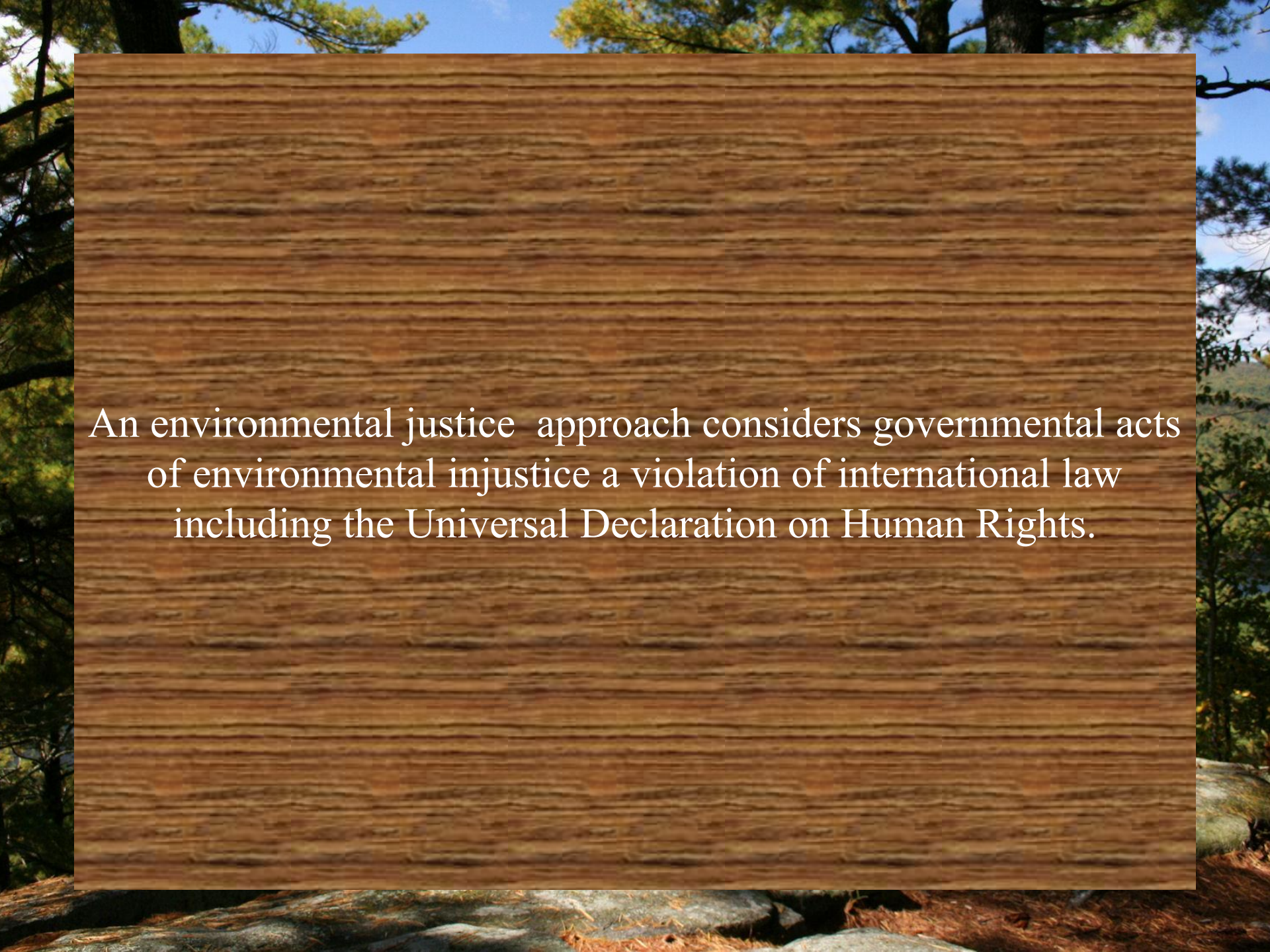


**(Greening the Debate): Timing, Locality, and Participation in  
Predicting Success of Environmental Justice Campaigns**

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An environmental justice approach considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law including the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.



Environmental injustice affects persons' access to crucial elements of the international human rights framework including

- Life, liberty and security of person
- Equal protection and nondiscrimination
- Freedom of movement
- Property
- Equal access to public service
- Right to work
- Social security
- Health and wellbeing
- Education



## Climate Justice (CJ)

Climate Justice links human rights and development to achieve a human-centred approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly. Climate justice is informed by science, responds to science and acknowledges the need for equitable stewardship of the world's resources. (Mary Robinson Foundation)



## Climate justice

- 1) Is a particularly important and emerging area within EJ
- 2) Links together many superficially disparate strains within the environmental and EJ movements, inc. mobilizations around
  - a) industrial toxics and toxic dumping
  - b) air and water pollution
  - c) energy extraction
  - d) pipeline safety
  - e) land use
  - f) indigenous//First Nations/Aboriginal rights.
- 3) Has been a key focus of youth-oriented orgs ie PowerShift.

### However~

- 4) Is also one of the areas of EJ that is most apparently distant and spatially removed from people's everyday lives
- 5) Challenges activists, advocates, and academics to demonstrate the way that local problems reflect larger global injustices



- Comparative environmental justice course
- Fall 2014, 2016

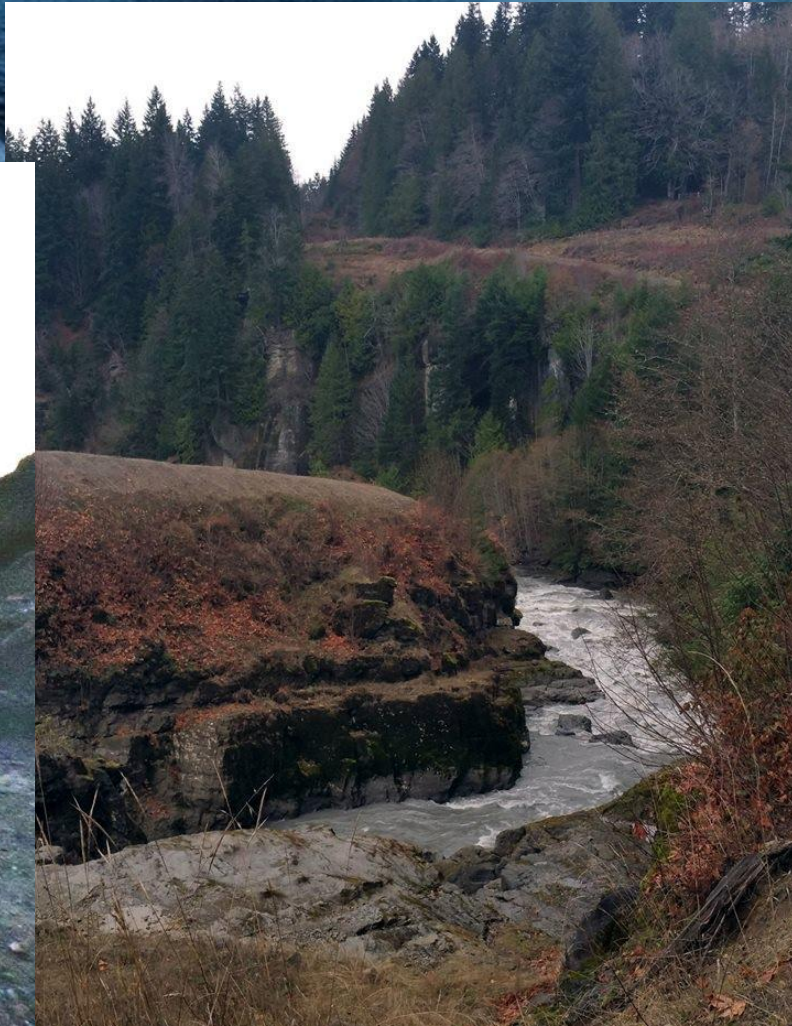




- Chicago
  - LVEJO/PERRO and the closure of the Crawford and Fisk coal-fired power plants
    - Both in majority Latino areas
    - Two of the oldest and dirtiest coal fired power plants in the nation
  - Petcoke and post-industrial toxins on Chicago's Southeast side









- Vancouver
  - Howe Sound and reindustrialization
  - Burnaby Mountain and Kinder-Morgan's Transmountain pipeline







CHICAGO  
STANDS WITH  
BURNABY

ALL PIPELINES  
ARE MADE OF  
EARTH  
NORTH AMERICA

USE LINE  
CAUTION



Successes are encouraging BUT

- Organisers tend to describe very ad-hoc reasons for success
- This is rather unsatisfying because....



Even though we might expect EJOs to have the impact that we know NGOs can have in the broader human rights sphere (NGOsForsythe 2005, Smith, et al. 1998 Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999, Foot 2000, Thomas 2001, Price 2002), “environmentalists find themselves playing defense far more than offense” (Meyer), and individual campaigns around climate justice still enjoy limited success.



In fact, a survey of climate justice campaigns undertaken by the EJOLTS project (<http://ejatlas.org/#=&filter=category~5>) suggests that of 40 recent EJ campaigns in the Western Hemisphere (relating specifically to climate justice).....





....only 14 were a clear success.





What can be done (directly) to translate public sentiment > political outcomes?

Suggestions from what we know about HR campaigns:

- Ambiguity of laws hampers effectiveness (Wong 2010)
- Nature of violation (Keck and Sikkink 1998); presence of three attributes increases effectiveness of campaigns
  - Bodily harm
  - Clear line of responsibility
  - Blocking victims' legal opportunity
- Tactics (Roth)
  - Focussing on individual sufferings and injustices increases effectiveness
- States generally violate because the benefits outweigh the costs
- Problems of defining each of elements of nature of violation

## How might we expect CJ campaigns to be different?

- 1) Many EJ campaigns highly localised; therefore cannot resort to the shaming “boomerang” described by Keck and Sikkink that may be effective in other HR campaigns
- 2) CJ campaigns specifically, if climate discourse becomes sufficiently prominent, may have a hard time convincing public or key stakeholders of their importance
  - 1) Too distant spatially
  - 2) Perceived to be too remote temporally
  - 3) Definitely hard to personalise
- 3) Ambiguity of laws is particularly severe in CJ cases
  - 1) EJ laws generally only date back  $\leq$  40 years
  - 2) Laws impacting CJ, such as those re: climate mitigation & adaptation are still in development, internationally and domestically
  - 3) May in some cases not be recognised as such
- 4) In future this project will compare CJ campaigns with other EJ campaigns, & within state comparisons to control for regime type



## Hypotheses:

H1: CJ campaigns that have an international audience have greater chances of success\* (through boomerang effect)

H2: CJ campaigns that focus on personal cases and stories have a greater chance of success

H3: CJ campaigns that include clear violations of (domestic) law have a greater chance of success

H4: CJ campaigns that clearly and convincingly identify responsible parties have a greater chance of success (note there are two elements to this)

H5: CJ campaigns where there is little cost to government for redress/ceasing violations have a greater chance of success (this requires consideration of indirect costs)

- 1) Question: Who is chosen as alternative boomerang target?
- 2) Possibility: include costs to corporate interests (directly, rather than assuming they affect government actors)
- 3) In future this project will compare CJ campaigns with other EJ campaigns, & within state comparisons to control for regime type, level of democracy/transparency and legal structures

\*and will have greater gains

## Some preliminary empirical tests using the EJAtlas Mapping Project

The EJAtlas maps.....

“Environmental Justice or Ecological Distribution conflicts — conflicts that highlight the distributive & structural impacts of economic activities on the health and environment of specific populations.”

Effects are economic, health related, socio-cultural or environmental.

Most cases include communities mobilizing against negative perceived effects of environmental injustices

Ecological conflicts= “struggles over the burdens of pollution or over the sacrifices made to extract resources, [which] arise from inequalities of income and power. Sometimes the local actors claim redistributions, leading to conflicts, which are often part of, or lead to larger gender, class, caste and ethnic struggles....EJ not only refers to the distribution of costs & benefits but ... also ... participation & recognition claims” (EJOLT Maps 2015).

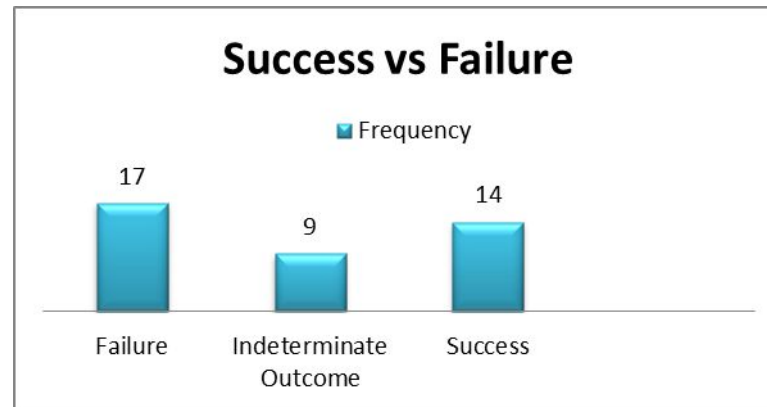




Contains 1345 cases, of which 254 categorized as “Fossil Fuel/Climate Justice Conflicts.”

The analysis that follows: 40 cases from North America, Central America, and the northern part of South America. US, Canada, Mexico, Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.

# Predicting Success





## Testing H1: Campaigns with International Audiences Are More Likely to Succeed

Bivariate Correlation=.011

T-test: Outcomes Without, and With National and International NGO Involvement

	Without NGOs	With NGOs
Mean	0.956522	0.866667
Variance	0.86166	0.695238
Observations	23	15
Pooled Variance	0.79694	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	36	
t Stat	0.303283	
P(T<=t)	<b>0.38171</b>	



**Testing H2: CJ campaigns that focus on personal cases and stories  
have a greater chance of success**

- Not currently tested. Possible to code using EJAtlas Case Descriptions (and links)
- Anecdotal Support



### H3: CJ campaigns that include clear violations of (domestic) law have a greater chance of success

Correlation = 0.20

t-Test: Campaigns that did not, and did, employ the legal system

	Without Action Through the Courts	With Action Through the Courts
Mean	0.77	1.15
Variance	0.653594771	0.871052632
Observations	18	20
Pooled Variance	0.768364198	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	36	
t Stat	-1.30700783	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.099748716	



## H4: CJ campaigns that clearly and convincingly identify responsible parties have a greater chance of success (two elements)

- This will require content analysis
- Simple and imperfect proxy for convincing = visible effects; database allows this to be further disaggregated
- Correlation coefficient = .080

t-Test		
	Without visible health impacts	With visible health impacts
Mean	0.818182	0.9625
Variance	0.822511	0.8625
Observations	22	16
Pooled Variance	0.839173	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	36	
t Stat	-0.81173	
P(T<=t)	<b>0.211142</b>	

**H5: CJ campaigns where there is little cost to government for redress/ceasing violations have a greater chance of success (this requires consideration of indirect costs)**

- Not currently tested
- Data is available in EJAtlas (in terms of population affected or potentially affected, and, more directly, amount invested in USD)





**Conclusions?**

**Thank you!**

















