power dynamics, with regard to how the system relates to people. In order to build a movement, people's power is required, but in this global setting with neoliberal policies and capitalist systems, those hegemonic powers present a difficult force to oppose. As such, *"globally, organisations, labour and civil society is weak"* (SN). In agreement, HD emphasised the strength of the powers that the climate justice movement would have to work against:

> "*the hegemony*[4] *and the powers against us is so formidable unless we get a united force from across the working class regardless of where you located what your*

[4] Hegemony is a term developed by Antonio Gramsci and has been expanded on and explained by other scholars after he passed and was unable to finish his writings. It is a concept which states that there are intricate systems and institutions which overlap and interact to reproduce and maintain the state's, or the bourgeois class's power over the public sphere (Heywood 1994).

organisation is if we do not Unite we would not be able to create the impetus necessary for the aspirations" (HD).

In order to overcome these hegemonic powers, the public need to be mobilised and consciousness building is a necessary practice for those in the movement.

6.2.2 Nature of consciousness

One of the participants emphasised that the current *"nature of consciousness today"* (VS) was not at a level that is conducive to building a united movement. VS stated that in a global society that is centred around social media, there is a lot of access to fake news and false science which often drowns out the good, "*public interest science*" (VS), which would push people to think more deeply about their world. VS stressed that because public interest science is not necessarily at the centre: "*our societies more and more are being pressed into this mould of being unthinking and it's a universal problem"* (VS). Being unthinking, the rise of fake news and other issues with the nature of consciousness can lead to complacency. In the context of climate change, and the urgent risk it presents for the people, complacency is a comfort the movement cannot afford.

6.2.3 Immediacy

Another global challenge raised is that there will always be some kind of more immediate and more pressing concern, which can distract from the climate crisis. FA gave the example of a recession, or a pandemic such as COVID-19 which needs the immediate attention of the state and activists. These are global events that in the greater scheme of things need around 1-2 years of organising. The more long term, somewhat intangible issues of climate change are no longer a focus and it takes time to build back momentum after a pause, which is difficult.

It is still necessary to acknowledge that the COVID-19 pandemic was something that demanded attention and shifted the focus away from climate change. There were concerns around grant increases, food parcels issues and other more immediate needs. Given these circumstances, FA mentioned that the Charter movement was able to somewhat overcome this challenge during the COVID-19 pandemic by linking the conditions people were experiencing (food shortage, lack of access to water etc.) to climate change.

6.3 National conditions

Nationally, as a country still dealing with the effects of apartheid and colonialism, and in the grips of an exploitative neoliberal system, there are quite extensive and serious challenges that South Africa faces. In addition to the global conditions that have an influence on South

African society, there are also a number of national societal conditions which have a more direct and immediate effect on the climate justice movement. These national conditions are a result of the global position of South Africa, its history, leadership and other factors unique to the country. Activists noted the following challenging conditions in particular: the rampant inequality and poverty in the country which could distract from the climate crisis; corporate and state engagements in the context of neoliberalism, and the separation from the rest of the continent.

6.3.1 Rampant inequality and poverty

One of the most challenging conditions in South Africa is that climate change is not necessarily a priority in a country with rampant inequality and poverty. JC stressed that the high levels of poverty often means that people in South Africa have a lack of imagination when it comes to the alternatives: "*don't think it's possible for us to change and to transform society"* (JC). The lack of imagination is not because people are inherently unimaginative, but because capitalism is so entrenched and the conditions it creates and perpetuates are so crippling that it does not allow for imagination or future thinking. What this translates into for the majority of the country, is that people are just trying to survive, they are lacking basic needs such as water and food in the short term:

> "*the diversity of issues we living [with] in a developing country: we've got high levels of poverty, high unemployment, people struggling to put food on the table and then you're going to talk about climate change which just doesn't seem real, it doesn't seem there and they don't have time for that*" (FA).

In some ways, the basic needs demands can act as a motivation for joining campaigns, but the challenge is then to keep those constituencies in the movement. This presents a strategic challenge for the movement, translating the issues of climate change for those on the ground who are feeling the immediate effects such as food price increases because of droughts, but also to the upper class who would not directly feel that increase.

Unemployment is another concern in South Africa and sometimes the need for a job outweighs not only the climate justice aspect, but even the possible dangers associated with jobs in exploitative sectors which are contributing to climate change. The labour representative, HD, was clear that this is a challenge for the unions: getting some workers, or even unions on board with climate justice because despite the "*occupational health and*

safety hazards" (HD) of some of the extractive jobs and long term effects on the planet, many would rather have a job than not.

6.3.2 Corporate and state engagements in the context of neoliberalism

South Africa's neoliberal trajectory has powerfully shaped corporations' relations to government and communities. Activists reported being confronted with these power dynamics and corporate power in a number of ways. Intimidation was one challenge that some in the current South African campaigns have experienced first-hand. BP spoke about his experience with SASOL and trying to campaign in areas affected by their pollution, where he received intimidating calls late at night, which made organising very difficult and sometimes unsafe. What complicates the situation and links to the unemployment crisis is that many communities benefit in some way from these corporations. In the face of immediate need, some communities are reliant on corporations for basic needs, in the absence of the state. ML also mentioned the role of political interests and motivations in communities shaping relationships to corporations.

The lack of political will from the government in the climate change context, leading to a failure to implement and action climate change policy is a significant challenge for the climate justice movement, of course driven by a number of things including a neoliberal obsession with growth and the surrendering of land and resources to corporations. Part of this challenge, is a strategic one for the climate justice movement to build a relevance in the governmental space, so progress can be made, stated by FA. She mentioned that it felt government does not take climate change seriously, and climate justice activists do not have much of a say in those spaces: "*I think also convincing government it's just unbelievable how for them climate change is just words, you know, it's not a real thing that's happening*" (FA).

In addition to the lack of political will, there is also a lack of policy implementation, which is a challenge emphasised by HD. Although, as mentioned by other participants in various contexts, South Africa does have good policies but the context does not correlate:

> "*it's like a contradiction or it suffers from cognitive dissonance in a sense because the context is not conducive to those very same policies being well received and therefore we don't see the implementation because this is a contradiction between the political world, the economic framework that the vision of the politicians and government and then what these so called policy is supposed to aspire towards"* (HD).

In addition, the space is not necessarily welcoming to good policies even when they do occur:

> *"as much as we have fantastic policies there is policy incoherence because the people that are supposed to be implementing the policy are working in an environment that's completely non conducive to making these things happen*" (HD).

What this points to is the apparent contradictions between government's neoliberal "economic framework", while also wanting to appear progressive. This often results in a kind of impasse which manifests in a number of challenges for activists. One example given was that of the One Million Climate Jobs campaign, and how even if the campaign was reframed in the context of the just transition, a term the government is currently using and is supposedly part of their policies, there is still no space for these campaigns in government because there is no political will for it (HD).

This is despite the South African Constitution. Seen by many as a truly progressive document and one that can be a tool for building movements, it is an integral part of the struggle and most relevant in the discussion around justice. But again, in the context of a neoliberal capitalist system, it does present a challenge for the movement, in that it needs to be interpreted in a way that supports the calls of the movement:

> "*we have the challenge of remaking or rather renewing the potentially transformative constitutional power and constitutionalism we have in this country and that is another very important strategic question"* (VS).

A more practical challenge is that there is a lack of public funding and personnel allocated towards climate/environmental justice projects within government. As HD put it: "*you also need the necessary practitioners who have a basic understanding*" and are able to action the policies once they are developed. Although the funding issue was only mentioned by one of the participants explicitly, it was reflected quite concretely in the documents. The One Million Climate Jobs booklet for instance noted the financing role that the state can play:

> "*Governments show us time and time again that if there is political will, money can be found for any project or emergency […] it is clear that South Africa has money. The challenge is to channel this money into providing for our most pressing needs as people"* (AIDC 2016: 42).

6.3.3 Cut off from the rest of the African continent

One of the challenges specific to South Africa is how the country relates to the other countries around it, especially in the context of climate shocks. The example given by FA was that in its isolation, South Africa did not do much in 2019 when Mozambique was faced with one of the biggest cyclones in its history. This is about how those relations are conducted and the role South Africa plays in those regional responses:

> *"climate change is not just affecting us, it's affecting our neighbours even worse but we kind of turn a blind eye to it as well so that's another challenge […] we can't seem to look across the border"* (FA).

This presents a question for solidarity and regional responses for climate change and climate shocks in the future.

6.4 Building relevance at the grassroots

The participants stressed that building relevance amongst grassroots forces is a challenge for the movement. Given that climate justice calls for the priority to be given to those most vulnerable, it is essential that the climate justice issue gains relevance and legitimacy with grassroots forces. The main challenges activists shared included translation issues; connecting to struggles on the ground and capacity challenges.

6.4.1 Translation issues

One of the key challenges faced by three of the campaigns was that of language. In an African country with 11 official languages and varying cultures and dialects, language is a very contentious issue. There is a fair amount of knowledge and information that goes with the climate justice movement (see section 7.2). That information is often presented in English (JR). In the context of climate justice, which calls for the most vulnerable to be prioritised, and in South Africa, where those communities are not necessarily using English as their first language, it becomes quite a foundational challenge to overcome (JR). It is imperative that these kinds of issues are addressed and that the hegemony of English is not used to delay the movement.

Another aspect to the language challenge is the technical language surrounding the issue. As opposed to more direct and distributive justice demands, the climate justice movement requires a need for some level of technical understanding that the movement is built on (see section 7.2.1). This technical language is often not easy to understand in the way that it is presented. ML gave the example of communities living around mines that they have worked

with, where the technical language around climate science made it difficult for them to make sense of some policy documents documentation. The challenge really was to simplify the language so that people were able to, firstly make sense of the documents and empower themselves with the knowledge and secondly to link climate change to their lived experiences. For JR, accessible and concrete language was a challenge that was quite primary in his experience:

> "*The main one was and still is how to make climate change real to our constituency […] how do we share very abstract idea with people who face the very concrete challenge on a daily basis of just getting through the day."*

Similarly, FA highlighted this as a challenge for activists, noting that thus far: "*as activists [we] have not been able to translate climate change and climate justice into words that people on the ground can understand".* Translating into less technical language as well as multiple languages is one of the first steps to connecting those issues to struggles on the ground.

6.4.2 Connecting to other struggles

Given the rampant inequality and poverty, one of the challenges is that the effects of climate change are seemingly disconnected to the struggles on the ground. A challenge is to build relevance and legitimacy with these communities through making these connections:

> "*people are facing extreme poverty hunger no roof over their heads, to take action around climate change can seem a little bit low down on your list of priorities so I think that was it was it was finding ways of linking the issue of climate change into peoples lived reality"* (SN).

RN shared this notion that people are struggling with other challenges, and therefore it was a big ask to expect them to drop everything and focus on climate change while not having their basic needs being met. Part of this challenge, and a challenge to overcoming it is that according to BP,

> *"if you are not with the community daily, you're never going to get a movement. To be able to build a movement or be part of a movement you have to be with communities daily regularly in their struggle".*

Linking to local struggles and building relevance with grassroots cannot happen without NGOs, campaigns, etc. actually working closely with the communities, and beginning to take

the work being done in communities seriously. Without this, a united movement will not be able to be built.

Connecting to other struggles and linking with the community is compounded in communities where jobs have been promised by the mines. An example given was this situation where mines were promising jobs in the community, and meetings that the Life After Coal campaign would host would sometimes get heated and there would be disagreement, and only years later would people realise the negative impacts. It is about when climate change can be prioritised. It was also a concern for them because it was working in communities who seemed to be benefiting, or were told they would benefit from coal mines, but were simultaneously suffering from the effects of pollution. With regard to jobs, perception was a challenge for ML. Some viewed the campaign as one that was against people getting jobs because of what it was opposing (extractive industries).

6.4.3 Capacity

Some of the participants referenced capacity as one of the challenges being faced by campaigns to building the movement as a whole, both at the grassroots level and within organisations. Firstly, in terms of capacity on the ground, JC noted that sometimes due to valid and serious concerns at the grassroots level, local activists were not able to prioritise climate justice, and in her case, the Charter movement in the ways that they would have liked and what was envisioned. Due to the conditions they are faced with on a daily basis such as gender based violence issues in the community, hunger or water issues, many of the grassroots activists are doing other work in the communities on these issues and are unable to attend meetings or actions for climate justice: *"these activists are often involved in a lot of different campaigns and initiatives"* (JC).

In addition to the challenge of capacity on the ground, there is also capacity concerns within campaigns. Often, there is not sufficient capacity within the existing campaigns to implement even the practices they are deeply committed to such as knowledge dissemination. Although there was valuable work done by the One Million Climate Jobs campaign for example, JR still emphasised: "*trying to share those ideas is no easy task. That raises a huge educational challenge"*. Internally, they were not able to successfully and effectively get the research, alternatives and solutions out there.

Part of the capacity challenge in building grassroots relevance is the challenge of resources. Because of the relation between local communities and larger NGOs, the funding challenge is

a concern. SN stressed that many of the organisations that they worked with were community based and people who were behind the campaign were suffering from other socioeconomic challenges such as unemployment; so the question of limited resources became quite prevalent: "*it's quite hard to keep a certain momentum going when people are really just struggling around lack of resources"* (SN). JC agreed that with communities just trying to survive and stay afloat, it is difficult to remedy this, but it is vital that blame is not placed on communities for not being able to be active.

6.5 Building alliances with labour: fragmentations, disjunctures and weaknesses

There are various groups of society who are essential to the climate justice movement, and especially in the context of South Africa, labour is one of them. However, activists shared multiple challenges related to the labour movement and building alliances with them, ranging from the current fragmented politics of the labour movement; their inability to action their climate agreements and then the disjuncture between unions and community organisations: *"another obstacle in terms of building the movement is getting unions on board"* (JC). One of the steps in that alliance that some of the participants pointed out as a challenge was building a presence within the labour movement and a legitimacy with workers.

Historically, the labour movement has been integral to struggle, and thus it is understandable and valid that current movements would want labour to be on board and sees this as an important aspect to building the movement. One of the challenges that the participants emphasised was that the labour movement globally is weak. Others noted that political dynamics, including those that were taking place in the unions at the time of the campaign, added to the challenge. The participants were clear that the unions were not in a position to be a strong ally because they are weak due to a number of internal and external conditions: *"the economy has been in a structural crisis, unions on the back foot, actually defeated, [and] the organised working class has been fragmenting"* (VS) and "*unions post Marikana have just been in a bad state"* (BP), a sentiment also shared by JC.

There was an expression that internally, the legitimacy and need for unions is being questioned and therefore, to be able to organise around an issue is difficult. If members are questioning the legitimacy and efficacy of the union structure, mobilising that constituency is difficult, noted HD. With relation to climate justice specifically, these internal politics render unions unable to action their own climate agreements in the cases were those exist. Although

there were discussions and resolutions happening within the labour movement around climate justice and how to transition without losing jobs, those agreements were not implemented. It is important to note, this was not entirely due to a lack of effort or a lack of will, but there are larger issues associated with this (VS).

An additional challenge with regards to labour is that there is a disconnectedness between the unions and community organisations. It was clear to the participants that the relationship between unions and organisations was not cohesive:

> "*the disjuncture in the kind of organisational experience of trade unions and community organisations sometimes meant that they don't always quite understand each other, where each other was coming from, so it was a problem in itself"* (SN).

For BP, this lack of cooperation between unions and organisations was actually the biggest obstacle the climate justice movement is facing: "*I think the key thing that is stopping us now is probably our inability to be able to work with the workers and unions to really build a strong movement to make a change"* (BP).

6.6 Building alliances with other climate and civil society groups

Also key to the climate justice movement is to build alliances among the various climate justice groups working on climate issues as well as with other civil society organisations. For activists, the challenges associated with those alliances are: the lack of cohesion; inter-organisational dynamics; differing ideologies; the debate around systemic change versus reform, and finally tactical differences among the organisations.

6.6.1 Lack of cohesion

Given that the climate justice movement is so all encompassing and most participants agree that linking with other struggles is imperative, cooperation is a key challenge. The climate justice movement cannot only be built up of climate justice and environmental justice organisations, it is integral that there is cooperation and cohesion with other social justice organisations. To begin to even build that cohesion, it is necessary to acknowledge the concern that some participants had around the state of our organisations in South Africa.

> "*There's a lack of cohesion or organisational strength and that's an issue we are confronting. So then I think you have to find ways of how the climate justice struggle also contributes to rebuilding organisational strength, because that is a real weakness"* (SN).

Some of the participants explored reasons as to why the organisations were weak: some thought it might have been defeat by the system, or fatigue (see section 6.7 on negotiating internal dynamics). This means the climate justice movement must build cohesion with the goal of sustaining and prolonging organisational strength. The cohesion that needs to be fostered also has an effect on the dynamics within and between organisations.

6.6.2 Organisational relations: from local to global

There are challenges associated with organisation to organisation relations. One of these challenges identified by the participants at the local level is the issue of turf and territory, where some organisations feel like there is an ownership of issues or causes: "*territorial behaviour with other civil society groups instead of buying in or being part of the movement*" (FA). The point extends to global and local organisational relations (FA and ML). This can be linked to the role of South Africa in the global arena and the frequency with which international organisations attempt to organise in the country. In this context, ML noted how international organisations or bigger, more well-known organisations come in on an issue, but end up controlling the narrative and silencing local organisations who have been working on these issues for decades. In trying to build a global movement it is easy to get lost in this universality, but it is imperative that the agency of local organisations is maintained:

> "*We are part of the global movements, but part of the global movements at the local level I think local organisations need to be respected*" (ML).

This is important because if local organisations who have been working on issues of climate and the environment for decades and are embedded in the communities do not feel their role is respected and their work is valued, they are excluded from the global movement, which in turn does not benefit from the enrichment that local groups can offer.

Although the participants saw territoriality as a challenge, this does not mean that unity at all costs is the answer either; there is nuance to this point. In an attempt to mend local dynamics, move beyond territoriality and build an alliance, there must not be a false sense of solidarity. It was emphasised by ML that bringing groups together on issues must be on equal terms without undermining those organisations who have put in the work and the time. HD shared this idea that those who are coming in on an issue have to be able to respect and coordinate with work already being done:

"sometimes an organisation can work really hard for the next 4 to 5 years building up legitimacy and constituency, and then another organisation sees a moment and seizes that opportunity and in some ways rides the crest off somebody else's back. It's historical, it's within the left in particular and it's still there" (HD).

6.6.3 Different ideologies and frameworks

Building alliances are necessary, but a challenge associated with them is building solidarity across ideological lines. As discussed, there are many different views of justice and thus trying to bring all those views together is not easy, especially across all the different groups working on climate change and the related impacts. Part of the challenge was trying to:

"win them over to the idea that we have to have a nationally grounded approach to the climate problem, in this context it's been trying to kind of work out how do you get different forces that are working on climate to think in terms of a common agenda and framework without taking away from particular work that organisations are doing" (VS).

Notably, ideological and academic discussions often happen in the urban centres, and groups on the outskirts are excluded from these debates (BP). This kind of hegemony of certain voices and certain ideological positions does sometimes alienate those voices that ought to be most central. What it also leads to, is a situation where a number of campaigns on the same issues are developed without cohesion creating unnecessary tension between different organisations (ML). These divisions are being created within campaigns, which only delays the building of this united movement, and prolongs the exploitation of nature and people.

Furthermore, while some organisations are able to converge on one issue or one short term campaign and perhaps overcome some ideological differences, they aren't able to really sustain this kind of solidarity. This is the reality, especially in the climate justice space where forces tend to have common understandings on climate change issues but do not converge on other issues which can cause the breakdown of the movement (HD). This presents an issue for longevity.

As emphasised by HD, this difference in opinion is a historical struggle. During the struggle against apartheid, there was not a priority placed on the environment at the time. Those who did participate were usually white, liberal and middle-class. So the challenge around this is getting these historically white and liberal organisations and those more historically radical

organisations and unions to work together and to take up the issue of climate justice together. What is arduous for activists is to make sure this is done in a deeply political way, recognising the political economy behind it and not just as an environmental issue, but as a deeply people centred social and political question (HD).

6.6.4 Debates about systemic vs. reformist change

Another challenge to building the movement, in addition to the issues surrounding cooperation and ideology, is how various groups see change, which is one of the fundamental contestations that exist in the space. Not all those in the climate justice movement, and certainly not in the environmental justice space will advocate for a change in system and a move away from capitalism:

> *"some people within the climate justice movement or space don't believe that there needs to be a system change, they don't understand the global economic framework nor neoliberalism nor macroeconomics and the impacts in terms of political economy. […] Their starting point is that the environment is the most important thing and in some ways dismiss the fact that there are people and workers and human beings, particularly vulnerable disenfranchised communities, that actually need to be very central to the kinds of changes and decisions that we make"* (HD).

> *"[…] it [the One Million Climate Jobs campaign] [h]as pretty explicitly anti-capitalist stance whereas for other people who are maybe you know there from an environmental point of view system change is more about changing the way we produce goods and it's not perhaps explicitly anti-capitalist"* (SN).

These kinds of strategic disagreements can often hinder the building of a movement. The challenge is that there are firm positions held by groups, developed over years of debate and discussion (BP), and so comprising on those understandings is a challenge. One of the reasons for these firm positions is that people have experienced the effects of climate change differently, which could lead to varying positions, as HD put it:

> "*it affects different people in different ways and people in the climate change movement for different reasons and so sometimes the dissonance between us or the fact that we don't share too many of the common elements is probably but one of the reasons"* (HD).

6.6.5 Tactical differences

A related challenge mentioned by a number of activists was that tactics of groups involved in the movement differed. Specifically for SN, there were issues around how political change needed to happen, and this is a question that remains a debate within the climate justice space. This tactical question was even felt in the smallest of the campaigns studied. RN questioned what tactics would be useful and possible here in South Africa, and for them it was necessary to actively move away from a so-called western way of protesting. They mentioned that in the western context, there was a level of privilege in being able to attend massive protests on climate:

> *"It's just not fair to expect people to prioritise the climate and devote their lives to fixing the climate when their basic needs aren't even met"* (RN).

A more South African strategy is possibly, what FA pointed to: the use of street committees who were able to mobilise through going door to door. She presented this as one of the challenges facing the movement, what she calls a lack of "*old school organising. Going door to door, you organise your committees and you go door to door in areas*" (FA).

Another tactical challenge is that historically, according to VS, the environmental justice movement has largely used legal cases to challenge polluters, but for VS there is need to move beyond that and

> "*Build the power that we need from below to drive the country, the state, the economy and society in a different direction. The challenge is locating climate justice within the framework of transformative politics*" (VS).

Ultimately, tactics are an integral aspect of the movement and this is a challenge that has for a long time presented activists with deeply strategic questions. These questions often arise because on the surface, organisations seem to agree, but when it comes down to strategy and detail the differences are revealed:

> "*I think where we would shift is when we look at the trajectory and the elements of what is possible in achieving those objectives and I think that's where we get undone because we find ourselves fighting amongst each other because the emphasis is misplaced. I think the challenge is that we are all faced with the same problems but the way we are mapping out the solutions are different, and in some instances it's fundamental differences*" (HD).

6.7 Negotiating internal movement dynamics

As the alliances are built between and within organisations, there are still challenges surrounding how those very organisations or campaigns function internally. These internal challenges also encompass personal challenges that activists experience. These challenges fall into three categories: resources; burnout and lack of inclusivity and cohesion internally.

6.7.1 Resources

A resource challenge was stressed by some of the participants, referring to campaigns having limited resources which limited their capacity (JC, SN and HD). Of course as with any project, funding is needed to produce results. Funding and therefore capacity challenges are compounded by the expectations placed on smaller organisations with lower resource capacity, according to ML. This funding and capacity is a challenge because:

> *"as organisations or community based groups you need finances, you need resources, you need people that can that can keep working on it and moving on it and we don't have that very often"* (FA).

In order to organise, strategise and sustain a movement, resources are needed. What this also encompasses is that often those local activists who are expected in meetings and to attend protests regularly might not have the capacity to do that without remuneration which then brings up the conversation around money that often hinders or derails the movement.

6.7.2 Burnout

There are also personal challenges for activists who often have to be reasonably strong willed and self-motivating, and deal with excessive pressures. One of these personal challenges was for RN who at first struggled to convince their parents and other authority figures to be on board with the school strikes. Being a minor at the time of deciding to strike, this was a challenge of personal will, one that was overcome. Related to this personal will, there is also the valid challenge of burnout: where activists who are perhaps involved in a number of campaigns or have been active for a very long time often burn out due to pressures of the movement. This also happens at an organisational level, if there is pressure on partner groups to do certain work and if the organisation is already committed to other campaigns it does become difficult to prioritise various campaigns above that, as JC reflected.

As has been expressed, it is essential to learn from the past, sometimes it is that very past that can be a challenge to the future movements. For BP, speaking frankly, he mentioned that after the politics of the 1990s and in his experience of a crumbling environmental justice

movement, many of the activists who were deeply invested in that movement were scarred by its failures. This is why often, activists are just within their own space, this is because after the fall, there was a rush by activists to concretely define where their interests were and on what issues related to climate change they were going to focus. Building a new movement would mean addressing and dealing with those scars, "*So it's not nice to relive another implosion a second time in your life"* (BP).

RN highlighted that often, being in the activist space can have a negative impact on the psyche of activists, because:

> "*it's difficult to be an activist, it's mentally very taxing and it takes a lot of time and it takes a lot of planning and organisation, it takes a lot. So having more people involved and there's people who want to help we just we don't have a space where they can"* (RN).

6.7.3 Lack of inclusion and cohesion

Close to half of the participants answered that a challenge to building the climate justice movement in South Africa is the lack of inclusivity of the movement itself. One of the participants were clear that the movement has not successfully stripped itself of the label as a white movement, and that in some spaces there are still mainly white people maintaining environmental justice spaces. In addition to not being inclusive enough, RN stated that the movement is not intersectional enough, both with regard to its membership base as well as the way it projects itself outwardly.

The activists also emphasised that this translates to a lack of cohesion in the movement because those organisations all working on climate justice, are not united. It was stressed by the participant that there is work being done on similar issues with similar goals but doing that work in a cohesive way is a challenge. And part of this according to RN is because often, there are certain individuals or campaigns who want to always lead, or be the centre of the movement and the failure comes because these campaigns are not speaking to each other.

6.8 Conclusion

This section explored the various challenges that the activists have experienced in their various movements and campaigns, as well as challenges that they see the climate justice movement facing in general. There were six general categories: global conditions; national conditions; building relevance with the grassroots groups; building an alliance with labour; building alliances with various social and climate justice groups as well as the internal

movement dynamics. In moving beyond these challenges, the next section explores how activists work to operationalise their conceptions of justice, exploring practices employed by the current movements, and what needs to be employed to build a united climate justice movement going forward.

7. Operationalising understandings of justice in the current and future climate justice movement

7.1 Introduction

The participants, being activists themselves, do not only have perspectives of how to build the climate justice movement, they are actively operationalising some of those perspectives in their spaces. As we move from the challenges of the movement, many of which are already manifesting in the current movements, it is important to note that South African climate justice activists are actively trying to overcome these challenges through their praxis. The tactics and strategies mentioned by the activists in this section are not just general practices, or unrelated. Most tactics are intricately linked to specific conceptions of justice. Given this link to theory, praxis is a more appropriate term to be used, rather than practices. Praxis refers to the process by which a theory is embodied or applied. Although some of these tactics[5] are already being enacted, the participants were under no illusion, being well aware that there is a way to go, and this is reflected in their responses. Their responses for both the practices to be employed in the future development of the climate justice movement, as well as those already in operation fell into five main categories: consciousness building; grassroots engagement; breaking barriers; building alliances and expanding the movement including multi-level engagement, and organisational and activist praxis.

7.2 Consciousness Building

Generally, the participants agreed that awareness raising and consciousness building was crucial, and needed to build a climate justice movement in the country. In order to build that consciousness, the participants noted that it is imperative that people are educated about climate change as well as the campaigns that have emerged to fight it. Having the knowledge will enable them to join the movement, informed and encouraged to participate. This means that if society and communities are going to support these campaigns, it is important that they are included in the process around creating the content of the campaigns. When talking about consciousness building it is essential that knowledge is exchanged and disseminated in an open way. As with any other movement, it is important that awareness is being raised, but

[5] Tactics spoken about in this section refer to tactics used to build the movement and are more long term principles of a movement. Other tactics such as direct actions which can be seen as short term and more of a means to an end, although very prevalent and important to the climate justice movement, are not covered in the section in detail.

that must be hand in hand with other practices. VS emphasised the need for this awareness to be deep and powerful:

> "*We have to go against that grain, grounded in raising popular awareness and consciousness through ensuring the science is accessible through ensuring that people understand what is climate justice, what is systemic change, what is a deep just transition etc."* (VS).

Activists spoke about consciousness building in three different ways: building consciousness around climate science; linking that climate science to 'bread and butter' issues, those everyday challenges people are feeling on the ground often more directly and immediately than climate change, and finally that consciousness building be linked to implementing changes at the systems level. They also shared some strategies for the dissemination and exchange of these knowledges: tactics which campaigns are already employing as well as useful in future.

7.2.1 Building awareness and knowledge about climate science

More than half the participants referenced making sure there is a deep understanding of climate science as well as the alternatives, and that this is available to all. VS emphasised that this consciousness building needed to be at a number of levels: in the public, through the media, in institutions as well as workplaces. For most of the campaigns in South Africa, this is done through hosting what is referred to as activist schools, seminars (or webinars in the context of COVID-19) or some kind of training session where members of the public and activists are able to engage with the material about climate change. Many of the current campaigns are already doing this.

For example, the Climate Justice Charter movement often uses round table discussions, seminars and webinars to disseminate the knowledge around not only the Charter itself, but the climate science and how it relates to us in South Africa: *"there's the soft tactics right? There's the tactics like having a big seminar or webinar, spreading the word about the Charter"* (FA). Not only were the sessions in the lead up to writing the Charter aimed at learning about the climate science, the Charter itself is a tool for this. It is rooted in the climate science, and part of its goal is to make climate science mainstream so that the science is more openly and easily accessible to the public, and not just spoken about in academic spaces, this is outlined in the introduction of an accompanying document:

> "*We start by presenting a background to the charter, thereafter some of the climate science, to help communities and activists understand the urgency of the crisis. We then present a short list of key terms (a glossary) for deeper understanding of some of the main ideas used in climate justice movements today"* (COPAC 2020: 1).

Part of making the science more accessible was also about translating the Charter and providing accompanying documents such as summary pages and pamphlets that simplify the content. These summaries were adapted from a scientific document written by leading South African climate scientists.

Similarly, this emphasis on science being accessible is also reflected in the One Million Climate Jobs campaign. The report produced for the campaign does not only outline the research around climate jobs, it also gives a brief outline of the effects of climate change on our biodiversity and societies. The One Million Jobs campaign also sought to raise awareness about climate change, and they used a signature campaign launched around 2014/5 to assist. One of the aims of the signature campaign was demanding that the government declare a climate emergency and pay more attention to climate change. In addition to trying to get government to take climate change seriously, they

> *"were really using the signature campaign as a tool to engage communities around the issue of climate change so I think what we found in 2014/15 was that for a lot of communities and for a lot of workers as well climate change is still something fairly abstract"* (SN).

7.2.2 Linking climate science to real life experiences

For the activists, it was vital to link this climate science to real life events and struggles that are tangible to people. As outlined by SN, this makes climate science less abstract, demonstrates how climate change is affecting people and conveys the urgency and the need to act. Activists emphasised two forms of connecting to real life. Firstly, linking the climate science to natural global events that have taken place, that are in the media at the time, such as cyclones, fires and other climate shocks. SN gave the example of the cyclones that occurred in Mozambique in 2019 and linking that to the effects of climate change.

The second focused on linking the climate science to people's everyday experiences, what people see as the 'bread and butter' issues. For most activists, the calls for distributive justice such as food, water and electricity need to be linked to climate change – as seen in their

conceptions of justice. In order for climate change to stay on the public agenda, it is about linking the struggles that are already going on, to the climate issue. SN gave the example of housing: that in the demand for housing to solve the homelessness crisis, those demands can be linked. Energy efficient housing using renewable energy sources etc. can address both the climate issue as well as provide housing. This entails linking with other movements and connecting demands[6], such that the distributive justice struggles already going on in society are made relevant in the climate justice movement.

This linking of distributive justice demands to those of climate change is what the One Million Climate Jobs campaign has been attempting to do. The crisis of unemployment needs to be addressed, while at the same time making the transition away from a coal-based economy. The campaign aimed at linking those two and showing how compatible these demands are:

> "*we've got the crisis of climate change […] but then in South Africa we've got this huge inequality and this major crisis of unemployment and so the Million Climate Jobs campaign was very much about saying how can we deal with the climate change at the same time as dealing with the unemployment crisis by saying that in dealing with climate change, in putting in place mitigation strategies and adaptation strategies [that] deal with climate change, we can create at least a million jobs"* (SN).

The jobs outlined range from those that would be created in renewable energy such as solar and wind, to transport and construction (OMCJ 2011).

The Life After Coal campaign was equally committed to linking distributive justice demands to climate change concerns. Through one of the organisations they host a month long activist environmental school every year (BP). At the school, they work through a curriculum which helps participants understand the technical aspects of climate change and also draw links between various social and environmental ills in the country. It looks deeply at the country's history, and key points in time that are relevant for environmental justice. It is not only a space to work through the information, but also a place to allow people to have a deeper understanding of democracy, learning how to organise and tactics are also important, again, consistent with the conceptions of justice, with democracy as a foundation.

[6] Although not mentioned explicitly by the activists, making these links is also sometimes done through solidarity work, such as joining marches and protests for these issues.

These training sessions are also crucial for labour and within unions. HD mentioned that within the think tank she works at, they host training sessions, use the training there to do advocacy work and make sure the union leaders who are present understand how climate change affects their specific constituency and their everyday lives.

7.2.3 Consciousness building for systems change

For a number of the participants, building consciousness was about going beyond just talking about the climate science, or linking that to everyday experiences, it was really about building some kind of consciousness where people are mobilised to think more systemically:

> *"another important thing is knowing that you can't look at the climate crisis in isolation, […] there will never be a problem that is only linked to the climate crisis, everything is linked, it's linked to the effects of colonisation which is essentially linked to racism and poverty"* (RN).

If people are mobilised and are thinking more systemically, it means that the movement is not narrow or on one issue, but there can be mass action against an oppressive system. This links to the view that justice has to involve system change, shared in Chapter 5. This was similarly an important practice to employ in order to build a climate justice movement: "*if we can come to that common understanding that there definitely needs to be a system change then I think in some ways we find each other"* (HD).

Part of this systemic consciousness building requires learning more about power and how it is constituted, as argued by VS. To build a movement there must be recognition that power does not only sit with the government, power must be created and exercised through the social relations of the people and this can be done at a number of levels and through a number of strategies:

> *"we build these alternatives, movement power, direct power, we can mobilise thousands of people across communities in solidarity and symbolic power, but it also means constitutional power because the constitutions we have in our societies are what I would call neoliberalised constitutions"* (VS).

Specific to South Africa, three participants (VS, ML and HD) mentioned the importance of knowledge of how the South African Constitution can be used for systems change, in building a movement and a more just society. It is a document that can be used as a tool to push against neoliberal policies which prioritises profit over people, and as a tool for mass,

grassroots mobilisation, as VS emphasised. The Charter itself also made direct use of the Constitution in its inception. One of the motivations for writing the Charter was that the South African Constitution allows for Charters written by the people with enough support to be accepted into parliament, as per section 234.

Crucial to this idea of constituting power and creating the space for people to understand how they can use their power as people is to disseminate knowledge around legal processes and the role of people in it. ML mentioned that part of the work that Life After Coal does is "*ensuring that people understand what their rights are"* (ML). We can see resonance here between this practice and conceptions of justice as procedural justice, as mentioned by some participants. This is significant, not just for climate justice but also for the general social justice struggle. In the context of Life After Coal, and the work done by the various organisations, communities knowing their rights is essential because of the legal route the campaign often takes to ensure that South African laws and policies are implemented (ML). Most notably, Life After Coal is responsible for what is referred to as the first ever climate change case in South Africa.

The case that earned Life After Coal this win was around the approval given for the Thabametsi coal-fired power station to be built in the Limpopo province. The argument by the environmental group was that there was not a "*comprehensive assessment of the climate change impacts of this new coal-fired power station"* (CER 2017). There was an appeal made in response to the approval which was rejected by the Department of Environmental Affairs; this case was then an appeal of that rejection. In March 2017, the courts ruled in favour of EarthLife Africa (part of Life After Coal's coalition), ordering the department to have another look at the appeal, while fully considering the climate change aspect of building the power station (CER 2017). In 2018, the Department dug their heels in and stuck with their decision to award environmental authorisation for the Thabametsi coal-fired power station. Subsequent legal battles took place and research was undertaken which revealed that Thabametsi (along with Khanyisa) was not only unnecessary for South Africa, but would also cost an exorbitant amount of money and would hinder the country from achieving their climate commitments. After long struggles with communities and NGOs, it was finally, towards the end of 2020 when Thabametsi was cancelled (Fourie et al., 2020). After winning this landmark case, the campaign has continued to choose litigation as a practice, opposing the building of new coal-fired power stations in South Africa, and in the process building

consciousness amongst the general public and empowering communities to claim their rights, linking to crucial components of their understanding of justice.

The purpose of consciousness building is not only about the physical process of exchanging information, this process is also integral in building a movement because it means people are joining a movement informed, and are more likely to remain involved. Consciousness building is also a mobilising tool.

7.2.4 Future strategies for consciousness building

As with any movement, the exchange of knowledge must be done strategically, so as to empower people. This will often not happen in spaces of traditional learning, so part of movement building is finding the space for this knowledge production. Activists proposed a number of strategies around knowledge exchange that cut across the different forms of consciousness building described above and focused on future movement practices.

One strategy was to localise and co-produce knowledge. FA suggested using street committees to disseminate the knowledge around climate change, which is similar to the strategy used during the anti-apartheid struggle, which FA was deeply involved in. RN also added that the way in which the knowledge is shared is important, and that the knowledge has to be exchanged both ways, that all sectors of society who will be part of the movement must learn from each other, and those who often find themselves in the teaching position have to be *"willing to acknowledge and be willing to learn […] not being discriminatory in who you learn from"* (RN). The valuing of indigenous and local knowledge must be recognised and is integral to climate justice.

Another strategy was for campaigns to use more creative, multi-media formats in public forums. For JR, some examples are photographic exhibitions and artistic demonstrations that could bring people in. This was a practice that RN made extensive use of, what is referred to as Artivism. In addition to their school boycott they were also part of an artistic group that did performance pieces at protests:

> *"I decided that art [has been] used to connect people. I figured that through performance art protests, instead of going to people and making them listen you go there and you do the performance and people will get curious and they'll come wonder what's happening, they'll come to speak, they'll come to ask for information"* (RN).

JR also talked about the digital aspect such as short video clips which can allow more people to share the knowledge. HD added that attempting to engage the media more is on the agenda, so as to possibly sway more of the public through that channel. Part of using the media, and the public domain is also about attending conferences, giving interviews on radio and TV, being part of public meetings and the like.

A third strategy was through more research by campaigns and the movement. For HD, coming from a think tank, home-grown research is something integral to them. This research is then used when doing advocacy work, in *"targeting the relevant departments within your national process"* (HD).

7.3 Grassroots engagement

In close connection to consciousness building, the activists mentioned that part of operationalising their understandings of justice was to work at the grassroots. This was definitely a feature that the participants emphasised as a current practice as well as one that needs to continue into the future to build the South African climate justice movement. In addition to seminars and training mentioned in the consciousness building section: *"the strongest thing we can do is to absolutely do grassroots mobilising and get everybody talking about climate justice"* (FA). This reflects the importance of involving the communities in a very real and tangible way, being on the ground with grassroots forces in a complimentary manner.

These participants, many of them activists from the ground themselves, who fought at the grassroots against apartheid, recognise this as a central point of their activism, and one that they are committed to, in general:

> "*Ensuring that there is space at the bottom where you educating, you training, you agitating, you pushing and the more you push at the bottom, the greater the momentum would be."* (HD).
>
> "*pressure from below making sure that [this] is influencing decisions and not decisions that are just going to sit on someone's desk but really sustained pressure*" (SN).

This for SN is what would hold policy makers accountable:

> "*the leadership and government positions are going to shift as based on pressure from the ground, they feel that pressure from the ground and that's going to bring about far more sustained change than I think if it's just this nice agreement that's signed but*

then nobody has to implement anything; but if this was sustained pressure from the ground, I think that that is going to lead to change" (SN).

The activists shared a number of communities they are already engaging on the ground, including worker communities, the rural and urban poor and those directly feeling the impact of mining for years. For example, ML mentioned communities around Mpumalanga, Musina Makhado special development zone, Waterberg along with others. BP, another representative from the Life After Coal campaign, mentioned Sasolburg, Secunda, South Durban, communities in the Highveld, in the Karoo and Somkhele. SN mentioned that when doing their signature campaign they worked with several local organisations around the country including Ekhuruleni and Botshabelo.

The participants who stressed the importance of grassroots engagements were also able to outline some concrete practices they had been employing in their engagements with communities. One of the practices was that it was essential to start implementing some of the alternatives that the movement is calling for, now. Simply put by SN, the best way to build a movement is about slow, on the ground, grassroots organising.

7.3.1 Consistent and long term relationships

It was made clear by the participants and from previous experience that organisations do not and more importantly cannot build a movement without the communities. One key practice in this regard, noted by the participants was the need for consistency (BP). Although sometimes grassroots engagements are not immediately fruitful and the discussions can sometimes go back-and-forth, taking some steps backwards before going forward, it is essential to these activists that they keep hosting and attending them (BP, SN). It is crucial that the opportunity is open for both sides to continue engaging.

BP admitted that communities sometimes get into disagreements with the NGOs or with the campaign. The response by his organisation is not offense or retaliation but rather assuring the community that no matter what, they, as an organisation will be back and will stand in solidarity with the community. In this context it must be clear that organisations "*won't do it for them but we will assist them and will organise with them"* (BP). This is to say that even in the face of clashes, those most vulnerable in the community must know that organisations will persistently stand with and organise with them; for BP this was a crucial practice of solidarity, not only for future movement building but was a concrete practice being employed now.

One way to ensure consistent solidarity is to hold regular meetings with communities. BP noted that they (Life After Coal) try to host one big community gathering at least once a year to maintain active engagement on the ground. That goes hand in hand with other practices and actions. Regular meetings is also a practice employed by the One Million Climate Jobs campaign:

> "*They have developed into being a regular forum for the exchange of ideas on broadly based climate change issues, with a particular focus on climate jobs. The overall intention of the meetings is to link theory with action, information with mobilisation. These meetings are currently, probably unique in Cape Town – if not South Africa – in bringing together academics, NGO-based climate specialists and community activists"* (AIDC n.d).

The significance of long-term grassroots engagement and organising was evident also in the process of the Climate Justice Charter Movement, as outlined in their introductory guide:

> *"This Climate Justice Charter emerges out of six years of campaigning, during the worst drought in South Africa's history, by the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign and the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre. It has been informed by grassroots input from water stressed communities, the media, labour, faith based communities, youth, climate scientists, academics, women's organisations, environmental and social justice organisations, as well as, think pieces by leading activists. A climate conference held in November 2019 consolidated a draft which was then placed online for public comment. A final round of public input was provided at a Climate Justice Assembly held on 16 June 2020. This document is the outcome of this process of dialogue and climate justice resistance."* (COPAC 2020: 2).

7.3.2 Translation

FA mentioned that taking on and addressing concerns around accessibility was also a practice being employed. An example of this was in reference to the Climate Justice Charter, which by some, was critiqued for being academically written. To address this valid concern, the movement simplified the language and also made sure the Charter and accompanying documents were translated into all 11 official languages. Not only does this address a concern, but also made sure that the documents were able to be distributed and used at the grassroots.

7.3.3 Gardens/practical skills

For those involved in the Charter, it was stressed that the Charter itself is a document that grounds what is already happening on the frontline of struggle: alternatives from the ground. The mass politics and grassroots work needed for this, is crucial, and for VS, it is

> *"A rallying call to build and to build a mass movement that can lead the translation of these alternatives into policies in everyday life in our communities in our workplaces in institutions of formal state power as well."*

Amongst many others, the Charter presents food sovereignty as one of the alternatives. One of its representative, JC pointed to this alternative as one they are currently operationalising, which provides people with:

> "*the skills and the knowledge to start a garden then a family can feed itself, they can grow indigenous foods and they can support themselves as the climate crisis worsens; they can learn indigenous water saving techniques and promote the alternatives that we need"* (JC).

7.4 Breaking barriers

One of the barriers that exists is that of exclusivity of the movement space (identified as a challenge in section 6.7.3). There is a call from the activists to consciously make an effort to be as inclusive as possible to various types of, not only thinking, but also demands, without compromising the call for climate justice:

> "*actively trying to ensure that you're being as inclusive as possible and that you're not just talking to people from the same area from the same like class, you actively trying to make the space more inclusive"* (RN).

Activists identified three practices for breaking down barriers to participation in the movement, namely building anti-hierarchical spaces; confronting and transforming the complexion of the movement and moving beyond organising the organised.

7.4.1 Building anti-hierarchical spaces

Part of engaging with the grassroots communities and building alliances is about making the movement a space that is open and is a space for breaking down the hierarchies that perpetuate inequalities. One of the ways in which this can be done, is to make sure that the movement itself and the way it functions levels the playing field, rather than a top-down hierarchy. ML emphasised that a top-down structure, that operates on the basis of class, race

and gender difference is harmful to the space, and needs to be dismantled in order to create a space that is inclusive and anti-hierarchical. This not only dismantles current hierarchies, it also calls for a space where the engagement is at equal level going forward.

Building a space for engagement at an equal level also means being open to various viewpoints and roles to be included in the movement: *"So what makes for a justice movement is to be able to recognise it that there are different positions out there and that we all have to build*" (BP). The various roles must not be contradictory, restrictive or counter-productive: "*adopt your position but don't let your position close the door on something more radical*" (BP). In this context, building a space that is anti-hierarchical entails recognising that different types of knowledge are valuable and that academia does not have all the answers, many answers lie with those who are most vulnerable:

> "*we think we need to go to rural areas or we need to go to townships and change the condition and teach them what climate change is and we assume that they don't know things and we assume that they don't have solutions which is so wrong because for hundreds and hundreds of years indigenous communities and people have been sustainable […] trying to break that saviourism*" (RN).

Part of building an anti-hierarchal space is for activists themselves to recognise their own potential to dominate spaces and to actively share the space with others, particularly with regard to those who are on the ground experiencing issues first-hand to be given the space to speak (ML, RN). As RN stressed: *"The most important thing that I've done is realise that it's so important to have everyone tell their own story, the only person that should be telling your story is yourself*" (RN).

In this context, RN stated that there needs to be a conscious effort by all those in the movement, and a practice they employ in their space, around *"Passing the mic over"* (RN). What this means is that they allow the space they occupy to be open and fair, and when possible, they give others the floor to express their voices.

Giving equal value and cognisance to varying viewpoints entails confronting the movements' own pitfalls and power dynamics (BP, FA). Part of engaging with the grassroots and at various levels, entailed being open to, and willing to hear critiques of the movement, FA and BP pointed out, and actively trying to address these critiques, this is particularly relevant for NGOs. The critique can come in various ways, whether it's the function of the NGOs, or even

the ways in which documents are presented or constructed: "*we also have to be open to critique, if someone says 'this is written in academic language' we mustn't take it as an insult, we need to figure out how to make it more accessible"* (FA). In the climate justice space, and in many struggles there is an opportunity for NGOisation, where an NGO takes control of the narrative and those who are experiencing the struggles on ground are pushed out of their own movements. These kinds of practices reinforce hierarchical relationships (FA).

Another aspect of bringing in as many voices as possible was outlined by HD, who emphasised the need to include worker communities. Given the dynamics around worker communities, their relationship to corporations, seemingly benefiting from extractive industries but simultaneously being at the coalface and most severely exposed to the toxins makes them an important component to the discussion (HD). HD emphasised that when engaging the grassroots, the communities made of up workers and their families of workers must be included in that.

Overall, building a space that does not perpetuate existing hierarchies is about recognising that everybody has a role in the movement (BP). Not every single member in the movement will be on the ground or marching, but there will be a role for them. Somebody has to do the research, somebody has to make the posters, write the articles and hold the microphone. Expanding the movement is not only about increasing the number of people in the movement, it is about diversifying the movement and making sure the roles are filled.

7.4.2 Confronting and transforming the complexion of the movement

Despite the strong history of movements in South Africa, there are still historical divisions cultivated by colonialism and apartheid and unfortunately these also exist within the climate justice movement, something that needs to be confronted and overcome (HD). Put simply, it is necessary to interrogate the *"complexion of the movement in the country"* (ML). HD shared a similar sentiment and stated: "*while we had colour it's not sufficient to be the rainbow."* This is another clear link to the conception of justice, where these participants noted that racial equality was integral to justice. In order to operationalise that conception of justice, this work to break barriers has to be done, and is being done in these campaigns. Only once we reach a higher level of trust and unity as society, can be build a strong and united climate justice movement:

> *"For some people the just transition means an environmental transition, that's what makes this particular fight and struggle really really hard and particularly in South*

Africa because historically [we] have a context where everybody was fighting apartheid, it was a class and race struggle, it wasn't an environmental struggle. The people who were doing environmental struggles were predominantly white, they were middle class they were liberal and some of them belonged to the ANC but not too many. So the tree huggers that most people refer to them as being, were fighting for the environmental rights and their fervency and passion in asserting these rights superseded the rights that were given to black South Africans and they wanted to be apolitical […]so breaking that stereotype" (HD).

RN also noted the importance of equality but emphasised that this cannot be tokenistic and must be a deep and intentional form of unity and inclusivity.

7.4.3 Moving beyond organising the organised

There is a need for a more strategic way to bring more people into the movement (FA, ML, and RN). ML stressed that activists must not just focusing on those who are already part of campaigns and try to re-organise them:

"For an example […] people in Soweto around issues on the coast or fisheries I mean there's no sea in Soweto. All it is, is about giving people in Soweto information to be shared with people to be in solidarity with people that are living around the coastlines rather than because people in Soweto are organised so we will take our campaign there" (ML).

The key here is "*we're unable to have a big movement because everybody is organising where there's been organisation*" (ML). In agreement, RN, the youngest participant also noticed this trend of organising the organised and stressed that when attending marches and actions: "*they are speaking to the converted and they attract people who are already involved*" (RN). This refers to various organisations trying to organise the same groups of people for various campaigns, because there is already mobilisation there, without doing the work to build consciousness, break down barriers and mobilise new constituents:

"There are so many existing organisations [that] are trying to do the same thing, they have the same idea, same principles they may be doing different things but they want the same things and we're just so disconnected from each other […] [some] have this idea that they need to lead the movement, or they want to be the centre of the

movement or building the movement around them and I think we're not looking at each other enough, we not looking to each other for help" (RN).

This work includes but is not limited to building strong alliances and solidarity with other movements that exist.

7.5 Building alliances

In order to build the climate justice movement, it is important, according to most of the participants that alliances need to be built, along with allowing space for the movement to expand in various ways. Building these alliances are also integral to realising the conceptions of justice that the activists had, as many of them require working with various groups and particularly for climate justice, that alliance between social and environmental forces is foundational. When speaking about building these alliances, it was clear that this needs to be done with a number of groups including the public and with other movements including labour. These engagements have to be broad and multi-scalar, with international networks, scientists and the government. The majority of the participants stated that their practices included efforts to bring in more people to the movement with varying tactics from case to case, but generally it was about building alliances with other existing movements and having multi-scalar engagements.

7.5.1 With other movements

There is a need for the alliances to go beyond environmental justice groups, but also bringing in feminist groups, the youth and unions, all under a joint campaign. Some of the existing campaigns are already implementing this by bringing these groups into consultations around climate justice. The Charter movement for example, made sure that the dialogues in the run up to writing the Charter were attended by youth, faith based organisations, labour and the media. The Life After Coal campaign itself is a coalition of environmental justice organisations and a legal NGO.

Some of the participants emphasised that an integral part of expanding the movement, was to build alliances with other existing campaigns. In the South African context this is specifically but not exclusively about linking to those campaigns already calling for distributive justice:

"it's a way of trying to just have those different campaigns and bringing them together […] finding ways of connecting the demand for housing to climate justice, the demand for access to water to climate justice, the issue of electricity to climate justice" (SN).

For the participants, it is also integral to build alliances with the labour movement and worker communities (HD). The One Million Climate Jobs Campaign is explicit in this as *"an alliance of labour, social movements and popular organisations in South Africa"* (AIDC 2016: preface). This "collective approach" is especially significant for the climate justice movement, where often those who are most affected are communities near mines. It gets complicated when communities rely on the extractive industries in some ways, but this does not mean they have to be left behind, in fact this is a foundational principle of climate justice, that the poor should not bear the brunt of the climate crisis, or the transition. One of the practices currently being employed, noted by HD, was that in the labour context, there is engagement with the general secretaries on issues of climate change, and linking this to the issues they are facing as workers and union leaders. This is an essential point, not just in the labour context, but in general that many of the participants have previously mentioned, that in order to bring people in, there must be links made between climate change and every day issues. Some of the engagement they do within the union is to share surveys and host discussions with union members, the results of which are then used to influence policy work in the unions. Across the trade union lines, it is often difficult to build alliances, but HD noted that they do have a close connection with a think tank of another union, and will often do training and capacity building with that think tank around the kinds of work OMJC sees as part of climate justice - *"based on three principles: ecological sustainability, social justice and state intervention."* (OMCJ 2011 p. 9). In this context, the need to form alliances across issues and demands was key.

7.5.2 Multi-scalar engagement

The campaigns were clear that in order to expand the movement and realise its visions of justice, one of the strategies that they currently employ is to participate in multi-level and multi-scalar processes. In this context, multi-level refers to various positions and degrees of power, while multi-scalar includes international, national, provincial scales and the like. They stressed the importance of engaging with a diversity of groups in addition to grassroots communities, the general public and local movements such as international climate justice networks, scientists, the media as well as government departments:

> *"Technical people, with NGOS, with research institutions, with universities as part of a multi focal attempts to deal with climate change"* (JR).

These multi-level and multi-scalar engagements were mentioned as a space to expand and enrich the climate justice movement, and that diversifying those voices would help build the movement.

A multi-level engagement that BP described was the levels of communities and NGOs and their degrees of separation from each other:

> "*recognise that there are different levels of engagement, so there are NGOs; there are NGOs that are working more with communities and there are communities and so the climate justice movement is about engaging with all of those"* (BP).

Although these groups all experience the climate crisis differently and have different levels of connectedness between them, and can be seen as separate, BP emphasised that there needs to be cohesion with these levels. Each of those forces have a role in the movement.

International networks

One of the multi-scalar practices that the participants noted engaging with was international networks. BP mentioned that Groundwork is a part of some networks at the international level including Friends of the Earth, where they are able to contribute and learn from other groups operating outside of South Africa. The international link is particularly relevant for the One Million Climate Jobs campaign, as the idea was initially implemented in the UK, and adapted for the South African situation. In that case, the international link took the form of using research done overseas in the South African context (JR). HD, the labour representative noted their involvement with international union networks, with trade unions on the African continent including the African labour network:

> "*so we work through some of our issues with them that has resonance in terms of different countries and different regional blocks and […] so we have these international spaces, and there is an International School when the opportunity arises either to influence the agenda or to request the space to be able to articulate indication that faces us as Africans"* (HD).

Scientists

A crucial aspect of that multi-level and multi- stakeholder engagement highlighted by one of the participants, specifically for the climate justice movement is to be in conversation with scientists (VS). The conversation with science was partly what the Charter was aimed at doing:

"the Charter foregrounds climate science as important - it's grounded in an alliance with our leading climate scientists." (VS).

Government

Notably, several activists mentioned that multi-scalar, multi-stakeholder engagement does not have to lead to an alliance, especially with powerful actors within those oppressive systems that are being challenged. This could include specific government departments or working groups. In that context however, it is necessary to engage on some level, and the key is:

> *"You've got to find people who are the protagonist and the people who are your antagonist. So some people you would use because […] they have a stronger likeness to your politics, yes they in that position they also would like to see some of the shifts that you want to see. Some of them actually came into the Department for the precise reason wanting to see the shift, but they found themselves tied with bureaucracy"* (HD).

In most contexts, there is a need to engage with government and its policies: *"You have to approach it from a multi-tier perspective, […] you have to engage governments, you have to read policies", "You have to make inputs on policy"* (HD). This was a practice that the labour think tank employs, in that part of the work they do is comment on policy both within the unions, and at the governmental level. This of course, goes hand in hand with work on the ground, and does not replace the grassroots push.

This was also a practice that RN employed in addition to their symbolic boycott. They sent a letter to the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries. The letter detailed why they thought that it was necessary for the government to take up the climate issue, and what will happen if no action is taken. The letter included seven demands including: the ban of single use plastics; a transition from new paper to recycled paper; the use of solar energy for government buildings; recycling bins to be put in public places; introduce climate change as a part of the compulsory curriculum; government schools to be required to recycle and lastly to use eco-bricks in future development (Heywood 2020).

7.6 Organisational and internal praxis

Moving from external relations to internal dynamics, most the participants alluded to the way activists behave and how this is relevant to operationalising their conceptions of justice and justice and practices needed to build the movement. It was spoken about in two contexts, the

first was how activists acted toward each other, so an internal way of conducting oneself. The other was externally oriented: how activists are representing the movement and interacting with others, and is this being done in a manner that would bring people into the movement. The strategies emphasised by the activists include: encouraging growth; practicing respect and non-violence; facilitating democratic practice including organisational form.

7.6.1 Room for Growth

The first, internal aspect of activist conduct that participants mentioned was growth. The movement has to be constructed in a way that allows for the activists to grow as people, which in turn can allow the movement to grow: "*if we don't learn from the mistakes that we are doing we will never have a unified movement"* (ML). This emphasises that movements are spaces for growing and evolving. This idea was shared by RN, not just generally, but in a way that recognises growth and ability for people to make mistakes*:*

> *"I think we need to acknowledge the human beings can grow and can change and can make mistakes and we need to acknowledge that in ourselves, we also need to be able to create a space where people aren't scared to grow"*

This is powerful not just for the impact it could potentially have on the experience of movements, but also recognises that if activists themselves can evolve and their understandings of justice can shift, movements can also grow and change to fit the need of the time.

7.6.2 Practicing respect and non-violence

Another strategic or tactical suggestion is about how activists deal with each other within the movement, and the respect that is necessary to build and sustain a movement (ML). The disrespect manifests in various ways, one of them being in how ideas or suggestions are presented and how if those are not articulated in a specific accent or using perfect English, they are not afforded the same value as others (ML). The same is true for qualifications and background, and how that often determines how seriously an idea is taken, which reinforces ideas that put certain types of knowledge above others (ML). This is of course, unacceptable in a country where there are 11 official languages, with high levels of unemployment that often hinders education levels and where English is not the first language for the majority. Respect was also mentioned in the conceptions of justice as a key component, and therefore this is another example of how the practices in the movement can help to operationalise the

conception of justice as respect. RN, the youngest participant was also very clear that those in the movement need to be kinder to each other, and practice empathy with fellow activists.

Another aspect of respect, is non-violence, outlined by JC who emphasised the need for non-violence to be a principle in the movement. Not only is it important in and of itself, it is also symbolic and relevant to the climate justice movement specifically, "*if we are looking at climate justice it's about nonviolence towards nature as well and all living things"* (JC). Respect also entails that various positions are considered and that the movement is built together with communities (BP).

7.6.3 Democratic practice

A crucial aspect of activist and organisational praxis is democracy, which was also emphasised in the conceptions of justice. Democracy features heavily in a number of ways for the participants, including in the internal practices of the movements. In addition to the call activists made for the movement to interact democratically with other organisations and groups, activists also call for a commitment to operationalise the practices they are calling others to, so essentially that the movement itself is democratic, and that:

> "*If we want to achieve this climate justice vision, we need to start implementing the practices that we see in the future now so its prefigurative politics"* (JC).
>
> "*if we saying we want open transparent then we must be open and transparent ourselves*" (FA).

Three of the participants emphasised that this includes that all voices need to be heard within the movement, and actively need to highlight and lift up those voices previously silenced and most vulnerable, even within the movement (RN, ML and JC).

In addition to how activists interact with each other and others, democracy must also be a fundamental tenet of how the organisations making up the movement should run. FA suggested that having a flat organisational structure could be enable this, so that everybody is able to fulfil their role, respect is prioritised and there is not a profit-making opportunity or individuals controlling the narrative is appropriate. Again, this is demonstrating to the public that formations with principles of democracy and respect can work. BP, as a leader of an organisation, stated very clearly that part of the practices they employ is to run the organisation democratically. This particular organisation runs in a way where the staff

members predominantly define and execute the projects they take on with complete agency; for the most part it is a flat structure, reflecting what FA suggests as a practice.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter detailed how activist participants operationalise their understandings of justice, both in their own campaigns and for the building of the climate justice movement as a whole in South Africa. These are practices that are both connected to overcoming the challenges as well as operationalising their conceptions of justice. The first grouping of practices are consciousness building, including building awareness about climate science; linking that science to real life experiences; consciousness building for systems change and some strategies for future consciousness building. The second grouping was grassroots engagements which include practices for grassroots engagements including building consistent and long term relationships, translation and building practical skills. Third is breaking barriers including building anti-hierarchical spaces; confronting the complexities of the movement and moving beyond organising the organised. Fourth, building alliances both other movements and multi- scalar engagements. Fifth, practices related to organisational and internal praxis including leaving room for growth; practicing respect and non-violence and democratic practice. The next and final substantive chapter draws out three core arguments from the analytical chapters in conversation with the literature.

8. Discussion

8.1 Introduction

The findings of the last four chapters provide various insights into the research question, *how are current climate justice movements and activists in South Africa conceptualising and operationalising justice?* First, the activists have shown that their understandings of justice are not simple and singularly focused on climate, but rather have a conception of justice focused on equality and meeting basic needs; systemic change linked with democratic inflections as well as environmental aspects. They showed clear growth and shifts in the way they viewed justice, not just through scholarship but notably through personal experience and most importantly, other social movements. They reflected that the challenges experienced by the movement were made up of a number of factors including global conditions; specifically South African conditions; lack of relevance in a number of spaces including grassroots, labour and other organisations. Even in the face of these challenges, the participants demonstrated that their conceptions of justice were being operationalised in the movements they were involved in consciousness building; grassroots engagements; breaking barriers; building alliances and appropriate organisational and internal praxis.

The following chapter brings these findings into conversation with the literature on climate justice; environmental justice; social movements; and theories of justice - to make three arguments. First, that the climate justice movement has both shared challenges with other social movements as well as particularly 'wicked' unique challenges such as time sensitivity and the intangibility of goals. Second that climate change is a multi-faceted issue that requires a multi-faceted conception of justice, shaped and shifted through struggle. Additionally, that South African activists are well versed in such multi-faceted and intersectional understandings of justice. Third, that the way forward for the movement is to implement practices which encourage and strengthen convergences, with solidarities that do not compromise the goals of the movement.

8.2 Challenges: shared and unique to the climate justice movement in South Africa

The climate crisis is one that is multi-faceted and poses a threat to human life, in a way that has not been seen before. Arguably, the climate justice movement has the most potential to bring together all movements of the past, like no movement has before; it is anti-colonial and anti-capitalist; it is anti-racist and feminist; it is democratic and inclusive. Given how multi – faceted it is, and how far reaching the consequences of climate change are, it is inevitable

that the challenges posed by the crisis are in some ways shared with other movements, but are predominately unique to the climate justice movement.

8.2.1 Shared movement challenges

Many environmental justice and social movements face challenges of lack of funding; political relevance; building relevance with the public and affected communities; levels of consciousness; finding common ideology and establishing affective connections or an emotional response from people (Perez et al., 2015; McAdam 2017). The South African climate justice movement is no exception to these challenges, with participants emphasising the shared challenges of developing common ideology; building consciousness and funding and resources.

Finding a common ideology is one of the biggest challenges that the climate justice movement shares with other environmental and social movements, but perhaps even more so in terms of strategy and to implement the change needed (McAdam 2017). The participants noted that ideology was a challenge in the movement, not that there was not one, but that there were various and sometimes conflicting ideologies that exist in the movement. Ideological differences are present in a number of social movements, and the participants did identify it as something they were grappling with in the climate justice movement as well. This challenge manifests in various ways: firstly in the sense that different groups within the movement have strong ideological positions and training presenting a challenge of building alliances across those lines. For the movement, this means that often, ideological disagreements break down conversations or mobilisation, and ultimately this allegiance to certain ideologies is a threat to the movement. Of course, certain ideological differences are non-negotiables but even on the Left where there is a common goal, I would argue that slightly different ideological or political training and unwillingness to compromise is hindering the movement more than helping it.

Building consciousness is an additional challenge that the climate justice movement shares with other environmental and social movements, perhaps more so because the climate crisis is a technical issue (Perez et al., 2015). As mentioned by participants, the levels of consciousness as it relates to climate change is not at a level that promotes a climate justice movement. This challenge of building both consciousness and relevance is a challenge faced globally by climate justice movements, with government departments as well as communities (Perez et al., 2015). In South Africa, this may be a result of other socioeconomic factors which

influence what levels of knowledge and consciousness people have, with regard to various crises.

Funding and resourcing is another challenge that the climate justice movement shares with other social and environmental justice movements (Perez et al., 2015; McAdam 2017). In order to build and sustain any movement, there are resources that are needed, including but not limited to funding. Often, resources extend to the need for human resources, allies in various sectors who can act as a resource and organisers; this was pointed out by some participants as a need for the movement. But predominantly the activist participants referenced resources as a funding issue. In a country like South Africa where funding is not always readily available, there is a concern around who gets funding, who does not and the dynamics it breeds amongst organisations and activists. It was also mentioned that within organisations, there is often a lack of resource capacity to sustain the number of employees needed to continue building the movements. In addition, there is a concern around the politics of funding and what kind of causes receive funding from the government; often climate is not one of them according to the participants.

8.2.2 Challenges unique to the climate justice movement

Along with the common challenges shared across various types of movements, my study found that South Africa's climate justice movement faces three specific challenges: creating affective connections to largely intangible, abstract issues; dealing with the climate crisis as a particularly time sensitive issue, and struggling with the racialised history of environmental movements in the country.

In terms of the first, McAdam (2017) states that movements need to evoke some kind of emotion in people to the point that they would act. In order to evoke an emotion namely anger, sadness or fear, strong enough for action, people must feel ownership of the issue and that it is directly affecting them (McAdam 2017: 194). This is easier done in movements for housing or better access to water, but the climate justice movement is unique in that for the most part, its goals are intangible and seen as long term. As mentioned by the participants, climate change is not seen as an immediate issue that is of great concern in this lifetime. As opposed to a recession or pandemic that requires immediate attention, climate change is not an issue that people tend to pay attention to in the short term, in the context of more pressing issues.

This intangibility presents a particular challenge for consciousness building, in the sense that people are not linking their everyday struggles such as hunger and lack of housing to climate change. Although reduced air pollution is good for the earth and people, it is very difficult to show people what reduced air pollution is, in many ways the demands that the climate justice movement is calling for will not make a direct and immediate effect on people's lives, individually. The main solution to this issue of intangible goals is to, as suggested by the participants, reframe the climate crisis to intersect with existing demands around housing and other distributive justice calls. This is essentially about reframing environmental justice from a green issue to a brown issue which is echoed in the literature as a practice to build the movement (Scott and Barnett 2009). This relates to issues around focus and the demands of the climate justice movement not being close enough to the immediate and direct calls for justice being made by activists on the ground. As recorded by the participants, climate change simply is not a priority in South Africa because people are unable to focus on this seemingly long term issue while dealing with the most basic of needs and lack of service delivery. This is a global challenge but particularly in South Africa where rampant inequality is so devastating for the poor while also being a large carbon polluter. But in a way, the climate justice movement can provide a space for that duality- for the simultaneous struggle for immediate delivery of basic goods and services as well as the long term, organising and mobilising for a new system in the context of climate change.

Part of the challenge of intangibility is that it is calling for a whole new imagination of what the world would look like: changed social relations and systems, and a new way of interacting with each other and nature. For this, imaginative thinking for a new society is required, something that, as stated by a participant, many people do not have the luxury of partaking in. For most people who are so entangled in the capitalist world and its all-encompassing nature, an alternative system is no longer a possibility, where capitalism has bred pessimisms and has defeated the imagination of many (Wright 2010).

In addition to the challenge of intangible goals, the issue of time sensitivity is also a unique challenge for the movement. Not many other movements, if any, have had to work against the clock on this scale in the way that the climate justice movement has to. The issues of hunger, homelessness or even gender based violence are fighting fixed issues which have a generally agreed upon outcome of the movement, i.e. nobody who is hungry, or housing for all, or a safe environment where women are equal and safe. Even if there is a time constraint

for a movement, for example, one that is opposing a piece of legislation that is being passed, that target, although time constrained, is still fixed. The climate crisis is neither fixed nor stagnant, it is a moving target, which is unpredictable and unprecedented (Hawkins et al., 2014). As the world continues to heat and limiting a 1.5° increase in global average temperature is becoming increasingly unrealistic, the conditions will continue to shift and require varying interventions (Pellow and Roberts 2015; Arora and Mishra 2019). The participants shared their anxieties around this, particularly pointing out the urgency of the climate crisis and how the long-term organising over generations that has been the case for other movements, such as in the gender justice movement and feminist movements is not possible for the climate justice movement, because of the urgency of the threat that the crisis poses.

Although achieving justice in the short term and addressing the basic needs of people now is vital, future thinking is also important and this is where intergenerational justice becomes essential for the movement. The movement is not necessarily for us, in our lifetimes, but rather is ensuring something for future generations. This is very different to, for example distributional justice demands where people are feeling those needs right now, they are experiencing homelessness now, and they are in need of a job now. The conceptions of justice that the participants had are not only helpful for building a nuanced movement, but also because it sets up a society for the future that takes into account various systems of oppression (Jampel 2018). Caney (2019) highlights that the decisions and policies made by governments at present, affect the world long after those politicians have left office, and in some ways hinders future growth and prosperity. This is true in a number of sectors including education and specifically the environment:

> "Short-term policies and the neglect of the future mean that current generations are bequeathing children and those yet to be born a deeply unjust world- one characterised by climate change, biodiversity loss, and social, economic and political inequality." (p. 3).

This means that future generations are not being given the best chance at succeeding sustainably. *Short-termism* is the idea that governments are making policies for the short term, and are not fulfilling their responsibilities to future generations and their right to have a prosperous society, and are failing at their fundamental responsibility as a government to be "guided by the core values of equality, liberty, democracy and ecological sustainability"

(Caney, 2019: 4). If we accept that justice has a basis of equality, which the participants stressed, then the responsibility of current generations is also to create a society and a world that does not in turn, cause inequalities for future generations; and because climate change makes existing inequalities worse, addressing climate change is not only an attempt at sustainability, but is fundamentally a call for justice. Intergenerational justice was alluded to by the participants who emphasised the need for future thinking and planning for a new society, one, that inevitably some of them will not be a part of.

A final challenge specific to the environmental and climate justice movements is that the movement has a tainted legacy. Historically, the mainstream environmental movement was largely dominated by white, liberal voices both internationally, but particularly in the South African context given the history of apartheid (McDonald 1998; Patel 2009). This is not to erase the strong community voices fighting against extractive industry and defending the commons over centuries, but in the modern era, the dominant voice in academia and the media was that of the white liberal environmentalist. This was a point raised by the participants in that they stressed the need to dismantle and move beyond this legacy, and were actively working towards that. This resonated with work being done in climate justice movement research in multiple contexts (Jampel 2018; Tormos-Aponte and Garcia-Lopez 2018; Ziervogel et al., 2021). The framing of the environmental justice movement, and even the climate justice movement as a white liberal movement has hindered the way alliances are built across society. Not only has the movement not entirely shed its reputation of being a white movement, it has also failed to present itself as a working class struggle.

This is evident in the difficulty experienced with building alliances with labour, which was outlined by the participants as possibly being one of the biggest challenges for the movement. Although labour's role and the need for employment could potentially be part of the basic needs argument, in the South African context this is particularly vital to address. The intangible goals of the climate justice movement in the context of mass unemployment that is experienced in South Africa paired with the reputation of being a liberal movement presents a significant challenge. Building an alliance with labour was stressed by the participants and was echoed in the climate justice literature which noted that although there has been an ecological turn for many social movements there is still a lot of work still to be done in building this alliance (Temper and De Bene 2016). Labour is a key ally, not only for

their potential to mobilise their bases, but also for characterising the climate justice movement as a working class movement, deeply concerned with the needs of the people.

In addition to the shared challenges with movements, the intangibility of the demands; the time sensitivity and the racialized history of environmental movements makes the climate justice movement a distinct struggle. The complexity of the struggle requires an equally complex activism that can only be forged through struggle.

8.3 The multi-faceted understanding of justice needed for the climate justice movement is achieved through struggle

Movements do not start from zero, they evolve and grow from other movements as a foundation. In a country like South Africa, with a strong history of movements, building the climate justice movement has a strong foundation to grow from. Both in the apartheid and post-apartheid era, there are examples of successful movements in South Africa which can not only be learnt from, but drawn on for mobilisation and theory. Just as conditions, demands and movements themselves change and shift, the conceptions of justice also shift and are shaped within these shifting movements. Through these struggles, South African climate justice activists have honed a multi-faceted, contextually-relevant conception of justice centred around: climate justice as social justice; intersectional thinking; system change and democracy. This iterative honing of conceptions of justice are also key for future movements.

8.3.1. Multi-faceted understandings of justice

Given that climate justice is not a single issue movement, and cannot be, given the multiple experiences of climate change by various groups, a single understanding of justice would diminish peoples' varying experiences and contexts (Holifield 2001) and be counter-productive to the movement. Rather, the conceptions of justice that the activists in this study shared were their own amalgamations of various understandings of justice, layered through experience and learning. The participants were all able to reflect an understanding that had clearly gone through iterations and not focused on one type of justice. All of the understandings went beyond just distributive or procedural justice, and aspects were taken from various definitions and developed through practice.

Climate justice is social justice

One of the ways that the participants reflected a multi-faceted understanding of justice, is in the recognition that climate justice is social justice. Largely, even though their base was the

climate justice movement, they had a view of justice that was very much calling for socioeconomic justice, through increased access, equality and empowering communities.

In this context, the slogan "climate justice is social justice" is more than just a tagline, but is really a foundational point of departure for the activists in the movement, even possibly interpreted as "social justice *through* climate justice", using the climate justice movement as vehicle. While many have argued that the environmental movement can provide space to merge both social and ecological justice calls (Cock 2004; Scott and Barnett 2009; Temper and De Bene 2016), I would argue that the merging of those two concerns is essential and cannot be separated in the climate justice movement. The general view of justice presented by the participants of equity, power, control and access is echoed in the literature emphasising the importance of equity on many scales and also the need for self-determination and access to certain resources as being part of the environmental and climate justice movements (Scholsberg and Collins 2014; Patterson et al., 2018 and Routledge et al., 2018).

Intersectionality

In a movement like climate justice that seeks to centre the voices of indigenous groups, of those most vulnerable, those most affected by the climate crisis and who are least responsible, the cognisance of racial, gender and class inequalities by the activist participants is crucial. Equally important is how those inequalities are produced and intersect through oppressive systems of colonialism, capitalism and neoliberalism, this resonates with wider movement principles (Banerjee and Bell 2007; Gach 2019). These recognitions contribute to an understanding of justice within the climate justice movement that addresses systems of oppressions as a whole and links the climate justice movement to other struggles for freedom from these systems.

The link between systems of oppression and therefore the links between movements was presented by the participants as a conception of justice that was deeply intersectional. Many of the visions of justice expressed by the participants were about inclusivity; giving a voice to those who have been silenced; valuing of different viewpoints and types of knowledge; lived experience; which, although not mentioned explicitly, are deeply feminist ideas of justice and practice (Jasper 2010; Gaard 2015; Brownhill and Turner 2019). These are foundational tenets of climate justice and is reflected in climate justice literature, especially for those who are most affected by the impacts of the climate crisis (MacGregor 2014; Ziervogel et al., 2021).

The importance of indigenous and local voices was not only spoken about by the participants as a principle (Gach 2019), but is also being actioned, in that working with the grassroots and communities was a central practice for them. In a Westernised discourse of climate change, often the voices of indigenous communities are silenced despite them having a deeper connection with nature and are those who will be affected first and most severely by climate change (MacGregor 2014; Gaard 2015). Thus, a locally grounded understanding of justice that values and respects indigenous knowledge and rights is important for the climate justice movement (Patterson et al., 2018; Routledge et al., 2018), and part and parcel of epistemic justice (Temper and De Bene 2016). The participants were in agreement with the literature in this sense, emphasising that there needs to be a prioritisation of voices from the communities and their understanding of justice was locally grounded. In this same context and perhaps taking it further than the participants did, valuing of indigenous voices and those who are vulnerable must also emphasise the inclusion of women's voices who have previously been excluded from discussions around climate change in an effort to neutralise the climate crisis (MacGregor, 2014; Gaard 2015; Chanza and de Wit 2016).

Another intersectional point outlined by the participants was that they had a view of justice that understood that there is a link that human exploitation had to the exploitation of nature. The participants emphasised that seeing humans as part of nature was an integral part of justice and was a key shift in their understanding of justice over the years, which reflects eco-feminist conceptions of existing with nature (Banerjee and Bell 2007) and socioecological conceptions of justice (Yaka 2019).

Related to this idea that nature and humans are linked, the activist participants argued that justice in this context was about seeing nature for its intrinsic value, and not its value as related to human's profit off of it. Again, this is reflected in the literature around socioecological justice where it is recognised that if we do not see this intrinsic link and rather continue to look at nature and humans as separate, it will be difficult to fully understand or address the climate crisis (Yaka 2019). Going beyond just rectifying the unequal distribution of environmental disadvantage of the environmental justice movement, and beyond just about how humans interact with the non-human of ecological justice; socioecological justice argues that the binary of either saving nature from humans or saving humans from the destructive capability of nature needs to be rejected (Yaka 2019: 364). The participants clearly

shared a similar view of justice as they all were clear that systems of oppression and exploitation were linked and that there is no climate justice without social justice.

System change

Another slogan associated with the climate justice movement that reflects a conception of justice is '*system change not climate change'.* Again, it is clear by the views of the participants that this is not just another poster slogan, but is a deeply political understanding of justice that the majority ascribed to. This resonates with ecofeminist literature which sees the exploitation of the environment and of women both as a result of the capitalist system (Banerjee and Bell 2007) and democratic ecosocialism literature (Baer 2016; Satgar 2018). In line with these frameworks, the participants were clear that part of their conception of justice and part of the consciousness building that needed to be done was moving beyond just environmental notions of justice and thinking more systemically. To understand climate justice and environmental disadvantages, it is integral to understand global systems, how they work and how they are connected (Pulido 2016; Gach 2019). It is important that activists look beyond just the *outcome* of racial and environmental injustice, for example, toxic dumping around black communities. Rather, there is a need to look closely at the underlying systems which were contributing to those outcomes such as environmental racism and racial capitalism (Pulido 2016). At first, the environmental justice movement did not address the structural issues of why the toxic dumping was happening in the first place. Arguably, the same can be said for the climate justice movement, that if the movement is not made up of people thinking systemically as suggested by the participants, the result will not be long lasting or effective, and will allow the system's inequalities to remain while just treating symptoms.

Overall, the understandings of justice as systems change by the participants were presented largely as critiques of the neoliberal system. Particularly in South Africa, the capitalist, neoliberal state colludes with extractive industry, worsening the climate crisis and its effects on the vulnerable. The deeply socioeconomic understanding of justice from the activists within the climate justice movement is a result of decades of this behaviour from the state. Added to that, is the fact that the neoliberal agenda of the democratic administration has not been able to successfully deliver basic needs to the poor (Madlingozi, 2007). These neoliberal shortcomings are one of the catalysts for why social movements occur (Madlingozi, 2007).

Madlingozi (2007) states two approaches to a movement. One is based largely on ensuring the rights enshrined in the Constitution, which works within the same system; this relates to those highlighted by the participants who pointed out that there are those who prefer to work within the confines of capitalism to solve the climate issue. While the approach to work within the confines of the system can work for some movements, those in the climate justice movement would critique this approach as an attempt at ecological modernisation (Bond 1999; Scott and Barnett 2009). The second approach is counter oppositional and deals with a single issue and uses that to then bring light to broader challenges and is usually anti-capitalist. I would argue that the climate justice movement is a combination of these two, given the conceptions of justice outlined by the participants as not being a single issue movement; the importance of affirming the rights enshrined in the constitution as well as the anti-capitalist stance that many of the participants took. Part of this call for a complete overhaul of the system, is to reclaim the foundations of democracy.

Democracy

The final aspect of participants' multi-faceted understandings of justice that stood out particularly was their strong democratic articulation, calling for a deeply transformative and participatory form of democracy. While participatory democracy is an important part of the environmental justice movement in general (Walker 2009), in this instance it is also reflective of South Africa's history of apartheid and colonialism, where past movements, for the large majority of time have been seeking democracy. Having a democratic inflection is consistent with many of the movements in South Africa, and is in line with how the participants articulated their intersectional understanding of justice. Democracy for the participants was about upholding its principles but also functioning internally and with others in a way that is democratic.

8.3.2 Building complex understandings through struggle – inspiration for other movements

The conceptions of justice from the participants were so multi-layered that it was clear they were developed and honed over time. The understandings also drew on an array of influences, again pointing to an iterative process of developing this understanding. Amongst the various reasons given, overwhelmingly, the understandings of justice were shaped through practice, and more specifically, through struggle. Evidence of these understandings being honed through struggle is in that these understandings were grounded in the South African context and were not regurgitations of Western or textbook understandings. Given their histories, the participants were involved in a number of movements (environmental

justice; labour movements; social movements, etc.), but most notably, most were anti-apartheid activists. Being part of the anti-apartheid movement allowed for these participants to develop a deeply political, democratic and socioeconomic understanding of justice, later integrated with environmental justice.

This shift, where understandings moved to integrate environmental justice demands did not replace the previous conceptions of justice, but rather added to it and they continued to shape each other through practice. This shift is not unique to these participants but is an integral part of how the climate justice movement itself emerged (McDonald 1998; Patel 2009). Similarly within the environmental justice movement, there has been an evolution of understanding justice (Perez et al., 2015; Gach 2019). It began as a more distributive justice movement calling for equal distribution of environmental risk and disadvantage; then procedural justice became a larger part of the environmental justice movement after some time, and then coupled with justice as recognition; that those who are affected need to be involved in the decision process (Walker 2009; Okerere 2010; MacGregor 2010, 2014 and Gaard 2015). This evolution allowed for the climate justice movement to evolve out of the environmental justice movement, largely because its definition of justice shifted (Tokar 2013; Schlosberg and Collins 2014). Although the initial purpose was to address the toxic dumping, as those in the movement experienced various events, they began to see the more systemic nature of inequality, and learnt more about environmental racism. Through struggle, the view shifted and they were able to see that they needed to address both existing and future injustices around environmental disadvantage (Schlosberg and Collins 2014).

Through the participants' experiences in previous movements such as the anti-apartheid movement, labour movement and environmental movement, we can see how crucial those movements have been in shaping their understandings of justice. Not only do these struggles lead to an understanding of justice that is experience-based and layered, but also context specific and as locally relevant as the struggles are. This resonates with the rational choice paradigm which is a theory of action in movements (Jasper 2010). This theory notes how important individuals and their behaviours are within a movement. This is an essential part of movements because it looks at the ways in which people relate to the world around them, and how they respond to events (Jasper 2010). This is relevant to justice, because if justice is shaped through struggle, it is shaped through the experiences and responses that activists have to events happening through the movement. This is key because recognising that

peoples' experiences can influence their understanding of justice, is recognising that as those experiences and responses change, so does the understanding of justice.

Based on these multi-faceted, contextually-specific understandings of justice built through struggle in multiple movements, I propose that the climate justice movement provides a space for the struggle and the events of the movement to inform understanding of justice more generally (Yaka 2019). The struggle and the demands of climate justice cannot just fit into existing theoretical definitions of justice, instead it is a space where theories of justice and their boundaries are negotiated and expanded (Yaka 2019). The idea that justice can be a set definition to be imposed on a movement must be rejected and rather, it is crucial to see justice as an ongoing process; shifted and shaped by struggle. Allowing justice to be shaped within struggle is something that allows for "Justice to come" (Yaka 2019: 354), pointing to this possibility of a new form of justice emerging from the climate justice movement.

8.4 Strengthening convergences

All movements need a base, and given the magnitude of the climate crisis, it requires an equally massive mobilisation strategy. Climate justice presents an opportunity for an array of actors from different movements and causes to unite under one struggle. As suggested by the participants, a key strategy would be to build alliances with other existing movements and vulnerable groups including youth, feminists, labour and others. I would argue that building solidarities are equally important to the climate justice movement.

Solidarity goes beyond alliances, allowing for the relationship to not just be action based, and relies on a principled agreement with a cause. Building solidarity is particularly important for the climate justice movement:

> "*Solidarities constructed through processes of relationality, connectivity and commonality between diverse place-based struggles over climate injustices have the potential to refigure the terms of debate of climate politics. To be effective, struggles concerning climate justice require the forging of solidarities and mutual responsibilities between groups and communities, and the articulation of those rights within, between and beyond particular places"* (Chatterton et al., 2012: 12).

In the context of climate change, solidarities are built by consistently questioning and contesting power relations, and defending people's rights to the commons using varied methods and from different positions. A movement is not just the person speaking through

the mic with their fist in the air, a movement is made up of all different kinds of moving parts including social media presence, writing of articles and others. The participants, although all activists in the traditional sense themselves, some being scholar activists as well were clear that the movement requires more than just traditional activists and alliance partners. Three such solidarity building strategies can be drawn out from the findings in relation to social movement and climate justice literatures, namely: mobilising an epistemic community, working towards organisational polycentricity and politicising climate change.

The first strategy for building solidarities is about integrating professionals and in this case, scientists, in a way that is helpful to the movement, by mobilising an *epistemic community*. Solidarity across sectors, including with professionals is not uncommon in building a movement and was used extensively during the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). An epistemic community is this idea of professionals who were able to use their research work to lobby the government and give support to the demands and action on the ground (Vandormael 2007). This increased the TAC's strength and ability to fight the issue of HIV/AIDS treatment and policy on a number of fronts.

For the climate justice movement, a similar tactic could be employed, particularly with climate scientists. Partly, building solidarity requires people to know about the issue and be compelled to act, an epistemic community could assist in government consultations but can also play a role in consciousness building and disseminating scientific knowledge in communities as suggested by the participants. Activists are not only tasked with gathering the science, they must also understand it and be able to package it for the public (Scott and Barnett 2009). There are multiple jobs that need to be fulfilled such as research on the effects of climate change, translating that research both literally into other languages and figuratively into more accessible language, both stated by the activist participants. There is a need for people to write the reports, check policies and make comments to the government, again mentioned by the participants as an integral role for the movement. The climate justice movement is particularly ripe for this kind of solidarity work because it is a movement rooted in science, and building solidarity with climate scientists can aid the movement by providing expertise.

A second strategy for solidarity building is about what was noted by the activists in this study: building cooperation between different climate justice organisations and campaigns, in addition to alliances with other movements and sectors. There is a role for all types of

organisations and one organisation cannot and should not be at the centre of any movement. In the South African context this is also particularly relevant because of the power dynamics that play out between local organisations who are embedded in communities, NGOs and other international NGOs. The participants emphasised that alliances need to be across these lines. In the literature, this is termed *polycentricity.* It calls for diversity to be at the centre of movement building and values a diversity of strategies and ideas, and most importantly calls for multiple centres of knowledge production, power and organisation to exist (Tormos-Aponte et al., 2018). The movement not being centred on one organisation or one voice was important for the participants and for building cohesion within the movement and expanding the reach of the movement.

The third strategy for solidarity building is to continue to politicise the climate crisis. In an attempt to expand the movement, it is key that there is still a recognition of the deeply political nature of the climate justice movement. The danger is that in the name of solidarity, the movement may be depoliticised, which is already a challenge for the movement. One way in which the climate justice movement is depoliticised is that the responsibility is placed on individuals to recognise their role in climate change and make economic and political decisions based on that. The participants stressed that this was a tactic they had experienced, one participant pointed out that even at the high school level there is a lack of education about the industries who are driving climate change. Rather, they were taught individual water saving techniques and were encouraged to take their individual emissions into account. The activist participants and climate justice literature alike, call for a radical politicisation of climate change (MacGregor 2014). Especially in a neoliberal system where governments are implicated in the cause of climate change along with industry. Politicising climate change would help to build a strong and sustainable climate justice movement.

There are also limits to solidarity and alliance building. The participants stressed that not all groups included in engagements need to be in an alliance, sometimes strategic allies in certain positions such as government is helpful, this does not necessarily mean solidarity amongst those groups. This is in stark contrast to some climate and environmental justice literature that suggest an abandonment of class politics and pushes a solidarity for the 'greater good', neglecting historical inequalities that caused the climate crisis (Doan and Sherwin 2016).

Building solidarity is not about letting everybody in and creating a chaotic space where everybody is included just for the sake of numbers, but rather about being conscious about

building a kind of solidarity that is helpful to the movement. As the participants note, it is crucial that the lines alliances are crossing are not contradictory or counter-productive to the movement. In this way it is emphasised that solidarity, although inclusive, has to at all costs still exclude eco-fascist ideas and other ideologies that are harmful to the groups encompassed in the movement. The way in which this is done is through a multi-faceted and political understanding of justice where unequivocally, the justice in climate justice refers to an anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-patriarchal and intersectional understanding of justice.

8.5 Conclusion

This section has outlined three arguments, drawn from literature and activist perspectives. The first argument is around the challenges faced by the climate justice movement, that these are both shared with other movements and unique to the climate crisis. The second argument is that there is a multi-faceted understanding of justice held by South African activists in the climate justice movement, built through struggle and that this is key to building the climate justice movement in the future and potentially for building multi-faceted understandings of justice in other movements too. Third, there is a need to build convergences (with various groups of society) in the climate justice movement through strategic solidarities, as well as traditional alliances.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Synopsis of the Study

The climate justice movement, as has been illustrated is a particularly complex movement and differs from other social movements in several ways. One substantial complexity is that the climate justice movement does not, and cannot have clearly defined goals like other social movements, rather, it has to be ever changing and shifting, to keep up with the unpredictable and unprecedented nature of the climate crisis. Equally, justice is not clearly defined, there are various definition of justice used in various ways by different groups of society. Even within the climate justice movement itself, there is not agreement on what *justice* refers to in this context. There is a need to interrogate this, in order to build the movement further.

To investigate how justice is understood, in the context of the climate justice movement, and how those understandings can assist in addressing the complexity of the movement, this study aimed to answer the main research question: *how are current climate justice movements and activists in South Africa conceptualising and operationalising justice?* To address this and related sub-questions, I conducted in-depth interviews with leading activists in current South African climate justice movements, and document analysis of campaign and movement material.

Shaped by a feminist approach to research that is grounded in people's lived experience, attentive to multiscalar and intersectional power dynamics and committed to emancipatory social change, , the dissertation first interrogates *the paradigms, frames of reference and events that enabled/catalysed currently operating South African climate justice movements*. Through movement histories and activist biographies obtained from the in-depth interviews and document analysis, the activist participants, in their own words shared how they became activists in the climate justice movement as well as how the movements they were part of, were formed. They shared that, for the most part they trace their histories from other social movements before finding themselves in the climate justice movement, namely the anti-apartheid struggle and the environmental justice movement. There were several notable events and catalysts that led to the movements depending on when they emerged. Some South African catalysts were the COP17 hosted in Durban, the recent drought and the announcement of new coal fired power stations. Some global, and more recent catalysts were the Australia fires and the Greta Thunberg protest. It must be noted that these were merely catalysts, but deep political organising was already taking place prior to these events, around

democratic ecosocialism, environmental justice and inequality in various spaces, through various mediums.

The dissertation then analyses *how activists define and understand 'justice' in the climate justice movement.* From the interviews with leading climate justice activists in South Africa, it was clear that South African activists have a multi-faceted, intersectional conception of justice, clearly honed through practice and other struggles. The activists presented conceptions of justice that fall into six categories: justice as equality, empowerment and respect; distributive justice; justice as systemic change; justice as democracy; procedural justice and justice for the earth. All of these understandings intersected and no participant had just one understanding of justice. These nuanced and deeply detailed understandings of justice were surfaced through a design and analysis that took a feminist approach which not only valued lived experience and activist perspectives as important and valid contributions to debates and theorisations but also one that allowed for research to be done at a smaller scale, which sees communities, organisations and people as equally important subjects of research as the state and global institutions. The feminist approach also allowed for the intersectional nature of these conceptions to be highlighted. Where the theory often provides structured definitions of justice, these activists were able to recognise how various definitions of justice intersect, because there was a recognition that various issues and structural inequalities are intrinsically linked.

To address the third research sub-question, *how are different types of justice relevant to the climate justice movement? And how they have changed over time,* shifts in understandings of justice were observed through the interviews. Although some participants noted that they did not see a shift in their own understandings, the others fell into two main categories of change, which are directly related to climate justice. The first shift was that participants reported an expansion in their understandings, from a people-centred justice mainly focused on distribution concerns to later include ecological concerns. Because they had the foundation of a social justice conception, they were able to develop a climate justice conception where they integrated the two. The second shift that is relevant to climate justice is that their conceptions became more systemic. What this points to, is a more robust conception of justice that connects various struggles, and identifies the systemic roots of these struggles. For many this required an explicitly anti-capitalist orientation, but for some

this was simply about recognising that the climate crisis was a crisis created by the system and not by individuals.

In identifying *barriers and challenges that prevent climate justice action,* the participants outlined challenges they were experiencing in their current movements as well as the barriers they see hindering building a united climate justice movement in the future. These challenges for both present and future movement building took six main forms. First, global conditions such as power dynamics, the nature of consciousness and the immediacy of the climate crisis. The second grouping included national conditions such as the rampant inequality and poverty of South Africa, the corporate and state engagements in a neoliberal system and being cut off from the rest of Africa. Third, building relevance at the grassroots including translation issues connecting to other struggles and capacity challenges. Fourth, building alliances with labour for several reasons including the fragmentation and the disjuncture between labour and community organising. Fifth, building alliances with other climate and civil society groups related challenges manifesting in the lack of cohesion, organisational relations, differing ideologies, debates about systemic change and tactical differences is a challenge. Lastly, negotiating the internal movement dynamics were a challenge such as resource challenges and burnout.

The penultimate question of the study revolved around *the ways movements are 'practicing' or operationalising justice and some of the goals, aims, and strategies used to achieve justice.* In this regard, the activist participants reported on practices they were implementing in their movements, which were closely linked to their conceptions of justice. There was also a recognition that there was still work to do, and some of the operationalised practices were suggested for the future. The main practices comprised of consciousness building, including how to build and exchange knowledge about climate science and system change; grassroots engagements; breaking down barriers to participation in the movement; building alliances, and growth-oriented, democratic practices associated with how organisations function internally.

Through the discussion, the last sub-question *how are current movements reshaping or rethinking justice for other movements* was addressed. It was illustrated that South African activists in the climate justice space have multi-faceted understandings of justice, that they have honed through struggle and that the climate justice movement presents a space for further honing and shaping of justice as an ongoing process. The definitions of justice were

not singularly focused, nor only amalgamations of theoretical definitions of justice: they were shaped and reshaped through their practices and experiences in other movements, and this trend has continued into the climate justice movement. For the activists, theorisations of justice that already existed in the discourse were largely insufficient to cover what they, as activists envisioned for the movement. Thus, there was a reshaping of justice not only by linking more than one existing definition, but also adding some place specific, localised needs to these definitions, based on their lived experiences and praxis within movements. Another reason that their conceptions of justice offer a rethinking of justice is due to the climate justice movement having some overlapping challenges with other forms of social movements, but also its own unique needs, requiring existing definitions of justice to be rethought to address those challenges. While not neglecting the shared challenges, existing definitions are not completely rejected, but rather built upon. Therefore, the activists in the climate justice movement are rethinking and reshaping justice, by recognising and appreciating the past while also making space for new and unique needs necessitated by the complexities of the climate justice movement.

9.2 Significance and contributions of the research

Ultimately, this study makes three significant arguments: the climate crisis given its complexities, is distinctly different from other movements in the challenges that it faces; South African climate justice activists, due to their involvement in other struggles have a multi-faceted and inclusive conception of justice that is equally complex, this is key to building the climate justice movement. Finally that it is crucial for the movement to build convergences through strategic solidarities without compromising the demands of the climate justice movement.

First, it contributes to the South African movement building literature by focusing on the climate justice movement which is relatively new. In the South African context, this kind of justice research is relevant, not only because of the existing inequalities and injustices, but because of the potential that the climate crisis has, to exacerbate and perpetuate those injustices. Given South Africa's history of movements which have emerged to address inequality in the past, presenting the challenges that the climate justice movement faces as well as strategic practices to overcome them is advantageous.

The second contribution this study makes is to global climate change research by focusing on justice and movement building in that context, with a perspective from the global South. This

contribution was made through conducting interviews with South African climate justice activists who, in many ways were able to reflect a unique perspective on conceptions of justice, practices as well as challenges, with their own South African inflection. Although understanding that the science is key, this study contributes a movement aspect to the climate change discussion, which is action based.

In addition to these, the dissertation makes a further contribution in its insistence on the theory-praxis nexus inherent in justice, not just as a concept to be studied philosophically or theoretically. This study addressed this empirically by interviewing climate justice activists who are currently active in climate justice movements in South Africa, to interrogate not only how they conceptualised justice, but also how they were operationalising those understandings, into tangible practices. These practices presented by the activist participants illustrate that justice is not simply a theory but that it can be translated into practical tactics in the movement. Furthermore, South African activists are already in this process of operationalising their conceptions of justice.

These practices, presented by the participants were not only being implemented at present, but were also outlined as strategies for building the climate justice movement in the future. This also addresses the third and last rationale of this study which was to, in some way, provide material support for the South African climate justice movement.

9.3 Future research avenues

There are a number of ways in which this research can be extended. In a time where lockdown conditions have been completely lifted and it is safe to travel, more participants could be interviewed, beyond the initiators of movements to understand how the conceptions of justice held by the initiators are shared by other members and activists within the movement. Related to this, research could be done on the efficacy of those operationalised practices.

With an extended time period, this research could observe more closely, the shifts in conceptions of justice, challenges and practices in the movement over time. This could also be linked to growing attention on the climate crisis and how future events could be catalysts for action, in increasingly difficult conditions.

For a more comparative study, one could take a legal approach. To compare how understandings of justice on the ground and within current movements compare to how the

policies and treaties conceptualise justice, and if there is any overlap and where opportunities for collaboration lie. This could be done both on a national or global scale.

Similarly, a comparative study can be done between different contexts, between countries with different political histories, different movement culture and different socioeconomic capabilities. Another comparative study could utilise the theoretical tools of political geography to analyse how the climate justice movement relates to and engages with other movements, whether social, political or economic. This could be done in a way that looks at the political landscape of South Africa as a whole, with cross cutting issues and lessons to be learnt.

Another possible avenue for future study could be to survey climate actions, campaigns and movements more broadly in South Africa. Climate action in the country takes on many forms and it would be an interesting study to archive and catalogue as many of them as possible, to compare their inceptions, tactics and goals.

9.4 Coda

"The climate crisis presents us with a historical opportunity because to solve it we need radical transformative change in how we produce, consume and organise our lives" (Cock 2018: 210).

This research was motivated by questions around justice beyond just a theory or philosophy, but as a concrete, implementable concept. Climate justice movements are a productive site from which to investigate this because climate change is a crisis that affects people to varying degrees largely dependent on their socioeconomic class. It is a crisis that inherently is unjust because those who did not create the crisis are bearing the brunt of the effects of climate change. In this research, justice is reflected to be something shifting and growing, shaped and forged through struggle more than in the academic space. These versions of justice that have been moulded through praxis, are also then able to be operationalised for future movements and building the climate justice movement. Ultimately, the multi-faceted, deeply political and inclusive conceptions of justice held by the climate justice activists in South Africa are necessarily complex, to deal with the unprecedented nature of the climate crisis and to set the basis for practices of the movement in the present and future to reflect those conceptions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

Questions to ask participants:

Background and history

1. How did you get involved in this movement, and how long have you been active?
2. What is the name of the campaign you are aligned with? And what role do you play in this campaign?
3. Why does your campaign exist, what led to its inception?
4. What are the obstacles that your campaign faces?

Conceptions of Justice

5. What does justice look like to you?
a. Are there any specific influences that have inspired this understanding?
6. In your opinion, how are you contributing to achieving justice? What are your tactics in achieving justice?
7. What practices do we need to encourage if we are to build a strong climate justice movement?
8. What are the obstacles facing a South African climate justice movement?

Shaping of justice

9. Since being in the movement, how has your understanding of justice changed or evolved?
10. What makes the climate justice movement, and its goals distinct from other movements?

Appendix 2: Consent form

Topic: An ecofeminist analysis of current South African climate justice movements and conceptions of justice

Researcher: Courtney Morgan (848201)

Participant consent form-individual interview participants

I, _____ agree to take part in an individual interview with Courtney Morgan. She has made it clear that:

- her objectives are to assess the conceptions of justice in current South African climate justice movements and how these movements operationalise justice
- The interview will last around one hour
- I will be asked to share experiences, insight and opinions on topics pertaining to her objectives
- Participation in this interview will not entail any form of monetary benefit for myself
- I can, at any time refuse to continue with the interview if I am not feeling comfortable
- My responses will be used in her final dissertation

	(please circle)	
I agree to be interviewed for this project	YES	NO
I agree to have the name of my organisation stated in the final dissertation	YES	NO
I agree to have my name stated in the final dissertation	YES	NO
I agree to have my position stated in the final dissertation	YES	NO
I agree that verbatim quotes from the interview can be used in the final dissertation	YES	NO
I agree for my interview to be voice recorded	YES	NO

Participant:	
Signature:	Date:

Researcher:	
Signature:	Date:

Appendix 3: Information form

5th August 2020

Participant information sheet- potential interview participants

Title: An ecofeminist analysis of current South African climate justice movements and conceptions of justice

Dear potential participant,

I am Courtney Morgan, a Geography Masters student at Wits. For my degree research, I intend to analyse current South African climate justice movements and understand how they are conceptualising and operationalising justice, from an ecofeminist perspective. The objectives are to assess how climate justice movements understand the role of justice in the movement and are reshaping and rethinking justice; your participation would be an enrichment to that goal.

I would like to invite you to participate in an in-depth interview, as I believe you, and the role you play in the climate justice movement makes you a key stakeholder in this research and I would appreciate you sharing your insights and experiences with me. Taking part in this study will take around one hour and will ask you to speak to a range of questions on your experience and conceptions of justice within the movement. Due to the constraints that COVID-19 and the lockdown present, this interview will be conducted over Zoom or another online platform that is suitable to you, on a date and time of your choosing. I would also like to request that you please share with me any documents, books, policy documents etc. that you think would be relevant, as I will also be doing document analysis as a research method.

Participation in this study does not entail any form of payment. Your participation is completely voluntary and if you wish to not take part, this will have absolutely no repercussions for you. If at any point during our meeting you do not wish to continue, or you are uncomfortable you can express this and the meeting will be stopped at your wish.

Finally, your responses will be used in my final dissertation for my Masters degree and potentially other publications at a later stage. As part of my project is to document these current movements, I would like to be able to name you and your organisation/movement in the research; if you are not comfortable with this, I will keep your name as well as the name of your organisation anonymous by making use of aliases. Any data collected will be kept on my personal password protected laptop and the data will only be used for the purposes of my degree, in order to ensure confidentiality. I would also request that you allow me to voice record the discussion we have in order for me to record the information you provide as accurately as possible. The information will be stored on a password protected computer and will be deleted off the voice recorder immediately after being downloaded.

If you wish to see a summary of my report on completion, I'd be happy to share that with you. If you have any further questions, after our interview, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

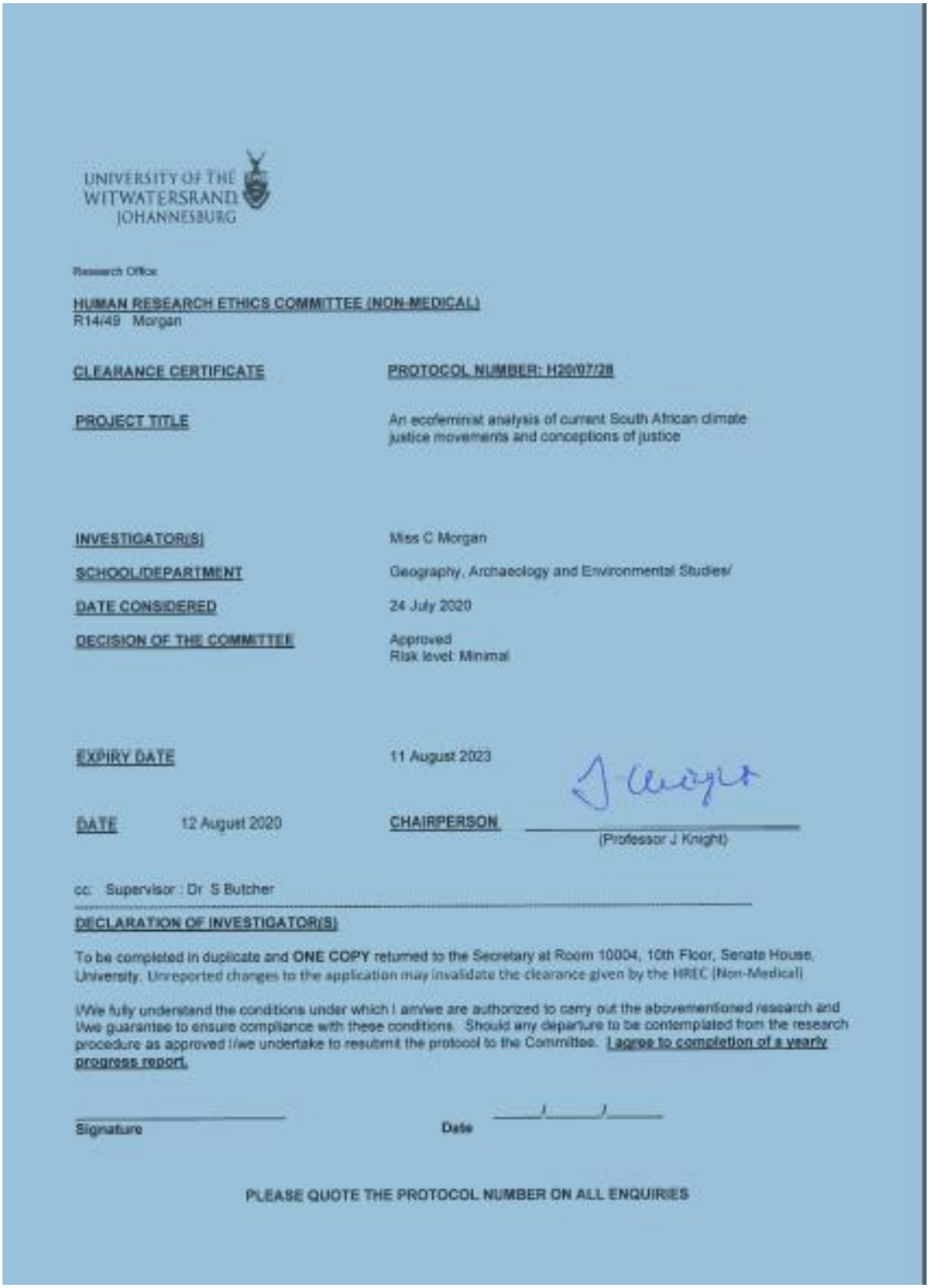
Courtney Morgan

Email: 848201@students.wits.ac.za
Phone: 0834839119

Supervisor: Dr. Siân Butcher

Phone: 061 188 3471
Email: sian.butcher@wits.ac.za;
sian.butcher@gmail.com,

Appendix 4: Ethics clearance



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Morgan

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H20/07/28**
PROJECT TITLE	An ecofeminist analysis of current South African climate justice movements and conceptions of justice
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss C Morgan
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies/
DATE CONSIDERED	24 July 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk level: Minimal
EXPIRY DATE	11 August 2023
DATE 12 August 2020	**CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr S Butcher

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ Signature

_____/_____/_____ Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES