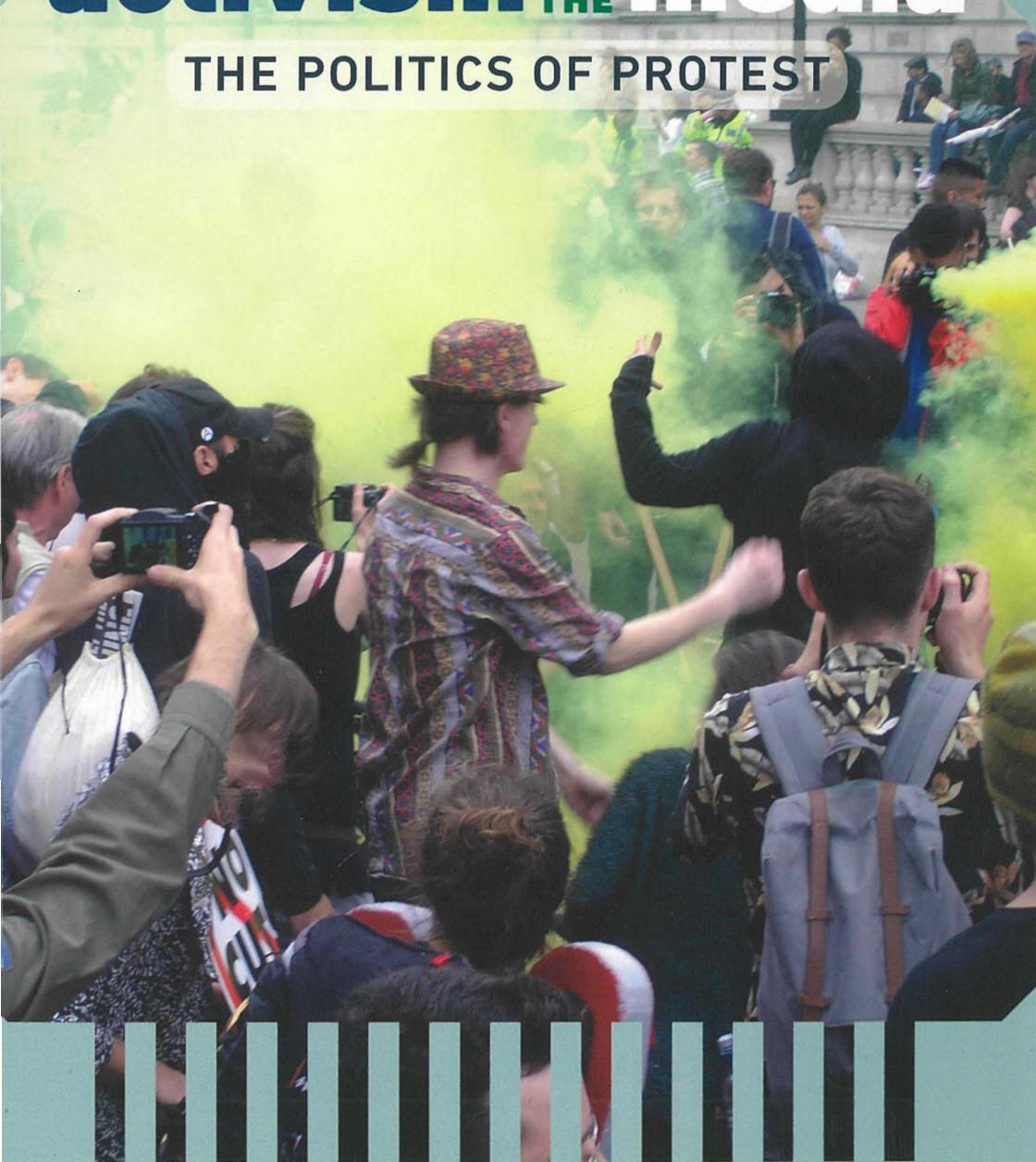


# environmental activism AND THE media

THE POLITICS OF PROTEST



# Environmental Activism and the Media

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Maxine Newlands

# Environmental Activism and the Media

The Politics of Protest



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JAMES COOK

For Stephen and Mum & Dad



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# ABBREVIATIONS

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
BAA	British Airports Authority
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
BP	British (Beyond) Petroleum
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CFCs	Chlorofluorocarbons
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CJB	Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CoP	Conference of the Parties
CSC	Counterspin Collective
CSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DoE	Department of Environment
EMSs	Environmental Management Systems
EMT	Ecological Modernization Theory
ENGOs	Environmental Non-governmental Organizations
EU ETS	European Union Emissions Trading Scheme
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GEG	Global Environmental Governance
HACAN	Heathrow Association for the Control of Aircraft Noise
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KACAN	Kew Association for the Control of Aircraft Noise
LARC	London Action Resource Centre
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (now DEFRA)
MEAs	Multilateral environmental agreements
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NECTU	National Extremism Tactical Coordination Unit
NEPI	New Environmental Policy Instruments
NFU	National Farmers Union
NOTRAG	No Third Runway Action Group (Heathrow Airport)
NPOIU	National Police Intelligence Unit
PCC	Press Complaints Commission
PPPs	Public and Private Partnerships
RIPA	Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act
SMOs	Social Movement Organizations
SOCPA	Serious Organized Crime and Police Act (2005)
TAZ	Temporary Autonomous Zone
TNR	Trans Northern Companies
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework on Conventions on Climate Change
WTO	World Trade Organization

## INTRODUCTION

In 1999, Timothy Luke wrote that, “in the ongoing struggle over economic competitiveness, environmental resistance can even be recast as a type of civil disobedience, which endangers national security, expresses unpatriotic sentiments, or embodies treasonous acts” (1999, p. 125). Luke was observing what would become a political shift in the role of environmental activism in Western Democracy. In the same year the global justice movement exploded onto the world’s stage with anti-capitalist protests in Seattle, USA (1999). Protesters gathered to bring public attention to the environmental impact from trilateral agreements taking place at the World Trade Organization meeting that would have long-term economic and environmental impacts on most people. The ensuing battle between these two groups – political economists and environmental activists has produced binary positions in seeking solutions to climate change. In the fight, some environmental activism and protest more generally has become criminalize in the Western World, whilst economists and liberal politicians push for more and more market solutions. This book is based upon a critical examination of the media and political representation of environmental activism in shaping public knowledge about climate change. The book is based on interviews with environmental activists and critical discourse analysis of newspaper representations of environmental activism from the 1980s to the early 2010s.

## **Environmental Activism, Politics and Traditional Media<sup>1</sup>**

Over the past four decades environmentalism has become the baseline for key areas of political, economic and social justice debates. Growth within the professional political left of Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGO) has seen an expansion of interest groups such as Greenpeace, Sea Shepherd, Friends of the Earth, World Wildlife Foundation etc., into multinational organizations. Equally, radical environmental activists have seen different incarnations like the Global Justice Movement, Climate Camps, Occupy and Anti-Fracking Movements. Simultaneously, global Institutions and political collaborations has led to mainly non-binding agreements with the creation of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and Agenda 21 (1992), the Kyoto Protocol (1997), Bruntland agreement, Conference of Parties (CoP) (1992–present) including the Paris Agreement (2015) and many more. Each of these initiatives places economics at their core. The result is a split between governments and global institutions seeking economic led solutions and the more sociological solutions of the left and radical left, as evidenced by the continuation of environmental protest around the planet despite moves to criminalize and curtail.

Across the world, environmental activists are constantly challenging neoliberal approaches such as energy markets, emissions and carbon trading schemes that has become common as a solution to climate change. How activism movements maintain pressure on governments and corporations is the focus of the second half of this book. From social media to superglue, activism, craftivism and spy cams, activists are constantly developing innovative ways to be a voice within environmental politics. This book focuses on the radical environmental activists collectives such as the Anti-roads movement and Reclaim the Streets (1990s), Global Justice Movement (2000s) mega-protests at Conference of Parties (CoP), Camps for Climate Action UK (2005–2010), Reclaim the Power (2008-present), (2010–), Occupy Movement (2011) and anti-fracking—Knitting Nanna's (2012) and the Red Lines (2015–2017).

To distinguish between professional and radical, hierarchical and non-hierarchical this book refers to radical as *ecoActivists/ism* with a capital A, and *ecoActivism* for professional, hierarchical organizations. The A represent the inclusion of the anarchist strand in radical protest collectives such as Black Bloc (1990s–present). Black Bloc is not a prescribed collective, but more a

group of individuals who believe in “violence against the police as a legitimate political tool, a form of self-defence against the state” (Viejo, 2003, p. 371). Much of the Black Bloc rhetoric came out of the Class War, Poll Tax Riots (1989) and Whitechapel Anarchist collectives (1980 onwards), and still permeates the movement today. EcoActivists from each of the groups identified above, and other collectives were interviewed for this book. The book draws on over 50 interviews with activists in the UK, USA and Australia. Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper clippings and reporting of ecoActivism in the traditional media as the framework for the findings and supported by interview data and focus groups. Drawing on media (Fairclough, 1995; Coul-dry, 2000; Gerbaudo, 2012) and political discourse theory (Dryzek, 2000; Foucault, 1977, 1991), this book charts the relations of power and socio-economic outcomes between ecoActivists and mainstream polity since 1997. In doing so the power relations reveal that shaping the public understanding of radical environmental activism sees power shifting away from activism towards environmental governance and free-market economics, nestled in a media discourse. Climate change debates and the political economy have become so entrenched in media practices we are creeping towards deadlock. This book applies a Foucauldian interpretation of his concept of governmentality with Luke’s green governmentality to show that neoliberal politics takes us beyond Luke’s prediction, recasting anyone from an individual to international ENGOs within a frame of deviance.

## **Governmentality and Green Governmentality: The Acceptable and Unacceptable Environmentalism**

The guiding theories in this book draw on Foucault’s concept of discourse, power, biopower, governmentality and heterotopia (1971, 1977, 1982, and 1991). The book takes Luke’s interpretation of governmentality (see Chapter Three) and green governmentality (Luke, 1999) to examine the triangulation of power in shaping public opinion and knowledge on climate change. Green governmentality, or what Oels (2005) terms eco-governmentality, helps chart shifts in power within environmental discourse.

Green governmentality draws on Foucault’s idea of governmentality through a green lens and the notion of biopower. Foucault shows that governments can govern in either way that rewards people who side with their

policies and ideologies (known as technologies of the self) or discipline (known as technologies of dominance) those who contest those who challenge the policies or ideologies. This bifurcation of power is unpacked with the Foucauldian notions of biopower and biopolitics—the body as a political tool.

Thus climate change solutions can be seen through the lens of these two technologies. Individuals and groups who agree that economics is the best solution are rewarded with green points from supermarkets, or a sense of public duty, of saving the planet. Whereas individuals who reject capitalists' solutions, in favour of a pluralistic approach, such as ecoActivist collectives, can often be excluded from the debate. As Chapter Four will show, ecoActivists and individuals are often subject to state-sponsored surveillance and laws that curtail protest as a technology of dominance.

Drawing on Foucault's notion of governmentality this book explores emerging political discourse that position the climate change debate between people who support economic solutions, over those who want a more egalitarian approach that includes climate justice. In understanding governmentality, this book will firstly traverse the world of governance, geopolitics, biopolitics, eco-governance and green capitalism (Newell and Paterson, 2010) before moving onto a series of case studies to discuss the consequences of such greening of the state. The case studies show how environmentalism has taken two different routes, economics and pluralistic as a "key framing and mobilising discourse [that] articulated a new political agenda for mobilising climate activism" (Chatterton, Featherstone, and Routledge, 2013, p. 603).

Thus, governmentality can be a concept that both facilitates a way to describe a neoliberal or advanced liberal rule, and also as a framework or method that examines "mentalities or rationalities of government" (Death, 2010). Governmentality can be a specific form of power, held by the state over the populations. Governmentality can also be a way of analysing relations of power in general. In this book governmentality is applied as a framework for analysing relations of power between governments, traditional media and environmental activists.

As we'll see, Western governments use techniques of dominance to pass new police powers of arrest and detainment against people who challenge economic led environmental solutions through protest. The political art of environmental activism has become to be seen within a discourse of an accepted threat to state security. This book sets out how political and media framing of radical environmental activism is increasingly wrapped in a discourse as a threat to societal order and security as justification for state sponsored surveillance and

criminalization of various places and forms of protest. This book is based upon a critical examination of the consequences for environmental activism as a democratic right in a world that favours economics over social, egalitarian solutions to climate change.

To understand the role of green governmentality in the reporting of ecoActivism this book draws on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for its analysis and original interview data from a range of activists. CDA is preferred over text or content analysis as it provides analytical tools that contextualize theoretical positions. Contextualization of a news story is necessary for frames to have maps of meaning. Contextualizing comes from the “methodological field of history” (Foucault, 2008, p. 12). Without contextualization, a back-story to use journalistic jargon, any story struggles to make sense. Like the climate debate discussion in Chapter One, in order to understand traditional media’s representation of environmental activism we need to contextualize the events by looking at previous media reports. Media discourse analysis helps unpack how sentence structures (Van Dijk, 1988), framing (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) and linguistic traits can produce discourse and meaning. In addition to this, CDA provides the intertextual tools to examine both the mechanics of meaning and the theoretical context in order to address the research questions. Therefore, Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (1995) is the preferred empirical research tool for analysing newspaper reports.

Traditional media (television, radio and print) and new media (social and online) practices play a central role in this debate. Traditional media as the fourth estate’s role is to decipher and challenge the two sides of the argument, economic (neoliberal) and egalitarian (activists) for the public. The first environmental journalist was appointed by the *New York Times* newspaper in the mid-1960s signalling a recognition that the environment was becoming a social and media issue (Lester, 2010). Reporter for the *New York Times* newspaper, Gladwyn Hill is credited with being one of America’s first national environmental correspondents. A. M. Rosenthal, former executive editor and columnist of the *New York Times* says, “Gladwin Hill helped open up a whole new field of reporting, and became enormously important to the country and to journalism” (Perez-Pena, 1992). Adding that as a columnist, “he had tremendous journalistic skills, and a deep interest in the environment long before it was fashionable” (Perez-Pena, 1992). Hill and other journalists around the world were tapping into and exposing an emerging political and social understanding of the environment.

Today, new or social media enables environmental groups to circumnavigate traditional media practices and create their own discourse through media stunts and spectacles. Media image events (Deluca, 1999) have become common throughout the last five decades of radical ecoActivism. Memorable media image events include women in the 1980—some women intentionally goaded police into arresting them, to generate an image event of a mature lady being carried from Greenham Common by police officers (1983). The late 1990s anti-roads activist Swampy emerging into the media spotlight (1980s) as a media event, and the Reclaim the Streets (RTS) parties (1980s) all generated image events for the waiting press. Around the world, Tar Sands protests in Canada (2006); Global Justice Movement protests (1990–2000), repeated with the Occupy and Arab Spring movements (2011) and the eponymous Battle for Seattle (1999) as masked-up protesters mingled with people dressed as turtles and a series of image events of the global justice movement. When Australia hosted the G20 meeting (Brisbane, 2014) a new form of activism protest saw a 100 people all with their Heads in the Sands of Bondi Beach, near Sydney Australia (2014). At the UNESCO Conference of Parties (CoP) 21 in Paris, activism saw giant inflatable cobblestones blocking roads. Also at CoP 21 South American and Pacific Island Nations indigenous peoples were marching against the developed worlds for justice (2015)—each event an image and snapshot of the environmental movement. Early environmental journalism studies shows a “clear and widespread media discovery of the ‘environment’ in 1969” and there was a clear indication that “international flows were clearly at work in the formation of the environment as a social problem and media issue” (Lester, 2010, p. 32). Today journalists and politicians tend to refer to these changes as climate change, global warming and the Anthropocene.

## **Climate Change Concepts: A Potted History**

The Anthropocene, global warming, climate change, environmentalism and acid rain are all terms referring to the impact of a high carbon society on the earth’s weather systems. To be clear, global warming is increases in overall global temperatures. Climate change includes increasing temperature, but also represents the changes in the planet such as sea level rises, melting glaciers, ocean warming causing ocean acidification, dramatic changes in weather patterns leading to increase in flooding and drought. Buckingham and Turner (2008) say that climate change is “any change in the global

climate system, over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity” (2008, p. 179). Whereas global warming is the “recent climatic amelioration, observed across the globe, believed to be a result of anthropogenic (human) forcing due to increased release of greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere” (2008, p. 179). Environmentalism is the interaction between people and planet in a socio-political context affected by social, political and cultural relations. Another way of looking at it is climate change and global warming often refers to scientific based terminology; environmentalism is a social science term. Environmental activists focus on the social and rely on the science to prove the argument.

Evidence suggests that anthropogenic (human relations) impacts on nature first began in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The industrial period was the start of a high carbon economy that was to grow exponentially over the next two centuries. A postwar economic boom (1967–1997), a dominant American Imperialism model pushing for higher consumption and ramping up export and imports, including road vehicles, aeroplanes and infrastructure adds to the high carbon society. The end of the twentieth century was an era epitomized by consumerism and capitalism cosyng-up with neoliberal politics to drive the global economy. The new millennium sees an increased capitalism driving a higher carbon economy as mass production and population from developing and developed countries (i.e. Asia and Indo Pacific regions) feeds the global north’s appetite for consumerism putting more and more pressure on the environment.

## **An Emerging Anthropocene?**

Questions over whether a high carbon economy could affect the atmosphere began around the late nineteenth century (1880). The period from 1880 to the present day is a time frame that many scientists are referring to as the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene is a term deriving from geological studies to describe the “central role of mankind in geology and ecology by proposing to use the term ‘Anthropocene’ for the current geological epoch” (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000, p. 41). British Chemist Robert Angus Smith’s (1872) first recorded study was testing if pollution (carbon from coal burning, chemicals in wool production) from the textile mills of northern England were affecting local weather patterns. Smith’s findings show that rainfall in the Greater Manchester area had an effect in the levels of acid in the air, which led to him coining the term “acid rain”. Smith also “discovered a link between acid in rain falling near Manchester and the sulphur dioxide given off when coal is

burned. Seventy years later, research in Europe confirmed this discovery (...) thus the phrase acid rain entered the language” (McCormick, 1989, p. 5). Smith’s “acid rain” becomes an allegory for the impacts of industrialization on the global climate for the next 100 years.

Not until the mid 1970s did scientist Wallace S. Broecker (1975) define the parameters of what we understand by global warming and climate change. Broecker’s paper *Climatic Change: Are We on the Brink of a Pronounced Global Warming?*<sup>2</sup> began the debate on what we mean by global warming and how it differs from the term climate change. Broecker observes that “by the first decade of the next century we may experience global temperatures warmer than any in the last 1000 years” (1975, p. 461). Researching Greenland’s glaciers, Broecker (1975) questions the impacts of man-made chemicals has on the global temperatures and finds that “as the CO<sub>2</sub> effect will dominate, the uncertainty here lies mainly in the estimates of future chemical fuel use and in the magnitude of the warming per unit of excess atmospheric O<sub>2</sub>” (1975, p. 463). Adding, that “without regulation to monitoring global temperatures the earth is in for a climatic surprise” (1975, p. 463). Broecker points out that the post-war period has seen global temperatures adjust through natural balance as “the major point of the argument is that over the past 30 years the warming trend due to CO<sub>2</sub> has been more than countered by a natural cooling” (1975, p. 463). He warns that natural weather patterns and cycles cannot continue to compensate for the Anthropocene, and “this compensation cannot long continue both because of the rapid growth of the CO<sub>2</sub> effect and because the natural cooling will almost certainly soon bottom out. We may be in for a climatic surprise” (1975, p. 463) and warns that without drastic change that:

The onset of CO<sub>2</sub> induced warming may be much more dramatic than in the absence of natural climatic variations. There is little doubt, however, that this gradual warming will lead to changes in the pattern of global precipitation. Our efforts to understand and eventually to predict these changes must be redoubled. (1975, p. 463)

Smith (1872), Broecker (1975) and Crutzen and Stoermer (2000) studies began over concerns about the environmental consequences of industrial revolution. We see the trajectory of terms from acid rain to global warming, climate change and today the Anthropocene. The two terms have become interchangeable in the media, and appropriated by politicians, journalists and academics as a catch all phrase for environmentalism. To be clear, climate change is according to the science, the heating up of the global temperatures due to human activity. Global warming is the long term warming of the planet

over time that is often referred to as the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene may have begun in the 1880s, but only very recently has the human race come to accept that high carbon economies have a recognized impact on the global temperature. Not until 2013, over 141 years after Smith's (1872) first study, was there a formal recognition and 95% certainty that the climate is changing due to human influence. The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) fifth report (Stocker, Field, Edenhofer, 2014) notes due to "human influence has been detected in warming of the atmosphere and the ocean, in changes in the global water cycle, in reductions in snow and ice, in global mean sea level rise, and in changes in some climate extremes" (2013, p. 13). Whilst each term has separate meanings, for ecoActivists, ENGO and the environmental left the unifying discourse is the impact high carbon economies have on the environment. Since the late 1960 and the Earthrise image environmental concerns emerging with a focus on the human impact to the planet from industrialization and rapid increases in consumerism.

## The Rise of the Environmental Left

Today, ENSM sit as the formal, hierarchical organizational structures (old social movements) that engage with political institutions in advancing political integration and economic rights (Martell, 1994). Old social environmental movements include Oxfam, Sierra Club and World Wildlife Fund. Environmental New Social Movements (ENSM) began gaining traction in the 1970s and early 1980s (Anderson, 1997), such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, 350.org and Sea Shepherd. Emerging in an age that saw increasing politicization of the environment, ENSMs have become a major part of environmental politics all across the globe. Expansion in mass media, youth culture, social movements, civil rights, feminism, ecofeminism, technology, the internet, World Wide Web (WWW) has been adopted by both professional and radical environmental movements as we witness large-scale bottom-up protests and civil disobedience.

Environmental activism within the politics of protest emerges around the same time as new social movements (NSM) in the late 1960s. A movement is defined as people with a desire for a "sort of radically democratic political economic and cultural transformations, and who believed in undertaking some sort of non-violent direct action" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 293). There are two strands of NSM—old and new (Martell, 1994). Old social movement practices include a top-down hierarchical staff organization found in any multinational, they are rich in resources and have global reach. New social movements often

defined through the more radical direct action and civil disobedience focuses on social justice and single issue political participation. NSMs are more in line with identity politics and “raise issues and make demands about identity, lifestyle and *difference*” (Martin, 2015, p. 61).

Within ENSM there are two strands—hierarchical and non-hierarchical organizational structures, or professional and radical. Radical ENSM are movements emerging as autonomous civil society collectives of coordinated informal networks and grassroots activism, non-violent direct action and cultural politics. Radical is a collective of likeminded group of people—leaderless and all decision-making processes are based on collective consensus. Anderson (2004) describes such collectives as made up of individuals at a grass-roots level, which “operate under a variety of organizational (and disorganization) banners depending on the action concerned” (2004, p. 107); or the non-hierarchical, horizontal collectives of like-minded individuals that form together either ontologically to create new activist movements, or as part of the wider environmental activist movement as a whole.

David Foreman (2005) co-founder of the radical Earth First! sees professional or old ENGO models as “political movements become more debating societies where the participants engage in philosophical masturbation and never get down to the vital business at hand” (Foreman, 2005, p. 352). Foreman describes radical collectives with values as “none of us will even transcend a polluting lifestyle—but we can act. We can act with courage, with determination, with love for things wild and free. We can’t be perfect, but we can act. We are warriors. EarthFirst! is a warrior society. We have a job to do” (Foreman, in Dryzek and Schlosberg, 2005, p. 352). The simplest definition comes from MacKay in his book *DiY Culture, Party and Protest in Nineties Britain* “activism means action” (1998, p. 5).

## Managing the Environment and Wilderness

Parallel to emerging environmental social justice movements was the formalization of global green political discourse (1970s; Torgerson, 1999). In the USA, the first Earth Day 1970 raises awareness of high carbon economy on the global environment. The day was later formally adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Political policies and processes in managing the environment see governments in North America, the UK and Australia create departments of

the environment, Clean Air Acts and Water management procedures. Such managerialism of nature was first seen centuries earlier, through the national park policies.

Before the 1970s, environmentalism, particularly in the UK and North America, often hung on questions on consequential impacts of industrialization, mass food production, conservation and the nuclear debate. A couple of decades before, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) were regularly organizing protest marches between the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Berkshire into central London. In the USA, Rachel Carson's seminal book *Silent Spring* (1962) was raising questions on pesticide usage in mass food production. Then in 1968, the Earth Rise image draws together the separate debates and the birth of the environmental movement.

Earthrise—our blue planet in the darkness of space—became eponymous with people's perception of Earth, nature and our relationship to the planet (Dryzek, 1997; Doyle, 2007; Gore, 2007; Lester, 2010). America's National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) Astronauts Borman, Lovell and Anders aboard the Apollo eight mission broadcast live images of the earth as seen from lunar orbit. The image – Earthrise – triggered a new wave of environmentalism that moved away from conservation and towards environmental justice. Academically, politically and culturally Western societies take the images and begin examining green political discourse as the “intersection of ecosystems and human social systems” (Dryzek, 1997, p. 8).

The iconic image has today become synonymous with the environment and used in advertising, branding logos, public relations and the mainstream media. Environmental groups use the symbolism of the globe as an emblem (i.e. Earth Hour (March 28th, 2007–present), and Earth Day (April 22, 1971—present)). Media organizations incorporate the globe (CNN, BBC and ABC) into their branding. Wikileaks has two globes in an hour glass, Anonymous logo is a man (albeit with a question mark for a head) in front of a culture jammed UN global logo. The United Nations (UN) logo is a globe, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is a globe and so on.

Cottle and Lester (2011) observe “depictions of the globe in the context of news on climate change have also now become commonplace in the media, as they have in the iconography of new journalism more generally” (2011, p. 926). The Earth as an image plays a “prominent part in bringing home the threat and reality of global climate change, as well as positioning for many, particularly within the West, as possibility *the* crisis of the global age” (2011, p. 926). Whilst Earthrise instigated a shift in the environmental movement,

it also began to change how politicians and the media report on environment and related socio-political issues and contestations.

## **The Rise of the Environmental Right: Climate Sceptics and the Conservative Right**

Capitalism and neoliberal policies become the dominant discourse in the 1980s and early 1990s. UK Prime Minister Margret Thatcher's opened up new trade routes between Britain and mainland Europe, combined with deregulation of banking markets allowing for rapid growth, and new home ownership initiatives were all ways of removing state responsibility for social issues. USA President Ronald Reagan took similar steps to open up trade with the North America Free Trade Agreement. Reacting to Thatcher's new economic policies in the 1990s activists began mobilizing with frequent protests over class, privilege and economic policies. The Poll Tax riots at the end of the decade summarized ten years of unrest. Thatcher's Roads to Prosperity paper (1989) opened up trade routes between the UK and Europe. Trade expansion led to many roads protests from Twyford Down, M11/Wanstead, Newbury Bypass and the trope of Swampy emerging out of a tunnel at the A30 Devon bypass protest camp. In the cities the Rave scene was the start of a DiY protest (McKay, 1998) and emergent ecoActivism reclaiming the streets and society from the neoliberal conservative right.

In Australia, Conservative Prime Minister John Howard announced road plans through the Daintree Wet Tropical rainforest in far north Queensland to open up the route to tourism. The Daintree became a famous protest against land clearance for property development as "real estate interests threatened to destroy what remained of the virgin lowland rainforest" (Cohen, 1996, p. 82). Protesters fresh from action in the southern state of Tasmania travelled north in support of local activists. The Queensland government had on the advice of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee set aside land on the tip for the Cape Tribulation National Park; however, activists were worried that a planned "building of a connecting road through the national park from Cape Tribulation north to Bloomfield, would rip up 33 kilometres of lowland forest wilderness" (Cohen, 1996, p. 82). Activists came together to form the Cairns and far north Environment Centre as a base to protect the rainforest and adjacent Great Barrier Reef. There were concerns that the topsoil from the road would "result in land destabilisation, resulting

from landslide scars and topsoil entering the reef environment” (Cohen, 1996, p. 82).

Just a decade later and the relationship between ecoActivists and the domestic government intensifies over the space of climate change knowledge. Increasing economization of the environment is scaffolded against an increase neoliberal discourse and capitalism-led solutions to climate change combined with new legislation that limited some protest. Additionally, state-sponsored undercover policing and intelligence gathered rationalized as security measures meant protesters and individuals ran the risk of arrest and/or being put onto a domestic extremists watch list, and no-fly lists.

Those wanting to go beyond the professionalization of protest and political participation through lobbying, letter writing, clicktivism or slacktivism and towards more non-violent direct action and civil disobedience could either have intelligence gathered on them or be demonized as domestic extremists, eco-terrorist or be arrested under public order offences. From 1999 onwards a series of new UK laws and police units were created that impacted on the ability to protest. The National Public Order Intelligence Unit (1999); Terrorism Act 2000. Part five; National Extremism Tactical Coordination Unit (2004); Serious Organized Crime and Police Act (2005); National Domestic Extremism Team (2005), Counter Terrorism Command (CTC, 2006) and the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act (2011<sup>3</sup>) all of these have been used to gather intelligence and convict ecoActivist in the UK (see Chapter Four).

This book charts the trajectory of increasing criminalization of non-violent direct mobilizations that appears in newspaper reporting. As Chapter Two shows over the last few decades media reporting within a security narrative pervades through the reporting of ecoActivism. The result was a temporary loss of voice for many of the movements, blanked out of the discourse to be replaced by economic arguments as the solution to climate change, whilst state actors influence public opinion and political decision-making processes with economics at the heart of the debate.

## **UK Political Right and Co-opting the Environment**

Green governance became a political hot potato at the 2006 local elections, when the Conservative Party put the environment at the heart of their campaign. The co-opting of environmentalism and climate change concerns was outwardly seen as a U-turn by the Conservative Party who

traditionally favoured economic growth over other factions such as the environment. Similarly, New Labour Party drafted a Climate Change Bill and commissioned Lord Stern of Brentwood to find out the economic impacts of climate change (2006). The resulting Stern report, by former head of the World Bank Nicholas Stern was a risk analysis testing the impact of climate change on the UK.

Global recognition of climate change was reiterated with the UN IPCC fourth report. The IPCC AR4 (2007) notes that it is extremely likely that “human influence has been the dominant cause of the observed warming since the mid-20th century” (IPCC 5th Report into Climate Change). The fifth (2013) UN IPCC report is the first global report that comprehensively accepts the Anthropocene is real caused by a high carbon anthropogenic society. The report (10.3–10.6, 10.9) clearly attributes changes in the earth’s temperature as due to human activity. The statement reads that “It is extremely likely that more than half of the observed increase in global average surface temperature from 1951 to 2010 was caused by the anthropogenic increase in greenhouse gas concentrations and other anthropogenic forcing together.” This book agrees with the IPCC AR5 position.

Public perception of environmental and climate change issues has waxed and waned over the decades often influenced by the level of public concern and engagement. Cottle and Lester (2011) found that in the early days, climate change was little discussed as a scientific or social discourse in the traditional media. Carvalho notes climate change was initially low level in science stories and news reports (2007). As the scientific evidence grew, the first global agreement that high carbon impacted on the planet’s ecosystems was the UN IPCC fourth and fifth reports (AR4/AR5) and a series of celebrity events. By 2007, the two reports and wider concerns led to calls “for urgent global mobilizations at the G8 Summit meeting, and then the UN-sponsored conference in Bali late that year ... proved to be a transformative moment in the news career of climate change” (Cottle, 2009, p. 506).

Saffron, Hywell, Kurz, Wiersma, and Boykoff’s (2015) comparative study between the UK and USA found the UK gave far greater coverage to the fifth IPCC report than the US. Saffron et al found that “the production and consumption of climate change media is a major constituent of the “cultural politics of climate change. For over a decade, studies have explored the ideologies and journalistic norms apparent in print media coverage” (2015, p. 380). The results show that in traditional media,

the IPCC gained far more attention in the UK (87 articles, 20 broadcasts) than the US (30 articles, 6 broadcasts). Even considering the unequal broadcast lengths (some were 30 min, others an hour), UK broadcasters spent nearly five times more airtime reporting the IPCC than US broadcasters (1 h 23 min 53 s in the UK, 17 min 53 s in the US); a pattern also evident in print (67,385 words in the UK; 25,482 words in the US). (Saffron *et al.*, 2015, p. 381)

However, IPCC governing principles do not explicitly address the communication of sciences, and it would be tardy in a social media and digital culture age not to attempt to communicate their findings via the internet and social media. Activists and *Guardian* newspaper journalist Leo Hickman observes how

If the IPCC had been far more open, transparent and responsive during that period then it might have been able to avoid, or at least dilute, much of this negative examination. More importantly, perhaps, it might have been able ... to communicate the science better to a wider variety of audiences. That's not to say the IPCC have no communication strategy, and the strategy in place should be updated to "reflect the online communications environment it now operates within and seeks to influence". (2015, p. 285)

Furthermore, Hickman (2015) believes the IPCC need to engage a dialogue via social media and train staff in best practice for Twitter and other social media platforms. In today's multimedia world "It is not enough to publish IPCC reports online and then sit back and expect the wider world to read them in their entirety" (Hickman, 2015). The Twittersphere was prominent in Saffron *et al.* (2015) study of the IPCC Fifth Assessment Report (AR5). Their study found Twitter users (26,623), sent 64,219 tweets over a peak period of two to three days following the releases of the first working group (WG) report. The tweets carried a strong emphasis on what Saffron *et al.* (2015) categorize as "settled science" (SS) discourse as "an emphasis on the science of climate change (across any WG) and the broad expert consensus. there is considerable evidence of the need for action. Science has spoken, others must act. Uncertainty or scepticism quashed" (2015, p. 381).

Saffron's *et al.* (2015)<sup>4</sup> study offers some interesting areas of research and the inclusion on social media in a comparative study between two countries heavily linked to the climate change debates provides some new perspectives. However, it's not clear who out of the 26,623 users are climate scientists, environmental activists, NGO organizations, climate skeptics and/or deniers,

journalists and politically linked users and who is the general public that the IPCC is often accused of neglecting the wider public. The most popular hashtags were #climatechange, #globalwarming being identified over the #IPCC and #AR5, then it's not certain they relate to the Fifth IPCC Assessment, and as discussed in this book, the language and discourse around these two terms is somewhat contested and adopted by a range of climate change advocates, sceptics and deniers. Social media also provides, to some extent, a way for grassroots, radical and NGO environmental collectives and organizations to be able to contribute to the public knowledge.

### **Who are Atypical EcoActivists?**

Saunders, Grasso, Olcese, Rainsford, and Rootes (2012) identify four different types of environmental activists, 1) Stalwarts, 2) Novices; 3) Returners and 4) Repeaters. Stalwarts' and Returners tend to be male and unemployed, having been on the scene, on and off every year, they seek information from listservs, emails, meetings, collective, social spaces, squats and fellow activists. Novices and Returners tend to be employed and gather information from traditional and social media. Novices and Returners are less likely to be embedded in protest networks and their internal channels of communication. Novices have never participated in protest (before the one at which they were surveyed); Returners exhibit moderate intensity and commitment, but greater persistence.

Political alignment for novices and returners (2012) tends to be "further right on the left-right continuum", and stalwarts and "repeaters being most likely to hold left-libertarian views" (Saunders *et al.*, 2012, p. 15). The study also found that long-term stalwarts are jaded with democracy. This research found that many of today's stalwarts are in their late 40s onwards, and have been involved in protests since children at Greenham Common Peace Camp, the Poll Tax Riot of the 1980s to the global justice and UNFCCC CoP summits. As Chapter Four will discuss, many of these stalwarts are witness to the increasing criminalization of ecoActivism. They have often been witness to or had suspicions (later proven) of undercover police within the movement, which goes some way in explaining their disillusion with democracy. Repeaters and returners (Saunders *et al.* 2012) "are generally more satisfied with democracy than their more engaged counterparts, and have participated in fewer political acts" (Saunders *et al.*, 2012, p. 2). The interesting people are those in the middle, between stalwart and novices.

Saunders *et al.* (2012, p. 2) identify 1) what sustains protest? and 2) protesters who are neither novices nor stalwarts are the implicit but unspecified reference group in studies that suggest “committed or persistent activists are more remarkable (structurally and/or in terms of engagement) than others”. Stalwarts share knowledge and pass on techniques learnt from the anti-roads and Reclaim the Streets collectives of the 1990s. Additionally, they adapt traditional protest skills into a digital literate world, by running online, smartphone and digital journalism workshops, whilst others stick with traditional physical techniques through training camps and workshops on how they protest at major summit protests. As Plows (2006) notes stalwarts and repeaters act as mentors sharing information, techniques on protest camps setup and techniques to novices and returners. Saunders’s *et al.* (2012, p. 19) found the group between the stalwarts and novices that keep protest movements going, and “often led by Stalwarts, who exhibit high levels of intensity and persistence” (2012, p. 19). In doing so the movements remain alive, if not dormant at times reshaping and reinventing the knowledge and praxis that enables them to start up again when necessary.

Academics, governments, police, activist’s collectives and journalists are most interested in those that fall in the gap between the stalwart and the novice, as they are a group that can either become more committed or step back from action. The groups are important, because they either strengthen a movement by increasing the numbers who “bear witness” (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 178) to increase “the number of participators in mobilizations which involve serious personal risk or cost” (2006, p. 178), or can spilt or break a movement as discussions in Chapters Four, Five and Six show that people often step back from direct action for fear of arrest, amongst other reasons.

Moreover, environmental activists have developed great skills in exploiting a gap between the climate skeptics, scientists and the moveable middle of the general public. This book takes the advertising motif of the “moveable middle” and applies it to understanding the strategies and tactics of ecoActivist movements. The moveable middle are people in society that are either at the fringes or not aligned to a cause and need to be informed to engage so a movement or collective can bear witness. Activists target the moveable middle to be able to build a groundswell of support from the bottom-up. A moveable middle example could be an individual against a single issue, or individual company. For example, an activist at the Camp for Climate Action (CCA) near Heathrow Airport, London in 2009 included local residents because,

“they know at some level that big companies don’t have their best interests at heart, so at some level they come on board with that and obviously, then, conversations happen” (Interview with HACAN Chair John Stewart, 2009). Researchers also note individuals are more motivated when there’s a large-scale event. Saunders *et al.* (2012) note that when a protest group is deemed to have power, “protesters who identify with a group they consider more powerful are more likely to experience approach emotions, and consequently, are more likely to participate in protest” (2012, p. 7). With the Climate Camps for Action (CCA) although small scale at Drax (2006) the annual nature of the event meant by the time of the Heathrow CCA (2007), Heathrow the camp gathered a lot of momentum and support. Motivation for numerous reasons is one reason why people protest, but there are other factors. Chapters Five and Six explore this gap in more detail to show how some groups exploit the gap by firstly retaining an inside/outside dichotomy of social movements, secondly, what Saunders’s *et al.* (2012) suggest is a gap in knowledge, so that “protest organizers might work harder to make calls to action more widely available through open channel” (2012, p. 19).

Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) observe that individuals have both a value system and emotional connection with pro-environmental behaviour and they “see environmental knowledge, values, and attitudes, together with emotional involvement as making up a complex we call “pro-environmental consciousness” (2002, p. 256). Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) also identify that people are motivated to protest when there are large scale actions, and if the action is something that fits within an individual’s ideology and values. Kempton, Boster, and Hartley (1995) found that neither a prior knowledge of pro-environmental behaviour nor a comprehensive understanding of environmental science acts as motivators for pro-environmental behaviour.

Emotion plays an important, but not essential role in the motivation for people to undertake civil disobedience. Other factors are instrumental motives based on “the rational cost-benefits calculation of both collective incentives and selective incentives” (Saunders *et al.*, 2012, p. 8), where selective incentives are the material benefits for the individual, and whether any action will achieve a political change. Motivation also comes from a belief any action will lead to “some level of perceived political efficacy” (Saunders *et al.*, 2012, p. 8). Thus motivation and emotional strength combined with an understanding to capacity build the movable shows the highly organized nature of ecoActivists movement, regardless of where individuals are novices or stalwarts.

Alex Plows (2006) also notes the strength of “different networks and campaigns [that] share the same struggles” consolidated “the ground from which anti-globalisation action springs ... through continued focus of generating and building capacity at local group level; eco camps are useful way of doing this” (2006, p. 26). Chapters Five and Six look in more detail on tactics and strategies taken by social movements to influence the moveable middle, by utilizing and upending technological and traditional media practices. Exploitation of this gap has enabled activist groups to circumnavigate and contest the mainstream media debates on the environment and retain a presence within the political discourse. Using citizen or alternative journalism, and the space of protest (see Chapter Seven) targets what’s sometimes referred to by activists as moveable middle. Thus, whilst the political elite’s solution to climate change is embedded in economics, ecoActivist garner support by targeting the moveable middle in their capacity building and value laden motivational actions. This war between economics and egalitarianism is played out in the traditional media platforms.

## **The Climate Science Behind the Headlines**

UK researchers found that overall, news media coverage of climate change had raised awareness in public knowledge. Although, evidence for why climate change was happening, or how it would affect them was less clear. A Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) report found that awareness of climate change had “been achieved primarily through a significant increase in the coverage of climate change by the news media” (Ward, 2009, p. 59). Environmental movements and scientists also had some contribution to the increasing awareness, mainly through “greater promotional and communication activities about climate change by some scientists, environmental groups, and policy makers” (DoE, 2008, p. 60). DEFRA’s report concluded that “the public were becoming more aware of climate change, however many remain uncertain on the science, causes and modes of prevention” (2008, p. 60).

Boykoff and Boykoff (2007) and Boykoff and Mansfield (2008) found greater focus on mass media coverage of the climate change debate than the public attitude. A Cardiff University study (2015) conducted by IPSOS Mori on “Public perceptions of climate change in Britain following the winter 2013/2014 flooding”<sup>5</sup> found that overall an increase in concerns over climate

change, increasing by 26%, up to 69%. Of those surveyed, there was a general belief that all forms of news media, (including TV, newspapers and the internet) were more influential at informing the public than scientific data (3% and less than 1% respectively). There was strong narrative that flooding and climate change were linked in some way. Fifty two percent of respondents agreed that “most media reports at the time linked the floods to climate change than did not” and 14 didn’t believe there was narrative connecting the two events.).

In Australia, similar findings were made in a study of flooding in South east Queensland, Australia (2010/11). South east Queensland experienced its second worst floods in its history, when Tropical cyclone Yasi, a category five hit land in the northern and far northern regions of the state. The resulting deluge dumped vast amount of rain, which ran down into central and southern Queensland, flooding the state capital Brisbane. Accusations were made that management of dams were poor leading to a flash flood in Grantham across the southern half of the state claiming 33 lives. Bohensky and Leitch’s (2014) systematic study on newspaper analysis of the floods aimed show a misrepresentation of the scientific process of measuring climate change led to a general lack of understanding of the facts. The confusion came in part, from “inaccurate sound bites which confound the media discourse on climate change science” (2014, p. 486).

In 2007 the media mogul, and News Corp International founder, Rupert Murdoch “publicly committed his media outlets to reporting climate change as a real threat and reporting it in new vivid ways. He also committed his corporation to become carbon neutral” (Cottle, 2009, p. 506). Murdoch is quoted as saying “Climate change poses clear, catastrophic threats. We may not agree on the extent, but we certainly can’t afford the risk of inaction. The climate will not wait for us” (Osbourne, 2015). Yet despite what Cottle first observes that “climate change, it seems, has eventually come of age in the news media as a global crisis” (Cottle, 2009, p. 506), Murdoch’s News Corp publications remain skeptical that climate change is a consequence of human industrialization. Quoted in his own newspaper *The Sun* newspaper, Murdoch largest newspaper in the UK quotes his as saying that

we should approach climate change with great scepticism. Climate change has been going on as long as the planet is here. There will always be a little bit of it. We can’t stop it. We’ve just got to stop building vast houses on seashores. The world has been changing for thousands and thousands of years, it’s just a lot more complicated today because we are more advanced. (Cottle, 2009, p. 508)

This narrative is consistent in News Corps' Australian press. Media reporting of climate change science and environmental matters is influenced by the climate sceptic debates. Robert Manne's essay (2011) *Bad News: Murdoch's Australian and the Shaping of the Nation* found Australia's only general news national newspaper and owned by News Corp, *The Australian* coverage of climate change is "what *The Australian* has contributed on climate change under Chris Mitchell's [editor] watch is a truly frightful hotchpotch of ideological prejudice and intellectual muddle" (Manne, 2011, p. 40). McGaurr, Lester and Painter's (2013) study conclude that the climate change in the 2013 Australian Federal election coverage found that *The Australian* newspaper "is skewed by the fact that ... [It] has maintained a particular position on climate change for a decade" (2013, p. 11). However, climate skepticism although prominent in News Corp newspapers, skepticism appears in other publications. Academic and journalists Wendy Bacon (2011) found that "coverage of climate change by ten Australian newspapers from February to July 2011 tended to be negative towards policy" (2011, p. 62). Bacon's follow-up study *Sceptical Climate part 2: Climate Science in Australian Newspapers* (2013) found that a third of the articles "did not accept the scientific consensus" (p. 45).

Overtime a small group of news-privileged climate change skeptic contested the anthropogenic claims about the environment (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004, 2007; Monbiot, 2007). Climate deniers and sceptics have the attention of newspaper owners and as the studies show (Churchill, Eagle, Low, and Schurmann, 2015) that many climate sceptics and deniers will be given opportunities to write editorial pieces for favourable newspapers, be interviewed and present an argument based on emotive language. In addition, climate sceptic and deniers will use influential tactics of marketing, sponsorship and opinion pieces in national newspapers. A third way climate sceptics attempting to influence public opinion in by characterizing ecoActivists as either criminal, such as the neologisms ecoterrorism (Arnold, 1987) and/or Watermelon's—environmentally and politically green outwardly, and red (socialists) inside (Delingpole, 2011).

Climate skeptic Delingpole, who coined the term watermelon environmentalism in his book, *Watermelon; How Environmentalists are Killing the Planet, Destroying the Economy and Stealing your Children's Future*, views environmental activists as an enemy of big business and economic growth. Delingpole and other skeptics see all environmental groups from professional (Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth) to radical (Global justice movement) hold damaging socialist (watermelon) views. Klein (2014) in her

interview with Delingpole notes that, “Modern environmentalism successfully advances many of the causes dear to the left: redistribution of wealth, higher taxes, greater government intervention, regulation.” Klein adds that Heartland president Joseph Bast puts it even more bluntly. For the left, “Climate change is the perfect thing. ... It’s the reason why we should do everything [the left] wanted to do anyway” (2014, p. 42). Chapter Four takes a closer look at the various strategies that climate deniers and sceptics take in undermining and challenging the climate debate. Whether it is anti-environmentalists, media moguls, climate scientists, climate sceptics, climate deniers, journalist, the public or NGO, this book will show that over time the voice of the ecoActivists is missing from how the public receive and understand information about climate change and environmental issues.

## **Current Climate Debate, the Role of Traditional and Social Media**

Today, in our technologically digital literate world machines allow us to support environmental journalism and political participation with the click of a mouse (clicktivism). Clicking social media likes, shares and virtual thumbs-up for some is activism. Others refer to this more as slacktivism a term coined by (Christensen, 2011), or clicktivism- clicking a mouse in support. The digitally literate can use social media to show support for a cause by changing their Facebook profile to the flag of a country, liking and sharing a post, or tweet and retweeting a charitable link or pledge for cash. These forms of clicktivism and slacktivism are passive “political activities that have no impact on real-life political outcomes, but only serve to increase the feel-good factor of the participants” (Morozov, 2009 cited in Christensen, 2011).

Social media provides, to some extent, a way of grassroots, radical and NGO environmental groups to have a voice and contribute knowledge to the climate debate. Chapters Three, Four and Five look at the environmental debates and discourse through the lens of social media. Social media inception from the mid noughties (2000) coincided with a greater coverage of environmental issues, and a rise in local and global justice and environmental protest movements. Facebook (ca. 2004) and Twitter (ca. 2006) opened up more channels of communication between activists groups, and shifting both the time and space of environmental protests. Chapter Four will explore how

activists have engaged with social media to bypass traditional media practices, and circumnavigate gate keeping processes found in large multinational media organization.

Gerbaudo (2012) and Gitlin (2012) show how a technological change in media production and consumption sees a growth in social media usage alongside the retention of physical repertoires of protest (such as protest camps and their rituals). Social media provides a path to join the public debate, approaching the moveable middle, convincing the novices and returners to move towards becoming stalwart and repeaters. At global summit protests, social media has proved vital in coordinating and organizing a ground swell of bottom up support. However, the use of social media has become so prolific there's often too much focus on on-line presence over the physical act of protest. As one activists said at anti-fracking collective, Reclaim the Power's London gathering, "Once we have a website, we can start planning" (activists J, 2015).

What is emerging is a narrative that ecoActivism needs to be strategic to keep any position within media discourse. Power relations between business and science can be to the detriment of ecoActivists. With so many stakeholders, scientists, business, policy makers, environmental NGOs, social movements, climate justice movements and individuals, radical and non-hierarchical movements there are a lot of voices shouting about climate change and environmentalism. EcoActivists have found some ways to challenge the dominant positions, although social media and targeting the moveable middle, goes some way to having a voice, nevertheless there are many obstacles, from one-size-fits-all legislation, to economic arguments, negative media reporting, frames of violence and deviancy, undercover policing, surveillance tactics and data and metadata tracking. At each obstacle, ecoActivist have found innovative ways to ensure they have a voice in the mainstream media. As chapters five and six show, being creative can be very productive in generating media events.

## **Structure of the Book<sup>6</sup>**

The first half of this book outlines the interconnectivity between media theory, green governmentality and political policy makers to show how the voice of the ecoActivists has been lost over time. Chapters' Two, Three and Four contend that in the battle for green capitalism, consumer-led

environmentalism has become the acceptable position for environmental and political participation by supporting liberal democracies and neoliberals in applying economics to climate change solution. Furthermore, groups or individuals choosing to challenge the dominant position in favour of egalitarian approach through non-violent direct action or civil disobedience has given government justification to curtail and restrict activities because of national security fears.

The second half of the book examines how activists are reclaiming a media voice through tactical media strategies and explores the consequences for eco-Activists set out in the first half to examine how movements can influence public opinion in a mediatized world. Chapters Five and Six set out the ways in which environmental activists have contested media coverage and political policing to retain a voice in environmental discourse. Chapters Five and Six also explore these concepts and the application of social media as a strategy to shift power back towards a middle ground. However, although some academics and activists hail social media as helping to foster greater democracy, there's a risk of over-reliance on social media strategies, resulting in too much focus on hits and likes (see Chapter Six). Facebook and social media as a protest tool can equally be detrimental to wider democratic practices, and so Chapter Seven argues that the space of environmental activism is a much-more effective mode of contentious politics. Chapter Seven will explore the use of space and the space of protest camps to examine the fine line between alternative, counter society and the risk run by activists of mirroring political governance with an environmental lilt.

The book then moves onto looking at environmental activism from the local to the global stage. The book looks at the phenomenon of summit mobilization as large-scale protests centred around the Multilateral UN summits on climate change has become common place. The final chapter (Chapter Eight) looks at the future of the movement, in light of the Paris attacks and increasing security narrative around protest, where does protest go from here? Chapter Eight draws on interviews with those in Paris, and the UK, the Reclaim the Power and the move towards movement building plans for 2016 and beyond. This chapter draws together many of the strands in the book to explore the spectrum of environmental discourse from activism to political economy. The Conference of the Parties (CoP) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change draws many activists from around the globe along with the G20 and G8, meaning many have high security and new legislative measures that curtail protest.

CoP are opportunities for significant mega-protest (Death, 2010) for they provide platforms to explore media representation of environmental activism on a global scale. The following chapter takes a historical look at relations of power in media reporting, from Greenpeace (1971), to Greenham Common Peace Camp (1982–2000), to the anti-capitalist protest (1999–2010), and Camps for Climate Action (aka Climate Camps (2005–2010)) through the concept of media movements.

## Notes

1. This book separates out the term media into three areas, traditional, social and activist. Traditional media refers to mainstream, established and traditional forms of media both online and offline, in print (newspapers); radio and television. Social media is built on a Web 2.0 platform as a “group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations” (Veil, Buchnart, and Palenchar, 2011, p. 505), such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and app-based sites. Activists’ media ranges from independent news websites, such as Indymedia, VisionOn.TV, Climate camp media; Dissident island radio and listservs; but also includes flyers, leaflets and handbooks.
2. <http://blogs.ei.columbia.edu/files/2009/10/broeckerglobalwarming75.pdf>
3. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/13/section/143/enacted>
4. Saffron *et al.* method meant data was collected over a fortnight for each working group (WG), centred on the day of the IPCC press release as follows: WGI: 21 September 2013 to 4 October 2014; WGII 24 March 2014 to 6 April 2014; WGIII 7 April 2014 to 20 April 2014. All media for analysis were selected on the basis of influence (circulation, audience) and ideology (2015, p. 384).
5. <http://psych.cf.ac.uk/understandingrisk/reports/URG%2015-01%20WinterFlooding.pdf>

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