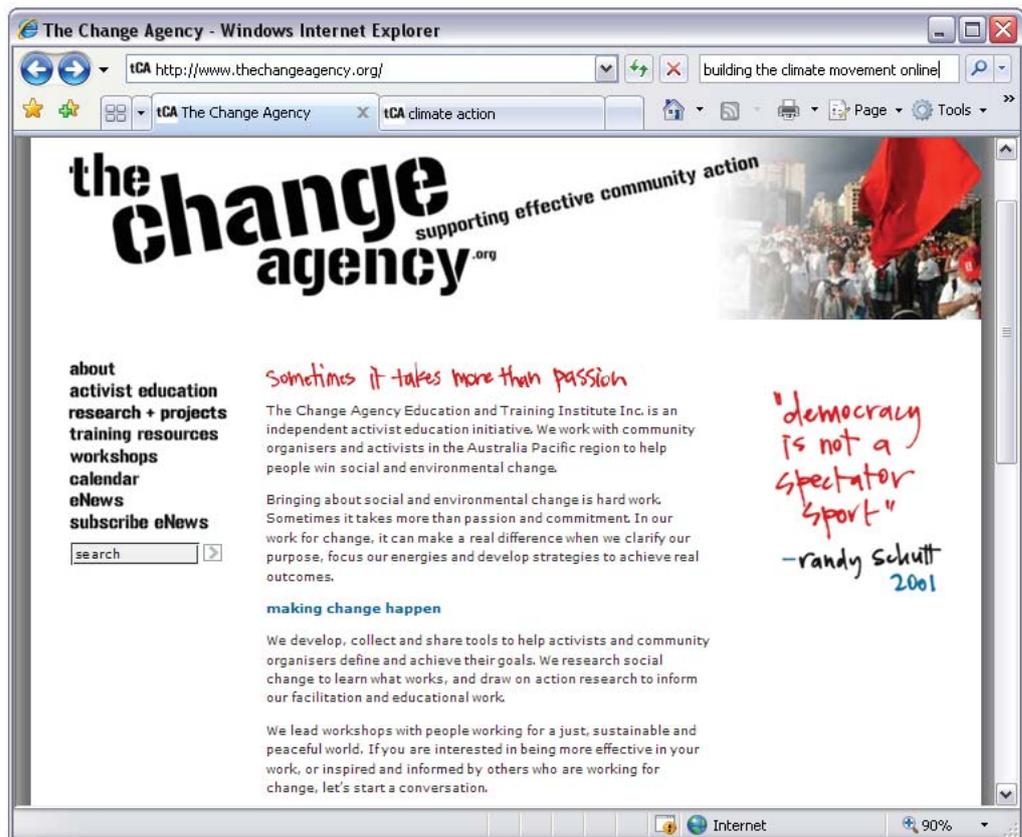# Building the Climate Movement Online

Action Research Project

Building the Climate Movement Online
Action Research Project

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the Change Agency
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Contents

Acronyms

ACF	Australian Conservation Foundation
AYCC	Australian Youth Climate Coalition
CAG	Climate Action Group
CANA	Climate Action Network Australia
ENGO	Environment Non-Government Organisation
FoE	Friends of the Earth
MAP	Movement Action Plan
NCC	Nature Conservation Council of New South Wales
NGO	Non-government organisation
NUS	National Union of Students
QCC	Queensland Conservation Council
tCA	The Change Agency
URL	Uniform Resource Locator
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature

What will it take to create a strongly networked, strategic and powerful Australian climate movement? How can the Internet help build this movement? How can online organising bridge the gaps between grassroots and NGO activists, between environmentalists and other citizens concerned about climate change, and between the rebels, reformers, citizens and change agents in this crucial people's movement.

These questions guided the latest stage in the Change Agency's climate action research project. Between June and September 2008, we interviewed and surveyed approximately 200 climate activists. This report summarises their insights and experiences, and argues the case for changes in how the movement utilises online tools and for more significant changes.

What will it take to create a strongly networked, strategic and powerful Australian climate movement?

How can online organising help build this movement?

Climate change activists are using the Internet in a million creative ways including interactive and informative websites, extensive subscriber lists, social networking, file sharing and online audiovisual media. More than 100 noteworthy examples are identified in our report. Online organising is a vital part of climate change organising and has the potential to do even more than it currently does.
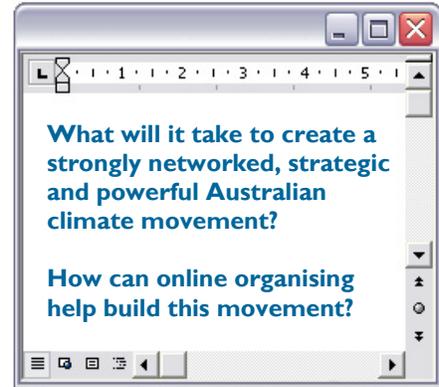
The climate movement's many thousands of groups and individuals are separated by factors including distance and organisational diversity. To strengthe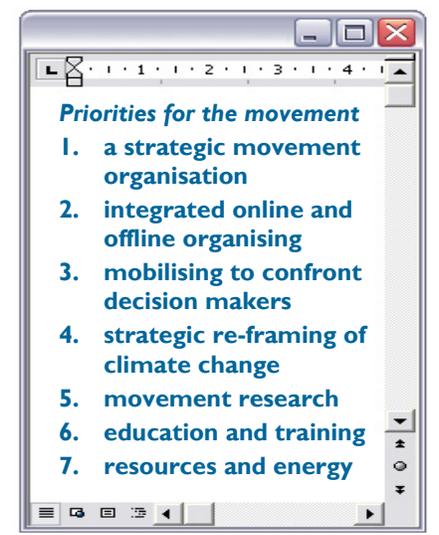n the movement, it is necessary to facilitate communication and relationship-building dialogue that engages the widest range of climate change activists: professional staff of NGOs and grassroots activists, urban and rural activists, unionists, faith-based groups and others. Online tools such as e-lists can be part of the solution, but need to be utilised more purposefully and economically. Despite the proliferation of online communication opportunities, it is no simple matter to connect with the movement to exchange information and ideas in an economical way. Our report identifies specific communication objectives and nominates mechanisms that appear to be capable of best serving these objectives.

It is also necessary to plan online communication to address movement needs rather than just those of separate organisations or networks. Activists who create and maintain websites, e-lists and other online tools could be much clearer about their intended audience and purpose. Time spent at the planning stage can reduce duplication and maximise complementarity. This involves clarifying how a proposed website or e-list complements existing mechanisms for communication between activists and community members and considering what resources will be required to keep online tools dynamic and interactive.

Innovative use of online tools, alone, cannot create the kind of movement that the current emergency calls for. This report discusses seven priorities. Firstly, there is a strong case to create a 'movement organisation' that has a coherent strategy and enables participating groups to look beyond their own needs. This may involve reorienting existing initiatives. Secondly, climate activists suggest various ways to integrate online and offline approaches to (thirdly) mobilise in ways that confront decision makers and hold them accountable. A fourth theme relates to how climate change is (and might be) 'framed' or communicated and the fifth relates to the movement's research priorities. In each instance, solutions emerge from our research, including the potential for SourceWatch and other wiki platforms to expand the movement's research capacity. The sixth theme provides a brief summary of education and training needs and opportunities – which are explored in greater depth in a separate tCA report. And finally, the report focuses on the theme of resources and energy.

Priorities for the movement
1. **a strategic movement organisation**
2. **integrated online and offline organising**
3. **mobilising to confront decision makers**
4. **strategic re-framing of climate change**
5. **movement research**
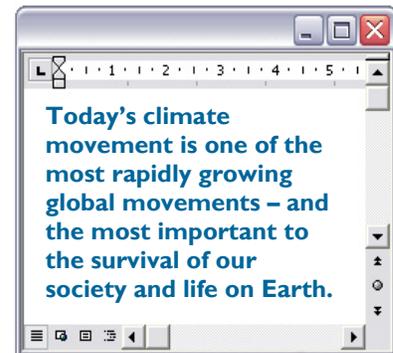6. **education and training**
7. **resources and energy**

During September and October 2008, we will co-convene forums in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne with Friends of the Earth Australia to stimulate creative and constructive discussions about online organising. These forums aim to actively involve climate change activists. We welcome your input, and responses to this report.

Dictionary.com defines a movement as "a diffusely organized or heterogeneous group of people or organizations tending toward or favouring a generalised common goal." During the last decade, a social movement has emerged and blossomed to challenge the policies and practices that contribute to dangerous climate change. It has been fuelled by an unprecedented level of community awareness and concern about climate change in Australia, and globally. This diverse movement includes environmentalists, researchers, progressive businesses and companies, government agencies and departments, public servants, unionists, faith-based groups and other community networks. The movement's activities, politics and organisational structures are as diverse as its members. Today's climate movement is one of the newest, biggest and most rapidly growing global movements. And it is arguably the most important to the survival of our society and life on Earth. The evolution of the movement has coincided with the Internet revolution and it has relied more heavily on online communication than historical social movements.

The climate movement is unlike any movement we've seen before.

It has grown much more rapidly than other social movements in Australia. In just a few years, hundreds of community action groups have been established. Tens of thousands of Australians are active members of community groups taking collective action on climate change. This rapid movement growth has been accompanied and facilitated by online communication. Websites, email communication, Facebook and other social networking platforms, Web 2.0 applications and other Internet capabilities have become defining features of climate change organising. Online communication in its many forms consumes and facilitates a significant proportion of the movement's energy and other resources.

Today's climate movement is one of the most rapidly growing global movements – and the most important to the survival of our society and life on Earth.

It is timely to ask how effective online campaigning, organising and communication are and can be within this movement. To what extent should the movement rely on the Web to provide the power required to transform our societies to a sustainable low carbon future? Do we spend too much time at our workstations and too little developing deeper relationships with members of our community?

As part of our longer-term 'Building the Climate Movement' action research project, the Change Agency considered it important to critically examine the movement's online dimension. In June 2008 tCA partnered with Friends of the Earth Australia to initiate a stage of our action research project specifically focused on the challenges and opportunities of online organising. The 'Building the Climate Movement Online' project has included an online questionnaire, interviews with fifteen key climate movement organisers, a study of online movement building initiatives, and forums in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney. This research is documented in two reports: (1) this report exploring the current and potential role of online communication to strengthen the Australian climate change movement; and (2) a brief report exploring priorities for education, training and support of climate action groups.

This report focuses on the capacity to build the Australian climate movement online. Inevitably, it also discusses the movement's offline ('real world') dimension, case studies of climate change campaigning from other countries and the online innovations of other social movements.

The report distils the contributions of 200 climate change activists who generously committed time to share their experiences and insights through an online questionnaire, a series of interviews and many, many informal discussions. We are grateful to these activists for their insights, to our project partner Friends of the Earth Australia and to the Climate Revolution team at Greenpeace Australia Pacific who collaborated with us to develop the section of the questionnaire that focused on education and training. We would like to express our appreciation to the Reichstein Foundation and the Electronic Community Networking Association for the funds that made the 'Building the Climate Movement Online' project possible.

'Why are you asking how online organising can contribute to the growth and impact of Australia's climate change movement?' This was a question we heard from some prominent climate change activists. "It's not an important part of our campaign," some people said. "Online isn't where we need to be focusing our energy." "Most of what's going on online is useless when it comes to mobilising the community."

Without a doubt, online organising is not the only place or the best place to recruit people to the climate movement and mobilise them into action. During our research, we heard considerable scepticism about the potential for online organising to generate or translate into effective community action. People told us lots of reasons why online organising is confined in its usefulness.

- *Not everyone has access to the Internet. The digital divide is alive and well in Australia and online works primarily for the middle class.*
- *Not everyone who has access thinks of the Internet as the place to focus energies.*
- *Lots of great organising is happening offline.*
- *Many climate change activists who are contributing significantly to the movement do most or all of their campaigning offline.*
- *Community organising ultimately requires people to come together, to take action that shows a deeper and more immediate sense of urgency and power. Decision makers can't ignore online action when it's at the GetUp! scale and volume, but a small number of persistent warm-blooded constituents in a politician's electorate can generate as much (or more) pressure as thousands sending online letters.*
- *Too many people spend too much of their time reading email and surfing the Net and too little time building deeper relationships face to face, connecting with members of their communities and taking action in ways that create direct interactions with decision makers.*
- *A lot of online communication is relatively superficial – sharing snippets of information and promoting events. Too little generates thinking or dialogue that gets deeper into analysis or strategy.*

And yet, it does seem to be an important part of the tactical toolbox available to the movement. Despite the reservations expressed above, 85% of the people who responded to our online survey said that the Internet is 'very' or 'extremely' important to building and mobilising the movement[1]. Not one of the 200 respondents said it wasn't important at all, and only 1% said it was of minimal importance.

Figure 1: How important are online tools in building and mobilising the climate movement?

The climate movement grew slowly between 1980 and 2000. Since then, there has been an exponential increase in the number and diversity of people speaking up and taking action to stop dangerous climate change. It is arguably Australia's biggest social movement now and is growing incredibly quickly. In terms of Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan[2], the climate movement is in 'take-off' phase – the fourth of eight stages in a successful social change movement. The majority of Australians have a high level of awareness and concern. Climate change was identified as one of the major factors responsible for the swing against the Howard government in the 2007 election. Climate change concerns issues are firmly on the policy agenda and many of the policy demands made by the movement are starting

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[1] Of course, this result may present a skewed or distorted picture because the survey was conducted online, though it was echoed by the activists we interviewed.
[2] The Practical Strategist which summarises the MAP roles and stages can be downloaded from http://www.thechangeagency.org/01_cms/details.asp?ID=55

to be implemented. The movement has grown well beyond the confines of the earlier wave of campaigning by environmental NGOs; a much wider spectrum of groups are involved in a movement that is broader and arguably larger then the environmental movement and one that has a very strong grassroots base. During this period of movement take-off, there has also been a huge take-off in the proportion of Australians who spend a significant amount of time online, who use email, social networking and other online platforms. A lot of these Australians are becoming involved in climate change activism.

Two reports by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press demonstrate the potential for online organising. 'The Internet and the 2008 Election'[3] study of the current Presidential election found that 22% of Americans would not be as involved with the current campaign if it weren't for the internet. A record-breaking 46% of Americans have used the Internet, email or cell phone text messaging to get news about the campaign, share their views and mobilise others. The report argues that Barack Obama's backers have an edge in the online political environment. A separate and earlier (2000) Pew Centre report[4] found that 35% of U.S. citizens use the Internet to inform themselves on politics, that this number is increasing and that advocacy organisations working to influence public policy increasingly need to incorporate the Internet into their outreach and organising efforts.

We interpret the strongly felt reservations about online organising as cautionary advice rather than to suggest that it isn't or can't be crucial to building and mobilising the movement. Climate movement groups and activists need to use the Internet in ways that are purposeful, strategic and economic.

The Change Agency is a not-for-profit education and training institute that supports social justice campaigns and movements through facilitation, activist education and research. Our research approach incorporates the techniques and methods of action research, including cycles of reflection, planning and action.

We initiated our 'Building the Climate Movement' action research project[5] in 2006 to:

- strengthen the Australian climate movement
- draw lessons and insights from climate change organising since the 1980s
- facilitate dialogue, reflection and relationship building and
- bridge the gaps between grassroots and NGO activists, between environmentalists and other citizens concerned about climate change, and between the rebels, reformers, citizens and change agents in this crucial people's movement.

The project's stages so far have included reflecting on our participation in climate change activism since the early 1990s, mapping movement activities and tendencies, developing resources to support climate action groups, developing an activist education internship within a short-term climate campaign and facilitating an activist education program during the 2008 Australian Climate Camp.

The national Big Switch campaign, which tCA worked with during the months preceding the 2007 election, was the impetus for a project specifically focused on online organising. The Big Switch was an attempt at alliance-based campaigning that involved the conservation councils in each state, GetUp! and Greenpeace Australia Pacific. The Big Switch website was an important element in the campaign. It was designed to provide information and motivation to act for the full range of people who might visit it. The site provided information about climate change problems and solutions for citizens, details of community events and contact details for local groups for people wanting to get involved in local community action, and an assessment of how each candidate in the federal election responded to a set of policy 'asks' based on a policy wish-list developed by these environmental groups. It also encouraged visitors to take a 'pledge' to reduce their own

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[3] http://www.pewinternet.org/PPF/r/252/report_display.asp
[4] http://www.pewinternet.org/reports/toc.asp?Report=22
[5] http://www.thechangeagency.org/01_cms/details.asp?ID=73

carbon footprint. The pledge was also the mechanism to build the Big Switch mailing list. During the Big Switch campaign, there was considerable conflict between environmental NGOs due to the high level of duplication of effort and approach. In particular, the Australian Conservation Foundation drew criticism for launching their 'Who on Earth Cares' site which replicated many of the elements of the Big Switch site, including a (different) assessment of the relative merits of various political parties' commitments to climate change policies. The duplication signalled a lack of cooperation and potentially confused or fragmented the campaign's base rather than create and convey a unified movement.

During this project, tCA analysed some of the many climate campaign websites to compare and contrast their functions. Figure 2 (below) summarises this analysis and demonstrates the potential for duplication.

	Mailing list for electronic bulletin	Candidates / parties scorecard	Community ed'n, outreach & mob'n	CAG database	Media	Actions and stunts	Placards, leaflets, stickers, etc	Generate emails to MPs and media	Candidates forums
QCC	✓				✓		✓		
NCC (ClimateMovement.org)	✓		✓				✓	✓	
Walk Against Warming	✓						✓		
Getup!	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Greenpeace (integrated with TBS)	✓					✓	✓		
Climate Institute	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		
The Big Switch	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓
ACF	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
WWF	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
VoteClimate.org (+ Zero Emissions network)	✓	✓							

Figure 2. Snapshot of pre-Election climate campaign websites

This figure indicates that several groups have websites that perform identical functions. While there are sound reasons why different groups campaigning on climate change feel the need for their own site, some of these functions are best achieved collaboratively. It does not make sense, for instance, to create several separate hubs for climate action groups. And when campaigning organisations express support for a collaborative approach and agree on a core set of policies to promote during an election, it doesn't make sense to then conduct and broadcast different assessments of political parties' positions. More importantly, community members and movement activists are likely to perceive that the duplication reflects a movement without cohesion or strategy.

This 2007 snapshot of websites also indicated the rapid growth of online climate change campaigning. A lot of effort and many resources were being invested in these websites. Many of these sites are interactive (pledges, registering local groups, signing petitions, etc) and have generated a high and growing level of community engagement.

Following this analysis, we facilitated a workshop on the topic of effective online organising during GetUp!'s *Refresh* conference in Sydney in December 2007. The participants in this workshop represented groups that invest a lot of time, effort and money in their online campaigning. The discussion included campaigners involved with GetUp!'s climate change campaign, Greenpeace's web team and The Big Switch, the Australian Conservation Foundation's 'Who on Earth Cares' project, the Australian Youth Climate Coalition, the Worldwide Fund for Nature, the Nature Conservation Council of New South Wales' climatemovement.org hub, the Climate Institute's 'Change Climate Change' site and other

online campaigns. The constructive discussion resulted in some agreed attributes of effective online organising. People agreed it was important to:

- Reduce duplication while recognising that different online campaigns are working to reach different audiences and mobilise them in different ways - one size does not fit all.
- Create one shared database for climate action groups (at the time there were several).
- Define common ground: elements of the climate change agenda groups can agree on consistent messages and asks that correspond to this common ground.
- Create space for dialogue between groups to identify opportunities to collaborate.
- Provide a means to connect consumers and government.
- Create an online wikipedia to identify climate-friendly businesses.
- Recognise cycles in movement innovation.
- Strengthen links between online and real world action to lead folks from one to the other.

This led us to formulate the strategic question: "How can the climate movement harness these insights to improve online movement building?" This question was the springboard for this stage of our action research project which aims to:

1. Identify the range of communication tools and platforms available to and used by grassroots climate change activists in Australia for information sharing, decision making, strategising and community organising.

2. Assess the potential for these communication tools to facilitate climate movement growth and impact.

3. Assess the effectiveness of current communication methods to meet the needs and attributes of the growing climate movement and recommend appropriate tools.

5.1 Multi-method

This study of how the Australian climate movement is utilising online tools to recruit, mobilise and strategise is one stage in tCA's Building the Climate Movement action research project. This stage of the project utilises four research activities:

1. A desk study. To get a good sense of the variety of online tools and approaches, we conducted an audit of online campaigning through searches, following links, and examining sites that people we surveyed or interviewed during this project said were significant, interesting or useful.

2. Participant observation: Members of the tCA team are actively involved in climate change activism, so we already knew of many electronic websites and online campaign tactics. During the study, we subscribed to several additional lists, participated in meetings and played a practical role in Australia's first national climate camp. This report draws on our insights and experiences as climate change activists as well as the insights and experiences of people we interviewed and surveyed.

3. Interviews. We interviewed 15 climate change campaigners who represented the breadth of the movement, including grassroots activists and NGO campaigners: climate change activists with a wealth of experience to draw on. Their names and organisational affiliations are presented in the table below.[6]

4. An online questionnaire. We wanted to 'see the movement' through as many people's eyes as possible. Our online questionnaire (Appendix A) allowed us to reach the maximum number and diversity of people. It was promoted through climate movement e-lists, word of mouth and our own mailing list of about 1200 activists.

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[6] The interviews were conducted, transcribed and summarised by tCA co-director Pru Gell.

5.2 Who completed the online questionnaire?

The questionnaire was completed by 174 people between June 19 and July 28 2008. Complete responses were received from 93 people and a further 81 responded to some but not all of the questions.

Respondents to the survey reside in all Australian states: Queensland (37%), New South Wales (32%), the Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania (2% each), South Australia and Western Australia (1% each) and Victoria (27%). A small group of respondents were from outside Australia, including Aotearoa / New Zealand, the United States, Canada and France. Just over 60% self-identified as female.

The survey was completed by people in a wide range of age brackets: 16-20 (4%), 21-30 (25%), 31-40 (26%), 41-50 (15%), 51-60 (17%) and over 60 years old (13%). No-one under 16 completed the survey.

Respondents have a range of levels of experience in climate change activism, ranging from less than six months (8%) to six months to one year (7%), one to two years (22%), two to five years (27%), five to ten years (19%) and more than ten years (16%).

Name	Organisation and role
Anna Keenan	ACF / AYCC / independent
Anna Rose	AYCC / GetUp!
Ben Margetts	AYCC / Climate Camp
Charlotte Sturt	Oxfam Australia, Climate Change Campaign Coordinator
David Spratt	Carbon Equity
Emma Brindal	Friends of the Earth, former Climate justice campaigner
Ed Coper	GetUp! Campaigns Coordinator
Erland Howden	Climatemovement.org facilitator / NCC NSW Climate Campaigner
Holly Creenaune	Friends of the Earth Sydney
John Connor	Climate Institute, CEO
John Hepburn	Greenpeace Australia Pacific, Climate & Energy Campaign Coordinator
Louise Morris	FoE Melbourne / independent
Nina Hall	CANA, Member Coordinator
Nick Moriartis	Greenpeace Australia Pacific, Public Engagement Manager
Phil Freeman	ACF Climate Change Campaigner

Table 1. Interviewees

• 6
What does effective online organising look like?

We approached this question in two different ways. First, we presented people with several criteria that we consider important to developing and utilising online campaign tactics and asked how important each of them was. The responses (Figure 3 below) were surprising. More people said that it was more important that 'powerful online organising' was viral, contagious and engaging than those who said it should be impactful. It's also interesting to note that fundraising and membership recruitment ranked lowest in these competing priorities.

Secondly, we invited people to nominate up to three examples of effective online climate change organising and explain what made them so effective. Figure 4 (below) shows that the highest proportion of respondents nominated GetUp!. A smaller number of people (just one or two) nominated other examples of online organising. These are listed in Appendix B.

People commented at length about what they thought was effective about each of these examples. Summarising their detailed comments, the factors that came up most frequently (in order) were:

- Online tactics consistent with coherent strategy (holding politicians accountable, engaging in the political process, generating a response).
- Engaging and energising people who aren't normally involved (reaching the "mainstream", not just the "normal activist types").
- Mobilising: big numbers of people taking concrete action (eg Walk Against Warming, get-togethers, petitions). Often this means providing choices about how people can take action.
- Viral ("it got people talking", "created a hype").
- Novel, new, different.

- Short, sharp messages that provide *just enough* information to inform analysis and identify actions people can take.
- Strong connection between online and offline organising; opportunities to connect locally.
- Combining lobbying, fundraising and community action.
- Funny: intelligent and irreverent; iconoclastic; "cutting through the crap", ironic (but not without strategy or impact).
- Good timing (information updates, actions, quick responses).
- Collaborative; free of "turf-based territoriality"; built around alliances.
- People feel they're making a difference.
- Reach (big database).
- Generate funds to reach beyond the Internet (GetUp's advertising).
- Interactive (user-controlled content; creating 'community' and a sense of being connected to and part of something dynamic; feedback and celebration of impact).
- Visually interesting interface (audio, visual, dynamic and static content).
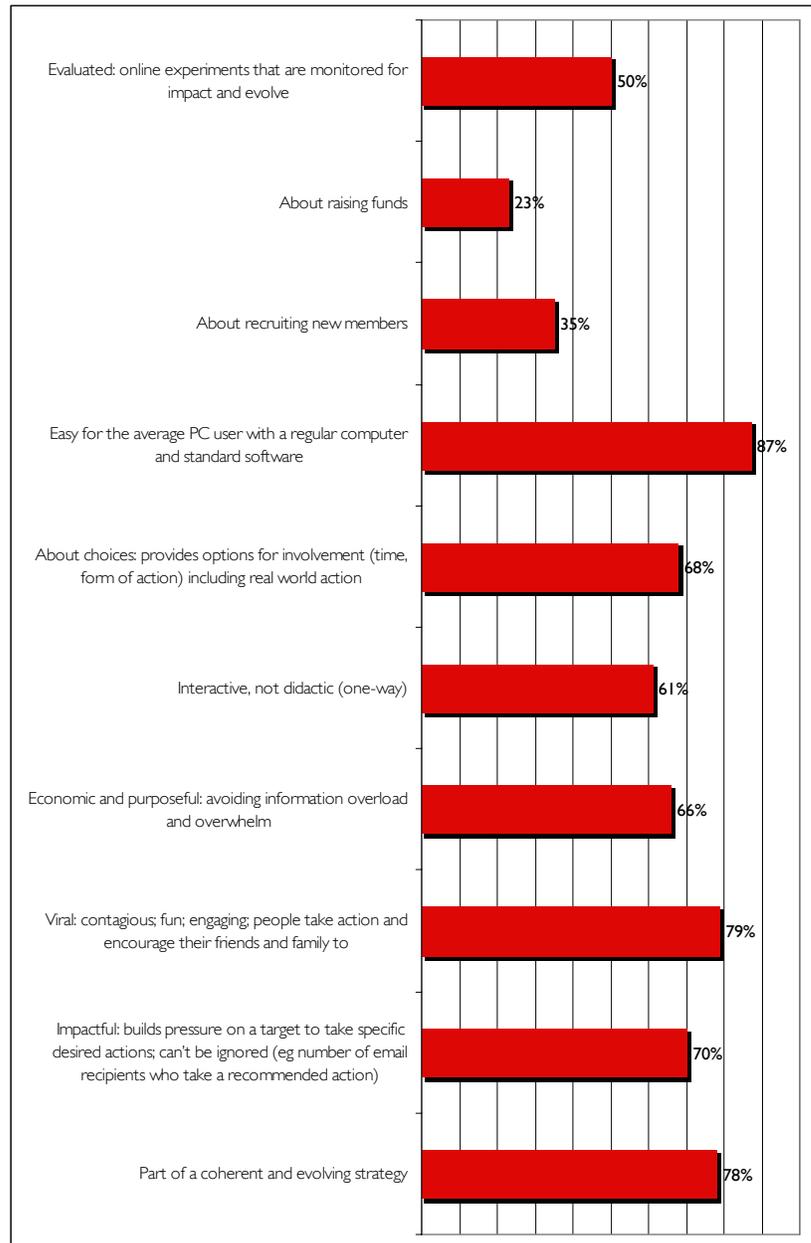- Courageous (overcoming political timidity).

Figure 3: Effective online organising is…

Since GetUp! was nominated by the highest proportion of survey respondents as a great example of online organising, we looked closely at people's comments about what made it so effective. Not surprisingly, the (spontaneous and unprompted) comments about GetUp!'s approach corresponded to most of the seventeen factors listed above.

People also mentioned the use of celebrities to gain attention and engage a mainstream audience. ACF's 'Who on Earth Cares' was particularly noteworthy because of Cate Blanchett's involvement. While it generated attention and a significant number of online pledges, people we spoke with didn't feel the site maintained their interest and involvement or that is achieved any specific campaign impact. This comment could equally be made of other websites, e-lists other online campaign communication which appear initially to offer useful functionality for climate campaigning but lack the follow-through to fulfil this promise.

The Web is crowded with abandoned and inactive 'ghost ships': websites that are not dynamic or current and e-lists with large numbers of subscribers who don't receive regular postings. These inactive or non-functioning Web tools present two related problems. Firstly, community members who are interested in connecting with the climate movement subscribe to e-lists to receive regular campaign updates and to be informed of opportunities for involvement. They expect web content to be current. Many e-lists circulate only occasional postings that provide a very partial impression of the latest developments in the movement, politics and the media, and many websites are updated infrequently. Secondly, campaign organisations can be discouraged from creating new websites or e-lists under the false assumption that their communication objectives appear to be being met by existing websites and e-lists. In both cases, the result is missed movement opportunities including lower levels of community engagement and mobilisation.
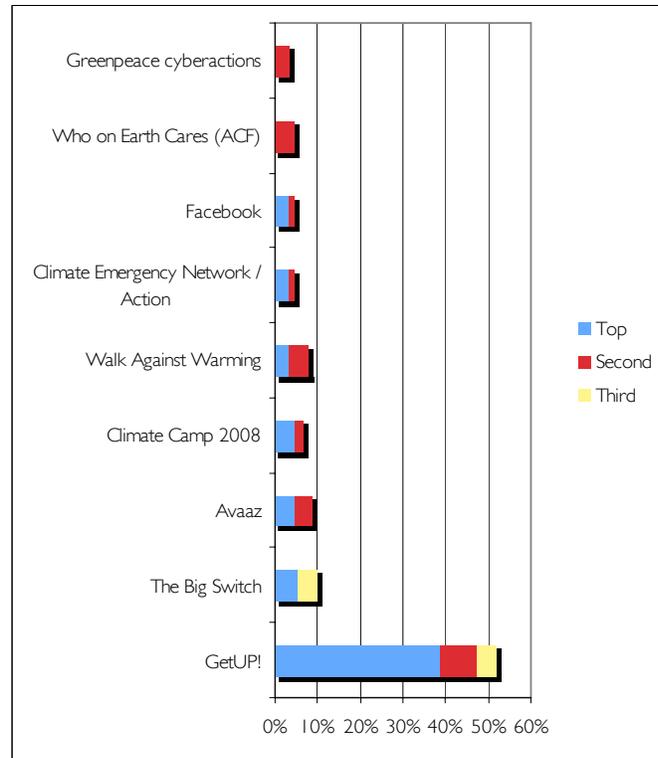

Figure 4: Nominations for 'most effective online organising'.

This strategic question was central to our interviews, questionnaire, desk study and informal discussions with climate change activists. Our summary of people's responses highlighted seven movement priorities:

1. A movement organisation with a coherent strategy
2. Integrating online and offline approaches
3. Mobilising to confront decision makers and hold them accountable
4. Strategic re-framing of the issue
5. Research
6. Capacity building, education and training
7. Resources and energy.

These themes are discussed in turn in Sections 6.1 to 6.7. In each instance, the discussion includes verbatim quotes from interviewees and survey responses to illustrate the range of ideas.

7

What will it take to create a strongly networked, strategic and powerful Australian climate movement?

7.1. A movement organisation with a coherent strategy

One of the clearest themes in people's responses to the 'what would it take' question was that the movement needs to be more connected, coordinated and cooperative. Climate

campaigners and their organisations need to overcome their differences and find ways and willingness to work together on clearly defined goals. People spoke of a 'movement organisation' or network to facilitate this unity[7].

> *We need all the campaign groups singing from the same song-sheet. It's not enough for the various organisations to be running just on the 'same values' (cf Lakoff's stuff on values), especially given the urgency. They have to be running the same campaign. Otherwise the strength and the message is diluted. Perhaps more importantly, a diversity of movements within the one larger one just means that the actions people can take to become involved is yet another confusing array of choices… Do I buy a hybrid? Offset my carbon? Donate to GetUp!, Greenpeace or the WWF? Email the PM on petrol? Email Wong on water? Email Garret on Gunns? Only buy organic? Ride my bike? Catch a train? Stick solar on the roof? Get a water tank? Work from home? Toss out the dodgy light bulbs? etc etc etc. I can't do all these things (time and money constraints) but I'm getting messages left, right and centre to do so and it's wearing me down. We need fewer actions and more groups telling us to do them and why.* - Interviewee

'We need all the campaign groups singing from the same song-sheet. They have to be running the same campaign, otherwise the strength and the message is diluted.'

Events such as the July 2008 Climate Camp in Newcastle and the climate change summits in Victoria and New South Wales have potential to address this need to some extent, by overcoming isolation, building relationships and identifying campaign objectives that organisations can agree to and focus on.
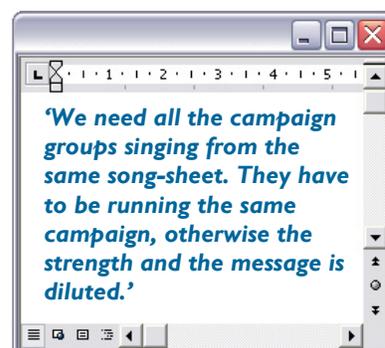
Many campaigners identify 'NGOism' as a significant barrier to overcome in order to create a powerful social movement. NGOism describes approaches that put the needs of campaigners' own organisations ahead of those of the movement's campaign, vision or objectives. In their 2005 book 'Routing the Opposition: Social movements, public policy and democracy' David Meyer and his colleagues discussed the tension within NGOs to reconcile organisational and movement priorities:

> "… social movement organizations work not only to achieve policy reforms, but also to support themselves… Organizers prospect for issues and tactics mindful of two distinct audiences: authorities and supporters. One is a target for influence, another a source of resources. The audiences place conflicting pressures on groups. To the extent that groups can cooperate on goals and tactics, they maximize their influence with policy makers; to the extent that they can differentiate themselves from groups, each can carve out an advantages niche for cultivating support" (p.9).

This tension plagues the climate movement and contributes to a 'scattergun' approach. Overcoming this will require coordinated efforts and a 'movement strategy': shared objectives and a commonly understood critical path. This is not as difficult as it sounds. There is undoubtedly common ground that, once identified, would help campaigners understand and complement each other's work.

> *It will require peak NGOs to stop seeing the climate movement as a 'zero sum game' so that they put the interests of the movement above their own organisational self-interest. It will also require leadership from a non-aligned individual or group to help bring the movement together.* - Interviewee
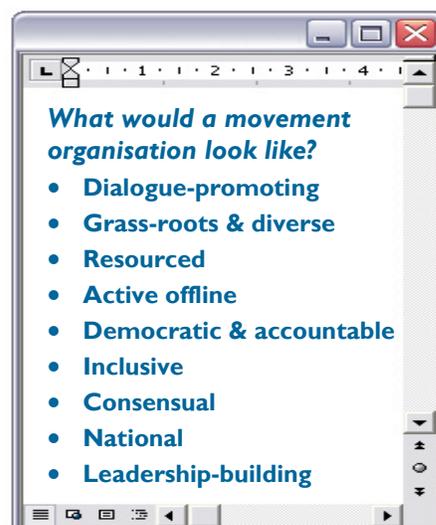
To overcome 'divisiveness and competitiveness' and 'territoriality about turf and funding', a movement organisation could foster collaborative strategising and strategic thinking: 'collaboration, collaboration and more collaboration'. While retaining the diversity that brings strength to the movement, a movement organisation with participatory structures could streamline and turbo-charge communication and information sharing, and help identify national campaign objectives ('no new coal', 'zero emissions by 2050', and 'employment transition' were suggested during this study). Ideally, it would foster a culture of inclusivity so the movement is more 'welcoming to new people'.

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[7] This idea of a movement organisation is explored by Bill Moyer in Movement Action Plan and Gideon Rosenblatt in 'Movement as Network: Connecting People and Organizations in the Environmental Movement'.

A movement organisation or network would support broad-based coalitions 'including think tanks and faith-based groups, the development industry and environmental groups'. Its diversity could help unite campaigners and groups with strengths in policy advocacy, direct action, media, communication and mobilisation – in Movement Action Plan terms, the rebels, citizens, change agents and reformers. A movement organisation could support closer relationships between groups with different theories of change, and between NGOs that primarily adopt reformer tactics and grassroots groups that are more likely to adopt rebel tactics.[8]

Survey respondents envision a climate movement organisation that is:
1. Dialogical: with processes to support and facilitate robust dialogue, disagreement and conflict.
2. Grassroots-based and diverse: involving churches and unions, farmers and industry, rebels, citizens, change agents and reformers.
3. Resourced: with capacity to respond to the needs of emerging and unfunded groups CAGs.
4. Warm-blooded: the movement needs a stronger offline dimension where people can build connections, relationships and networks. This could involve face to face gatherings (summits).
5. Democratic and accountable.
6. Inclusive and porous: with open and flexible membership based on alignment or association.
7. Consensual: focused on campaign objectives and tactics that are readily supported by the wide range of groups and individuals aligned with the movement rather than navigating or getting bogged down on points of difference.
8. National in scope and focus, with international links.
9. Supportive of leadership: celebrating and cultivating leadership.

What would a movement organisation look like?
- **Dialogue-promoting**
- **Grass-roots & diverse**
- **Resourced**
- **Active offline**
- **Democratic & accountable**
- **Inclusive**
- **Consensual**
- **National**
- **Leadership-building**

7.2 Integrating online and offline approaches

According to the 200 activists we interviewed and surveyed, it is essential to integrate online and offline campaign tactics. Online tools are seen as an effective first point of contact but many campaigners feel they have limited impact if they're not supported by and linked to offline activities.

> *Often online tools are the first point of engagement to build and mobilising grassroots... but need to be backed up by tangible community action.*

Some groups motivate people to the engage in their online tactics (online petitions, letters to Members of Parliament, etc) by making direct contact face-to-face and by phone. Similarly, many groups see their online engagement as part of a pathway that takes people 'further down the spectrum into action' in their communities: participating in events like Walk Against Warming, Climate Camp and educational activities

> *Web routes that branch up into the communities*

The challenge is to balance a strong online presence with offline grassroots organising. This necessitates 'a common communications platform that includes both online and face-to-face interaction at neighbourhood, state and national levels.'

GetUp! was identified as a leader in this respect because their campaigners present a 'suite of initiatives with a logical narrative throughout the year, up the ladder of engagements... humour and personal connections'. During the lead up to 2007 Federal Election, GetUp!

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[8] The Change Agency's vision for national movement gatherings and our analysis of how the four MAP roles are reflected in the climate movement are articulated in a separate paper on our website.

initiated 'GetTogethers' for community members who were concerned about climate change. Around Australia, more than 1500 people participated in approximately 170 GetTogethers. These gatherings led to community events and generated considerable local media and a limited amount of national media coverage. Many of the local groups initiated through GetTogethers continue to be active. The model has been used by GetUp! to mobilise people to take action such as leafleting their local suburbs. Some questionnaire respondents were critical of the model because it provided limited opportunities for contact between local community members or with subscribers in specific locations, but the general perception was that the GetTogethers are a model of online-offline integration.

7.3 Mobilising to confront decision makers

The craft of community organising is increasingly understood and embraced in Australian social movements, particularly the climate movement. This is partly a result of activist research and education, networking and exchange between Australia and the United States. Community organising tools and concepts such as targeted campaigns, turnout, base-building[9] and accountability sessions[10] are seen by many climate change campaigners as key ingredients for movement impact. These techniques make movements visible to the powerholders whose actions and decisions the movement seeks to influence – in ways they cannot ignore.

Survey respondents recommended 'constant large scale public engagement… and actions which highlight the costs of doing nothing (Barrier Reef etc)'. One suggested community event was to pour sand in a city street and set up beach umbrellas to mark new water levels. Like the Sea of Hands events[11] coordinated since 1997 by Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, these would visualise the extent of community support for specific political action and the electoral risk of failing to act. Greenpeace mobilised community members in Cairns to create a 3,000 candle installation in the shape of a wind turbine to mark the end of their recent tour with their ship, the Esperanza[12].

Elected representatives need a 'social licence' to exercise power and remain in office. This is called into question by regular and highly visible community mobilisation. Mobilisation needs to convince decision makers of the depth and breadth of community sentiment. As one respondent commented, 'We are in the age of focus groups, where very detailed databases are in the hands of politicians, so we need to be communicating with the broad community' in order to demonstrate to powerholders that we understand and can shape community attitudes and voting behaviours.

Online organising can (and does) play an important role in motivating activists and other concerned citizens to mobilise and interact with their elected representatives.

> Many people aren't used to meeting local politicians but are used to checking Facebook, so barriers to involvement decrease. People are online, so tap into that part of their identity. We used to go doorknocking, but now in the 21st Century, online is the new interface.

7.4 Strategic re-framing of the issue

'Framing' has become a key part of climate activists' lexicon since George Lakoff published his influential 2004 text 'Don't Think of an Elephant: Know your values and frame the debate'. Framing, of course, had already been established by researchers including William Gamson and the Media Research and Action Project[13] team at Boston College as a key concept to understanding social movements. Gamson and Ryan (2005) describe a frame as a "thought organiser":

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[9] http://www.nfg.org/cotb/10leadership.htm
[10] http://www.midwestacademy.com/meo_intro.html
[11] http://www.antar.org.au/content/view/77/171/
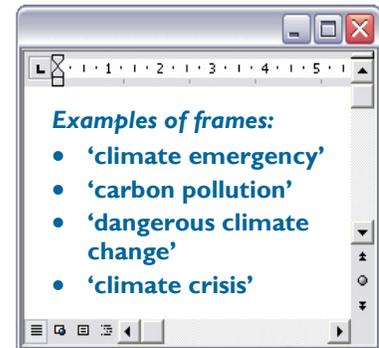[12] http://www.greenpeace.org.au/blog/energy/?p=240
[13] http://www.mrap.info/

Like a picture frame, it puts a rim around some part of the world, highlighting certain events and facts as important and rendering others invisible. Like a building frame, it holds things together but is covered by insulation and walls. It provides coherence to an array of symbols, images, and arguments, linking them through an underlying organizing idea that suggests what is essential — what consequences and values are at stake. We do not see the frame directly, but infer its presence by its characteristic expressions and language.

Frames influence how information, including news, is interpreted. Examples of climate change frames used by climate change activists include 'climate emergency', 'carbon pollution', 'dangerous climate change'. The coal industry has established 'clean coal' as a frame which, as Lakoff argues, can't be negated (challenged or contradicted) without being invoked.

During our interviews and online questionnaire, we heard many references to the necessity for online climate organisers to frame (or reframe) the climate change crisis and debate as:

- Urgent yet hopeful: ensuring that community members believe that change is achievable. Balancing the need to act and the possibility of making a difference.
- Simplified and involving clear choices.
- Polarised (black and white) so that people don't "get lost in the increasing complexity of government policy".
- About building something positive rather than simply avoiding doom: "A movement that promises innovation, democratic engagement, socially-just process and the exploration of new opportunities will inspire action with hope and confidence against alternatives based on fear, coercion, over-simplification or denial".
- Invoking a sense of 'I can make a difference'.
- Dramatising the issues in a way that captures people's imaginations
- A series of specific wins.

Examples of frames:
- **'climate emergency'**
- **'carbon pollution'**
- **'dangerous climate change'**
- **'climate crisis'**

The communication challenge for the climate movement also involves 'effectively dispelling myths and greenwash such as clean coal and the importance of coal-related jobs to communities'.

Specific frames that were proposed to help build the climate movement include focusing on petrol price increases and "demonstrating the future by showing the community what the renewable energy future looks like and that it works." While many survey respondents feel that the movement needs a more coordinated communication strategy and messages than has been the case in recent years, one interviewees argued that the climate change issue is a "big house, so it needs to have multiple languages" and that campaigners should "not be afraid to use a number of entry points into the house."

Framing theory offers more useful and complex insights than have been recognised so far by the climate movement. Gamson and Ryan argue that framing is much more than selecting a series of "hot buttons" that somehow transform people to engender a sense of agency or collective efficacy: "People transform themselves through movement building — the work of reflection, critique, dialogue, relationship building and infrastructure building that synergistically constitute a major reframing effort."

7.5 Research

The fifth theme that was evident in questionnaire responses and interviews was the importance of research to build a powerful and effective movement. People suggested several forms of research:

1. <u>Political research</u> to develop "a clear and shared understanding of how power operates, and how change happens based on historical political reality rather than fanciful optimism".

2. <u>Activist research</u> to learn from successful social movements. One interviewee commented that community organising is "not yet normalised in Australia". She suggested that "looking at models in the USA can be very useful. They build effective at databases with people who are engaged in the issue and are able to mobilise those database at critical times."

3. <u>Opposition research</u>: to identify powerful stakeholders whose activities run directly counter to those of climate activists. Two examples are Guy Pearse's whistle blowing expose[14] of the coal industry's influence over energy policy during the Howard administration and the Sourcewatch 'Coalswarm' (wiki) which is discussed elsewhere in this report.

4. <u>Scientific research</u>: "Because of the complex nature of the issue activists need access to information on the state of play of both the science (current emission trends) and of current campaigns to impact on those trends. We also need analysis of where the biggest gains (emissions cuts) can be made most easily and in what timeframes."

5. <u>Policy research</u>: "It would be great to be able to generate - through the participation of the various communities of interest - policy advice and guidelines for the government, business and community sectors including suggestions for the processes through which we might make the necessary changes."

7.6 Capacity building, education and training

Education and training emerged as a theme in two distinct ways. Firstly, the activists we surveyed and interviewed said that the Internet is one way to deliver education and training support to community activists. The climate movement's education and training needs are pronounced because of the high level of recruitment, turnover and attrition. Many people getting involved in climate action have no previous activist experience. To address these needs, groups including ACF, CANA, Rising Tide, climatemovement.org and the Change Agency currently share training resources online. Another suggestion was to create "a directory of each organisation's expertise, particularly expertise that is beneficial for informal organisations and action groups." Creating such a database would be a useful task for a movement organisation.

Secondly, effective use of the Internet in climate change campaigning involves a set of skills and understandings that people need to learn. A number of respondents commented on the need for education and training to build the movement's capacity to use the Internet more effectively: "In many cases the organisations or people trying to use (online) tools don't have right skills to do the work and or don't have resources required, including training."

> (We need)… a strong emphasis on education of current activists on technological tools, their uses, potentials, and problems. All the tools we need are already available, and have been used for a decade or more by some canny people (usually businesses), but greenies tend to be a bit technophobic, so the tools are definitely under-utilised.

A set of questions were included in the online questionnaire to learn more about whether and how climate change activists are addressing their education and training priorities. These questions were developed in collaboration with Meg Ivory, a community organiser with the Greenpeace Australia Pacific climate campaign team. Responses to these questions are summarised in a separate report 'Building the Climate Movement Online: Education, training and support needs and priorities' which can be downloaded from our climate action research project webpage.[15]

7.7 Resources and energy

Finally, many activists and organisers feel that a powerful movement necessitates a very high level of resourcing and energy. The comments on this theme fell into three clusters:

1. The importance of providing a "living wage for people to engage effectively and sustainably in the roles that are required to support the movement".

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[14] http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2006/s1566257.htm
[15] http://www.thechangeagency.org/01_cms/details.asp?ID=73

2. Ensuring that the movement is sufficiently resourced so organisers can be "proactive rather than reactive".

3. The importance of "safe spaces for people to work in… virtual and real spaces including online web-sharing resources and email hosts as well as access to physical spaces to have work, convergences, meetings, training etc that are affordable and accessible."

Currently, resources are unevenly distributed within the climate movement. At one extreme, the Climate Institute committed $2.5 million in the 'Change Climate Change' advertisements, featuring nine-year old Jack Spratt, that went to air in September 2007.[16] At the other extreme are the many grassroots groups whose campaigns are entirely voluntary and unfunded.

8

How can online tools be used more effectively to strengthen the climate movement?

The structure of the interview and questionnaire provided respondents with multiple opportunities to identify the factors they consider most important for effective online organising. In addition to the insights that are summarised and discussed in Sections 5 and 6 of this report, we generated additional responses when we asked this question directly.

- *Avoid information overload by creating a 'fun interactive network and website" and ensuring people aren't "bombarded with emails every week" from all the different groups.*
- *Ensure efficient and timely information exchange through simple communication tools.*
- *Ensure activists are aware of strategy and messaging as it happens, "keeping pace with it as the media cycle is 24-7".*
- *"Keep people in the loop." Spread knowledge on "what's going on", "therefore building our own form of media"*
- *Use the Internet as a powerful tool for storytelling.*
- *Guard against "gatekeeping by NGOs or other control freaks".*
- *Use the Internet to overcome geographical isolation: "Maintain communication, especially where contact is not geographically or logistically possible Quickly communicate and coordinate campaign initiatives or projects across geographical diversity.*
- *Maintain existing networks.*
- *Maximise and value diversity: "Build a groundswell across the broad community."*
- *Sustain people's involvement by creating a "good first point of engagement" and "strong and visible online community".*
- *Create a comprehensive directory for climate activists to follow each other's campaign activities and achievements: "What is group X are up to? What are they prioritising? Who are they are meeting with?"*
- *Provide multiple options for community action and mobilisation: "Be careful not to put all your eggs in one basket."*
- *Consolidate the number of interfaces and webpages and create simpler, interactive and evolving websites that can quickly adapt to changing political circumstances.*
- *Double the funds directed to online organising.*

9.1 Websites

9

Current use of online tools by climate change activists

Most (71%) of the climate groups that survey respondents are involved with have websites. These sites reflect the movement's diversity of political analyses, theories of change, tactical orientations and constituencies. Some are highly interactive, while others are 'locked'. The environment movement has been at the cutting edge of online innovation, and the climate movement seems set to utilise online tools even more actively. During the past decade, it has become very simple to create an attractive and functional website. Free platforms such as Wordpress[17] and Comfypage[18] provide step-by-step advice for activists with minimal Web editing experience or skills and no special software to create websites. Table 2 lists a number of prominent climate campaign websites.

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[16] http://www.climateinstitute.org.au/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=74
[17] http://wordpress.org/
[18] http://www.comfypage.com

Organisation or campaign	URL and description
Australian Conservation Foundation	http://www.acfonline.org.au/articles/news.asp?news_id=1649 Climate Project: Built around Al Gore's slideshow. 250 presenters have reached more than 125,000 Australians.
Australian Student Environment Network	http://www.asen.org.au The national network of students active on environmental justice issues, made up of the state environment networks and environment collectives on 37 Australian campuses.
Australian Youth Climate Coalition	http://www.youthclimatecoalition.org/ A national coalition of 22 member and partner youth organisations.
AVAAZ	http://www.avaaz.org Campaign on issues including climate change. Petitions, pledges and events.
Balmain Roselle Climate Action Group	http://www.climatechangebr.org/ Local CAG in Sydney.
Beyond Zero Emissions (Melbourne)	http://www.beyondzeroemissions.org/ Monthly bulletin. Advice for starting up local groups. http://www.beyondzeroemissions.org/Local-Group.
Climate Action Network of Australia	http://www.cana.net.au A national alliance of 50+ regional, state and national environmental, health, community development, and research groups formed in 1998 as the Australian branch of the global CAN network which has representative groups in over 70 nations.
Cheat Neutral	http://www.cheatneutral.com/ Satirical take on emission trading. Generated an international media blitz.
Climate Emergency Network	http://www.climateemergencynetwork.org/ Established in February 2008 in response to, and in support of the publication of 'Climate Code Red: the case for emergency action' by David Spratt and Philip Sutton.
Climatemovement.org	http://www.climatemovement.org.au Links to approximately 90 local climate action groups nationally. Tips for starting and maintaining a local group; a collective blog for the community climate movement in Australia; a directory of all the community climate action groups in Australia; a central calendar of events run by and for climate action groups; and a central directory of resources on climate science, solutions, campaigning and policy.
Coal is dirty Coal is clean	http://www.coal-is-dirty.com/ and http://www.coal-is-clean.com/ Projects of the DeSmog Project, Rainforest Action Network and Greenpeace USA to debunk the clean coal myth.
GetUp!	Climate biscuit budget http://www.getup.org.au/campaign/AustraliasBiscuitBudget&id=322 Climate Action Now http://www.getup.org.au/campaign/ClimateActionNow GetTogethers http://www.getup.org.au/community/gettogethers/
Greenleap Strategic Institute	http://www.green-innovations.asn.au/ A non-profit sustainability think-tank dedicated to driving urgent action to resolve the sustainability emergency.
Greenpeace Australia Pacific	http://www.greenpeace.org.au/energyrevolution/landing.php?source=Index Greenpeace's energy revolution website.
It's getting hot in here	http://itsgettinghotinhere.org/ Rapidly growing international network of student and youth leaders with over 100 writers from countries around the world.
Rising Tide	http://www.risingtide.org.au Grassroots Newcastle group committed to nonviolent direct action.
The Big Switch	http://www.thebigswitch.org.au/ Details of and links to 51 local groups. Tips for starting a local group.
Turn the Tide Kevin	http://turnthetidekevin.blogspot.com/ Citizen-based campaign group targeting Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and national policy.
Who on Earth Cares (ACF)	http://www.whoonearthcares.com/woec/home.action Almost 23,000 individuals (plus businesses and organisations) who've taken the pledge and put themselves on the map.

Table 2. A sample of climate movement campaign websites

9.2 Electronic discussion groups and bulletins (e-lists)

Almost all (90%) the climate action groups described in survey responses have electronic mailing lists (e-lists) and 98% of respondents to our survey subscribe to electronic bulletins. In response to our question 'How do you receive information about climate change?', almost all survey respondents identified email as their primary source. Most climate action groups rely on email to organise and record meetings and exchange information. Email is also one of the ways that groups make ongoing decisions about campaign strategy.

E-lists can serve an important function in campaigns when used creatively and strategically. A case study from the US illustrates this. Smartmeme worked with campaigners to mobilise progressives at the time of George Bush's second inauguration. Between November and December 2005, their website TurnYourBackonBush.org helped build an e-list with 10,000 subscribers. During the President's motorcade, more than 5,000 people turned their back, in an action that served as "an anecdote for despair" that "effectively channelled grief or rage energy into organizing".[19]

Several of the campaigners we interviewed for this project convene and initiate e-lists of between 10 and 280,000 subscribers. Many of these electronic bulletins are listed in Appendices D and E. Their convenors described their functions as:

- Motivating people to take action online and offline
- Seeking subscribers' advice
- Sharing information – especially information people won't find elsewhere
- Keeping people connected
- Coordinating campaign efforts
- Organisational communication and management
- Creating collaboration
- Promoting community events (eg Walk Against Warming)
- Developing strategy
- Soliciting donations.

With so many electronic bulletins, it is no surprise that there is considerable duplication of function and content. As a climate change activist, especially a newcomer to the movement, it must be very difficult to know which e-lists to subscribe to and possible to subscribe to a dozen e-lists yet fail to receive any useful information about climate change news and events from week to week.

There are signs that some e-lists fulfil a niche role. The Carbon Equity mailing list provides comprehensive bulletins with policy analysis and media summaries. CANA e-lists could complement this function by providing international policy analysis and political updates. The GetUp! action emails alert subscribers to key moments in the national policy cycle and structured opportunities to interact at the right time with elected representatives. Climatemovement.org now provides a national hub for climate action groups to reach members of the communities and access CAG-specific resources and the Australian Student Environment Network provides a similar function for campus groups. Climate Action Australia has the potential to function as an online community for climate activists committed to direct action, and Friends of the Earth Australia specialises in campaign information and action focused on the social justice dimension of climate change issues.

Two defining features of climate change e-lists are (1) whether they are moderated and (2) whether subscribers can contribute. Approximately half the e-lists identified in this study are effectively closed – they are edited and managed entirely by the campaigners who created the list. Most of the participatory e-lists that subscribers can post to are unmoderated. An unfortunate consequence of this is that they can be used

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[19] http://www.smartmeme.org/article.php?id=294

indiscriminately to share information that is not related to climate change campaign priorities. Spamming and other off-topic postings tend to result in people unsubscribing.

There is room for considerable improvement in how the climate movement uses e-lists. It seems very important to clarify the purpose and intended participants of each e-list and to provide additional moderation by welcoming new members and ensuring the e-lists's purpose remains clear. E-list facilitators can maximise participation while ensuring focused discussions by providing member-only functionality to their e-lists and websites, and by separating members' and public areas.

Figure 5 lists the e-lists that are subscribed to by two or more of the questionnaire respondents. The graph highlights the number and diversity of climate change e-lists.
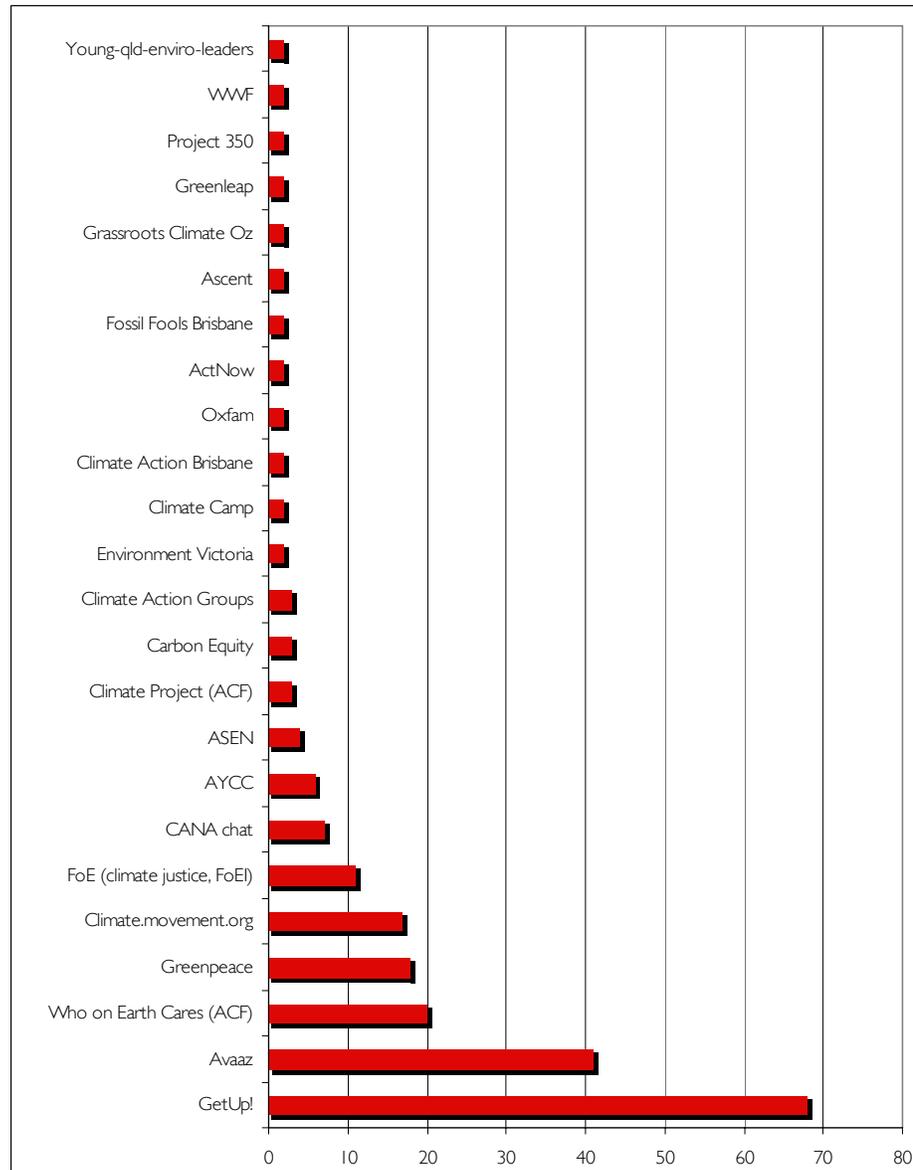

Figure 5. E-lists that questionnaire respondents subscribe to.

List-building is, naturally enough, a key concern of many campaigners. Campaigns that build their e-list subscriptions can potentially reach, inform and mobilise large numbers of people. We asked respondents to our online questionnaire about the nature of their participation in online discussions. Their responses are summarised in Figure 6 below. The results show that only about a quarter of these 200 activists contribute actively to the bulletins they subscribe to. Many e-list subscribers forward bulletins to other people and very few subscribers delete e-list postings without reading them.

Climate change activists participate in online discussions for a variety of reasons, summarised Figure 7 (below). The main purposes are to share information and become more aware. Climate action groups and NGOs rely heavily on e-lists and other email communication to promote their events. Relatively few people said they use online discussion lists to recruit new members or for social networking.
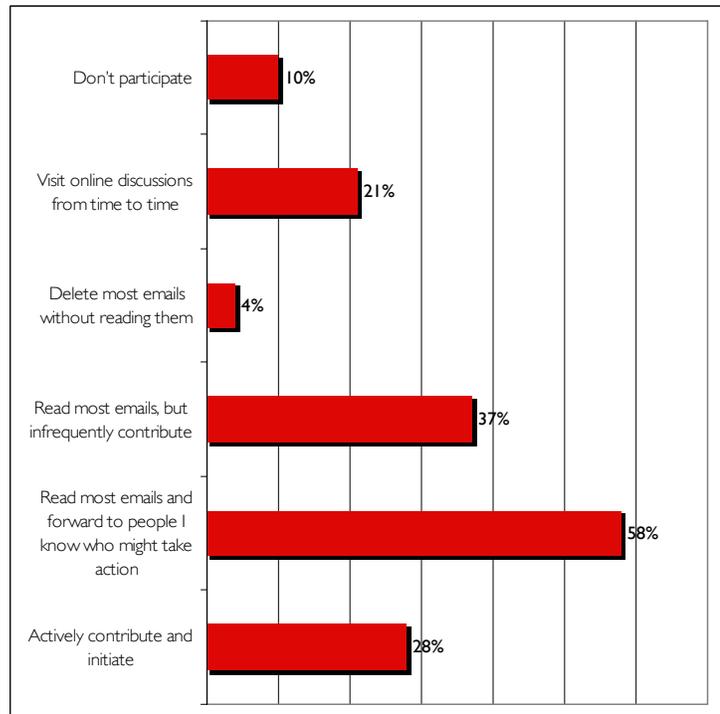

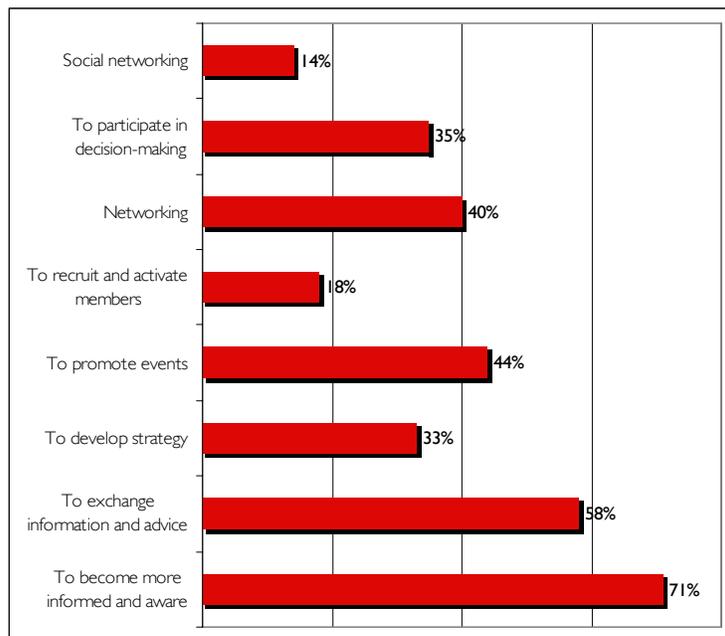*Figure 6. How do you participate in online climate change discussions?*

Figure 7. <u>Why</u> do you participate in online discussion about climate change?

9.3 Social networking, instant messaging and chat

Social networking, instant messaging[20] and chat platforms have grown very rapidly in popularity during the last few years. Founded in 2004, Facebook (http://www.facebook.com/) boasts over 30 million members and claims to "give people the power to share and makes the world more open and connected". Like other social networking platforms such as MySpace (http://www.myspace.com), Ning (http://www.ning.com) and Bebo (http://www.bebo.com/), it provides tools for members to make and communicate with 'friends', upload photos, and share links and videos. Twitter (http://twitter.com/) messages can be sent via mobile texting, instant message or the Web. Skype chat is a relatively recent function added to Skype's Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP) platform.

During this study, we received mixed reports of the effectiveness, impact and cost-effectiveness of social networking applications in the climate movement. Some organisations plan to invest more resources to use Facebook and other platforms to engage and mobilise in innovative ways. Others expressed a concern that social networking "doesn't translate readily into real time mobilisation."

Facebook's functionality has been recognised by climate change campaigners who have created causes, campaigns, applications, groups and events. The organisers of the 2008 Australian Climate Camp, for instance, created a Facebook event which soon had more than 650 friends to whom they circulated regular updates. A small sample of Facebook campaigning is presented in Table 3 below.

Organisation or campaign	Facebook URL
Be heard in Bali! Send a climate message to world leaders	http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=6305216669
Climate Institute	http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=4794371110
Energy Action Coalition	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Energy-Action-Coalition/12155623289?ref=s
Applications	
Stop Climate Change Now (US)	http://www.facebook.com/apps/application.php?id=8815672251&ref=s
Greenbook	http://apps.facebook.com/greenbook/
The Big Switch	http://apps.facebook.com/thebigswitch/
Groups/organisations	
Carterets Islanders Support Group (Australia)	http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=552051407
Climate Change – 60% cut is not enough (UK)	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Climate-Change-60-cut-is-not-enough/11917166969?ref=s
Keep the Pacific Islands on the Map (Australia)	http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=6511864581
Global Warming Climate Change environmental threat	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Climate-Change-60-cut-is-not-enough/11917166969?ref=s
Turning the tide	http://www.new.facebook.com/group.php?gid=2394328097
International Youth Climate Movement	Non profit with 6,354 fans http://www.new.facebook.com/pages/International-Youth-Climate-Movement/16332293630
Events	
Camp for climate action (Australia)	http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=8093197310&ref=mf

Table 3. Climate campaign Facebook pages, groups, events

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[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Instant_messaging

9.4 Youtube, Flickr and other online audiovisual platforms

YouTube[21] is described as the "the leader in online video, and the premier destination to watch and share original videos worldwide through a Web experience." The platform allows people to upload and share video clips via websites, mobile devices, blogs, and email. Created in 2005, it was purchased in 2006 by Google.

Climate change activists and movement organisations have uploaded tens of thousands of video clips to YouTube. Our YouTube search for clips associated with the words "climate change Australia" generated almost 700 results. It is impossible, though, to accurately assess how extensively climate change activists are using YouTube because of the rate of growth. YouTube is especially well suited to events that have a dramatic visual element. Not surprisingly, the Climate Camps in Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany and other countries are the subject of more than 600 YouTube clips. Some have been viewed more than 10,000 times, while other have been viewed less than 1,000 times even if they've been online more than a year. The YouTube of Walk Against Warming 2007 had only been viewed 22 times when we watched it in August 2008. The YouTube of the 2006 Walk had been viewed 371 times.

Online streaming video is increasingly incorporated in campaign websites. Two examples are Friends of the Earth's Big Ask and The Coal River Wind online campaigns. The Big Ask (http://www.thebigask.com/) website was developed by Friends of the Earth in the United Kingdom to build pressure for the UK Government to legislate for annual emission reductions. The site invites community members who support this ask to submit a short video of themselves. The project is described as an 'online march' and has almost 173,000 'marchers', including celebrities such as Jude Law. In the Appalachian mountain region of the United States, the Coal River Wind community campaign seeks to prevent the removal of mountaintops for coal mining. Their campaign website (http://www.coalriverwind.org/?page_id=109) includes compelling video testimonials from residents.

Organisation or campaign	URL
Cate Blanchett talks about climate change	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dRumgJV0zxo
Climate change despair and empowerment roadshow	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5q-cP-t_m7c
Climate change social change conference	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lh_z_SwyFHU
Climate Justice tour 2004	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WacSdHnJKPI
GetUp!'s climate cleverer ad	https://www.getup.org.au/campaign/ClimateCleverer&id=128
Halt climate change now	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0exzYINYmV4
Howard's Climate Change Election promise -Sexy Nuclear Power	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qwujcnb6lRY
Kevin Rudd vs John Howard – climate change	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hyy8_4_6Swk
Tasmania's climate change crusaders	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSV3uHnGcbc
The Exxon files: FoE targets climate change approach	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0IxE4OaP9Ow
Walk Against Warming 2006	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rglMml7ySfs&feature=related
Walk Against Warming 2007	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ony19IWobH0
Why is Oxfam taking action on climate change?	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_eJlcGR2O40

Table 4. Examples of climate campaign YouTube content

Online video content is also an important form of independent media. Engage Media (http://www.engagemedia.org/) is "a website for video about social justice and environmental issues in Australia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific." Independent film-makers associated with Engage Media coordinated online media coverage for the 2008 Climate Camp in Newcastle including some inspiring footage of the occupation of the rail corridor

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[21] http://www.youtube.com/

and interviews with arrestees. Several of the activists we interviewed prefer to search Engage Media for relevant media rather than sifting through YouTube which has a large volume of irrelevant content.

Climate change activists also share static audiovisual content (photos) online via platforms including SlideShare, AOL, Kabooza, Photobucket, Shutterfly, Zoomr, Imageshack, Snapfish and other websites. During our desk study, we identified many Flickr sites where climate activists share campaign-related photos. Examples are given in Table 5 below.

Organisation or campaign	Flickr url
Climatemessengers	http://flickr.com/photos/minimalista/sets/72157600269003953/ People submit photos of themselves holding placards with climate change slogans.
Heathrow Climate Camp	http://flickr.com/photos/nickhi/1433619723/
Global Warming Rally Seattle	http://flickr.com/photos/serakate/sets/72157600078204136/
The Big Switch (Qld)	http://www.flickr.com/photos/tbs_seq/sets/72157603226966117/
Vote climate	http://flickr.com/photos/erlandh/372605071/
Walk Against Warming 2007	http://flickr.com/photos/erlandh/sets/72157603196353418/

Table 5. Climate campaign Flickr sites

9.5 Wikis and Sourcewatch

A 'wiki' is a "page or collection of Web pages designed to enable anyone who accesses it to contribute or modify content, using a simplified markup language."[22] Wiki websites have proliferated since 1995 and are often used to create collaborative and community-based websites.

The Change Agency initiated a wiki page in 2007 as an experiment to assess the potential to develop and maintain a collaborative 'map' of the Australian climate change movement. Our content was subsequently incorporated as a section titled 'What's being done in Australia' within the pre-existing wiki page that focuses on 'Individual and political action on climate change'[23]. Since we initiated this catalogue of community climate action, it has been updated and expanded by other contributors.

Wiki pages often appear in response to developments in climate change policy and politics. One example is the Greenhouse Mafia page[24] that was created shortly after the screening of the Four Corners documentary in February 2006.

SourceWatch is a wiki that uses the same software as Wikipedia. It is created and maintained by the US-based Centre for Media and Democracy. SourceWatch pays editors to supervise the site and ensure that contributors provide evidence and appropriate references for all major changes. Climate change activists are using SourceWatch to create:

- The 'climate change portal' to facilitate information exchange concerning climate change policy and debate ahead of the November 2009 United Nations' Climate Change Convention in Copenhagen .[25]
- A regularly updated database of nonviolent direct actions targeting coal infrastructure.[26]
- Coal Swarm: a tool for groups and individuals to share information on issues such as coal mining, coal-fired electrical generation, coal-based synthetic fuels, and more. Contributors can add videos of actions, updates on particular coal plant proposals, information on alternatives to coal, news of upcoming events, etc.[27]

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[22] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiki
[23] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Individual_and_political_action_on_climate_change
[24] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenhouse_Mafia
[25] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Portal:Climate_Change
[26] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Nonviolent_direct_actions_against_coal
[27] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Portal:Coal_Issues

- Articles on the production rates and impacts of coal mining internationally.[28]
- An inventory of proposed coal-fired power stations compiled by US activists.[29]

Section 6.5 emphasised the importance of research to the climate movement. SourceWatch is an effective platform for this research because it is accessible, collaborative and iterative. As activists learn more about coal mining developments, policy options and targets (decision-makers), they can share this information quickly through SourceWatch with the rest of the movement.

Wikis enable background research on topics, groups and individuals to be accessible to any individual in the world with a reasonable Web connection. This overcomes two major problems: (1) the professionalisation of the environment movement and (2) the constraints of available funds and people. Activist groups tend to rely primarily on staff and volunteer members who are directly involved in climate action groups (attend meetings) to conduct research. Wikis present activist groups with options that can help them draw on the skills and energy of supporters who are well-educated and computer literate, keen to help but unlikely to attend meetings. The process can be as simple as nominating topics that climate campaign groups want researched then encouraging members and supporters to add their findings to a wiki page. If this occurs on SourceWatch, the editing process is managed.

Another political benefit of wiki pages on campaign topics and individuals (such as decision-makers and other targets) is the opportunity to shape media coverage. For various reasons, wiki pages tend to score highly in Google searches. Wiki pages can inform journalists as they write and individuals who seek further information on a major news item.

Bob Burton, a SourceWatch editor, argues that wikis offer "the possibility of changing the dynamic of activism by not waiting for busy activists or activist groups to decide something is a priority for research. An individual can - totally independently of any group - have an impact by pursuing something of interest to them." Bob adds that wikis allow opportunities for movement involvement based on their interest rather than their location - unlike other movement activities such as rallies, meetings and direct action.

SourceWatch and other wikis were not discussed spontaneously as tools for online organising by many of the climate change activists we surveyed and interviewed. This seems to reflect climate activists' lack of familiarity with them rather than their lack of potential. Social movement organisations and activists tend to utilise tactics and tools they are familiar with and can be slow to innovate. Wikis offer considerable scope to meet movement needs.

9.6 Other Web 2.0 applications

The range of tools offered by the Internet is beyond the scope of this study. A few warrant mention before closing. Grassroots and dispersed campaign networks rely on online platforms such as Google Docs[30] and Basecamp[31] for project management and collaboration. These platforms allow activists the functionality of a server free or at minimal expense. Basecamp provides security, but involves a monthly fee. Activists are also using customer relationship management (CRM) software to develop campaign databases. During the Big Switch campaign, the team of interns working with us in South East Queensland created an online database with details of interactions with more than 3,000 allies, community groups, media and election candidates. Finally, there are several ways to integrate Web and mobile telephone technologies to extend the climate movement's reach and mobilising capacity.

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[28] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Global_use_and_production_of_coal
http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Indonesia_and_coal
http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Australia_and_coal
[29] http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Category:US_proposed_coal_plants
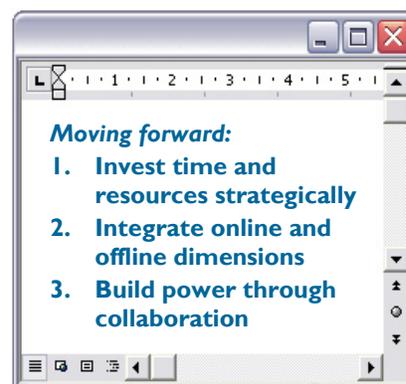[30] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_Docs
[31] http://www.basecamphq.com/

The climate change movement is making use of the Internet in an incredibly wide range of ways to inform and mobilise community members, to hold elected representatives accountable and to create and maintain social change organisations and networks. This diversity is so overwhelming and evolving so rapidly, it's almost impossible to fully grasp or map.

We started this stage of our action research project by asking the strategic question: What will it take to create a strongly networked, strategic and powerful climate movement in Australia? Without a doubt, part of the answer is creative, resourceful and economic use of the Internet. The good news is that it's already happening. Our study has highlighted some inspiring examples of online organising. GetUp!, in particular, has transformed organising in this and other social movements by mobilising on a scale and at a speed previously unheard of. Grassroots and community-based groups have harnessed the power of online tools to more than compensate for their modest funds and resources.

There is scope to use the Internet much more effectively.

Firstly, activists need to invest time and resources thoughtfully. With such a lot of the movement's finite energy, resources and time being spent online, we need to be economic. A strategic approach will tailor online tactics to a broader strategy and do just what is necessary to achieve the movement's objectives. Online activism is about form and function. What is necessary? Activists need to be able to follow the policy, political and media cycles, to promote community events and to share analysis. Some of these specific and necessary movement functions are being fulfilled well through websites such as ClimateMovement.org, GetUp!, CANA and Carbon Equity. The challenge is to support and work with these, rather than to duplicate them. Thoughtful use of the Web and e-lists will require clear campaign objectives and ongoing evaluation.

Moving forward:
1. **Invest time and resources strategically**
2. **Integrate online and offline dimensions**
3. **Build power through collaboration**

Secondly, it's crucial to integrate the online and offline dimensions of the movement. Once concerned citizens connect with the movement online and become a name on a mailing list, they need support and encouragement to become networked movement activists who are politically active both online and offline in their communities. Riseup's website urges activists to, "Get off the internet, I'll see you in the streets!" This reminds us to be mindful of the potency of direct experience, learning and relationships.

Thirdly, climate activists needs to learn to prioritise the movement's needs, to transcend NGOism and build power through collaboration.

The next step in our action research project is to facilitate forums in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne during September and October to stimulate creative and constructive discussions that actively involve climate change activists in the reflection stage of this action research cycle. We hope you can join us for the discussion. Alternatively, please share your responses to this report with us.

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Appendix A: Online questionnaire

Note: A modified and simplified version of these questions was used for interviews.

Building the climate movement online
Questionnaire

An initiative of the Change Agency, Friends of the Earth (FoE) Australia and Greenpeace Australia Pacific.

Climate change is the challenge of our times. People are responding in a million ways – by reducing their carbon footprint, by voting for policies to avert dangerous climate change and by participating in collective action. Through these actions, a people's movement is building - globally, nationally and locally. It is a movement that is engaging and mobilising more people every day. Our project (and this survey) aim to understand how the Internet is being used to build this movement, and how online tools might be used to greater effect.

The insights and ideas people share here will be synthesised in a report that will be shared widely to strengthen the movement. The survey asks for your contact details if you'd like a copy of the report. It will also be available on the Change Agency and FoE websites.

The survey includes x questions and should take 15-30 minutes to complete. It is not necessary to answer all the questions and you can save your responses and exit at any time. Your response will be managed to ensure anonymity. Any identifying information such as your contact details (to receive a copy of our report), age, gender and details of groups you're involved with will be separated from your responses.

Thanks, in advance, for taking the time to share your experiences and suggestions.
………

A. About you
First, we need to ask a few quick questions so we know who has completed the survey. This will help us be sure we've surveyed a good range of people and heard a variety of perspectives.

1. Where do you live?

Australian state or territory
☐ NT
☐ QLD
☐ NSW
☐ ACT
☐ VIC
☐ SA
☐ WA

2. Another country (please specify)

3. Gender (we're asking this so we can be sure we've sampled a representative group)
☐ M
☐ F
☐ Other

4. Age (so we can be sure we've sampled a representative group)
☐ <15
☐ 16-20
☐ 21-30
☐ 31-40
☐ 41-50
☐ 51-60
☐ >60

5. How long have you been actively involved in community action related to climate change?
☐ Less than 6 months
☐ 6 months to 1 year
☐ 1-2 years
☐ 2-5 years
☐ 5-10 years

☐ More than 10 years

B. The big questions
These five questions cut to the chase.

1. What will it take to create a strongly networked, strategic and powerful climate movement in Australia?

2. How important are online tools to building and mobilising the climate movement?
☐ Extremely
☐ Very
☐ Somewhat
☐ Minimal
☐ Not at all

3. What role or contribution do you think online tools (email, Web, etc) will play in creating and sustaining this movement?

4. What are the <u>best</u> examples of online organising and movement building you've seen in the climate movement? This might be something your group has done or something you've seen online.

Example 1 (name and describe the example; say why it was so effective)

Example 2 (name and describe the example; say why it was so effective)

Example 3 (name and describe the example; say why it was so effective)

5. How can online tools be used more effectively to strengthen the climate movement?

6. We suggest below a set of criteria for powerful online organising. Please indicate which ones you consider important in consider when developing and utilising effective online tools.

Effective online organising is:
☐ Part of a coherent and evolving strategy
☐ Impactful: builds pressure on a target to take specific desired actions; can't be ignored (eg number of email recipients who take a recommended action)
☐ Viral: contagious; fun; engaging; people take action and encourage their friends and family to
☐ Economic and purposeful: avoiding information overload and overwhelm
☐ Interactive, not didactic (one-way)
☐ About choices: provides options for involvement (time, form of action) including real world action
☐ Easy for the average PC user with a regular computer and standard software
☐ About recruiting new members
☐ About raising funds
☐ Evaluated: online experiments that are monitored for impact and evolve

Other _____

C. Information sharing

1. How do you receive information about climate action?

2. Have you subscribed to receive electronic bulletins on the topic of climate change and climate activism? (eg GetUP, Avaaz, ClimateMovement.org, Who on Earth Cares?, AYCC,)

☐ No (skip to the next question)
☐ Yes

If yes, please identify them _____

3. How do you participate in online organising (eg egroups)?
☐ Actively contribute and initiate
☐ Read most emails and forward to people I know who might take action
☐ Read most emails, but infrequently contribute
☐ Delete most emails without reading them
☐ Visit online discussions from time to time

☐ Other (please specify)

4. Why do you participate in online organising?
☐ To become more informed and aware
☐ To exchange information and advice
☐ To develop strategy
☐ To promote events
☐ To recruit and activate members
☐ Networking
☐ To participate in decision making
☐ Social networking
☐ Other (please specify)

D. Climate action groups (CAGs)
The climate movement includes different kinds of groups and organisations from international and national non-government organisations (NGOs) to small local or regional climate action groups (CAGs). Online organising is especially important to CAGs because they are mostly small, informal and have fewer resources than NGOs. We're interested to know how online tools can be useful to CAGs to inform, involve and mobilise their members and others in their communities.

1. Are you a member of a group or organisation taking action on climate change?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Please name the group.

2. Is your group a climate action group (CAG)?
☐ Yes
☐ No

The following questions are only for members of CAGs. If you answered NO to question 2, please skip to the next page.

3. If yes, please tell us the name of the group

4. When was the group created/initiated?

5. How does your group recruit new members?

6. How did you first become involved with the group?

7. How many members does the group have?

8. What is your role in the group?
☐ convenor
☐ member
☐ Web/e-list moderator
☐ subscriber to an email list
☐ other (please specify)

9. What are the main issues you campaign on?
☐ Renewable energy
☐ Coal mining
☐ Emissions targets
☐ Local Government initiatives and policy
☐ State Government initiatives and policy
☐ Transport
☐ Other (please specify)

10. What are your campaign objectives? (What specific change does your group want to achieve? What would success look like?

11. What are the group's main activities:
☐ information stalls
☐ petitions
☐ school talks

- [ ] community education
- [ ] lobbying and advocacy
- [ ] direct action
- [ ] research and policy development
- [ ] Other (please specify)

12. How does your CAG use email and the web to engage and mobilise community members? What tools do you use?
- [ ] Egroup
- [ ] If yes, please indicate how many members or subscribers your egroup has?
- [ ] Website
- [ ] If yes, please provide the url
- [ ] Facebook
- [ ] MySpace
- [ ] Other (please specify)

13. Please describe how your group is using online tools to mobilise around climate change

14. How and where do you normally promote your groups' activities?

E. Training, education and other support

1. Have you received education or training to support your climate action?

2. If yes what kind of education or training?

3. Where would you normally find out about education and training that's relevant to community climate action?

4. What kind of education and training would be useful for you?
- [ ] Campaign strategy
- [ ] Media and communication
- [ ] Strategies for change
- [ ] Political lobbying
- [ ] Actions & nonviolent direct action (NvDA)
- [ ] Fundraising
- [ ] Online organising and use of online tools
- [ ] Science/technical training
- [ ] Other (please specify)

5. What resources would really assist your campaign?
- [ ] Campaign materials
- [ ] More members
- [ ] Publicity
- [ ] Training
- [ ] Equipment
- [ ] Other (please specify)

E. Closing

If you'd like a copy of the report sent to you by email, please provide your email address below:

Thanks for making time to complete this survey and for helping create a powerful and effective climate movement.

Appendix B: Examples of effective online organising

These websites were mentioned by just one or two survey respondents as examples of effective online organising.

Australian Conservation Foundation's Climate Project	http://www.acfonline.org.au/default.asp?section_id=193&c=61657
Australian Youth Climate Coalition's 'Adopt a Politician' (on Facebook and MySpace)	Archived
Australian Student Environment Network	http://www.asen.org.au/
Climate Protection Bill campaign (Coogee CAG)	http://climateactioncoogee.org.au/
Balmain Rozelle climate action group (pro forma letter to politicians)	http://www.climatechangebr.org/
Cheat Neutral	http://www.cheatneutral.com/
Climatemovement.org	http://www.climatemovement.org
Earth Hour	http://www.earthhour.org/
Environment Victoria climate networks	http://www.envict.org.au
Greenpeace – especially the 2008 coal campaign site and 'Send a Whale' online action	
It's getting hot in here	http://itsgettinghotinhere.org/
Moveon.org: Democracy in Action	http://www.moveon.org/
Mt Alexander Shire sustainability group	http://masg.org.au/
New Tactics online 'nonviolence' dialogue	http://www.newtactics.org/en/blog/new-tactics/training-nonviolent-action
OzGREEN Youth LEAD	http://www.ozgreen.org.au/program_youth.php
Powershift (Washington 2007)	http://powershift07.org/
Powervote	http://www.powervote.org
Rail Back on Track	http://www.backontrack.org
Rainforest Action Network's 'on the spot' report-backs	http://ran.org/issues/global_warming/
Rising Tide's flashmob community actions	http://www.risingtide.org.au/image/tid/62
Sea Sheperd	http://www.seashepherd.org/
SoS Newcastle	http://www.studentsofsustainability.org/
Stepitup	http://www.stepitup2007.org
Sustainable Jamboree	http://www.sustainablejamboree.org
TEAR Changemakers	http://www.tear.org.au/getinvolved/change-makers/
The Wilderness Society's Gunn's campaign	http://www.wilderness.org.au/campaigns/pulp-mill
Unilever cyberaction	http://www.greenpeace.org/international/campaigns/forests/asia-pacific/dove-palmoil-action/dove-onslaught-er-hd
Union of Concerned Scientists	http://www.ucsusa.org/
We Can Solve the Climate Crisis	http://www.wecansolveit.org
Wikis including Sourcewatch	see Section 8.5

Appendix C. Useful online resources and references

- Internet Activism http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet_activism
- One-Northwest's Activist Toolkit, http://www.onenw.org
- Online Activism http://wiki.media-culture.org.au/index.php/Online_Activism
- Online Politics 101: The Tools and Tactics of Online Advocacy" Chapters cover online political advertising, political databases, choosing the right tools, social networking, fundraising, video, blogs and more. "It's an essential guide to doing politics on the internet" http://www.epolitics.com/2008/06/19/download-the-new-online-politics-101/
- Pickerill J (2001) Environmental Internet Activism in Britain, Peace Review 13(3) pp.365-370 http://www.jennypickerill.info/pubs.html
- Priscilla Brice-Weller's blog (Online Campaign Coordinator at ANTaR) http://www.solidariti.com/
- Should Your Organization Use Social Networking Sites? http://www.donortec.com.au/content/should-your-organization-use-social-networking-sites
- Techsoup "offers nonprofits a one-stop resource for technology needs by providing free information, resources, and support" http://www.techsoup.org/
- The Virtual Activist Training Course, NetAction, http://www.netaction.org
- Twelve Principles for Effective Online Communications Planning, One/Northwest http://www.onenw.org
- DigiActive, Guide to Facebook Activism: http://www.digiactive.org/2008/06/28/guide-a-digiactive-introduction-to-facebook-activism/

Appendix D. E-lists that were mentioned just once

- ABC Online
- Act now
- Biogems
- Carboncoalition
- Care2.com
- CleanLife
- Climate Action QLD
- ClimateActionBrisbane
- ClimateJusticeTalk
- Coal Free Queensland
- CoalSwarm (US)
- David Suzuki
- Ecopets
- Enviropeople
- fom@lists.riseup.net
- FoodConnect
- Fossilfoolsbris
- GRCO
- Green Left Weekly Activist calendar
- Greens
- GreenRazor
- Habitat,
- G-Whiz car-share
- Huon Valley Environment Centre
- ICAN
- Lighterfootprints
- Murrindindi Climate Network
- nonewcoalplants@energyjustice.net
- Post Carbon Institute
- New Internationalist
- NoNewCoal Plants (US)
- NUSA Enviro,
- OzGREEN
- PineRiversCAN e-list
- PopForum,
- Rising Tide international communication list;
- Rising Tide Newcastle,
- Rising Tide UK
- SciDevNet
- SEAN Network
- Social Ecology Australia
- Union of Concerned Scientists.
- uq_ec (Enviro Collective)
- Viclimate groups
- Young-qld-enviro-leaders
- young-qld-enviro-leaders (Qld Youth Environment Council members informal/social list)
- ZEN

Appendix E. E-lists identified during our desk study

E-list / egroup	URL	Notes
AVAAZ	http://www.avaaz.org/	International
CANA chat	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CANAinternational	International
Climate Concern	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/ClimateConcern	International; 2352 members
Climate Action Brisbane	http://tech.groups.yahoo.com/group/CAB_Team	Brisbane-based; 29 members
Climate Camp Australia	http://www.climatecamp.org.au/	Established to facilitate camp planning.
Climate change social change	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/climatechange_socialchange	Sydney-based; 33 members
Climaction	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CLIMACTION	Aotearoa-New Zealand; 81 members
Carbon Equity	http://www.carbonequity.info or http://www.carbonequity.info	Managed by David Spratt; focus on policy analysis, media summary
Coal Communities	http://lee.greens.org.au/index.php/content/view/1255/65/	NSW Greens list
Climate Action Groups	E-list managed by climatemovement.org	National
Enviro-people	To subscribe: enviro-people-subscribe@yahoogroups.com	Yahoo list
Fossil Fools Day 2008	http://au.groups.yahoo.com/group/FossilFoolsDay2008	22 members
Grassroots_climate-oz	http://www.zeroemissionnetwork.org/e-lists	Yahoo group
Greenleap	http://www.green-innovations.asn.au/greenleap.htm	1300 subscribers; broad agenda
National Union of Students envirolist	http://nusa.org.au/mailman/listinfo/envirolist_nusa.org.au	