From Divestment to Climate Justice:
Perspectives from University Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaigns

by

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A thesis
presented to Lakehead University
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Health Sciences
With specialization in Social-Ecological Systems, Sustainability, and Health

Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada, 2022

Approval

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The Fossil Fuel Divestment (FFD) Movement has helped facilitate a global transition away from fossil fuels by stigmatizing the sector's public image. The movement has been claimed to be rooted in climate justice, a framework that addresses the history of land domination, neoliberal capitalism, and the unequal distribution of environmental burdens. The literature on FFD indicates that in addition to keeping carbon reserves in the ground, FFD campaigns have provided space for settler students to learn about the ongoing colonialism of Indigenous land and have given them the opportunity to create alliances with frontline communities. Despite these accomplishments, FFD campaigns can reproduce the inequities of the dominant racist and colonial systems and reinforce the very market-based approaches that climate justice activists have rejected. Furthermore, campaigns lack diverse memberships and thus divestment can be perceived as a tactic of the privileged which can contribute to misunderstandings of what "counts" as climate justice work. Using movement-relevant theory and a climate justice principles framework informed by scholarly and movement literature in the fields of planetary health, environmental justice and climate justice, I articulate three principles—Values, Participation and Recognition—to explore how university-based FFD campaigns have operationalized climate justice in their strategies and practices. I employed a multiple case study of three FFD campaigns across Canada and collected and analyzed data from public campaign documents and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with core organizers from each campaign. Through the CJ principles framework, I used a priori coding schema to deduct codes based on the three principles. The findings of this research identified that climate justice principles were operationalized through 1) Climate justice messaging through divestment arguments and popular education; 2) Equitable movement-building practices through community-building, accessibility and care and; 3) Frontline and movement solidarity through collaboration, relationship-building and community reinvestment. This study also identified the barriers and contradictions present in the integration of CJ. The key implications of this research can provide opportunities for further application of CJ. These include monitoring the reinvestment of divested funds to ensure that harm is not further perpetuated by investment in other exploitative sectors, to incorporate intentional recruitment strategies and formalized processes for decision-making to recruit and retain diverse organizers, and to prioritize the creation and maintenance of long-term relationships in their solidarity efforts.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who have made this research possible. My co-supervisors Dr. Charles Z. Levkoe and Dr. Lindsay P. Galway who have been by side throughout the research process have been invaluable mentors and have encouraged me to create a study that could weave in my activism and passion for climate justice. I want to thank Dr. Paul Berger who was organizing with me from the beginning of my journey with Fossil Free Lakehead. I could not have found a more appropriate committee member. I thank all the participants who offered their expertise to me. I cherish our conversations and I am honoured to bring your perspectives to light.

Finally, I thank my fellow Fossil Free Lakehead organizers. Getting a divestment commitment was a long and hard campaign that resulted in a community of women who cared for and with me for climate justice. Our journey was one that I didn't have much hope for at times, but it taught me that continuing to move forward (and learn and grow in the process) was worth it. That the unlikely is possible. I hold that spirit close to me in times when I hear that "the system will never change" or that it will come too slowly, and it has served as a reminder that we are capable of so much more than we think we are.

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Acronyms

FFD - Fossil Fuel Divestment

CJ - Climate Justice

CJUBC - Climate Justice UBC

DC - Divest Concordia

FFUW - Fossil Free UW

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Preface

I Believe in Climate Justice

From the soaring birds and bees, to the dance of ocean tides,
I believe that we should all be afforded the dignity to live full and healthy lives
Free from pollution, violence, and cultural genocide
Where we collectively safeguard the lands in which we reside

I believe that climate justice requires accountability
From those who exploit people and planet for financial prosperity
From governments, industries, and institutions,
who spread propaganda and glorify false solutions

I believe that BIPOC people should not only be well-represented in our movements,
but are fairly engaged from inception to execution
Because the communities that are at the frontlines of injustice
should be at the frontlines of decisions regarding natural resources,
of infrastructure and land-use planning,
and alternative energy projects that could harm their families

I believe that Indigenous Sovereignty requires Land Back and reparations
I believe that solidarity and alliances across movements are essential for long-term liberation

I believe that we have a responsibility
To do more within our capacities
To confront power on an ongoing basis,
and be mindful of our relationships

Or just like the actors who pillage our beloved ecosystems,
we risk reproducing colonial, capitalist, racist systems

I believe that our movements have the potential to prioritize an ethics of care
To acknowledge that we all uniquely have something we bear
To reduce harm, promote hope, and be in relation to one another
To recognize that we are all in this together

I believe in climate justice
and I believe you should too.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Extreme weather changes, climate refugees, food insecurity, and the spread of vector-borne disease: we are witnessing the disruption of our planet's natural systems and it is having direct and indirect impacts on global health (Whitmee et al., 2015). Millions of people worldwide are unable to access sufficient and clean water, food, and energy (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen & McNiel, 2011). These uneven impacts disproportionately impact Black, Indigenous and communities of colour in both the Global North and South who have contributed the least to climate change (Tokar, 2014). Evidence shows that burning fossil fuels is the number one driver of greenhouse gas emissions which contributes to land degradation, and displacement (Steffen et al., 2011). Exposure to fossil fuel emissions also contributes to human health risks and is globally linked to nearly 1 in 5 premature deaths (Vahra, et al., 2021). In fact, a recent study has found that communities that are exposed to long-term air pollution are linked to more fatalities and severe cases of COVID-19 (Wu et al., 2020). What is needed is a just transition: a future that puts the era of fossil fuel dependence behind us. A future that addresses the uneven health inequities of climate change. And a future that centres intergenerational justice.

The Fossil Fuel Divestment (FFD) movement is working to help facilitate this transition by removing the industry's financial support in order to raise awareness of its injustices (Ansar et al., 2013). The movement is claimed to be rooted in Climate Justice (CJ), a framework that addresses the history of land domination, capitalism, and the unequal impact of environmental burdens (Klein, 2014; Magdoff & Foster 2011). To date, faith organizations, universities, pension funds and foundations have committed to divesting USD $40 trillion from fossil fuels, with $6 trillion coming from educational institutions (Go Fossil Free, n.d.a). Because student-led

activism has been instrumental in popularizing the movement (Ansar et al., 2013), my research studies if and how Canadian university-FFD campaigns use CJ.

I focus my study in Canada because, despite the success of FFD in other parts of the world, only 4% of Canadian higher education institutions have made divestment commitments (Go Fossil Free, n.d.a; Government of Canada, 2019). It is important to consider this context because Canada has a resource-extractive economy as the world's third-largest oil exporter (Natural Resources Canada, 2020). Continued investment in the fossil fuel industry contributes to social, ecological and public health costs, particularly in communities that are displaced in order to build pipelines (Huseman & Short, 2012). In addition, fossil fuel projects disproportionately degrade the land, water and cultures of Indigenous communities. For example, the world's most destructive fossil fuel project is the Alberta tar sands (Huseman & Short, 2012) and it accounts for 63% of the oil that is produced in Canada and 97% of Canadian oil reserves (Natural Resources Canada, 2020). The tar sands have had a major impact on the 24 Indigenous communities of Northern Alberta who have voiced concern over the precarious health conditions and other impacts that oil development causes (Natural Resources Canada, 2016; Timoney, 2007).

The scholarly literature shows that CJ is frequently used in studies on urban planning and mitigation and adaptation projects (Blue, et al., 2019; Bulkeley et al., 2013, 2014; Goh, 2020; Schlosberg; 2012) but CJ scholarship is still limited in illustrating the practical implementation of CJ (Newell et al., 2021; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). My research aims to contribute to this literature by offering unique perspectives of the application of a CJ framework within organizing spaces. Additionally, my research contributes to the field of health sciences by adding to the growing literature on planetary health that promotes research on the intersection of ecological

and human health with an explicit focus on justice and activism. The existing literature on university-based FFD has focused on tactics that result in divestment decisions (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015; Hamaekers, 2015; Maina et al., 2019), student activism and impacts on participant involvement (Belliveau, 2018; Bergman et al., 2018), divestment's impact on the stock market (Dordi & Weber, 2015), and how CJ is aligned with divestment (Belliveau, 2018; Bratman et al., 2016; Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson 2014). Although there is a growing body of research on how university-based FFD campaigns have succeeded in securing an institutional divestment commitment (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Hamaekers, 2015; Maina et al., 2019), there are far fewer studies that explore the post-divestment activities of these campaigns. Therefore, my research will focus on three case studies of FFD campaigns that have achieved an institutional-level divestment commitment to explore the integration of CJ in both their history and future goals.

Studies have shown that divestment campaigns can contribute to many important justice-centred issues and activities. For example, they can create space for settler students to learn about the past and present colonization of Indigenous land (Rowe et al., 2016). Organizers also have the opportunity to be in solidarity with frontline communities and to grow coalitions with justice-seeking groups (Gibson & Duram, 2020; Rowe et al., 2016). However, divestment campaigns are rarely carried out by frontline communities and their stories are sometimes missing from the divestment narrative (Gibson & Duram, 2020; Grady-Benson, 2014). Campaigns also lack diversity despite the intersectional nature of their cause (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). Thus, divestment can be perceived as a tactic of the privileged which can contribute to misunderstandings of the principles of CJ by organizers (Grady-Benson, 2014). Embedding CJ principles from the ground up by valuing human and

planetary rights, engaging in equitable participatory practices, and recognizing the root causes of climate injustice can strengthen the movement's call to action. My research documents how activists navigate the challenges of CJ organizing and strive to dismantle rather than replicate existing power structures.

My research uses movement-relevant theory and a CJ principles framework to guide the design, analysis and findings of this study. Drawing on the scholarly and movement literature in the fields of planetary health, environmental justice and climate justice, I articulate CJ through three core principles: Values, Participation and Recognition. My research explores if, and how, university-based FFD campaigns are applying CJ principles in their strategies and practices. My objectives were to identify:

1) How CJ principles have been operationalized in post-divestment campaigns;

2) What barriers campaigns face to integrate CJ; and

3) Opportunities to apply CJ further

To meet these objectives, I employed a multiple case study design with three FFD campaigns across Canada. I collected data from public campaign documents and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with core organizers from each campaign.

In the midst of multiple crises of the global COVID-19 pandemic, systemic racism, and the widening wealth gap, it is essential to recognize that social and environmental issues are interconnected and intensified by climate change (Chawla, 2009). Collective action that is holistic, inclusive and engages in anti-oppressive practices is needed now more than ever. For the past three years, I have campaigned for FFD at Lakehead University. As an insider to the movement, I have developed this research project through the literature, my experiences as an organizer and my observations of the Canadian FFD network. I am committed to generating

research that is valuable to those who are fighting to make a just transition possible. Although divestment has helped introduce organizers to CJ, there is still room to move it beyond theory and into practice.

The following chapters detail the development, research process, and results of this study. Chapter 2 outlines the relevant scholarly literature on planetary health and global health inequity, the history of the CJ movement and concept as well as its practical implementation in research, and the rise of the university-based FFD movement including the emerging literature on CJ integration. In Chapter 3, I outline how the literature review informs and shapes the CJ principles framework I employed, my positionality and how Movement Relevant Theory compliments scholar-activism, and the methods I used to carry out this research. Chapter 4 outlines the key findings based on the CJ principles which includes the practices of CJ within FFD campaigns and the barriers that they have overcome or are still grappling with. In Chapter 5, I use the scholarly literature to examine the contradictions of the CJ practices and barriers in the findings and detail several opportunities for further application of CJ. Finally, in Chapter 6 I conclude with my reflections on the research process including the limitations and implications of this study and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following literature review will address three key areas of research and movement literature on Planetary Health, Climate Justice (CJ) and the university-based Fossil Fuel Divestment (FFD) movement. I first outline Planetary Health by providing an overview of the intersection of human health and the health of the planet. I also describe the uneven burden of health inequity and its link to economic growth. In the next section, I define CJ and its predecessor environmental justice by outlining the core principles developed by the scholarly and movement literature. I draw links to the core principles of CJ in both the planetary health section and the section on research that applies a CJ framework. Following that, I outline the history of divestment and describe the ways that FFD organizers understand and utilize CJ in their campaigns. Finally, I discuss the CJ framework that I have synthesized from the literature that has informed my data collection, interview guide and analysis.

Planetary Health

As an emerging field of study, planetary health researchers study how anthropogenic environmental changes affect the planet, and how those changes affect human health and wellbeing (Ratima, 2019; Whitmee et al., 2015). Planetary health is a belief, framework and philosophy that holds that human health and wellbeing parallels the health and wellbeing of the planet (Ratima, 2019). Planetary health recognizes the need for reciprocal stewardship, a philosophy that aligns with many Indigenous worldviews that believe that humans bear the responsibility to protect the environment for future generations (Ratima, 2019). These worldviews address the land's interrelated and interdependent relationship with humans and see it as fundamental to enhancing health (Ratima, 2019). In this section, I describe the planetary

health costs of climate change and the injustices related to carbon emissions, and how planetary health seeks health equity and justice.

Health Inequities

Development by means of extraction, depletion and overconsumption is antithetical to advancing global health equity (Whitmee et al., 2015). So how is it that humanity has thrived while our ecosystems have weakened? With the advancement of technology, privileged regions and communities across the world have been able to produce cleaner food and water, develop medicine, and build resilient infrastructure (Whitmee et al., 2015). However, as the Earth's temperature rises, so does the spread of infectious disease, forest fires, flooding and other disasters (Whitmee et al., 2015). These impacts are linked to human health because climate change affects the food, air and water we consume and live in.

Despite contributing the least to climate change, this distribution of harms disproportionately impacts Black, Indigenous and communities of colour in both the Global North and South who are not always beneficiaries of health advancements (Tokar, 2014). For example, staple food crop production will be limited causing 148 million people to be at risk of protein deficiency (Medek, Schwartz & Myers, 2017). Marine fish are also predicted to decline due to pollution and rising sea temperatures, risking 845 million people becoming malnourished due to vitamin deficiencies (Golden et al., 2016). In order to reverse these changes, public health and the bodies that manage, study and govern health need to consider the planet—from how we produce energy to how we protect our ecosystems (Myers, 2017). As health professionals consider climate change, it is imperative that climate activists also consider health (Myers, 2017).

The benefits of sustaining human health for some populations come at the expense of the planet's natural systems that are designed to provide all species with food, water, shelter and energy (Whitmee et al., 2015). Lang and Rayner (2012) argue that the degradation of ecological public health is driven by Western capitalism that values economic growth before health. This hierarchy of values is evident in the global energy transition—while rich nations dug up fossil fuels, burned trees and interrupted waterways, they were able to generate an unprecedented amount of energy and wealth. In Great Britain, when coal-fired energy production became a health burden, and while advisors pushed for a re-evaluation of the country's energy use, there was still a delay in public health intervention. This delay was partly due to the difficulty of proving causation of health risks with coal production and was coupled with the coal industry weaponization of this doubt. As coal was a central driver of the British economy, regulation for public health was not as urgent as it might have been. It was not until the problem became too evident to ignore—high death rates and the visibility of smog—that action was taken by exporting the burden of production to less wealthy nations. This highlights the immense privilege that dominant societies have while marginalized communities are harmed.

Although the Anthropocene is defined as an era of geological changes primarily caused by human activity (Steffen et al., 2011), it is important not to perpetuate the myth that all humans, regardless of location, culture, and intensity of carbon consumption have accelerated these changes equally. Approximately half of the world's population live in low-middle income regions, yet in both production-based and consumption-based carbon emissions, high-middle income countries produce the vast majority of global emissions at 87% (Ritchie, 2018). Even more concerning is that high-income countries (made up of North America and Europe) make up 16% of the world's population yet emit 46% of the world's carbon (Ritchie, 2018). The

Anthropocene has been perpetuated and sustained by wealthy nations and harmful corporations such as the fossil fuel industry. When governments fail to address the social and environmental inequities that lead to health issues, they prioritize economic gain over health (Whitmee et al., 2015).

A key example of health inequity comes from the Canadian tar sands. Globally, the tar sands produce the most greenhouse gas emissions per barrel of oil, at 31% more than conventional North American oil production (Israel, 2017). Crude oil extraction from the tar sands is more dangerous than conventional oil extraction because the raw material is made up of bitumen (dense petroleum), clay, sand and water (Huseman & Short, 2012). The process of breaking down the compound produces industrial wastewater which is contained in tailing ponds (Weber, 2014). The tailings ponds are loaded with toxic chemicals such as arsenic, benzene, lead and mercury, and constantly leak into the Athabasca River (Weber, 2014). This pollution enters plants and animals that are harvested for food and medicine that Indigenous peoples rely on for their health and cultures (Huseman & Short, 2012). Toxic contamination especially impacts communities with subsistence diets containing fish and wild game because the process of bioaccumulation multiples the concentration of toxins found in the environment (Timoney, 2007). This has resulted in a rise in cancer cases in communities like the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation who have cancer rates 29% higher than Alberta's non-Indigenous population (Timoney, 2007).

In addition to these far-reaching impacts, fossil fuel production contributes to the militarized policing of and gender-based violence toward Indigenous peoples. For example, despite the lack of free, prior and informed consent from Wet'suwet'en people, TC Energy and the Canadian government began to develop the Coastal GasLink pipeline which would carry

fracked gas over unceded Wet'suwet'en territory (Sulakshana, 2020). This prompted protests by land defenders who faced violent action by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who utilized dogs, heavy machinery, and helicopters to remove peaceful protesters (Cecco, 2020). Along with this open state violence, Indigenous women, in particular, suffer from sexual violence, sex trafficking and drug abuse linked to "man camps"—temporary housing settlements of mainly male workers who work on resource extraction projects in rural communities (Fredericks et al., 2018). Additionally, many Indigenous communities identify their culture, history and spirituality with their land, and fossil fuel development has inhibited their ability to maintain or pass down their traditions (Abed, 2006). Hence, Abed (2006) calls the forced removal of Indigenous peoples from their land for settler-led resource extraction a form of genocide.

These are just a few examples of the many health inequities and injustices connected to fossil fuel extraction and uneven carbon emissions. These examples bring to life the abstract percentages in a university's endowment portfolio by illustrating the real-life, violent impacts of fossil fuel investments.

Planetary Health and Justice

Planetary health recognizes the importance of intergenerational responsibility, multiple perspectives, human cooperation and collective action (Horton & Lo, 2015). Planetary health acknowledges inequity and advances the need for public health to be intersectional, considering class, race, gender, education and place as determinants of health (Horton et al., 2014). When assessing the health impacts of new development projects, planetary health first looks at how different groups are harmed by or benefit from them (Myers, 2017). For example, when building infrastructure in a forest, a planetary health framework considers how deforestation may influence the way that vector-borne diseases are spread, or how it may exacerbate the damage a

flood can cause (Seltenrich, 2018). In the development of a coal-fired power plant, this framework can assess human health outcomes by investigating whether air pollution may impact some communities more harshly than others due to their geographic proximity (Myers, 2017).

Planetary health also considers co-benefits: the health benefits that emerge from sustaining a healthy planet (Whitmee et al., 2015). For example, controlling exposure to environmental hazards and giving communities access to green spaces and clean water would improve both the environment and health of a community (Masuda et al., 2010). High environmental quality is also associated with societal benefits such as better income distribution and access to political rights (Agyeman, 2008), positive impacts on mental and physical health and better cognitive functioning (Bratman et al., 2012), and the strengthening of community ties (Frumkin, 2020). If health became the foundation of climate policies, by 2040, it is estimated that 10.1 million deaths could be avoided due to mitigation efforts that increase access to healthy diets, cleaner air and exercise, and the global temperature could stay well below 2 degrees (Hamilton et al., 2021). Universities are in an excellent position to respond to climate change's threat to human health through planetary health curricula and research (Wabnitz et al., 2020). Wabnitz et al. (2020) suggest that higher education institutions can advance planetary health by communicating research in accessible language and by divesting from fossil fuels.

Another key component of planetary health is full and active participation from various stakeholders in tackling environmental and health problems. This comes from planetary health's transdisciplinary approach which brings together the expertise of researchers, specialists and community members (Charron, 2012). Because effective participation requires consensus and cooperation within and between groups, renegotiation is a constant practice. In the transdisciplinary approach, research methodologies and tools are as diverse as the disciplines

involved, and researchers can work with different groups throughout data collection, analysis and implementation. This process takes time as teams rarely start off with a wide set of disciplines and perspectives. This process evolves as a project grows, as relationships develop, and as new methods are applied. Relationship building is crucial because as relationships develop in a team, so does mutual trust and respect as members get to know each other's priorities and perspectives.

Leveraging the knowledge of various stakeholders and perspectives can pave the way for holistic solutions to public health problems. Therefore, health, and more precisely the intersection of ecological and social systems with health, cannot be addressed independently. The ability to measure and quantify health and environmental impacts brings hope because there are limitless imaginative and holistic ways to view these problems and to find solutions (Horton & Lo, 2015). Rouf and Wainwright (2020) speak of privilege, power and psychology as influencing how society understands the risks of climate change, which can determine whether we view the Earth, health and society as interconnected and influencing each other (Rouf & Wainwright, 2020). Frumkin (2020) calls for an intellectual humility—the understanding that the natural sciences should not be our sole exporter of climate solutions. The traditional knowledge from the people who live and have lived off of the land and the deep integration of social justice in research on health and the environment is required to create solutions that mitigate climate change.

In this section, I have described the global health inequities caused by industrialization and climate change and the importance of valuing planetary health over financial gain. I have also outlined how planetary health is an intersectional and justice-oriented approach to tackling health problems caused by environmental degradation. Here I have also described the characteristics of participation that are strengthened by relationship building and the involvement

of community members in the research process. These are all aligned with the principles of CJ that I believe are crucial for FFD campaigns to embody.

Climate Justice

CJ has been articulated and understood in many ways: from the holistic and community-centred narratives of grassroots movements to the liberal narrative of capitalist market-based solutions (Chatterton et al., 2013). In this section, I begin with the history of environmental justice, the foundation that CJ builds on. Next, I describe the core principles of CJ advanced by scholars and practitioners. Finally, I discuss the scholarly research that employ a CJ framework and summarize how my research contributes to the literature through the application of CJ within organizing spaces.

Environmental Justice: History and Core Principles

Environmental justice is both a scholarship and a social movement. Environmental justice is often credited to the work of grassroots organizers that were at the frontlines of experiencing unequal environmental burdens (Agyeman, 2008). Hailing from the United States following the civil rights movement, environmental justice addressed the development of polluting industries and toxic dumping sites in predominantly low-income African American communities (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Activists who were fighting for the health and wellbeing of their neighbourhoods sought accountability from polluting industries and the state (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Moreover, activists challenged the narrative of traditional environmentalism that exclusively centred biodiversity loss, conservation efforts and the protection of the natural world (Wright, 2011). Issues such as war and poverty, despite contributing to inequality and climate disruption, were not considered environmental issues in the past (Agyeman, 2008). Environmental justice has promoted the shift in what counts as ‘environmental’ (Agyeman, Cole,

Haluza-DeLay & O'Riley, 2010) and works towards alleviating inequities associated with our social and political environments such as the disparities in accessing housing, healthcare and education (Agyeman, 2008).

At the first National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991 held in Washington D.C, The Principles of Environmental Justice were developed (Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996). Principles can be understood as the fundamental values a social movement aims to adopt and uphold (Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996). The core principles are the redistribution of environmental resources and protections, recognition of the systems that create and uphold inequitable distribution, and inclusive participation of those impacted by environmental risks (Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996; Schlosberg, 2003). These principles, described as distributive justice, recognitional justice and procedural justice, are the core domains that environmental justice is understood and practiced within.

Distributive justice refers to the central problem: people of colour and underserved communities are negatively impacted by environmental issues more than their White and affluent counterparts (Bullard & Johnson, 2002). A report by the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (2004) showed evidence that although they produced less greenhouse gas emissions, African American communities experienced disproportionate death rates due to heatwaves and air pollution. This report spoke of the co-benefits of reducing greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuels which results in fewer negative health impacts from climate change. To alleviate harm, distributive justice calls for the redistribution of environmental protection and equitable access to environmental resources (Bullard & Johnson, 2002).

Recognitional justice explains why environmental inequities exist by examining the history behind social, economic, and political imbalances that shape how environmental harms

are distributed in a given community (Fraser, 1997). Recognitional justice interrogates the ways that racism and other forms of discrimination operate in relation to environmental issues such as its links to human rights abuses (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012; Scott, 2014). Injustice can also occur due to a lack of recognition because it can lead to devaluing a culture or community (Fraser 2013). Recognitional justice acknowledges that the state is responsible for protecting communities made vulnerable to environmental hazards, and holds the actors (industries, corporations, states) that produce them accountable for rectifying them (Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996).

Lastly, procedural justice is the tool used to find the solutions that can alleviate environmental harm (Schlosberg, 2013). This is a process that invites the individuals and communities facing environmental injustices to be involved in the design and assessment of environmental laws, regulations and policies (Bullard & Johnson, 2002). It also involves making space in environmental organizations which have historically excluded affected communities, and whose leadership does not reflect the demographics they serve (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012). This is evident in the funding available for environmental projects that have narrow criteria (derived from traditional environmentalism) that disadvantages intersectional projects that would appropriately address a community's needs (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012).

An example of how environmental justice can be misused and coopted is Harrison's (2015) study on activists' perception of existing environmental justice programs. Through ethnographic interviews with 35 self-identified activists, the author asked whether activists thought environmental justice programs were in line with the movement's values. Harrison (2015) discovered that activists advocate for hazard reduction and for new laws and policy changes that support communities of colour. Activists also critique interventions that promote

individual behavioural change because people cannot dictate how pollutants and toxins enter their bodies or communities. Instead, they would like to see programs funded that train people on how to get involved in political engagement and gain decision-making power. However, according to the records of funded projects, half of them went to create community gardens. This is partly due to the many counter-actors who believe that advocating for hazard reduction is reactive and oppositional, whereas supporting behavioural change, alternative energy and greening projects is proactive and propositional. Harrison concluded that environmental justice programs can co-opt the terminology of activists because, in practice, they do not meet the core objectives of justice in their policy implementation.

When engaging in environmental justice it is important to identify the beneficiaries, power holders and narrative shapers regarding environmental risks and benefits. Agyeman et al. (2010) illustrate this by asking:

> Who has standing? On what concerns? What are the legitimation processes by which social and symbolic meaning are attributed to these questions? What constitutes power, and what are the contexts with respect to those with power and those without? (p. 8)

It is also important not to put distributive, recognitional and procedural justice into silos (Fraser, 1997). A lack of participation makes it difficult for adequate redistribution to occur (Agyeman et al., 2010). And for participation to occur, there must be an acknowledgement of the lack of procedural models that exclude and exploit communities (Agyeman et al., 2010). For true justice to be achieved, we must understand how these principles are tied together and use them as an integrated approach (Fraser, 1997).

The evolution of CJ was part of broadening the scope of the local impacts of pollution to the wider, global impact of climate change (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). This shift in discourse

heightened after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Historic injustices such as segregation, poverty, and inadequate housing and education already left African American residents of New Orleans at a disadvantage before Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005 (Bullard & Wright, 2009). Following the disaster, residents were met with lackluster disaster relief as information came slowly and state financial assistance was insufficient. This opened the door for environmental justice activists to consider the impact of various environmental hazards outside of their local communities, to recognize that the carbon emissions that were produced from across the globe drove climate change, and then subsequently strengthened the impact of Hurricane Katrina (Bullard & Wright, 2009; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). This wider understanding of environmental harm on a global scale introduced environmental justice activists and scholars to the CJ movement that tackles climate change and its intersecting injustices (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014).

Climate Justice: History and Core Principles

CJ is an intersectional framework that is rooted in addressing the history of colonialism and neoliberal capitalism that drives climate change (Klein, 2014; Magdoff & Foster 2011). CJ considers both the human contributions to climate change and the systems of oppression that facilitate the unequal distribution of environmental burdens (Agyeman, 2008; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014; Tokar, 2014). CJ recognizes that those who contribute the least to environmental degradation have suffered the most and are not always equipped with the resources to manage climate change impacts (Tokar, 2014). Because climate change intensifies the pre-existing harms of inequity, grassroots movements consider climate change as a social justice issue (Chawla, 2009). Despite being the first and worst hit, frontline communities challenge climate injustice through grassroots organizing that supports community-led solutions (Chatterton et al., 2013;

Tokar, 2014). Young activists in the Global North also engage in climate action such as the movement for FFD (Rowe et al., 2016). The consideration of the environment as more than the Earth's systems but of the intersections of our social and political environments, has produced more inclusive organizing in the environmental sector (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). This framing reiterates that we need to care about people just as much as we care for and strive to protect the planet (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014).

The International Climate Justice Network (2002) established one of the first mandates for a collective understanding of CJ: The Bali Principles of Climate Justice. These principles were adapted from The Principles of Environmental Justice (1996) described above and include self-determination for Indigenous peoples, addressing the root causes of climate change, social and economic injustice, and putting the responsibility on polluters to pay for their contributions to climate change (ICJN, 2002). The Bali Principles of Climate Justice highlight the relationship between our ecological systems and the non-human beings that live within them and affirms the right to inhabit healthy ecosystems. It also outlines several human rights such as the right to clean air, land and water, and the right to a safe and sustainable livelihood. The Bali Principles focus on the need for equity with and protection for the non-human world as it is the foundation used to perpetuate climate injustices (Chatterton et al., 2013; ICJN, 2002). This framing demonstrates the core of planetary health and CJ that calls for stability in the ecological world in order for justice in the human world to occur.

Another set of CJ principles was established following the 2009 COP15 summit called the Universal Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth (UDRME) (Chatterton et al., 2013). The UDRME reiterated and expanded the Bali Principles of Climate Justice to include keeping carbon in the ground, respecting the rights and cultures of Indigenous peoples, reducing over-

consumption, prioritizing local food and community-led production, and repaying the climate debt owed to the Global South (Chatterton et al., 2013). During COP15, activists created a counter-summit to address some of their conceptions of climate solutions after being disappointed with the focus on market-based interventions in the main forum (Chatterton et al., 2013). Likewise, a coalition of social movements and non-governmental organizations called Climate Justice Now! established at the 2007 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) rejected false solutions such as carbon trading to address climate change (Goodman, 2010). An example of a false solution is the 10:10 campaign which asked schools, organizations and businesses to reduce their carbon emissions by 10% (Chatterton et al., 2013; Pusey & Russell, 2010). This solution puts the responsibility for carbon emissions on the public rather than corporations, subsequently depoliticizing the underlying drivers of climate change (Pusey & Russell, 2010).

Alternatively, CJ solutions are led by groups like La Via Campesina who work towards food sovereignty and the empowerment of peasants by focusing efforts locally instead of relying on corporate agri-business that is carbon dependent (Chatterton et al., 2013). We can also consider Asia-Pacific Research Network's proposal of a Peoples' Protocol on Climate Change as a CJ solution. This initiative advocates for activists to have decision-making power on climate policy and to transform the global economic framework to proactively consider sustainability rather than reacting to the impacts of climate change (Goodman, 2010). These examples show that an understanding of CJ from grassroots organizers has been informed by their resistance to mainstream capitalist climate solutions.

In outlining the main principles of CJ, it is clear that they are adapted and expanded from the principles of environmental justice. While environmental justice advocated for preventing the

spread of environmental hazards, CJ takes this a step further by demanding fossil fuels stay underground (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). CJ critiques the economic model that devalues the environment with more attention to how fossil fuels adversely impact communities and ecological systems (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). CJ seeks justice beyond fairness and equity for humans and values the rights of non-human animals and ecosystems more explicitly (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). For example, the UDRME and the Bali Principles of Climate Justice begin with a statement of protecting the sacredness of Mother Earth and all her inhabitants and ecosystems, weighing ecological and human rights equally (Chatterton et al., 2013; ICJN, 2002). Restorative justice is also more apparent in CJ which demands that perpetrators of climate change redistribute resources to affected communities (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Despite these key differences, the core environmental justice principles of recognitional and procedural justice are evident in the literature and declarations of CJ principles. In the next section, I describe the scholarly application of these principles.

Application of Climate Justice in Scholarly Literature

The literature presents CJ as a concept that can help administer equitable mitigation and adaptation strategies and can be applied to different geographical scales (Newell et al., 2021; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). But Newell et al. (2021) contest that CJ scholarship tends to represent the anthropocentric perspective of Western worldviews that can limit the natural world to its utilitarian value. Although there is a lack of literature on the practical application of CJ (Newell et al., 2021; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014), in this section, I outline some of the scholarly literature that attempts to apply CJ as a framework.

A CJ framework can be described as a one that can respond to the injustices caused by climate change by serving as a legal framework to develop policy change while upholding

human and planetary rights (Sawaswat & Kumar, 2016). Sawaswat & Kumar (2016) claim that the state of the environment is an indicator to the state of human health and wellness and consider addressing climate change a shared responsibility between communities, organizations and local governments. CJ can help define how rights and responsibilities of climate action are developed, and the degree to which participation can be facilitated by those leading a project (Bulkeley et al., 2013). This framework implies the need for urgency and transformative solutions that override borders, invoke collective responsibility, and are led by Indigenous peoples and local communities (Sawaswat & Kumar, 2016).

There is much literature on the application of a CJ framework within studies on urban planning and environmental projects. An important concept promoted by urban climate politics is that the application of CJ is dependent on the specific economies, politics, and social settings of a location (Bulkeley et al., 2013). This concept of a context-specific approach to CJ is demonstrated in many studies that use a CJ framework (Bulkeley et al., 2013, 2014; Goh, 2020; Schlosberg, 2012). For example, Schlosberg (2012) suggests combining CJ theory with real-life application on a local scale. Schlosberg proposes that adaptation policy should be created through a capabilities-based approach that includes recognitional justice. A capabilities-based approach is one that seeks to understand and address the needs and goals of communities. Recognitional justice would complement this approach as it can acknowledge the threat of climate change to the people and cultures that are made most vulnerable to it (Fraser, 1997; Schlosberg, 2012). This combination also aligns with procedural justice as it can elevate the participation of community members in political discourse and decision-making when creating adaptation policy.

Fraser's (1997) justice framework calls for prioritizing equitable and inclusive participation processes, making sure that minority voices are heard. This process is in the realm of procedural justice, however, it also involves recognizing the uneven power structures within participation models (Fraser, 1997). This is pertinent to environmental activism where women BIPOC people are overrepresented in the movement but are underrepresented in leadership positions (Scott, 2014). Blue et al. (2019) take Fraser's justice framework and use it to suggest a way for planners to apply it to their participatory practices. Planners should first determine whether the procedures to access participation are accessible. A way to review this is through examining the recruitment process and framing. The next is to recognize the unique barriers that minority populations face to engaging in participation. This means that planners should put measures in place to ensure that all the various groups in an urban setting are represented.

Mirroring these findings, Bulkeley et al. (2014) also argue that recognition is a key opportunity to seek CJ and can account for addressing inequality. An example in urban studies that utilizes recognition is the issue of home energy efficiency: if a community does not have access to this climate mitigation measure that others have, recognition can call on governments to ensure that all communities have the right to access such a benefit, and subsequently take on the responsibility of distributing it.

To study the uneven distribution of climate change at the urban scale, Goh (2020) developed a conceptual framework that combines urban studies with CJ. This framework also utilizes both procedural and recognitional justice as well as the element of CJ as a context-specific approach. Goh's (2020) framework recognizes that environmental challenges are connected to the pre-existing risks of an urban location. For example, climate change-induced

disasters are more severe in communities with poor infrastructure due to racialized urban development.

The framework also suggests that when seeking justice in urban settings, it is imperative that planners learn about the historic injustices of a place in order to be aware of the potential power structures, relationships and implications of their planning. For example, during Hurricane Sandy in New York, the recovery plan involved inviting the community into a participatory process. However, the urgent concerns of residents from public housing were not prioritized even though they were most impacted. This relates to the Blue et al. (2019) study on the importance of ensuring true representation through adequate recruitment and engagement processes. Goh's (2020) study highlights the CJ principle of participation demonstrated by the need for prioritizing those most impacted by climate disaster in the planning process. Goh's (2020) framework also employs the principle of recognition by emphasizing that planners must be mindful of the historical injustices, pre-existing risks and power structures of a place.

Power imbalances have also limited the development of climate solutions. Gibson-Wood and Wakefield's (2012) study found that funding for intersectional environmental projects such as those that were linked to immigration were more difficult to justify in the limited scope of environmental grant criteria. Similarly, Bulkeley et al. (2013) evaluated the adaptation and mitigation plans of climate-related projects in global cities (i.e., cities that have either been impacted by greenhouse gas emissions or have driven them) to examine whether justice is incorporated into climate change governance. They focused their analysis on the discourse of the distributive and procedural principles of CJ and how these framings differ between cities. The authors established that justice was not explicit in the majority of the climate-related projects they reviewed. On the occasion that justice was explicit, it was in projects from community-

based and non-governmental groups. These studies illustrate that what is labelled as justice is not always what communities or activists advocate for.

The literature on the application of a CJ framework has provided some examples of how CJ principles have been implemented, and the various ways to examine these principles in a study. CJ has been articulated through recognitional and participatory justice and it is often used to examine and measure how justice is implemented in urban planning, climate mitigation and adaptation projects. Recognition can account for the historical injustices, pre-existing risks to environmental harm, and the potential power structures that may have implications in (Goh, 2020). Participatory justice describes the need for engagement plans that focus on efficient recruitment processes (Blue et al., 2019). This can be done by addressing barriers to participation so that those affected by climate policy are represented in the decision-making process (Blue et al., 2019). Research on the application of CJ in projects has also been used to illustrate that justice can be co-opted or used inadequately by organizations that prioritize liberal mainstream capitalist solutions, which echoes the critiques of CJ activists (Chatterton et al., 2013; Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012). A transformative approach to CJ can start with an inquiry on the structural and institutional powers that produce inequity and yet simultaneously design the approaches to alleviate it. Additionally, Newell et al. (2021) suggest that CJ scholarship should diverge from an anthropocentric framing of CJ by stressing the intrinsic value of the natural world in addition to highlighting Indigenous and non-Western worldviews.

The University Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement

The research on the university-based FFD movement is an emerging field and is commonly authored by participants in the movement (e.g., Belliveau, 2018; Bratman et al., 2016; Grady-Benson 2014; Grosse, 2019). In this section, I outline the history of divestment as a tactic

to respond to injustice and the existing research on university-based FFD. I also describe the ways that FFD organizers understand CJ and recommendations from the literature for improving the integration of CJ within FFD campaigns.

Divestment as an Effective Response to Injustice

Industry stigmatization is one of the motivating tactics behind divestment movements (Ansar et al., 2013). Stigma is directed at destructive industries so that they lose their social license as a way to hold the industry accountable for their actions. By removing support, divestment activists' goal is to reduce an industry's influence and power.

The development of divestment from a small campaign to a global movement can be outlined in three distinct waves (Ansar et al., 2013). The first wave is independent divestment which first brings an industry's hidden injustices to the mainstream. The second wave is city, public institutions and university-based divestment, and the third wave is global divestment. Table 1 illustrates Ansar et al.'s (2013) three waves based on the trajectory of divestment's impact on the Tobacco industry and South African Apartheid.

Table 1. The three waves of divestment

First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave
The first wave consists of a handful of investors pulling out of an industry due to ethical reasons[a]. The tobacco industry first saw losses of investment from the American Public Health Association because cigarette consumption went against the sector's mission[a]. For South African Apartheid, the call to divest was first made by Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches[a].	The second wave of divestment involves cities, public institutions and universities[a]. Harvard University divested $58 million from the tobacco industry due to its influential marketing that heavily targeted teenagers[a]. When divestment from stocks tied to South African apartheid was rejected at the University of California, blockades, sit-ins and rallies were carried out by students and community members[b]. Following the protests, the university divested its $3 billion investment in 1986[b].	The third wave is divestment from the wider market on a global scale[a]. This is when large international institutions begin to pull their support[a]. This was demonstrated when foreign companies divested from South African Apartheid and large pensions and investment funds divested from the tobacco industry which was aided by increased state regulation[a].

Note. Data are from Ansar et al. (2013)[a] and Morris and Shearer (2014)[b]

FFD also followed this three-wave trajectory. The first wave began with Swarthmore College, where students created a Divest Coal campaign to support community members who were fighting against mountaintop removal mining (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). FFD became mainstream in 2012 once author, climate activist and founder of 350.org, Bill McKibben championed the call to divest during 350.org's "Do the Math" tour (350.org, n.d.). With support from Desmond Tutu, Naomi Klein and other prominent figures, this tour showcased the inconsistent logic of maintaining our support for the fossil fuel industry—if society continued on its current trajectory of burning fossil fuels, "the math" did not add up if we wanted to stay below 2 degrees of warming. With a unified demand of divesting from the Carbon Underground 200 (a list of the top 200 public coal, oil and gas companies) (350.org, 2017) and a user-friendly

website with a toolkit to get young student activists involved (Go Fossil Free, n.d.b), the call to divest from fossil fuels entered the second wave.

In less than a decade, the FFD movement has become a global phenomenon and has broken into the third wave. Major financial institutions such as BlackRock (Partridge, 2020) are partially divesting. The European Investment Bank (Abrose & Henley, 2019) and the World Bank (World Bank, 2017) have agreed to stop financing fossil fuel projects. Health institutions like the World Medical Association (WMA, 2016), the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions (Martin & Vold, 2019) and both the British and Canadian Medical Associations (Howard, 2016; WMA, 2016) have endorsed divestment because of the undeniable health impacts of burning fossil fuels. And governments such New York City's Pension Fund and Ireland, the first country to commit, are divesting.

Because student-led activism has been instrumental in popularizing the movement, my research studies FFD at Canadian universities. Universities have the power and influence to undermine harmful industries and they can show leadership in persuading public opinion of the dangers in our fossil-fuel reliant economy (Healy & Debski, 2016). University FFD is transformative because it is different from popular sustainability projects that involve greening the university (Bratman et al., 2016). Schools can build buildings that are energy-efficient, but their sustainability efforts will not go far if they continue to financially and socially support (and gain from) the source of climate injustice (Bratman et al., 2016). FFD organizers recognize the need for systemic change in addition to policy change and believe that change will not occur without activism and grassroots movements (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). Divestment critiques capitalism by questioning how universities seek profit at the expense of nature and

human health (Belliveau, 2018) and asks institutions to take action despite any loss to profit (Healy & Debski, 2016).

Research on University Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaigns

The literature on university-based FFD campaigns is an emerging area of research due to the recent phenomenon of the FFD movement in the last decade. The research varies from studying the variables that lead to the success of campaigns, to the impact FFD has on organizers and their motivation to organize.

One of the first studies on FFD at higher education institutions examined the variables of success and failure of US-based campaigns (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). Grady-Benson and Sarathy (2015) used participant observation, surveyed 23 organizers and conducted 40 interviews with organizers, university decision-makers and experts in FFD. This study illustrated that a small endowment and an institution's alignment with social justice and sustainability support divestment commitments. Rejections to divestment were attributed to the potential negative financial impact on the university and the speculated lack of impact on the fossil fuel industry.

In a similar study, Hamaekers (2015) used a cross-case analysis to compare two European FFD campaigns. Through interviews coupled with campaign documents, social media posts and website content, Hamaekers (2015) studied the internal and external factors that lead to the success of the GUCA Fossil Free campaign (University of Glasgow) and the lack of success of the Divest VU campaign (University of Amsterdam). Hamaekers (2015) found that a campaign's setting played an important role because it determined a campaign's culture and access to resources. GUCA Fossil Free had access to more resources within their university (i.e., well-established support systems, transparency of investments), staff campaigners to coordinate their campaign, experienced leadership within the membership, and a large team of engaged

students. This network of support systems meant that they had more time to strategically think about their tactics and the capacity to carry them out. They used a balance of insider tactics (working with the student union and university) to negotiate, and outsider tactics (direct action) to aid in increasing social pressure.

In contrast, Divest VU's campaign suffered from a lack of transparency from their school, a lack of experience in divestment organizing, few and busy students which contributed to low-capacity and low-engagement, and the anti-activist culture of the Netherlands (Hamaekers, 2015). Interviewees stated that their culture contributed to their lack of using outsider tactics due to the fear of looking unprofessional and being labelled as activists. Like GUCA Fossil Free, Divest VU had one staff person, however they were responsible for coordinating FFD initiatives across the Netherlands and did not make Divest VU's campaign a priority. Additionally, the University of Amsterdam did not have direct holdings in fossil fuels and therefore Divest VU's divestment demand was shifted to address indirect stocks such as banks, the relevance of which was harder to convey.

Research on the motivations of FFD organizers describe that launching a divestment campaign was empowering for organizers because it was a clear way to make a difference and felt achievable (Bergman et al., 2018). Students campaigned for divestment because they were frustrated with the lack of climate policy in the countries and at their schools and felt empowered to demand change from the wealthy institutions they attended (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). Furthermore, having a cohesive Divestment Student Network encouraged students to understand the power they held as stakeholders who could challenge their schools (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). FFD organizers value collective action over individual behavioural actions in addressing climate change (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015).

Maina et al. (2019) conducted one of the few studies on Canadian FFD campaigns, which looked at how campaigns influence the way universities address sustainability and climate change. The authors used a policy mobilities framework which tracks a movement's actors, actions and tactics that influence policy. Their methods involved an online review of all Canadian university divestment campaigns through key terms, and a search through university websites, divestment network websites (such as 350.org and Divestment Student Network) and environmental organizations with ties to divestment. They learned that building coalitions and solidarity with campus groups and other university stakeholders such as alumni, faculty and staff was common. They noticed imitation between campaigns in regard to the demands and tactics used, often borrowed from larger divestment networks such as 350.org. They also suggested that the size of a university's endowment may influence divestment commitments, confirming research in other settings (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). Information on the progress of campaigns with divestment commitments was not readily available, and whether universities have successfully divested post-commitment is unclear, pointing to a lack of transparency from universities. They recommend further research on whether the politics and location of Canada may play a role in rejecting calls to divest.

FFD has been shown to financially impact Fossil Fuel companies (Dordi & Weber, 2015). Dordi and Weber (2015) studied the impact of divestment announcements on the price of fossil fuel stocks. Using an event study methodology, they studied how fossil fuel stocks in the top 200 publicly traded fossil fuels companies fared on the day of a divestment announcement. Examining 24 independent divestment announcements, the authors conclude that there is a short window that shows a significant decrease in the value of these stocks. In fact, fossil fuel companies have explicitly named the FFD movement as a risk factor. The coal corporation

Peabody Energy and the oil corporation Shell stated in their respective annual reports that the FFD movement has the potential to adversely affect demand for their products and their access to financing (Peabody Energy Corporation, 2014; Shell, 2020).

A report from MSCI (a stock market index company) analyzed the performance of 9,500 companies from 2010-2015 and reported that fossil-free investment portfolios grew 7.7% higher in value than those containing fossil fuel stocks (Collinson, 2015). On average, if conventional investment portfolios had divested from fossil fuels, they would have made 1.2% more in returns per year (Collinson, 2015). This report also found that divestment reduced the variety of options for investment by just 7%, leaving $34.9 trillion dollars' worth of investment opportunities (Collinson, 2015). The management firms BlackRock and Meketa also found that investment funds that have divested from fossil fuels have not received negative financial returns and instead they indicated higher returns (Sanzillo, 2021).

Despite this evidence, university FFD commitments are far from popular. Universities are uncertain that their divestment commitment would make a powerful impact and are concerned about the potential financial losses the university may incur (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). Universities may also suggest alternatives to divestment such as creating low-carbon sustainability funds from a small portion of their portfolio (Steenkamp, 2016) that still contain holdings in large fossil fuel companies (The Canadian Press, 2016). Universities also defend their investments by claiming they comply with Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance (ESG) which is a qualification that is unregulated and has inconsistent criteria (Amaro, 2020).

In response to these concerns, FFD campaigns tend to argue for the positive outcomes of divestment such as financial prosperity by deserting an industry that is losing profit, or the

opportunity to frame a university as a leader and maintain its progressive reputation (Maina et al., 2019). By using these tactics, activists appeal to an institution's values to convince them that divestment is mutually beneficial. It is unfortunate that the simple yet powerful narrative that people are harmed through these extractive industries is not enough to make a change and that students have to strategically curate their arguments to uphold the neo-liberal attitudes of their institutions.

Because the economic framing of FFD does not acknowledge the history of injustices that fossil fuel companies have contributed to (Rowe, et al., 2016), the narrative of FFD should centre the ongoing human and environmental impacts of fossil fuel investments (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). This moral argument for divestment suggests that continued investment in the fossil fuel industry contributes to unequal global harm (Ansar et al., 2013) and universities have an obligation to value the future of students and the planet over financial gain (Healy & Debski, 2016).

Fossil Fuel Divestment and Climate Justice

For many organizers, FFD campaigns were one of the first spaces for members to engage in activism and in CJ (Belliveau, 2018; Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014). Bergman et al. (2018) describes that FFD has helped educate students about community organizing such as how to develop tactics, negotiate with administrators and engage in direct action. In another study, Bratman et al. (2016) employed a case study design to study how CJ influenced the FFD campaign at American University. The authors applied auto-ethnography to reflect on their experience as organizers and kept a journal of notes as they observed and participated in the campaign. They studied their campaign's use of a CJ framework and the inside-outside strategies utilized to both collaborate with and pressure administrators. A CJ framework gave students the

chance to grow coalitions with groups that were not explicitly environmental, thus opening the door for more diversity in participation. This study also helped shift the conversation around what types of sustainability actions are required on university campuses (such as FFD) and has created activists who have become leaders in the CJ movement.

Belliveau (2018) also studied how organizers of FFD campaigns use CJ as an approach. The most common theory of change for FFD campaigns that emerged from her research analysis was the transformational analysis, which addresses the social inequalities that are drivers of climate change and asserts that in order to fix our climate problem these roots must be addressed. Examples of movement-building practices that came out of her research were providing land acknowledgements and education on Indigenous history, consensus in decision making among organizers, and making sure all members feel encouraged to share their ideas. According to participants, these were the steps that campaigns were taking to implement anti-oppressive organizing and move away from replicating the power structures they were fighting.

Movement-building was also studied by Grosse (2019) who researched youth climate activists' employment of movement-building. This study utilized movement relevant theory which enables the researcher to generate findings that can be relevant and applicable to participants (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). With Grosse's (2019) history as an activist, movement-relevant theory worked well because of their pre-existing relationships with participants. Through participant observation and in-depth interviews, Grosse (2019) determined that relationships, accessibility, intersectionality and community are all instrumental to movement-building in climate action.

Mangat et al. (2017) sought to explore the narratives of FFD as a strategy for climate action that built on past research concentrated in the economic framing of divestment. They

analyzed articles reporting on divestment from mainstream and environmental/social justice sites, and also analyzed direct quotes from divestment activists. From their analysis, the common stories told about divestment fell into the themes of war/enemy, morality, economics, and justice. The most common discourse on divestment was a combination of the war and morality themes which frames divestment as battling an evil industry for the greater good. In contrast, mainstream media uses this frame the least, opting for the economic framing of divestment. Although the literature on divestment reports that CJ is a motivation for activists in the movement, articulations of justice were minor in all media sources. However, the authors note these motivations do not need to be a part of the narrative for it to be true, and that the lack of a justice narrative may be due to justice being an underlying driver of the campaign and may not need to be explicit.

Likewise, in their study examining the characteristics of US FFD campaigns, Gibson and Duram (2020) reviewed the "about" section of campaign Facebook pages to learn how justice was articulated. They looked for key terms such as "justice" and "just" or any references to distributive justice which they described as disproportionate environmental harms or seeking to rectify such harms. Similar to traditional environmentalism, stories and voices from communities impacted by climate change are sometimes missing from FFD campaign narratives. They noticed that there was not a clear description of how campaigns were committed to supporting frontline communities, and therefore it looked as if campaigns were not focused on working to resolve the inequities in their local communities. This was inferred because none of the campaigns spoke to environmental issues such as pollution or pursued reinvestment campaigns to sustain and generate the development of community initiatives. A limitation of this study was the data

collection method since they only looked at one section of one social media page, whereas other sections may have revealed more information.

The FFD movement gives activists and institutions in the Global North an opportunity to engage in CJ (Rowe et al., 2016). In Canada, FFD has created spaces for settler students to learn about and recognize the past and present colonization of Indigenous land. It also gives room for campaigners who are often not victims of climate injustice to create alliances with frontline communities (Rowe et al., 2016). Rowe et al. (2016) suggest that the FFD movement aligns with similar causes that are combating power such as the BDS (boycott, divestment and sanctions of Israel) and private prison divestment movements. Gibson and Duram (2020) suggest that campaigns incorporate community reinvestment in their demand to divest. Building solidarity with impacted communities can help activists shift the current extractive economy to a regenerative one. Developing these relationships can aid in highlighting local issues of climate injustice and would help the movement align with CJ principles. Working with communities so that they can determine how reinvestment projects can best support them can be a pathway towards fostering self-determination.

A few more examples of a CJ framing in FFD come from Curnow and Gross's (2017) study on the potential that FFD campaigns have to politicize their members. The authors collected ethnographic data from divestment events, conferences and meetings across North America, one of them being a national divestment conference in Pennsylvania. With Bill McKibben as the face of the FFD movement, the event organizers wanted to promote diverse perspectives by bringing the stories and voices of frontline community members to the forefront. The keynote speaker was Crystal Lameman from Beaver Lake Cree Nation who spoke about the Alberta tar sands and its negative contribution to Indigenous land struggles. The conference had

a CJ framing by communicating the impacts of fossil fuels through an intersectional lens rather than an economical one, and sought to hear from speakers of colour, recognizing the largely White representation of the movement (Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). Events like these are fundamental for FFD organizers to understand the justice issues of fossil fuel development and are often the first place of exposure to these ideas (Grady-Benson, 2014). Divestment networks motivate organizers to stay engaged and inform their understanding of power and the root causes of climate change (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015).

At a similar event, the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition collaborated with Indigenous organizers in order to centre Indigenous solidarity (Curnow and Gross, 2017). The main event called for divestment campaigners to make efforts to build and sustain relationships with Indigenous peoples, to support Indigenous sovereignty when it is threatened by government policies, and to use land acknowledgements. A breakout group during the conference challenged settler-participants to brainstorm ways to operationalize solidarity with Indigenous peoples. Some of the challenges in solidarity work that students identified were a lack of knowledge on colonialism, uncertainty on how to build relationships, and fear that they would "mess up" in the process. Some students shared concerns over the lack of time they had to dedicate to solidarity work in addition to their organizing, and a minority voiced that solidarity was a distraction from their divestment goals. Although students struggled to come up with clear ideas and may have been under-equipped to do decolonizing work, the authors suggest that brainstorming sessions are opportunities for organizers to connect CJ with divestment.

Despite many studies that explore the tactics and motivations of FFD organizers, studies on how campaigns operationalize justice are lacking (Belliveau, 2018; Gibson & Duram, 2020**).** In the literature on university-based FFD campaigns, divestment is perceived as a successful

campaign rooted in CJ (Belliveau, 2018; Bratman et al., 2016; Grady-Benson 2014; Healy & Debski, 2016). However, divestment is a tactic that is carried out primarily by White, privileged university students in the Global North who are not directly affected by climate injustice (Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). Thus, organizers may have misunderstandings of CJ principles (Grady-Benson, 2014). For example, if divestment leaders solely rely on the toolkits provided to them by national divestment networks, students may fail to address the underlying factors contributing to the current climate crisis (Curnow & Gross, 2017). It is possible to miss the connection between the goals of divestment and how it can challenge injustices caused by colonialism, racism and capitalism (Curnow and Gross, 2017). Additionally, students may be unaware of important aspects of equitable and inclusive organizing such as the networks to connect with and support frontline communities (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Gibson & Duram, 2020; Grady-Benson, 2014).

FFD organizers can leverage their position and privilege by working in active solidarity with these communities. Organizers should also consider how one's race, gender and class can influence strategy, define leadership and shape a campaign's narrative (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014). It is crucial that participants in the FFD movement confront the systems of oppression that contribute to climate injustice, educate themselves on the principles of CJ, and actively incorporate these principles within all aspects of their organizing.

Conclusion

The literature review presented in this chapter details the health inequities of climate change and the various fields and movements related to my study that have informed the concept of CJ. I have outlined the scholarly literature on the application of CJ and the emerging literature on the university-based FFD movement. The scholarly literature on the application of CJ is

frequently used in studies on urban planning, policy-making and place-based adaptation and mitigation projects (Blue, et al., 2019; Bulkeley et al., 2013, 2014; Goh, 2020; Schlosberg; 2012). To build on this work, my research aims to contribute to CJ literature by offering the unique application of a CJ framework within organizing spaces to demonstrate how CJ can be operationalized. To do this, I explore if and how university-based FFD campaigns are applying CJ principles by identifying how CJ influences the tactics, narratives, and goals of campaigns (campaign strategies) and how campaigns address inequity, maintain anti-oppressive structures (movement-building practices) (Belliveau, 2018; Grosse, 2019) and engage in solidarity (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Gibson & Duram, 2020; Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016).

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used in my research including a Climate Justice Principles Framework, Movement-Relevant Theory, and a multiple case study design. This chapter also outlines the positionality and the methods I used to conduct this research.

I present Climate Justice Principles as a conceptual framework based on my review of the scholarly and movement literature on planetary health, environmental justice, CJ and FFD that I have synthesized through three core principles: Values, Participation and Recognition.

Climate Justice Principles

The core articulation of environmental justice is the experiences of environmental harms and benefits that is the basis of distributive justice. Scholsberg (2003) outlined three dimensions of environmental justice informed by environmental justice scholars such as Robert D. Bullard and feminist scholar Nancy Fraser (Bullard & Johnson, 2002; Fraser 1997, 2013), consisting of recognitional and procedural justice in addition to distributive justice. All three dimensions remain present in CJ and have evolved from several international and grassroots assemblies that produced the Principles of Environmental Justice, the Bali Principles of Climate Justice, and the Universal Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth among other declarations (Chatterton et al., 2013; ICJN, 2002; Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996).

CJ principles have notably expanded the three dimensions of environmental justice with an explicit orientation towards protecting the non-human world and a more aggressive call for accountability. Fraser's (2013) theory of recognitional justice critiques distributive justice by asserting the limitation of focusing on the harms and benefits of environmental justice without recognizing the root causes. Additionally, both CJ and FFD promote grassroots activists' call to

keep carbon reserves in the ground and as such intend to eradicate rather than redistribute harm. My adapted framework mirrors Scholsberg's tripartite framework and outlines three principles—Values, Participation and Recognition—that represent a synthesis of the CJ principles most operational in FFD campaigns. With consideration of the limits of distributive justice, I replace distributive justice with the principle of Values, which asserts the prioritization of human and planetary rights that are fundamental to CJ. Next, I provide a description of the CJ framework and how these CJ principles have been applied within the context of my research about FFD campaigns.

Values: People & Planet Before Profit

The principle of values is adapted from the element of CJ that values the rights of the natural world in addition to human rights (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). This is also a key sentiment of planetary health which describes the health and wellbeing of the planet and the health and wellbeing of humans as interrelated and interconnected (Whitmee et al., 2015). Rather than perpetuating a one-sided anthropocentric framing of CJ, the intrinsic value of natural world should be recognized (Newell et al., 2021). In my literature review of planetary health, many of the roots of environmental degradation and climate change go back to the industrial revolution in which public health was sidelined for economic growth (Lang & Rayner, 2012). This pattern of devaluing nature and human health is demonstrated by investment in fossil fuels that despite not being as profitable as fossil-free investments (Collinson, 2015) are still funded by 96% of Canadian higher education institutions (Go Fossil Free, n.d.a; Government of Canada, 2019). It is also evident in the financial framing of FFD which is a strategy employed by organizers to convince their universities to divest. If students solely argue the economic benefits of FFD, they

may fail to acknowledge the history of injustices that fossil fuel companies have contributed to (Rowe, et al., 2016).

Additionally, a common tactic that universities use instead of accepting divestment is suggesting alternative climate solutions (Amaro, 2020; Steenkamp, 2016). This is similar to the market-based interventions that activists rejected at the COP15 climate conference (Chatterton et al., 2013). As climate injustice is immediately affecting lives and pushing planetary boundaries, adopting alternatives that are inadequate in the fight against climate injustice does not align with prioritizing the rights of the planet and people. I explored this principle by identifying the key values of FFD and how these values have been reflected in the articulation and operation of campaigns.

Participation: Equitable Movement Building Practices

Access to democratic engagement from a variety of diverse voices, particularly those most impacted by climate injustice and policy are outlined in all of the declarations and principles of CJ. The principle of participation, which is also found in planetary health's transdisciplinary approach, seeks full and active participation from various stakeholders to tackle environmental and health problems (Charron, 2013). This principle requires the recognition of the uneven power structures within existing participation models (Fraser, 1997, 2013), and ensuring that there is adequate access to decision-making bodies (Blue et al., 2019). Participation requires that space is made for communities that have been historically excluded such as environmental organizations or, for example, in the development of environmental laws and policies (Bullard & Johnson, 2002; Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012).

The literature on FFD demonstrates that participation within organizing spaces is operationalized through consensus in decision making, encouraging contribution from all

members and establishing community bonds through relationship-building (Belliveau, 2018; Grosse, 2019). The literature also shows that campaigns do well when they have support from divestment networks, mentorship and training (Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015; Maina et al., 2019). Barriers to participation in FFD campaigns are a lack of engagement, low capacity, a lack of experienced campaigners to lead, and high student turnover (Hamaekers, 2015).

Participation can be optimized through efficient recruitment processes that address the barriers to participation and ensure adequate representation (Blue et al., 2019). It can be strengthened further when organizers consider how their identity and power may influence strategies, leadership and campaign narratives (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014). I examined the application of this principle by identifying the structures and processes that campaigns have created to sustain equitable and safe environments for their membership.

Recognition: Frontline Solidarity & Intersectional Alliances

CJ addresses the history of colonialism and capitalism that drives the climate crisis through the principle of recognition (Klein 2014; Magdoff & Foster 2011). This principle acknowledges that environmental issues are not limited to biodiversity loss and conservation efforts, but are intersectional and linked to our social, economic, and political environments (Agyeman, 2008; Wright, 2011). Recognition affirms that the state is responsible for protecting all communities from the impacts of climate change (Principles of Environmental Justice, 1996) and for providing equitable access to environmental benefits (Bulkeley et al., 2014). Recognition also calls for governments and multinational corporations that uphold the development of fossil fuels to be held responsible for environmental degradation.

The principle of recognition is heavily addressed in the literature on the application of CJ. In planning projects, recognition has the power to help planners identify the pre-existing risks

and historical injustices of a place to determine what climate solutions to employ (Bulkeley et al., 2013, 2014; Goh, 2020; Schlosberg, 2012). This highlights the importance of localized efforts and directs researchers and activists to study the history and people of a place. One way that FFD campaigns can apply this principle is by learning about the history of colonization and the land that their universities occupy (Belliveau, 2018; Curnow & Gross, 2017), and working in solidarity with Indigenous peoples and frontline communities (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Gibson & Duram, 2020; Grady-Benson, 2014).

The literature on FFD also suggests that community reinvestment initiatives are valuable for FFD campaigns to consider in addition to divestment (Gibson & Duram, 2020). This is a way that campaigns can organize around the call for compensation for climate debt. Recognition can be leveraged by ensuring that the leadership and input of frontline communities' guide climate-related projects (Fraser, 1997; Schlosberg, 2012). By prioritizing the self-determination of Indigenous peoples and frontline communities, organizers can engage in solidarity practices that would best support them. Finally, the literature on FFD suggests that campaigns should build alliances with justice-oriented movements (Rowe et al., 2016). This not only elevates the intersectional nature of CJ but can also give students the chance to work with groups that are not explicitly 'environmental', and thus welcome more diversity in the movement (Bratman et al., 2016). To examine the operation of this principle in my research, I explored how CJ informs the initiatives and groups that campaigns support and how campaigns have engaged in solidarity with Indigenous and/or frontline communities.

Positionality

I was drawn to conduct this research because of my role as a divestment organizer with Fossil Free Lakehead (FFL), a campaign that secured a divestment commitment on November

26th, 2020. However, my introduction to community organizing began during my undergraduate experience at York University (See Figure 1).

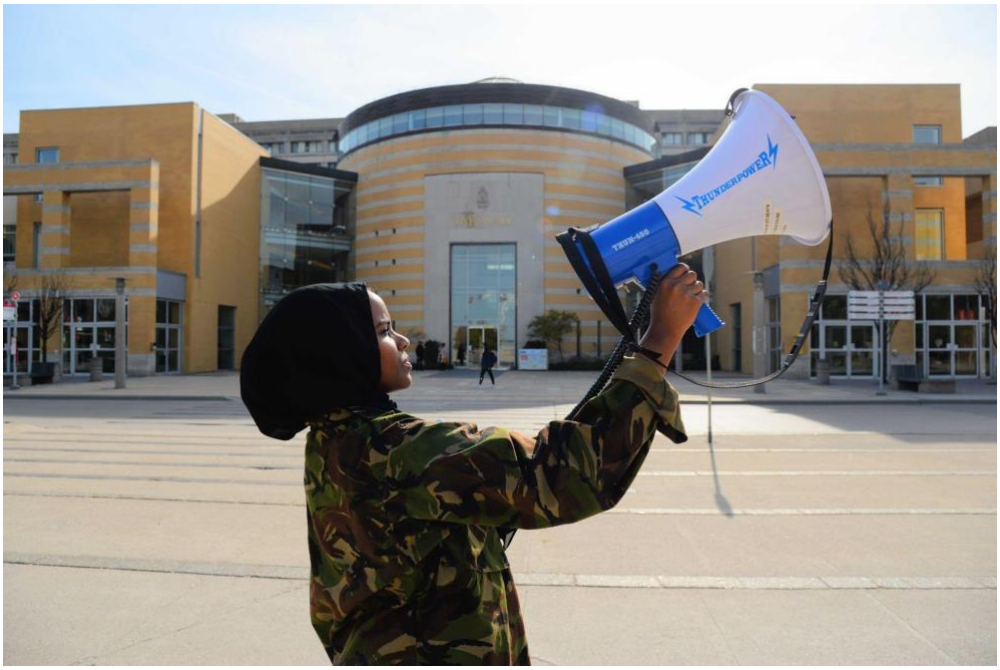

Figure 1. Shadiya A. Aidid campaigning at York University

From studying environmental degradation in the classroom to supporting Indigenous water protectors at Yonge and Dundas Square, I found myself becoming a scholar-activist. I was lucky to find peers, mostly women of colour, who made organizing accessible and welcoming. They helped me develop a critical anti-oppressive approach to organizing and learn the skills to adapt and apply the concepts I was studying. Because solidarity-work was encouraged by my peers, I got involved with a diversity of community groups and social movements that worked towards climate, migrant, and racial justice. I have learned that collective action can be incredibly powerful and I have developed a worldview that seeks to attain liberation for all.

It is important to situate myself in my research in order to recognize how my power and biases play a role in designing my study and in informing my interpretation of the data (Finlay, 2002). I am informed by a lens that is intersectional due to my identity as a Black Muslim

woman working in the White-dominated environmental sector. I have experience conducting training and consultations for student groups and grassroots organizations on how power and oppression operate. As a student pursuing a post-secondary degree, I also come from a place of privilege. I have access to many university resources as well as the access to participate in student organizing. And in my leadership role with FFL, I have power and influence over the direction of the campaign's strategies and tactics.

An advantage of being a part of the FFD movement is that I can relate to the goals and motivations of other FFD campaigns. In addition to my experience with FFL, I also organize the Divest Canada Coalition (DCC) as a coordinator and representative for FFL. Through DCC, I have been in conversations with the national divestment movement which has helped me develop relationships with organizers outside of my campaign. My campaign insights and my personal observations of the movement combined with the literature on divestment have helped me understand the movement's strengths and opportunities for growth.

I have been cognizant that my insider knowledge and my pre-existing relationships with the research participants could lead me to make interpretations based on my assumptions. For example, with my engagement with FFD organizers, I have an understanding of some of the limitations of applying CJ even when the intention is there. Throughout the research process, I have constantly reflected on whether my biases have influenced my methods and findings by practicing reflexivity (Finlay, 2002). I came into the Health Sciences program with the goal of creating research that can be applied outside of the pages of a thesis and the gates of academia. This has been an opportunity to learn how organizers navigate the complexities of justice-integrated organizing from multiple scales. As a member of a FFD campaign with a divestment commitment, I have been thinking about how CJ could be applied more explicitly in my

campaign, and I hope my research can inform and advance the organizing of other campaigns as well.

Movement-Relevant Theory

A common criticism of studying social movements is that the research being produced is not relevant to the movements themselves (Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Flacks, 2004). Movement-Relevant Theory (MRT) aims to address this and provide knowledge that can be applicable and actionable by the movement (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). Researchers who are invested in the movements that they are studying can provide valuable research because they are often motivated to create change and improve their movement (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). My research works well with MRT due to my position and motivation to conduct this research. As a part of the Divest Canada Coalition, I am engaged in current conversations with divestment leaders across Canada which I believe strengthens my position as I have an understanding of what the needs of the movement are. My pre-existing relationships with various FFD organizers have aided in establishing trust and credibility as a scholar interested in creating meaningful research on FFD.

MRT gives value to the movement being studied by recognizing that activists have the power to generate theory (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). It advances social movement theory by producing research that will become useful and applicable to the movement that goes beyond theorizing. It is also possible to apply MRT without directly developing a research question provided by the movement, but one that a researcher has identified. In this case, it is important to be in dialogue with movement participants to help inform the direction of the research and confirm that the research is not counterproductive. MRT involves working closely with movements to decide on how research can be applicable and to identify and answer questions

that the movement is seeking. The researcher must first consider what the issues for the movement are, what ideas and theories are being generated, and what scholarship the movement is consuming. From there, researchers can investigate the structure or identity of the movement, their strategies and tactics, or their relationships to authority. MRT research can discuss questions related to democratic organizing, how power functions, and how to create radical and diverse movements and revolutions; questions that Bevington and Dixon (2005) say most activists try to tackle in their own organizing.

My research question is informed by a combination of the scholarly literature that was written by or directly engaged with FFD organizers, and my experience as an organizer with a role in cross-national FFD discussions. As someone who is personally invested in my research, it was important for me to critically analyze the movement and investigate where it can seek improvement. This is because constructive feedback can benefit social movements more than affirming the positive operation of CJ campaigns (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). At the end of a study, Bevington and Dixon (2005) recommend testing the research for rigour by assessing how accurate and useful a study is to the movement. I plan to develop an abridged version of my analysis and recommendations for the movement from my research findings, provided in an accessible way informed by my research participants.

Study Design

A multiple case-study design studies a phenomenon through a bounded collection of cases and develops a thorough case description from multiple forms of data (e.g., documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artifacts, and participant-observation) (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A multiple case study design allows a more in-depth understanding of a phenomenon than a single case study because analysis takes place within each bounded case and between cases

(Yin, 2009). With this design, I was able to highlight the themes specific to each FFD campaign and discover overall themes where campaigns intersect with one another through cross-case synthesis. I chose this approach because rather than a comparative study between the cases that could identify the uniqueness of each case, I wanted the research to represent the Canadian FFD movement.

Studying three cases is appropriate for a multiple case study design because, as Yin (2009) argues, the minimum requirement is two cases, with more than two being optimal. Case studies are best used when studying the 'why' or 'how' of a phenomenon (Yin, 2009). This applies to my research question that asks: *How do FFD campaigns operationalize CJ principles?* I sought to identify the operation of and the barriers to applying CJ in FFD campaigns and offer recommendations to apply CJ further based on the scholarly literature. Case studies are appropriate when cases have clear and identifiable boundaries (Yin, 2009) and are current so that information is not lost by time (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This is evident in the narrow case criteria I have selected that limits cases to active FFD campaigns that are bounded by location (Canadian universities) and status (post-divestment). Creswell & Poth (2018) suggest triangulating research findings with the goal of attaining a rigorous understanding of a phenomenon through the convergence of multiple data sources in the analysis. Triangulation coupled with a multiple case study design has provided me with multiple perspectives from the FFD movement, illustrated a wide scope on the phenomenon, and has strengthened the validity of my findings.

Methods

Study Population

I used purposeful sampling to determine my case selections through a set of inclusion criteria. These included: a FFD campaign based at a Canadian university that has secured a full divestment commitment and was active during the 2019-2021 school year. In Canada, university FFD commitments are a recent phenomenon and therefore the pool of eligible cases for this study at the time of data collection was limited to seven known campaigns (now twelve) (Go Fossil Free, n.d.a). Because I am directly involved with FFL in a leadership role, although eligible, I excluded it as a case option as it would be difficult to effectively study the other cases with the same level of depth and understanding.

I recruited the cases by contacting each campaign's official email located on their website requesting their participation. I shared the information letter (See Appendix A) and recruitment text (See Appendix B) outlining my research goals, expectations of participation and the anticipated risks and benefits. I requested each case to distribute these documents to three members who have been most involved and could serve as representatives of their campaign by participating in a one-on-one interview. This ensured that key informants were in the best position to answer the interview questions with rich descriptions based on their experiences. Additionally, members who were most involved were most likely to have historical knowledge of their campaign and be aware of what the campaign's current and future goals were. The specific inclusion criteria are outlined below in detail:

1. *A fossil fuel divestment campaign based at a Canadian university*

   A campaign can either be formally or informally organized and does not need to come from a group that exclusively works on divestment. The reason I focus my study on

Canadian universities is that the scholarly research on FFD is primarily based in the United States or Europe where there are far more victories. The politics of Canada as a resource-producing nation with limited universities that have committed to divest is an area worth studying. Also, this research is based in Canada and I have a strong connection to the Canadian FFD network.

2. *Campaigns that have secured a full-divestment commitment*

   A campaign that has secured an institutional divestment commitment is able to retrospectively speak about how CJ principles may have been integrated into their campaign. Participants can also chronologically share the tactics and narratives they employed, what new goals they have developed post-divestment, and identify any support they require to pursue their goals.

3. *Campaigns that have met, organized an action, or publicly communicated during the 2019-2021 school year*

   A campaign that is active during the 2019-2021 school year coincides with the length of my research study. Active campaigns could connect me to current members who could participate in interviews and likely had access to or could direct me to the campaign documents I required for secondary data collection. This also makes the study bounded by time which can offer relevant data.

The three cases that participated in this study were Divest Concordia based at Concordia University, Climate Justice UBC based at the University of British Columbia, and Fossil Free UW based at the University of Waterloo. Table 2 outlines each campaign's target(s) for divestment, the demands presented to their university, and the divestment commitment from their university.

Table 2. Overview of case studies

	Divest Concordia	**Climate Justice UBC**	**Fossil Free UW**
Target			
University	Concordia University Montreal, QC	University of British Columbia Vancouver, BC	University of Waterloo Waterloo, ON
Endowment	$282 million endowment	$2.5 billion endowment	$412 million endowment Faculty pension fund
Demands			
Divest	Full divestment from fossil fuels and related industries	Full divestment from fossil fuels	Full divestment from the Carbon Underground 200, Tar Sands Companies, and related industries by 2023
Invest	100% sustainable investments	Reinvest 10% of the endowment into initiatives that advance justice	Create a low-carbon fund that alumni can donate to
Emissions Reduction	N/A	N/A	Carbon neutrality by 2025
Policy Change	Adopt binding socially and environmentally responsible investment policies into the university's mandate	N/A	Best in class divestment and ESG policy by 2022 Incorporate stranded asset mix measures by 2024
Other	Ensure student representation on the committee(s) responsible for formulating these policies	Make a public statement on the reasons for divesting through a climate emergency declaration	N/A

	Publicly endorse divestment, and call on other universities to divest from fossil fuels		
Divestment Commitment			
Divest	Divestment from fossil fuels by 2025 and turn the endowment into a socially responsible investment (SRI) portfolio	Divestment from fossil fuels by 2030 or sooner	Divestment from fossil fuel exploration and extraction by 2025 from the endowment and pension funds
Invest	100% sustainable investments Abide by the Principles of Responsible Investing	Invest $110 million in just transition initiatives	Climate-conscious reinvestment
Emission Reduction	N/A	45% emission reduction by 2030 100% carbon neutrality by 2050	50% emissions reduction by 2030 100% carbon neutrality by 2040.
Other	Keep the Joint Sustainable Investment Advisory Committee active. Consider stakeholder activism and educate other universities about sustainable investing SRI portfolio includes divestment from additional industries such as weapons and tobacco Abide by the UN Principles of Responsible Investing	The President's Climate Emergency Declaration made by the President's office was endorsed at the same time as the divestment announcement Development of a Climate Emergency Task Force	Annual disclosure of performance

Data Collection

I used two data sources: public campaign documents and interviews with key informants. I used the CJ principles framework as a guide to search for key terms and ideas in the documents and interview transcript and I categorized my interview guide (Appendix D) based on each CJ principle. I also explored the absence of CJ in both the interviews and documents. This was important because if the data did not speak to a particular CJ practice recommended by the literature or framework, it could indicate a lack of CJ practice.

Campaign Documents. I began my data collection by reviewing public campaign documents of each case to examine the demands, rationale and history of each campaign (See Table 3). I collected these data first because it gave me the opportunity to follow up on details during the interview process. This data source illustrated the messaging and language used by FFD campaigns and has helped me identify whether CJ principles were evident in their communication of divestment. By exploring the strategies and narratives employed by FFD campaigns, I learned how CJ principles are presented to university administration, campus communities, and the general public.

In my recruitment text (Appendix B) I invited each case to provide me with two public campaign documents that they believed would be most beneficial to my study. However, all campaigns shared additional documents with me making my anticipated average of six documents triple. I sought value in reviewing all the data in case there were useful findings and therefore decided to reserve time to review each document at least twice: once before the interviews, and once following the interviews. In addition to the documents shared with me, I also reviewed social media, news media and websites to build case descriptions and followed up on any documents that were referenced during the interviews.

Data from presentations and articles written by organizers helped me fill in the gaps of the campaign histories and explained the campus context that each campaign was working in. Reports distributed to the university administration detailed the demands and arguments campaigns used with their universities which helped me construct my case table (Table 3). The language and imagery used in the divestment narrative was illustrated in the flyers and posters which also described divestment's theory of change. All documents helped me adjust the interview guide and clear up the questions I had during my first review of the documents.

Table 3. Overview of campaign documents

Type of Document	**Case(s)**	**Quantity**
Flyer	Divest Concordia, Fossil Free UW	10
News article	All	7
Report	All	5
Presentation	Climate Justice UBC, Divest Concordia	3
General documents	Climate Justice UBC, Divest Concordia	2
Video	Fossil Free UW	1

Interviews. Through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with divestment organizers, I explored how CJ principles have been operationalized in each case's strategies and practices. I conducted interviews with three members from two cases and four from the third. By interviewing participants, my goal was to understand how CJ principles were understood by participants and how they were actively incorporated into each campaign's external communication and internal organizing structures. Table 3 outlines the names and demographics of each interview participant and the campaign that they belong to. Eight out ten participants

identified themselves as White, five participants used she/her pronouns, three used he/him, and three used they/them. Two participants (Sam from Divest Concordia and Taylor from Fossil Free UW) were given pseudonyms.

Table 4. Overview of interview participants

Name	**Campaign**	**Race**	**Pronouns**
Emily Carson-Apstein	Divest Concordia	White	They/them
Marcus Peters	Divest Concordia	White	He/him
Sam (Pseudonym)	Divest Concordia	White	He/him
Anna Brookes	Climate Justice UBC	White	She/her
Anna Mylvaganam	Climate Justice UBC	Asian	They/them
Brittany Runeckles	Climate Justice UBC	South Asian and White	They/she
Michelle Marcus	Climate Justice UBC	White	She/her
Guy Brodsky	Fossil Free UW	White	He/him
Petra Duff	Fossil Free UW	White	She/her
Taylor (Pseudonym)	Fossil Free UW	White	She/her

I created a semi-structured interview guide that consisted of open-ended questions that explored the themes outlined in the CJ framework (See Appendix D). Before interviewing participants for this research, I conducted two pilot interviews with organizers from Fossil Free Lakehead to test the practicality of the interview guide and made the necessary revisions. This process helped me reduce my interview questions, introduce probing prompts, and enhanced the flow of the interview by rearranging the order of the questions. Following the pilot interviews, I decided to remove the questions related to the background information of each campaign such as their key strategies and turning points, and the demographic questions. Instead, I posed these

questions in an email for participants to respond to ahead of their interview. Learning about the background and history of each campaign helped me understand the strategies and events that led to divestment by illustrating a chronological narrative of each campaign. This helped cut down the length of the interview and provided me with information that I could also follow up with if necessary. The interview guide was further adapted based on the data collected from the public campaign documents where I had the opportunity to follow up on more details.

The interviews were scheduled for approximately 90 minutes on average with a few that went over time and in those cases, participants voiced that they were willing to continue their interview. Interviews were conducted via Zoom video-conferencing which I also used to record the audio and video and transcription of each interview. Following each interview, I edited the transcriptions for errors and removed common filler words for readability. Once the transcripts were cleaned, I employed member checking (Creswell & Poth, 2018) by offering participants the opportunity to review their transcripts. My intention behind this was to ensure that they felt safe and comfortable with the data that they provided or whether they wanted to remove a statement. Although member-checking did not result in any changes to the data, I thought it was especially important to ask for consent a third time since a majority of the participants requested to be named in the study.

During the interviews, I focused on staying present by keeping eye contact and kept notetaking to a minimum. In between responses I occasionally paraphrased answers to validate my notetaking and I also contributed to the dialogue whenever a participant brought up a shared experience. My interview guide consisted of questions related to each CJ principle to examine how a campaign transitioned CJ principles from theory to guide their strategies and practices. I then asked about the main internal and external challenges that campaigns faced and what they

might have done differently. Finally, I asked participants about their upcoming goals, their ultimate aspirations for the movement as a whole, and how they believe CJ principles fit into that vision. Divestment was not fathomable on a large scale in 2012 and is still rare in Canada with only twelve universities that have committed to divest. Therefore, I wanted to open up a dialogue and hear what divestment organizers were hoping to achieve post-divestment commitment, and what resources and support they need to achieve those goals.

I conducted a total of ten interviews. Originally, I had planned to interview three members from each organization. However, I realized after the first set of interviews that in one of the cases—Climate Justice UBC—two out of the three participants were newer to the campaign and had very little involvement before their divestment victory. Although they provide a lot of insightful information, I thought it would be valuable to interview an additional member who was involved for longer in the campaign and reached out to Climate Justice UBC to recommend an additional participant.

Data Analysis

Following the data collection and before interpretation occurred, I used an a priori coding scheme to pre-determine a template of codes based on the CJ principles framework. This method complimented my study as it has been used in research that studies the perspectives of multiple cases within an organization (King, 2004) such as campaigns within a larger movement. I first used hierarchical coding to organize each CJ principle as a parent node in NVivo data analysis software and created subcategories based on the key identifiers of each principle. Because I was interested in the operation of specific principles, the advantage of using a priori coding was that I could go into the data searching for the themes and sub-themes that coincided with each principle (King, 2004). I kept track of my codes as they were expanded or merged through a

codebook (See Appendix E) which has been suggested by King (2004) and Nowell, Norris, White & Moules (2019). The codebook was updated with notes to explain what theme each code and sub-code represented along with an example quote for me to reference to help me make my coding consistent (See Table 5). I followed up with the text selected in each code to ensure it was placed appropriately. To aid in the development of my template, I drew several diagrams to illustrate the connections and overlap between each subcode and parent node (Nowell et al., 2019). Once all the codes were bounded and defined, and the data was reviewed at least twice as suggested by King (2004), my final template of codes was established. I reviewed the data multiple times to identify the patterns and themes that fit in my codes using NVivo. I employed Microsoft Word for the campaign documents by highlighting codes that aligned with my a priori template and I made annotations where necessary. I interpreted all the data from each case before I moved onto the next case.

Table 5. Initial and final code template

Initial Template	Final Template
Values	Values
FFD values	Climate Justice Messaging
Barriers	The Conflict of Values Between Students & Neoliberal Universities
	Limitations of Divestment
Participation	Participation
Practices of safety and inclusivity	Fostering Safety and Inclusivity Through Community, Accessibility and Care
Organizational structures	
Barriers	The Role of Diversity and the Effects of White-dominated Spaces
Recognition	Recognition
Education	Solidarity & Sovereignty

Solidarity	Collaboration, Building Trust & Developing Reciprocal Relationships
Reinvestment	Community Reinvestment
Barriers	The Fear of "Not doing enough"

One concern that I had with the a priori approach was that I would discover that my codes were too restricted or not as relevant as I thought they were during the initial data analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018). My first review of the data once I cleaned each transcript helped me identify that the initial codes I had chosen were clear and bounded. However, when I completed my first case analysis where I used NVivo software to organize my codes, I realized that there were several dimensions to each code that I could further distinguish. Although a priori coding is a deductive method, Creswell & Poth (2018) suggest that researchers can be flexible and revise their template to include additional codes as they emerge. King (2004) echo's this and suggests that if there are large chunks of relevant data left uncoded, this can indicate that revision of the initial template is necessary.

Trustworthiness was established by triangulating two data collection methods, following a coding framework, and keeping an audit trail of the coding process, and implementing a reflective practice during data collection and analysis (Nowell et al., 2019). The goal of reflexivity is to interpret responsibly, and to consider one's personal biases when interpreting data (Finlay, 2002). Implementing a reflective practice during data collection can support data analysis and increase the trustworthiness of the analysis (Nowell et al., 2019). I documented my reflections on the data several times throughout data collection, analysis, and reporting. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I cleaned the transcripts and reviewed the campaign documents through annotated comments. I documented my thoughts on certain statements made by

participants to keep track of any interpretations I had intuitively made based on the information I had through my FFD experience and when applicable, through my pre-existing relationships with some of the participants (Nowell et al., 2019).

Ethical Considerations

Before each interview, I went over the research purpose, recruitment guide, information letter and consent form with the participant. I aspired to create a safe environment by clearly stating the goals, motivations and benefits of my research. I reminded participants that they have the power and informed consent to refuse to answer a question or to end the interview at any time. I attempted to establish trust and rapport with my interviewee by identifying my position as a fellow FFD organizer. I also used the strategies that I have learned from the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics to uphold justice, ensure mutual respect and display concern for welfare (Government of Canada, 2018), and provide a safe space for participants to share their attitudes and beliefs freely. All primary data has been stored in a password-protected computer.

My preference was to name the interview participants involved in this study if they consented to it. The potential risks associated with naming participants is that what participants say in an interview may hinder the relationship their campaign has with their university. Also, if a participant wished to offer critique about their campaign or about the broader FFD movement, this may risk their relationships with their fellow organizers. To mitigate this, I gave participants the opportunity to review the cleaned transcript following their interview. If a participant decided to remain anonymous, given the small and well-connected network of Canadian FFD, confidentiality would be difficult to guarantee. This is because a participant may be identified by their position as a key organizer and thus risk being connected to their respective campaign. To

ensure transparency, in the information letter and before the interview process I described the potential risks associated with being named or anonymous. Two participants remained anonymous and were given pseudonyms. I have ensured that the data reported in this research does not contain any potential identifying information from these participants.

I gave all participants the chance to be anonymous again following each interview and their review of their transcript. One of the participants opted for partial confidentiality. They wanted to be named for the bulk of their interview but remain anonymous whenever they were critical about the university and the administration. To facilitate this, I reviewed their transcript and highlighted every statement that seemed critical from my perspective as an organizer that regularly engages with my university administration under the same context. Because of my experience, the participant was comfortable with using my discretion to identify these quotes and trusted that I would not quote them when necessary.

Confidentiality was also applied to people who were mentioned during the interviews. In most cases, I use the term “member” and “administration” to vaguely describe these actors unless it was a specific figure such as the university President. I removed identifiable information unless they were speaking specifically about their own experiences. I also chose to do this for some organizations that were critiqued because although one participant would share a story and name an organization, another member would not because they did not want to speak poorly of them. Some participants shared anecdotes that were off the record. In these cases, I stopped the recording and did not take notes. In cases where it was unclear how much information was on the record versus off, I followed up with participants with their transcripts to clarify and I shared a sample of my writing summarizing their statement without directly quoting them to see if they were comfortable with it being in my study.

Chapter 4: Findings

My research explores if, and how, university-based FFD campaigns operationalize CJ, the barriers to doing so, and identify opportunities for applying CJ further. I present my findings based on the first and second objectives by describing how campaigns operationalize CJ through the principles of Values, Participation, and Recognition, along with the barriers they have overcome or are still grappling with. The principle of Values was most evident in the campaign strategies and was operationalized through CJ messaging. The principle of Participation was found in the internal practices of each campaign and operationalized through their movement building practices represented by the themes of equity, inclusion and supporting the perspectives of diverse members. Finally, the principle of Recognition was identified in a campaign's external collaborative and solidarity practices shaped by long-term relationships with social justice groups and support for Indigenous sovereignty. I use quotes from key informants from Divest Concordia (DC), Climate Justice UBC (CJUBC), and Fossil Free UW (FFUW) and their respective campaign documents to illustrate these findings.

Values: People & Planet Before Profit

In this section, I explore how FFD organizers express and practice their core values and motivations to advocate for divestment. Values have been expressed primarily through the divestment narrative, campaign arguments, and popular education. I also outline barriers to operationalizing this principle, which were due to organizers having to constantly fight against market-based and technological solutions from the administration and the capitalist, neoliberal paradigm that they operate in. Finally, I share participants' views on the limitations of divestment and its misalignments with CJ.

Climate Justice Messaging

When asked what the values of FFD were to them, organizers shared that they campaign to support a just transition to a more equitable future. This future would mean that everyone would have access to clean air and water, shelter and security, the right to live meaningful lives, and would be protected from the negative health effects of climate change. The interconnections between wellness for the planet and humans is illustrated by the following quote:

> When we stop exploiting the planet we can't exploit people… If we treat the planet the way it needs to be treated, by extension, we will treat people the way they need to be treated. And vice versa, if there are labour rights and housing rights and sustainable food systems, the planet will benefit. (Emily, DC)

This sentiment was echoed by most participants and was a common motivator for advocating for FFD. Organizers also asserted that FFD is not simply due to the emissions released, but also the human rights abuses the industry perpetuates. Organizers argued that inequalities that stem from colonialism, patriarchy, imperialism, and racism exacerbate climate change and that CJ aims to challenge those systems because of their interconnectedness. They recognized that the devaluation of marginalized communities through these systems allows climate change to go unaddressed and allows those least affected by climate change to profit from extractivism. When universities remain invested in fossil fuels despite all of this, they are "choosing to stand with corporations and their exploitative business models over the wellbeing of people and the planet" (Report, FFUW). Because divestment's goal is not to financially bankrupt but to politically bankrupt the fossil fuel industry, organizers at CJUBC demanded UBC to declare a climate emergency and simultaneously name the injustices associated with the fossil fuel industry. One participant affirmed that FFD is:

> about sanctioning an industry for its violence against Indigenous people, its breaking of treaties and forcing pipelines through unceded land, its poisoning of water and creating places like Cancer Alley in Louisiana, and the poison [in the] Niger delta. The idea that its carbon impact is not where the impact of the industry ends and UBC needs to acknowledge that in its divestment. (Anna B., CJUBC)

This quote illustrates how CJ messaging was a strong part of shifting the narrative of the climate crisis at the university level. Participants from all campaigns described this framing as part of the moral or CJ narrative. Brittney describes this narrative as central to the divestment movement partly due to a shift from a "very White-centred" climate movement to one that centres BIPOC people and relies less on the financial rhetoric of mainstream climate solutions. This shift also influenced CJUBC's name change which happened shortly after UBC announced divestment. Originally, they were known as UBCc350 where 350 parts per million referred to the safe amount of carbon in the atmosphere. But because this name reflected the climate science and policy orientation that the group was founded on, members felt the need to embed and commit to their values more deeply by inserting CJ into their name. However, external environmental groups questioned this decision as Anna B. remarked, "I've come up against it a couple of times when people want to see climate as an issue of urgency that can't possibly afford to 'slow itself down with social justice issues.'"

The application of CJ was also evident in the language used to describe the climate crisis in the communications material of campaigns. When communicating the rationale behind targeting the fossil fuel industry, participants described the impacts through examples of environmental racism in Canada such as Africville, "Chemical Valley" and boil water advisories on social media and campaign flyers. Popular education through discussions, workshops and film

screenings was another tool that all cases used to teach their community about the history of climate injustice locally and nationally. One example of popular education was a game DC would play that got students to choose two symptoms of climate change to help them connect various, seemingly separate social issues such as fossil fuel projects and the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls crisis. Another example is FFUW's collaboration with the Racial Advocacy for Inclusion for Solidarity & Equity (RAISE) on a webinar titled "Climate Justice is Racial Justice" that taught students how divestment can be used to challenge environmental racism.

The Conflict of Values Between Students & Neoliberal Universities

Participants indicated several arguments for divestment, and although the moral arguments for divestment were most aligned with their values, it was not persuasive enough for their respective administrations. The universal counterargument against FFD were concerns over the financial risks and the University Board's fiduciary responsibility. Participants often had to refute these claims by framing divestment as legal and financially prudent. And because universities wanted to prioritize their returns and diversify the portfolio, organizers had to prove that the university's goals could still be achieved with FFD. Michelle (CJUBC) describes that this is due to the corporate mindset of the university:

> It's all just about business. It's all about how do we make as much money as possible? And them being very legally conservative not willing to take any risks, and not seeing themselves as political actors in society. Really, I think neoliberalism is the big challenge. That they see their job as running it like a corporation and don't really think about the impact that the university has on society.

This conflict of values was further made evident by participants as they claimed that the administration often regurgitated the language and logic of corporations in an effort to avoid controversy or appearing too political. This further reinforced the power imbalance between students and the university whereby students were not taken seriously in the investment field despite the hours of research that go into their campaigns. Sam (DC) pointed at the irony of students being far more informed on the topic and often having to entertain arguments that were debunked by them previously:

> Dealing with the Concordia admin, sometimes we'd leave meetings and just bang our heads on the wall like I can't believe what they're talking about!… And it seems that a lot of lack of understanding from people in the committee made it very difficult for us.

Still, all participants said that it is important to continue to use the moral narrative in their arguments because even if it may not seem impactful at the Board level, it helps them stay grounded in their passion to campaign and helps the movement build momentum. Another strategy that was used by organizers was to leverage their university's existing goals and declarations to strengthen their arguments such as pointing out the hypocrisy of signing onto international agreements such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). For example, when Waterloo made racial equity a priority following several complaints from Black and Indigenous students, FFUW made the connection to divestment by asking their Board, "Can you really be saying that you're significantly working on racial equity while still holding investments in these companies?" (Petra, FFUW).

Another challenge that campaigns had was a reoccurring battle against market-based climate solutions. Instead of opting to divest, there was a trend among all cases where universities proposed alternatives to divestment, or what FFD organizers call "false" solutions.

Following a rejection of divestment in 2016, UBC allocated 1% of the endowment to a Sustainable Futures Pool (SFP) for low carbon investments which included fossil fuel companies like ExxonMobil, Kinder Morgan and Enbridge. CJUBC shifted their efforts to advocate that the SFP become fossil-free, and after mass emails from the student community, the Board concurred. Pressure on the university to divest persisted and in response, UBC pledged $10 million every year to the SFP instead which organizers viewed as another false solution because "at this rate full divestment wouldn't be achieved for 150 years" (Presentation, CJUBC).

Like UBC, the culture of mobilization is heavily present at Concordia which contrasts with university Boards who tend to favour the university's public relations in their decision making. Sustainable projects such as electric buses on campus or impact investments that fund small local businesses were perceived by DC members as publicity stunts for the purpose of getting Concordia on the national and international stage to recruit students:

> They [university administration and Board] want to differentiate themselves on the so-called international landscape. They want Concordia to be cutting edge but they want it to be a serious institution. So, when it comes to the way that they run themselves and when it comes to the way that they try to distinguish themselves is to essentially attract more students. (Marcus, DC)

This was demonstrated again when DC asked Concordia to adopt a Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) fund to trial divestment at a low risk. The Concordia Student Union that DC operated under turned their portfolio into an SRI to help make their case which resulted in 10% returns. Concordia accepted the proposal but despite their $5 million SRI also performing well, there was still a lack of urgency to move towards full divestment. Marcus (DC) said that adopting the SRI "was the perfect Concordia move of like let's dip our toe in the water enough

that we can say, 'We were first' but also we're not really going to have that much risk." Marcus and other members at DC called this yet another greenwashing tactic especially since another leading motivation to adopt the SRI was to combat the negative press associated with the rise of the BDS movement (boycott, divestment and sanctions of Israel) at Concordia. This was insinuated because following the SRI announcement, Concordia was able to successfully shift the narrative of their investments to be about sustainability instead of human rights abuses.

For FFUW and DC, the corporate values of universities were upheld by conservative-leaning Board members and executives who often came from the insurance and banking industries. For instance, the President of Waterloo had a background in chemical engineering and previously worked in the fossil fuel industry. It was speculated that along with years of pressure from the campaign, it was the fact that he was in his final year as President, and therefore wanted to leave a legacy, that swayed him to make progress towards divestment. Taylor (FFUW) recounts the first interaction with the President:

> That sort of initial meeting he just kept talking about natural gas and was obviously not in support at that point… and in his final year all of a sudden was like, "oh hey let's start to think about the social side of things and the ethical implications and these are big major environmental issues that we're facing." So, I really think legacy was a big part of what was in his head when he went forward with this.

Considering this context, it wasn't a surprise that not all the demands of FFUW's Carbon Neutral Investment Policy (CNIP) were met. One disagreement was regarding divestment from oil transportation which includes pipelines. The administration argued that the transportation sector would need to remain a viable investment option so that universities could still invest in shipping and related industries. This meant they could invest in companies like Enbridge and TC

Energy as long as their portfolio could be on track to carbon neutrality. After deliberation, giving up divestment from pipelines was a compromise that FFUW begrudgingly took if it meant that the rest of the CNIP would be adopted.

Limitations of Divestment

FFD is a movement that brings people together to transform our current capitalist system and challenge neoliberal discourse. However, divestment organizers recognize that there are limits to simply asking for divestment from fossil fuels when an endowment could still have investments in unethical or carbon-intensive industries. They also expressed that divestment as a tactic is one that is a market-based approach and although it has been effective, "it does not address the underlying imperative of infinite economic growth inherent in our current system or the colonial foundations of our extractive industries" (Article, FFUW). According to DC, Concordia's approach to an SRI policy was a facade because:

> They're not actually what the name would suggest. "Socially Responsible Investment portfolios"… people hear those words and they're designed to evoke the idea of like yes, we're investing exclusively in windmills, solar panels and cooperative grocery stores or something and it's 100% not true. (Marcus, DC)

In addition to FFD, organizers across all campaigns had an interest in divesting from several other harmful sectors such as weapons or mining. However, they decided against campaigning for divestment from these sectors because they "had to focus on one thing at a time because we knew if we brought too much, it would convolute our argument and become very difficult" (Sam, DC). Instead, DC changed the language of divestment to "positive screening" for sustainable investments. This small change resonated well with the administration and CU

committed to 100% responsible investment in addition to negatively screening for fossil fuels and associated industries.

Likewise, beyond FFD, FFUW demanded that Waterloo make its investment portfolio carbon-neutral and to reinvest in climate solutions. However, organizers were acutely aware of the inaccessibility of some climate solutions and made the distinction between climate action and CJ:

> For example, just switching all the cars to Teslas is climate action but it's not climate justice because you still need to do something for people who bus or bike, you have to recognize that not everyone is able to drive around in a Tesla. So, it's climate action with intersectional consideration. It's climate action with justice nuance… Like within the country, how are people in Newfoundland doing versus people in Yorkville, Toronto? How are people in Bangladesh doing versus people in Toronto? Climate justice is… climate action politicized. So, understanding that climate action isn't just a matter of technical solutions, it's sociological solutions as well. (Guy, FFUW)

Using a CJ lens, participants were also mindful that the renewable energy sector often requires resource extraction which has perpetuated conflicts in countries in the Global South:

> We cannot just invest in biofuels that end up displacing farmers instead of displacing people near oil deposits. We can't just invest in Tesla and renewables that displace people living near lithium deposits instead of oil… we can't market-based approach our way out of climate change. It has to be very political. (Guy, FFUW)

Participation: Equitable Movement Building Practices

Participants shared that under a capitalist society, investing can be used as a tool to operationalize their values and buy their power back. But due to wealth accumulation and the

privatization of institutions, existing democratic structures have become exclusionary such that collective values are controlled by a minority:

> The decisions of these massive and unaccountable institutions are ultimately behind the reason that we can't tangibly address the climate crisis and the reason that our emissions continue to go up. It's the reason that despite a profound understanding of the dangers of runaway climate change and despite the consensus in public opinion that we need to do something and a just transition is what people desire, despite all of that, we're still not any closer to it and it's just continuing to get worse. (Marcus, DC)

Therefore, building alternative economic models through stronger democratic processes that can represent the values of the majority is a goal of divestment campaigns. In this section, I share how divestment campaigns have mobilized equity and inclusivity in their internal movement building practices. I also share the impacts of the overrepresentation of White organizers in FFD campaigns and how racialized participants have grappled with this.

Fostering Safety and Inclusivity Through Community, Accessibility and Care

Creating safe and inclusive spaces through gathering and community bonding was common for all cases. This looked like eating meals together, developing friendships with co-organizers, helping each other build skills, and making time after meetings for socializing. Organizers strive to build personal bonds with their co-organizers "so that our relationships aren't just about the work" (Michelle, CJUBC). By making a commitment to relationship and community building, this created a sense of safety and comradery for members. Joining a social movement is also a great way to meet people who have similar interests. It makes the work fulfilling because through collective action people feel a sense of purpose by being involved in something bigger than themselves. Campaigns reinforce the values that organizers want to

uphold by making space for members to share their motivations for engaging in divestment work. For example, FFUW hosted a welcoming event to introduce people to their campaign and the approach they took was:

> Rather than just having people come and attend a meeting and be overwhelmed right off the bat, it was a meeting where we would just sit and talk about why we cared about this issue and what we sort of hoped to accomplish and do it over some food. (Taylor, FFUW)

Part of community-building is rooted in caring for others. Anna B. (CJUBC) describes care work as crucial to CJ work because it is the opposite of how the fossil fuel industry operates:

> It's also hard to exist like that when the bigger systems around you are built literally on the opposite of care. Are built literally on extracting fossil fuels from Indigenous land and committing violence. And so it's that principle of wanting to care for people around us in the place we're in. Also, I think it really motivates wanting to create something better at the systemic level too.

Prioritizing care work perpetuates practices such as checking in on one another to ensure that no one is burnt out and everyone has consented to the actions they are engaging in. For example, recognizing the threat of police or security involvement in direct action and the dangers it could produce can inform a campaign strategy. Prior to a UBC Board of Governors meeting, CJUBC organizers discussed amongst themselves what levels of escalation they were comfortable with. A few international student members expressed that they did not want to be involved in escalation efforts as it could threaten their status and relationship with the university. Unfortunately, a different group who had not consulted with CJUBC joined the meeting and conducted a die-in which led to security intervention. Following this incident, members of this

group proposed that CJUBC should join them in a hunger strike if the administration failed to divest at the next meeting. However, participants thought that this tactic was inappropriate because of the history of hunger strikes being used in extreme situations. At the next Board meeting, UBC agreed to divest following a new legal opinion of the university's fiduciary duty. CJUBC considered this a success but the hunger strike still went on. Anna B. (CJUBC) describes the actions of this group as contrary to CJ because it represented a lack of respect for the wellbeing of the students who they were organizing with:

> That just kind of hit me like we had two very different understandings of what victory is but also of what consent, justice, reciprocity with other groups you're organizing with, like kind of coming in a good way or like doing right by the people around you is. And then that kind of hit me that being a climate justice group can also just mean organizing against climate injustice on a large scale but also applying those principles to our own organizing as well.

Although the option to abstain from direct action is made clear, even the perception of climate organizing as being heavily reliant on protests and demonstrations was identified as a barrier to participation. This not only prevented people from joining a divestment campaign, it also made organizers who did not engage in direct action feel as if their work was less valued. Whenever CJUBC conducted training on non-violent direct action, they emphasize that the tactic can exclude communities of colour and they reaffirm that participating in direct action is not the only method of organizing that is available. When CJUBC established their Capacity Building and Care Working Group based on teachings from disability justice, it was through this group that Anna M. realized that their work was just as crucial as direct action because:

> Providing safety, providing comfort, providing access is the full-time job of that working group a lot of the time alongside education. And I think at first I felt like this wasn't the real climate work because it's easy to only think of climate work as going to actions and things like that. But really, I think climate justice work involves so many different levels of engagement. So I think understanding that and coming into that was helpful for me.

Furthermore, a barrier to engaging in divestment was the large knowledge gap and unpaid labour that went into the research and advocacy of the campaign. Participants recognized that there was immense privilege in participating and therefore, they strived to make their spaces inclusive by offering multiple levels of engagement. Both FFUW and CJUBC had coordinators pair with new volunteers to learn about their skills and interests to help them decide where they would be best suited to participate. DC had staff support funded by Sustainable Concordia and their student union. But once their funding was reduced, their capacity for research, graphic design and other human resources became limited. Emily (DC) recognized their power as someone who was being compensated for their organizing compared to student members who were volunteering their time. They wanted to ensure that volunteer members could engage in work that was valuable to them:

> You have to be aware of a power imbalance in a campaign when some people are getting paid and other people aren't. And so I was very careful about letting other people do what they were passionate about. Like if someone shows up and they really like doing graphic design or social media, absolutely do that and I'll schedule the posts or like do other stuff that's not fun that other people don't want to do like clean up the meeting space.

The recognition of power was also brought up when a few organizers at DC recognized that their lobbying efforts with the university through the Joint Sustainable Investment Advisory

Committee was exploitative. One example was when two Finance students who worked on a sustainable investment project with Sustainable Concordia presented to the committee. Despite their professionalism and year-long research, they were belittled by the Chair of the Board of Directors:

> The Chair of the Board of Directors, who is not a finance person… was like "Oh that's really cute what you're doing. But we're not here to be cute. We're not here to have a good time." And I was so angry! I was like, I bring these children into your meeting and you mistreat them like this? And so, I didn't want to bring people into that. So I kept going to those meetings and I felt conflicted about it because I was like am I taking up too much space and being the only one going to these meetings? (Emily, DC)

Emily (DC) had to consider whether it was more important to maintain inclusivity or to protect students from this environment. They chose the latter because to them, operationalizing CJ meant that they should use their power and privilege to engage in the necessary but hard conversations by taking on the emotional burden as someone who did not anticipate risks to their safety. To further combat the power imbalance between students and the university, campaigns advocated for more democratic decision-making processes by demanding student representation on university boards, and consultation from campus organizations and Indigenous and local communities.

Prioritizing accessibility is another way that campaigns operationalized CJ. Anna M. (CJUBC) describes that this can be established by "creating environments of 'access intimacy' which is… having your access needs understood completely and respected". CJUBC did this by providing alternative texts to images and live captioning during online events, sharing preferred pronouns, and asking if everyone's access needs were met before the start of every meeting.

Similarly, DC budgeted for ASL interpretation, translated their material to French, and made accommodations such as offering free childcare and hosting events at different times. Anti-oppression training was another practice that both DC and CJUBC integrated into their campaigns to foster inclusivity and safety for their members. These trainings educated members on intersectionality and how it impacts people's lived experiences. It also informed organizers of their social positions and how that could affect their organizing:

> That was kind of how we tried to bring people in. It's like, if you want to be a part of what we're doing you have to also understand the experiences that we're all bringing to the table and the dynamics that those experiences can collectively result in and how to address the role that you might play. (Marcus, DC)

These practices of facilitating anti-oppression training and centring consent and accessibility are important for campaigns to incorporate because it can protect marginalized students from experiencing systemic barriers that social movements are not immune to. Community building was also found to contribute to the retention of membership and has helped keep the morale up for members in their long campaigns.

The Role of Diversity and the Effects of White-dominated Spaces

All participants talked about the importance of socio-demographic diversity (i.e, race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexuality, education etc.) in their membership and networks for advancing CJ. It has helped them connect to other groups through their members' pre-existing relationships, and thus expand their solidarity efforts. It has also helped strengthen their divestment arguments. Participants from all cases explained that their campaign arguments would change depending on their audience and that because they incorporated different perspectives, they were successful in

persuading a variety of people to support their campaign. Table 3 describes the membership of each campaign including the main demographics and organizational structure.

Table 6. Membership demographics and structure

	Divest Concordia	**Climate Justice UBC**	**Fossil Free UW**
Membership Demographics	Racial diversity, White majority Low gender diversity, female majority Mix of undergraduate and graduate students	Racial diversity, White majority Non-binary and female majority Primarily undergraduate students	Low racial diversity, White majority Low gender diversity, female majority Mix of undergraduate and graduate students and faculty members
Organizational Structure	Non-hierarchical leadership Informal structure Decisions are informed by how it aligns with the campaign and the interest and capacities of members. Final decisions are consensus-based. If there is no consensus or capacity to carry out an action, actions may be executed externally (e.g., on an individual	Non-hierarchical leadership. Coordinators and working group leads help facilitate and do administrative work Formal structure. Consists of 5 Working groups: Divestment, Lobbying, Capacity Building and Care, Land and Water Defense, Elections, Reinvestment Decisions are informed by how it aligns with the campaign and the interest and capacities of members. Final decisions are made through modified consensus	Non-hierarchical leadership. Coordinators help facilitate and do administrative work. Informal structure Decisions are informed by how it aligns with the campaign and the interest and capacities of members. Final decisions are consensus-based

	basis or through another group)		

Likewise, a trend among all cases was that key members brought more of an intersectional understanding of CJ into the campaign. One of the pivotal moments that helped CJUBC shift from doing less climate policy work to more CJ work was when a member spoke about the discrimination they faced as a minority organizing within the climate movement. This led to discussions on the role of White supremacy in the climate movement and helped the campaign engage in more learning and internally-focused work. Additionally, the practice of checking in with preferred pronouns was established when a member of DC said that they were being misgendered and questioned why no one bothered to ask what their pronouns were. Marcus (DC) described that this was the fault of his own ignorance: "I was not versed in that at all because like again, this was my intro into activism and just like understanding... understanding anything you know?" This incident propelled DC members to engage in more anti-oppressive practices. Finally, having a diverse membership expanded teams' CJ education through a variety of events and workshops based on people's interests and lived experiences. For example, because CJUBC had a large representation of queer, trans and non-binary members, members organized climate-related events on challenging binaries, intersex justice and the policing of queer bodies.

Although there is some racial diversity in each campaign, they all recognized that their membership was predominantly White students. FFUW and DC grappled with this by supporting groups that engage in racial advocacy to make up for the lack of representation in their campaigns.

> It's not as much racial diversity as I would hope for… I think that's a general consensus among the group. And it's something that we've talked about definitely in meetings that we're lacking that perspective a lot of the time… I would say that is the main thing and a large part of why we focus on trying to support external campaigns. So even if that voice is missing from our campaign, that's why we try as well to uplift those voices from outsider groups. (Petra, FFUW)

Another common theme was a lack of Indigenous representation. Sam (DC) felt that it was a shortcoming of their campaign because it felt problematic to discuss issues that affect Indigenous communities without their participation:

> There were discussions during the time about how to engage with different populations so it's just not a homogenous group of White people around discussing what decolonization looks like. But at the same time not to kind of tokenize the situation either. And it was difficult. When you don't have a diverse group, sometimes it becomes difficult about how to engage others.

CJUBC's strategy has been to reach out to Indigenous campus groups to consult them about their new community reinvestment campaign and to build trust by taking their perspectives seriously by ensuring that CJUBC responds to their feedback:

> Right now, we're just reaching out to the groups to see if they'd be interested in meeting with us to talk about our community reinvestment campaign so that's kind of our first step… showing up for their events is going to be really important to build those relationships to show that we're sincere about this. And of course, responding to their feedback when we do meet with them and really taking seriously what they say will be important for building trust. (Michelle, CJUBC)

Organizers acknowledged that because racialized people have been historically excluded from climate organizing, BIPOC students likely feel safer organizing outside of divestment campaigns. This is combined with their additional burdens such as the discrimination that BIPOC students face and the expectation for them to educate others. Rather, BIPOC students felt safer joining a cultural or ethnic group with people who share similar experiences. Anna M. and Brittney (CJUBC) identified that power imbalances impacted CJUBC's low rate of retention of international and BIPOC students. Because all the leadership positions at CJUBC were held by White members, BIPOC members had to constantly explain why they wanted the group to engage in certain initiatives, even when it was clearly aligned with CJ:

> I had to go through kind of an extra step of the coordinating team, almost like asking for permission. And since all the coordinators were White I and I am not, it did feel like there was a bit of a dynamic there. (Anna M. CJUBC)

Even though it was not the intention of the coordinators to perpetuate a power imbalance, members became upset or left the campaign because "they didn't feel like they were being invited to the table" (Brittney, CJUBC). Brittney shared the impact this has had on her:

> In my experience at least, when people asked me so many questions or really nitpicked at what I was doing is when I felt the most insecure and when I've also been the most frustrated. Cause I'm like, why aren't you thinking about doing this? Why is this such a big deal? This is so obviously something that we have to do. But sometimes it's not super obvious to someone that doesn't have that experience.

Similarly, the different understandings of what "counts" as CJ and what gets prioritized played a role when CJUBC was deciding on what their major campaign should be post-divestment:

> Some people wanted to really talk about solidarity for Palestinian people and some people really wanted to talk about the prison abolition system and some people really wanted to focus on divestment. And then we had conflicts where it was like everybody wanted their thing and it was like, how do we prioritize all of these things? And unfortunately, there ends up being more people interested in divestment—and specifically more White people interested in divestment—than interested in some of the things that people of colour were more passionate about. (Brittney, CJUBC)

In situations where disagreements occurred, all campaigns often handled them through deliberation until all opinions were voiced and there was group consensus. FFUW strived to keep arguments polite and level-headed to avoid projecting the frustration of campaign setbacks onto fellow members. Unlike CJUBC, both DC and FFUW campaigns had informal structures. They had different members that would organize events or come up with campaign strategies who would then present it to the rest of the campaign. Some decisions at FFUW were sometimes centralized based on members who were most active at the time. Rejection of members' ideas was often due to low-capacity and rarely due to misaligning values and therefore neither FFUW or DC have specific structures in place for decision-making. Both campaigns, though, aspire to have more formal structures to help them sustain longer and deeper commitments with external groups and the university.

Sam (DC) shared that without structure: "It means that any kind of conflicts would be present and actually probably be dissuading people from actually continuing their participation. We've had people with different disagreements that just, you know, all the parties would not want to come back." Anna M. (CJUBC) echoed this sentiment by saying:

> I believe that generative conflict is a part of a lot of organizing spaces and when you have everyone agreeing, I feel like that shuts off a lot of community members and I always want there to be space for dissent.

CJUBC was forced to change their decision-making process when they discussed putting out a statement of solidarity with the student group Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights. It was difficult to come to consensus and some members were surprised that there was internal conflict on this decision because they identified the Palestinian struggle as an issue of settler colonialism and climate injustice. Participants shared that a lack of education played a role because of the layers of tension the BDS topic engenders. This moment shifted the organizational structure of CJUBC because instead of consensus, they began a shift to a process in which decisions are made through modified consensus, a practice CJUBC learned from the UBC Social Justice Centre. This looked like aiming for consensus in decision-making but elevating the perspectives of students who would be most impacted by the decision when there is no consensus. When it came to conflict with external groups, they would invite a third-party facilitator from the UBC Social Justice Centre to facilitate mediation.

Recognition: Frontline Solidarity & Intersectional Alliances

Divestment organizers do not view divestment as the only solution to the climate crisis. Organizers understand that shares can be bought and sold and acknowledge that the fossil fuel industry still operates even as its social license gets chipped away with every divestment win. In response, participants recognize that they should diversify their efforts beyond divestment. Therefore, divestment organizers engage in solidarity work because they see the value and power of collective action when compared to staying divided. FFD puts accountability on the fossil

fuel industry for driving the climate crisis and relies on collective action to do so. Anna B. (CJUBC) describes collective action:

> It's the idea that obviously in order to change big systems, the onus of responsibility can't just be on an individual. It's got to be individuals working together to create something bigger than the sum of their parts. And also, the climate crisis isn't an individual problem, it's entirely a problem of corporations, institutions and systems being made wrong from the start. And that it takes a collection of people to fix that.

In this section, I share how divestment campaigns use the principle of recognition to engage in solidarity with Indigenous and Frontline sovereignty. I discuss how organizers use their networks and relationships to collaborate with different movements and build awareness around issues related to CJ. I also describe the initiative of community reinvestment that serves as a complimentary campaign to FFD. Finally, I share the concern by participants that they are not doing enough to engage in solidarity work.

Solidarity and Sovereignty

Solidarity tactics included promoting and helping organize solidarity protests; mobilizing students to write letters to their MP's and conduct sit-ins at MP offices; and supporting their local Land Back movements by amplifying their actions and mutual aid efforts, and publishing statements of solidarity. Something unique about CJUBC compared to the other two cases is that the group is not strictly about divestment. They have several working groups including "Land and Water Defence" tasked with getting people out to rallies and organizing fundraisers. All campaigns engaged in educational tools such as bringing speakers in from communities resisting fossil fuel projects. This helped members re-evaluate the underlying reasons they were campaigning; it was not just about climate but how the industry perpetuates colonialism.

Petra (FFUW) said that the CJ is central to FFD, exemplified by the movement's support for the rights of Indigenous peoples, and because the roots of challenging fossil fuel projects originated from Indigenous resistance. At FFUW, they have made efforts to collaborate with and seek guidance from local Indigenous activists on and off campus. Participants stated that not only is it morally imperative to be in solidarity with Indigenous peoples, but it is also strategic since Indigenous peoples have a unique power to assert their rights which threatens fossil fuel projects.

Solidarity on the ground by applying direct pressure on the frontlines is part and parcel of dismantling the fossil fuel industry. Another co-benefit of participating in direct action is that it can shift one's perception of divestment from distant and abstract share prices to real-life interactions of violence. Organizers can see the relationship between fossil fuel projects and police brutality or housing insecurity by witnessing the police violence and policies that displace communities on behalf of the corporations funding these projects.

Organizers also spoke about global issues, particularly Canada's role in emitting carbon and hosting and financing fossil fuel projects that impact communities globally. This point was reflected on by organizers because their privilege and contribution to climate change by living in Canada made them feel responsible for holding the industry accountable through the systems in which they have stakeholder power. Additionally, organizers have a sense of responsibility to protect future generations in addition to frontline communities from climate injustice:

> I'd grown up and seen these social impacts and environmental health impacts but also knew that we in Canada are disproportionately responsible for emissions globally. And that really sits heavy on me... it scares me to death to think that this world of forest fires and floods and ocean acidification and just utter destruction of the planet is something

> that we are giving over to them. And so I feel like I have to fight as hard as I can to do something about that. (Taylor, FFUW)

Because organizers recognize not only their privilege but also Canada's role in upholding fossil fuel hegemony, they speak about the global and disproportionate impacts on frontline communities internationally alongside the local impacts. Because CJUBC has members who are international students from Latin America, South Asia and East Asia, it was important to explore how these student's home countries were and are being impacted by extractivism and imperialism. This has led to valuable discussions on how extraction and colonialism intertwined and how these oppressive structures impact their countries.

Collaboration, Building Trust & Developing Reciprocal Relationships

Michelle (CJUBC) said that operationalizing CJ looked like building coalitions with impacted communities and giving them the space to lead based on their capacity and supporting them in their work. Emily (DC) had similar thoughts about their role in organizing in the environmental sector that was predominantly White and university-based. Both participants had discussions with their peers on whether it was their place to engage in this work. Emily said that operationalizing CJ is being "very aware of where knowledge and where power is coming from" and that such movements should be led by those directly impacted by climate injustice. Emily also spoke about their experience in the pipeline movement in Quebec and how every action was guided by Indigenous knowledge, leadership and consent. Emily argued that "part of what's necessary is creating relationships when it's not popular and when it's not obvious and when there isn't suddenly a social movement built up". This looked like consulting with local Indigenous communities before actions took place, especially if there was the risk of police involvement, and getting their consent. This consultation process was possible due to the long-

term relationships between the organization and the local communities that were established and maintained before the pipeline came into development.

Pre-existing relationships between members of a divestment campaign and another campaign helped bridge collaboration and communication with other groups. Overlapping membership between groups also made their relationship-building feel natural and organic rather than forced and helped with capacity since they did not have to start from scratch. For example, at CJUBC and FFUW, there were many members who had relationships with Indigenous Elders and maintained their connections through phone calls and attending their meetings. Members of FFUW would attend events hosted by the Indigenous Student Centre to build partnerships with Indigenous students and activists. Many of these partnerships came out of the Waterloo Public Interest Research Group (WPIRG) space where different campaigns and organizations had the chance to discuss how they could support one another and participate in each other's campaigns. WPIRG was crucial in not only helping FFUW organize and fund events, but it also acted as a hub space for engaging in movement building with other advocacy groups.

This culture of solidarity contrasted with mainstream environmental movements that from Anna B.'s (CJUBC) experience tended to isolate themselves from other social movements. She said that the culture at UBC was inclusive, and it was common for organizers from different campaigns to attend and support each other's campaigns. Organizers at all campaigns shared that connecting with groups across social movements helped them integrate CJ through knowledge sharing and collaboration, and introduced members to their campaign and vice versa.

Concordia also had a history of coalition-building between progressive groups. The Hive Cafe, a cooperative of the student union, acted as a hub for student social movements at Concordia to organize, connect, and host events. Groups had overlapping membership and had

developed strong relationships with each other which aided them in working together and sharing resources. The Hive Cafe was also useful for keeping campaigns visible on campus. For example, DC members would hang their banner demanding divestment and leave their petition in the space for people to sign. When student engagement was low in DC, such as in the latter part of the campaign when the focus on lobbying efforts led to reduced volunteer opportunities, DC organizers made a point to direct students to other organizations on campus that were doing social action work as a way to support these groups.

An emerging threat to FFD campaigns at both Waterloo and Concordia was the campaign against fee-levy groups. At Concordia, tens of thousands of dollars derived from student tuition are allocated to student-run organizations, many of which are advocacy groups. The presence of fee-levy groups was contentious among right-wing students who did not want their tuition supporting progressive initiatives. A campaign emerged to make it more accessible for students to opt-out of funding these groups. This defunding effort impacted not only Sustainable Concordia but the Sustainable Action Fund which has provided vital grants to DC in the past, the People's Potato which served free lunches to students, and the Centre for Gender Advocacy. What was being described by the fee-levy campaign as a waste of money, was providing consistent funding for these groups to efficiently operate and in some cases provide essential services for some students. To combat this threat, levied groups demonstrated a united front to combat the conservative rhetoric behind the campaign to defund them. Likewise, Defund604, which is a network that campaigned for defunding the Vancouver Police Department, has extensive knowledge of community consultation processes and has helped CJUBC develop the facilitation required for carrying out learning and connecting. This helped bridge the understanding that these groups are similar and the issues they are advocating have similar roots.

A few participants brought up the fine line between supporting Indigenous leadership and relying on it to the point that it becomes burdensome to those communities. Because although it is well-intentioned, consulting with Indigenous people or organizations takes time and energy that may be taken up by other things:

> It's a really difficult dance in terms of making good decisions around privilege in university environments but also not putting that burden on folks that are already dealing with so much (Emily, DC)

Participants shared that sincerity and intention to support Indigenous sovereignty can be actionable by showing up to events and spending the time to build trust and genuine connections. Reaching out to different communities also meant that organizers had to consider a community's accessibility needs, especially if technology is a barrier in the age of Zoom meetings and online teach-ins. Although relationships are constantly being built and renewed, organizers still grapple with how to respectfully support First Nations people whose land their university is on knowing that these communities have their own processes. UBC in particular profits off of land revenue which makes up 25% of the university's endowment. In response to this source of income, CJUBC is thinking about pursuing a campaign for reparations but they need to consult with the First Nations on whether they are interested and how they want to go about it. Likewise, members at FFUW have been interested in starting an Indigenous Land Trust, but their low capacity would not be a good foundation for that work. They said it would require a long-term, formal commitment with Indigenous communities meaning that this initiative would need to be maintained, something that is riskier with regular student turnover.

Community Reinvestment

Participants shared that the divestment movement should be challenging the economic and political systems that uphold climate change because without doing so, "we're going to only be further worsening injustice because injustice is the status quo" (Michelle, CJUBC). This involves transformative changes such as advancing decolonization, anti-racism, post-capitalism and wealth transfer which could be supported through community reinvestment.

Of the three cases, CJUBC was the only campaign that made community reinvestment part of their campaign demands following the success of their divestment campaign. CJUBC released their "Divestment Plus Recommendations" which asks UBC to reinvest 10% of the endowment into community-informed projects that advance racial, economic, environmental and social justice. Organizers used this opportunity to correct their mistake with FFD because they recognized that their demands were not specific enough, which resulted in a vague commitment from UBC. They also demand that UBC's new Environmental, Social, and Governance investment policy would be informed by "climate justice criteria". When asked what this entailed, Brittney (CJUBC) said it would mean, "not only are we reducing emissions, but we're also reducing harm that our investments cause. That harm to people is included in that." CJUBC's new reinvestment campaign is called Towards a People's Endowment and is in collaboration with SFU350 (located at Simon Fraser University) and Divest UVic (located at the University of Victoria). Through this initiative, organizers sought transformative change within the economic sphere while being mindful that they were "making sure that what we're doing is actually helping the communities that we're fighting for rather than just perpetuating these problematic systems" (Michelle, CJUBC).

In many ways, community consultation has been considered the most important component of the reinvestment campaign because organizers did not want to speak on behalf of communities of which they were not members. Through their consultation work, they explored what economic justice meant for various communities, and engaged their local community in that process to broaden the possibilities of the campaign. Organizers at CJUBC made an effort to engage with Indigenous communities whose land UBC is situated on and to incorporate the perspectives of the wider community into their reinvestment demands. It was important for them to engage in this process because of the history of exclusion of BIPOC people from institutional decision-making and as Brittney (CJUBC) remarks, "we can't just ask UBC to do this and then not do it ourselves." To facilitate community participation, CJUBC worked with the UBC Climate Hub to host several meetings with key stakeholders including students, local organizations, and community members. Their findings from the meetings culminated in a 184-page report that outlines what UBC could achieve out of the climate emergency process. They found that the key interest was in community reinvestment as many people expressed that they had an initiative or a community that could use the investment.

Reinvestment addresses some of the limitations of divestment by "fighting the bad while building the new" (Anna M., CJUBC). But one critique of reinvestment that participants shared is that by design, investing needs to be profitable. Therefore, this initiative is neither philanthropy nor a form of reparations, but their hope is that it can become a path towards divesting from harm and reinvesting to cater a community's social needs. Organizers believe that this campaign can set a precedent for the next steps for divestment campaigns as more schools commit to divestment. Likewise, students at Concordia want to set a precedent for socially responsible investing through the Concordia Student Union. Currently, organizers at Concordia

within and outside of DC are considering how they can create a cooperative model that could be replicated. In addition to The Hive Cafe, the Concordia Student Union has invested in and operates a cooperative bar called Reggie's and the Woodnote housing cooperative and these initiatives also provide jobs to students. Students hope that these small-scale actions can represent a successful model for larger institutions like Concordia to model after and exponentially increase the impacts of their actions just as they did with their Socially Responsible Investment fund.

The Fear of "Not doing enough"

All participants expressed that they could have done more solidarity work but also understood their limitations. CJUBC and FFUW admitted that it was when divestment progress was slow that they had time to slow down and could engage in solidarity more frequently. Organizers at FFUW and DC expressed that they wished they could have set up their own mutual aid efforts or directly organized, but they were limited by their capacity. Part of this is because student engagement fluctuated in recent years and so their solidarity efforts often looked like education and amplifying other groups' work online:

> We wanted to be in solidarity but it was difficult to see how to do that… When it comes to directly organizing, unfortunately, I can't think of a time where we had a more direct connection than that. I wish that I could or that it was the case. There was certainly the intent there but that mostly just translated into like trying to set up educational campaigns and bringing in people who are doing that frontline work and giving them the microphone. (Marcus, DC)

Doing outreach to cultural and faith groups to support divestment petitions and letters was a way that campaigns tried to develop new relationships with various campus communities

who were not directly involved with the campaign. However, some participants at FFUW and CJUBC viewed coalition-building that was created with one-off actions as limited since they were not long-term commitments. Organizers shared that trust is integral to developing partnerships and that without it, asking for collaborations has the potential to be transactional rather than collaborative. This shows that campaigns want to take a more active solidarity role rather than a passive one:

> These are trust issues and for us to expect to walk in there and say like, hey we're doing this thing and you should be a part of it and not taking the time to build those relationships and turning to the [Indigenous] Student Centre like, oh well we need a speaker. That's very transactional and it is not the kind of work that needs to happen… We have not reached out in the ways that we need to… It's always been sort of like we need you and will you sign on to be part of this? Rather than finding ways to work together. (Taylor, FFUW)

One of the relationships that FFUW has been fostering is with RAISE, a group that advocates for anti-racism on campus. At Waterloo, racism on campus was rampant and racialized students did not feel protected by the University. One example of this was during a webinar co-organized by FFUW and RAISE that was bombarded with several homophobic, anti-Black and anti-Semitic messages and drawings. Although this was not new to RAISE, a group that has been threatened to be defunded because of their work, this was the first time an event of FFUW's was crashed. Taylor said they were naive and should have been forward-thinking to put protocols in place to be more prepared for it.

Other challenges for divestment organizers included support for BDS from Israel. At DC, organizers strategically chose not to include BDS because the Concordia administration would

not support it based on their conversations in the Joint Sustainable Investment Advisory Committee. DC organizers worried that if the campaigns merged, it was likely to harm the FFD campaign's potential to succeed. They decided to contemplate broadening their campaign to other areas once the FFD campaign had won. Additionally, the conflict over putting out a solidarity statement for Palestine at CJUBC was an important discussion for the group to have. Members who were in favour said that if their group failed to take a stance on the issue, it would mean they would support the issue individually when it was far more powerful for CJUBC to make a statement, especially since they had a large online following. At Waterloo, WPIRG was defunded when they ran a campaign to support Palestine which severely impacted FFUW's access to meeting space and funding for their events. This along with the conservative nature of Waterloo hurt FFUW's capacity to recruit members and build alliances on campus.

The final barrier to solidarity was that partnerships were usually fostered through independent relationships. Individual members would spend the time needed to build relationships with external groups, however, they would not necessarily act as representatives of the campaign, but as community members. For example, there were a few key people who helped bridge the gap between FFUW and other campaigns and when they left Waterloo, so did those relationships. This gap was further widened because members had little remaining capacity after organizing and their personal priorities such as school. Taylor (FFUW) identified this as a gap in their organizing and shared that FFUW has not done enough to find ways to engage in solidarity efforts more deeply. Taylor (FFUW) said that this is detrimental because environmental groups including those at Waterloo often have White people in leadership positions and lack diversity, negatively impacting their solidarity approaches.

Conclusion

These findings show that FFD campaigns have integrated CJ into their strategies and practices in several ways. Values were present in the communication of divestment and CJ education. Participation was facilitated through community, safety and care work. And Recognition was driven by solidarity efforts that were strengthened by relationships and collaboration. Several barriers to CJ were raised such as the limitations of divestment, the lack of organizational structure and diversity, and the recognition that solidarity efforts could be prioritized more. In the next chapter, I describe some of the contradictions of the CJ practices and barriers shared by participants, and I offer recommendations to overcome them.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study sought to explore if, and how, Fossil Fuel Divestment (FFD) campaigns operationalize Climate Justice (CJ) principles. My findings identified that CJ principles were operationalized through 1) CJ messaging through divestment arguments, popular education, and rejecting false solutions; 2) Building equitable movement-building practices by fostering safety and inclusivity through community-building, accessibility and care and; 3) Frontline solidarity and the creation of intersectional alliances through collaboration, relationship-building and community reinvestment. These practices have illustrated that FFD organizers have been working towards prefiguring their values and motivations for campaigning by modelling anti-oppression and intersectionality within their organizing spaces and external relations.

Participants identified that they strive to engage in CJ practices but have also experienced several barriers such as the limitations of FFD, their lack of capacity to engage in solidarity work, and the existing power imbalances in their membership. Although FFD is said to be rooted in CJ, I question why they continue to reproduce the same White-dominated campaigns as traditional environmentalism? If organizers are asking for community and student involvement on university Boards, why is there a lack of internal participation structures that ensure that underrepresented communities are engaged? Although racialized, disabled, and non-binary organizers have helped their campaigns lean toward anti-oppressive CJ practices, why have they been responsible for taking the lead? And although my participants showed nuanced understandings of CJ, why is the importance of cross-movement solidarity still difficult for their fellow members to comprehend?

In this chapter, I address these contradictions in the following areas: divestment, participatory justice and solidarity. I thread my experience as a FFD organizer throughout the

chapter and highlight the best practices drawn from my findings and the literature. Finally, I outline several opportunities for FFD campaigns to expand their application of CJ principles and work towards confronting their contradictions.

Contradictions of Divestment

Participants had nuanced understandings of CJ overall such as recognizing the interconnectedness of social issues, the roots of climate injustice being capitalism, colonialism and racism, as well as the development of anti-oppressive and care-informed work within their campaigns. But there was a lack of a planetary health lens—which recognizes the interconnectedness of climate change, human health, and the health of Earth's ecosystems—within their descriptions of CJ or their motivations for mobilizing for FFD. When it was mentioned by participants, it was in the form of its varying and worsening impact on human communities.

According to Gibson & Duram's (2020) study on the characteristics of FFD campaigns, the lack of terminology related to distributive justice made it appear as if campaigns were not focused on resolving local injustices. However, Mangat et al.'s (2017) study on the narratives employed by FFD campaigns, concluded that because the moral or CJ narrative is apparent in FFD's objectives, it may not have to be explicit in the narrative to be true. In fact, it is common for organizers to strategically adjust their arguments depending on their audience (Belliveau, 2021). From this, I would not conclude that this aspect of CJ was nonexistent. Furthermore, the emphasis on justice for people could be explained by the history of environmental justice and CJ that evolved as an alternative to traditional environmentalism's lack of justice and overrepresentation of ecological systems (Wright, 2011).

At Fossil Free Lakehead, we used several tactics and arguments to appeal to our Board. At the first deputation I participated in, our leading points were the moral and financial cases for divestment, and how divestment aligned with Lakehead University's existing Responsible Investment Policy. Following this presentation, we were surprised to learn that our Board's main concerns had less to do with financial risk and more with whether divestment could positively impact enrollment and the university's reputation. We learned that this was the paradigm in which they made their decisions—their principle of values.

In my experience with social movements, activists are resisting an authority or power that is already well established and benefits from the status quo. This was a recurring theme as to why campaigns are forced to strategically focus on arguments beyond CJ despite its opposition to their values. One could argue that strategically minimizing the CJ narrative to make room for a university's values is consistent with divestment's theory of change—divestment's power is in its symbolism and politics (Ansar et al., 2013). Perhaps it does not matter what happens behind closed doors if it gets organizers closer to the larger goal.

Furthermore, the FFD movement and each campaign has a consistent CJ message which is reflected in the reports on their university's divestment announcement. However, the language that organizers employed was starkly different in comparison to their universities. As participants noted, public relations are a priority for universities thus they would not want to paint themselves as accomplices to the fossil fuel industry. Rather than admitting that it was problematic that they were invested in fossil fuels, they frame their divestment commitments as a positive reflection on the university: that they are leading in climate action by engaging in divestment, effectively exonerating themselves from accountability.

Messaging and communicating the moral arguments for FFD is a key operation of CJ and therefore it should always be centred (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). Although these arguments may not be the most persuasive to a university Board, it is still necessary to frame divestment as a matter of justice first and foremost for fear of this narrative becoming lost in the move to a post-fossil-free world. It also benefits organizers as practicing their values can keep them grounded and reminds them why they organize to begin with. CJUBC stated that it was as important for UBC to name the injustices that the fossil fuel industry perpetuated as it was to divest through the President's climate emergency declaration. I consider this an opportunity for campaigns because universities have large influence (Healy & Debski, 2016). A clear way to apply this is by demanding that universities announce their reasoning for divestment and attribute it to the harms caused by fossil fuels and address their complacency in perpetuating these harms.

FFD campaigns addressed and rejected false solutions proposed by their university in several ways. But despite their efforts, organizers lament that FFD does not dismantle capitalism or colonialism. Neville (2020) takes a critical look at divestment as a tool to address the climate crisis by saying that without consideration of where divested funds are reinvested, FFD campaigns can reinforce the very damages of climate injustice that they seek to alleviate. This is because FFD at face value does not fully encompass the principles of CJ—recognizing that the distribution of harms is not limited to carbon outputs, but its roots lie within the capitalist, racist and colonial systems we operate within. Because divestment operates in the financial market, it can be co-opted by those in power to generate wealth before consideration is given to social and ecological impacts.

The extractive nature of the low-carbon renewable energy sector where many universities and campaigns seek to redirect divested funds is still reliant on the dispossession of Indigenous land, undemocratic participatory practices, and the exploitation of labour and resources (Neville, 2020). This is partially because investments are inherently motivated by economic gain and much of the profitable investable universe in the green sector relies on exploitation. Neville (2020) urges activists to critically question these contradictions. Some participants critiqued FFD for these reasons and hope to mitigate this by monitoring how their university's divested funds are reinvested.

A final recommendation for FFD campaigns is to demand more from their universities following divestment. After reflecting on their campaign, CJUBC admitted that their demands could have been more comprehensive and direct. Following UBC's commitment to divest, they corrected this hindsight by publishing additional demands which included stronger measures for divestment and a strategy to implement a community reinvestment policy.

Contradictions of Participatory Justice

Anti-oppressive practices have been learned and adapted by various movements including the feminist, global justice, and labour movements (Polletta, 2002). Just as these movements have strengthened their activism through their relationships that inspired the exchange of innovative and transformative strategies and practices (Polletta, 2002), so too have FFD campaigns adopted from other movements. Many participants named campus groups, community organizations and divestment networks that have shared resources and influenced their campaigns to apply CJ principles more deeply in their internal and external practices.

Organizers operationalized CJ internally by implementing care-based practices by prioritizing community-building, accessibility, and safety. This manifested in campaigns hosting

events that promoted the development of interpersonal relationships among members. Campaigns employed acts of checking in with members about their safety concerns, made efforts to meet access needs, and provided new members with mentorship, actions that are supported by findings in the literature on equitable participation models (Belliveau, 2021, Fraser 1997, 2013; Ranganathan & Bratman, 2019).

The findings illustrate that FFD campaigns used an intersectional approach to participation by recognizing the risks associated with direct action and the toxic environment of Board meetings. CJUBC's choice to abstain from escalation because they valued the safety of international students despite external pressure from another group, and Emily's (DC) practice of prioritizing the interests and risks of volunteers before themselves as a White staff member are clear examples of this. By considering different levels of risk and capacity, campaigns have established multiple forms of engagement so that all members can be accommodated based on their skill, time and access needs (Dixon, 2014; Fraser, 1997, 2013).

Ranganathan and Bratman (2019) state that committing to an "ethics of care" can be a pathway towards abolitionist CJ which values healing and liberation through acts of care and relationality. In contrast to the high visibility of direct action, these quiet practices are not always perceived as environmental work, but they can help rehumanize activists and are connected to the foundation of divestment's theory of change—that radical change cannot occur at the individual level (Ansar et al., 2013). Therefore, it is important for campaigns to ensure that their members who are working towards CJ are adequately taken care of in the process.

The literature on FFD addresses the power that students have as stakeholders to hold their universities accountable. Many authors have also extended this principle of divestment to interrogate power on an individual level by hosting anti-oppression training. Social movement

and FFD scholars suggest that organizers must recognize the power relations within their organizing spaces that are not immune from reproducing the systemic issues that perpetuate the climate crisis (Dixon, 2014; Grady-Benson & Sarathy, 2015). This also extends to how one's power and intersections of identity have the potential to influence a campaign's strategy: who gets heard, and who is in leadership (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014).

Personal stories or examples as a response to questions around safety and group dynamics were limited from White participants. Instead, they either shared examples expressed by minority members or did not perceive there to be any safety concerns within their membership. In contrast, the two racialized participants in this study spoke extensively about the barriers to participating in FFD from their own experience as well as their racialized peers. Furthermore, CJUBC, which has the most diverse membership of the case studies, had shared several incidents regarding membership disputes that led to changes within their structure and internal practices.

The literature indicates that solidarity efforts can show potential members that divestment campaigns have similar values to the group that they are in solidarity with and therefore may not perpetuate some of the problematic behaviours of traditional environmental organizations (Bratman et al., 2016; Rowe et al., 2016). However, this is not always true since FFD campaigns are often the first place of exposure to anti-oppressive practices and the concept of CJ for young people (Curnow & Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014). When racialized members at CJUBC wanted to introduce events or initiatives that were clearly linked to CJ, White members in leadership positions were hesitant to approve. Racialized members were then burdened with the task of educating their peers on the connection between their proposed initiative and the FFD campaign. This act of gatekeeping made racialized members feel as if their perspectives and

knowledge of CJ needed to be justified. Participants argued that if more racialized people held leadership positions, it may have been easier to reach an understanding and if necessary, defend the legitimacy of the climate work that was proposed to their fellow White members. Situations like these further alienate people from minority groups and have led to a lack of retention of racialized international students according to the participants.

A lack of diverse memberships can be attributed to Homophily which is the propensity to develop relationships and networks with similar people (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). This has the potential to unintentionally exclude people from non-dominant communities and can create racial division (McPherson et al., 2001). Grosse (2019) found that White organizers have a fear of perpetuating tokenism and as expressed by my participants, they are unsure of how to appropriately recruit underrepresented students. One strategy implemented by organizers in Grosse's (2019) study was to broaden their social networks and create friendships with diverse organizations. Not only will this introduce diverse individuals into the campaign, but it is integral to cross-movement solidarity. Additionally, organizers should examine their current approaches to recruitment (Blue et al., 2019) and identify the challenges that minority populations confront when deciding if they want to be involved (Blue et al., 2019). This includes a recognition of the history of exclusion of in the environmental sector and a campaign's potential to perpetuate systemic racism (Dixon, 2014; Scott, 2014).

Prefigurative organizing aims to achieve just interaction within social movements (Dixon, 2014). Activists build trust and empowerment through democratic and non-hierarchical decision-making processes, and horizontal leadership structures can give multiple organizers the opportunity to lead (Dixon, 2014; Grosse, 2019). Although FFD campaigns implement these approaches, organizers grapple with the challenges of sustaining formal participation structures.

For example, participants recognized that there was a lack of diversity in their membership, however, there were no strategic recruitment plans to intentionally seek out underrepresented populations. The shortcoming of informal models of decision making and recruitment is that it can exacerbate the low participation and retention of international and racialized students as speculated by participants at CJUBC. And because most members share similar values, there was a false assumption that members would only express support for causes that were aligned with their values. This explains the absence of conflict resolution protocols in all three cases (and later established by CJUBC) that could have helped address disagreements and prevented members from leaving DC.

To mitigate conflict, many social movements aim for consensus in decision-making through open discussion (Belliveau, 2018; Dixon, 2014). But this approach, though seemingly equitable, can remove the opportunity for members to voice their dissent—a concern expressed by several participants. Another shortfall of consensus-based decision-making is that the opinion of a minority who fail to grasp the intersections of CJ issues can discourage radical CJ approaches as evident in the hesitancy to support a statement of solidarity for Palestine at CJUBC. These conflicts have resulted in members supporting external groups on their own without the support of the divestment campaign behind them. Fraser's (1997) framework of recognition entails identifying the power imbalances that exist throughout participatory models to ensure that they are fair and inclusive and that minorities' perspectives are heard. This is especially important in climate activism where women and racialized people are underrepresented in positions of leadership (Scott, 2014). An alternative method is modified consensus (Dixon, 2014), a practice that CJUBC established which can include giving more weight to the opinion of those who would be most affected by a decision.

Social movements are transformative when marginalized people who have experienced discrimination from power imbalances are at the forefront of tackling issues that stem from these uneven structures (Dixon, 2014). As evident in the findings, non-White members and members outside of the dominant group pushed their campaigns to have more of an intersectional understanding of CJ which informed their campaign strategies. However, White organizers shouldn't have to wait to hear the concerns from their racialized peers to make changes. There should be an ongoing process of reflexivity and acknowledgement of power imbalances (Dixon, 2014). This can be mitigated by continuing to offer various levels of engagement and anti-oppression training coupled with a deep and continuous reflection on one's power relations on an interpersonal scale.

Contradictions of Solidarity

Recognitional justice is understanding that because climate change impacts various social issues, CJ movements should work in solidarity with other social movements. Therefore, building alternative economies that are democratic and represent the values of the majority is important. To make up for the lack of success in negotiations with the university, FFD campaigns operationalized CJ through solidarity actions and education. The act of solidarity forces a group of people to choose a side and social movements often support the side of those most marginalized and therefore acknowledge the inequity that these groups face (Kolers, 2018). Kolers (2018) argues that even if the actions that come out of solidarity efforts are unsuccessful, the intrinsic value of choosing the side that promotes equitable treatment is powerful. Participants recognized the importance of connecting social issues to environmental and climate issues due to the shared roots of all types of injustice.

Solidarity has been used by groups that share a similar type of exploitation or injustice, often within specific locations (Curnow and Helferty, 2018). Solidarity work can help organizers learn about how to best collaborate with external groups to complement each other's campaigns and generate more powerful movements. Solidarity also brings the notion of intersectionality that is integral to CJ into practice by broadening the scope of organizations that campaigns can create alliances with. This can help FFD campaigns expand their networks outside of the environmental sector (Bratman et al., 2016) and towards movements that aim for the same goals of just transitions and liberation such as the BDS movement (Rowe et al., 2016).

Solidarity and collaboration with communities affected by climate injustice and adjacent systems are pathways for privileged students living in the wealthy Global North to challenge climate injustice (Rowe et al., 2016) and support their sovereignty. However, Curnow and Helferty (2018) argue that some harms can be reproduced by a privileged group towards the group they are in solidarity with. Solidarity cannot erase the power imbalances that exist between them, rather it makes the power relations more apparent. By raising awareness through their organization, their allyship acts as a validation of the experiences and demands of marginalized groups, making them implicit in the devaluation of these communities. These innocent acts of solidarity can bleed into saviourism and acts to absolve a privileged group's guilt for their power.

Considering these risks, there can be a hesitation to engage in solidarity work. But disengaging from solidarity further centres White guilt because of the uncomfortable position that the contradiction of solidarity brings forth (Curnow and Helferty, 2018). Anxiety about how to engage with Indigenous communities for example does not absolve FFD campaigns from engaging in decolonial work and amplifying and supporting the calls to action that frontline communities put out. These are similar to my findings where organizers believed their solidarity

efforts were insufficient yet were unaware of how to connect with frontline communities respectfully. Curnow and Helferty (2018) suggest that activists should continue to engage in solidarity but be mindful of the potential risks and contradictions that the practice can perpetuate. In addition, they should challenge settler colonialism and racism that exist within their movements.

The complete and active participation of various stakeholders in addressing environmental and health problems is a crucial component of planetary health, and it brings the expertise of many throughout data collection, analysis and implementation (Charron, 2012). Since effective participation demands consensus and cooperation within and across groups, renegotiation is an ongoing process (Charron, 2012). As groups become more familiar with one another's priorities and perspectives, mutual trust and respect grow (Charron, 2012). Himmelman (1996) suggests a move toward collaborative empowerment which is a process that begins with and integrates community throughout a given project by which the objectives are determined by community. This approach not only supports the self-determination of a community, but it also allows for long-term ownership of an initiative.

Himmelman (1996) admits that building trust amongst organizations and community is challenging, especially from communities that have historically been excluded. Participants also shared that without trust, asking for collaborations from communities and external groups felt limited and transactional rather than collaborative. Therefore, the intention of building collaborative empowerment must go beyond the intention of organizers and involves the accommodation of a diverse set of values. Collaborative empowerment has the potential to influence organizers to change their own practices and prioritizations. This approach in FFD would require consultation from Indigenous and local communities as well as stakeholders of the

university such as students and campus groups. Using this approach can also result in transformational and intersectional alliances where groups can learn how their peers are tackling their mutually beneficial targets and can serve as a forum for sharing resources and knowledge.

Recognitional justice is also about accountability, and therefore frontline solidarity and reparations for historical debt are ways to operationalize this principle (Chatterton et al., 2013). Prior to this study, I had the assumption that a large part of the community reinvestment projects that FFD campaigns were developing aligned closest with the idea of reparations (Gibson & Duram, 2020). But, in practice, it is about generating profitable investment opportunities and so many communities or projects are limited in receiving the support they need. It also takes a lot of labour to begin a reinvestment campaign such as the time and skill to research the best investments, consult with community members and advocate to the university. CJUBC was in the position to do this work because they had a coalition with two other schools and staff support from a campus group. But with the lack of resources, unpaid labour and burnout that many activists experienced in their FFD campaigns, they may not be in a position to pursue this on the same scale.

Going further, community reinvestment campaigns that are informed by CJ can look like redistributing wealth to communities most affected by social, economic and environmental injustices through reparations, mutual aid and the transfer of land ownership. Organizers can also leverage their university's existing goals and commitments such as ensuring that UNDRIP is upheld through FFD so that communities have the free, prior and informed consent to reject green extractivism. On a local scale, this can look like advocating for energy justice which would require community-centred approaches to renewable projects. With the trend of decolonizing academia that has become more popular following the recommendations from the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission, Rowe, Chalykoff & Goldblatt (2019) recommend that campaigns continue to use these opportunities to point out the contradictions of their school's reinvestment plans should they be dependent on worsening the climate crisis.

Conclusion

The contradictions outlined in this chapter indicate the divestment strategies, participation structures and solidarity efforts that FFD campaigns engage in have the potential to exacerbate the harms that organizers claim to be against. Not all of these practices are inherently wrong as they are well-intentioned and have valuable aspects. But it is the contradictions, many of which were expressed as barriers by participants, that make space for CJ work to be more anti-oppressive and radical. In identifying these contradictions, I have described several opportunities for FFD campaigns to apply CJ further (See Table 7). These include monitoring the reinvestment of divested funds to ensure that harm is not further perpetuated by investment in other exploitative sectors, to incorporate intentional recruitment strategies and formalized processes for decision-making and conflict resolution to gain and retain diverse organizers, to recognize power on an ongoing basis, and to prioritize the creation and maintenance of long-term relationships in their solidarity efforts.

An examination of power relations must be centred to achieve transformative CJ (Newell et al., 2021). Recognizing power relations through anti-oppression training and informed practices also means that organizers must acknowledge its existence not only in the environmental sector but also within organizing spaces (Dixon, 2014). In order to avoid the reproduction of inequity within their spaces, organizers must introduce and maintain practices rooted in liberation, solidarity and self-determination (Dixon, 2014). This must be both intentional and agitating. In my findings, dissent and conflict were the catalysts required to

change campaign practices. As with the core of CJ being recognition and participation of those most impacted by the climate crisis, campaigns must also make space to listen, be led by, and make a safe space for members who have been at the brunt of oppression of all types.

Table 7. Summary of recommendations

Climate Justice Principle	**Recommendations**
To strengthen the principle of Values	- Consistent use of moral argument for FFD - Ask university to publicly denounce the fossil fuel industry - Monitor the reinvestment of divested funds - CJ education for members and community - Reject false solutions - Leverage university existing goals/declarations (UNDRIP, UNPRI etc.) - Consider name change to represent CJ values and overall goals - Campaign for a community reinvestment policy
To strengthen the principle of Participation	- Create intentional recruitment strategies to attract unrepresented populations - Create formalized processes for decision-making and conflict resolution and recruitment to gain and retain members ex. modified consensus, third party facilitator - Recognize interpersonal power relations on an ongoing basis ex. regular anti-oppression trainings or discussions - Broaden social networks and create relationships with members from diverse organizations - Implement care-based practices by prioritizing community-building, accessibility, and safety - Offer multiple levels of engagement outside of direct action - More BIPOC in leadership positions - Accessibility ex. providing alternative texts to images and live captioning during online events, sharing preferred pronouns, ASL interpretation, translated material, free childcare and host events at different times - Create space for socializing and forming relationships outside of campaigning - Ask for representation of FFD organizers, Indigenous peoples and community members on university Boards
To strengthen the principle of Recognition	- Make solidarity part of campaign goals - Make an effort to join/create alliances with social-justice groups - Recognize group power dynamics between campaign and groups in solidarity with on an ongoing basis

	- Prioritize the creation and maintenance of long-term relationships in solidarity efforts - Use a collaborative empowerment approach to consultation ex. objectives of a project are determined by community, they are given long-term ownership or co-ownership, there is an accommodation of a diverse set of values outside of campaign - Create transformative reinvestment campaigns ex. into redistributing wealth to communities most affected by social, economic and environmental injustices through reparations, mutual aid and the transfer of land ownership. - If solidarity is dependant on individual relationships, ensure there is succession planning or try to expand that one-on-one relationship with the org as a whole - More CJ education for increased understanding of need for solidarity work

Chapter 6: Conclusion

My research sought to answer if, and how, university-based FFD campaigns are applying CJ principles in their strategies and practices. My objectives were to identify:

1) How CJ principles have been operationalized in post-divestment campaigns;

2) What barriers campaigns face to integrate CJ; and

3) Opportunities for applying CJ further

The principle of Values that prioritizes the rights of people and the planet before profit was operationalized through CJ messaging in the campaign narratives and popular education, and the consistent rejection of false solutions. The principle of Participation that informs equitable movement-building practices was operationalized through community-building and catering to individual access needs. And finally, the principle of Recognition that suggests a commitment to solidarity and supporting Indigenous and frontline sovereignty was operationalized through community-wide consultation, relationships, and reinvestment. Participants expressed several barriers in their attempts to integrate CJ principles into their campaigns. The conflict of values between university administration and FFD organizers was a barrier to Values, the overrepresentation of White organizers and the lack of formal organizational structures and democratic opportunities was a barrier to Participation, and the lack of intersectionality, long-term relationships and trust was a barrier to Recognition.

In addition to these barriers, several contradictions were made visible between participants' intentions to align with CJ in contrast to their campaign practices. The contradictions of divestment can reinforce the market logic and solutions that CJ scholars and activists have rejected, and reinvestment in renewable energy is not completely immune from extraction and exploitation of the land and people (Neville, 2020). The contradictions of

participation illustrate that the aspiration for diverse membership cannot be realized unless organizers reflect on their power relations and implement adequate recruitment, conflict resolution, and decision making protocols. And the contradictions of solidarity highlights the uneven relationships between FFD campaigns and the groups they strive to be in solidarity with.

I have proposed several opportunities for FFD campaigns to engage in CJ further and confront the barriers described in the previous chapter. Next, I describe the methodological limitations of this study found within the recruitment strategy, data collection and study design. I then address the implications of this study and its potential contribution to the fields of CJ, health and planetary health, and the FFD movement. Finally, I propose directions for further research.

Limitations

My recruitment letter (Appendix D) asked each campaign to connect me with the top three people who were most involved and to act as key informants and be interviewed. The limitation of this method was there was a likelihood that my sample of participants may be lacking in diversity. This is because the membership of FFD campaigns is made up of primarily White university students (Curnow and Gross, 2017; Grady-Benson, 2014; Rowe et al., 2016). By centring the voices of White climate activists, my research could replicate the injustice of excluding diverse perspectives in climate research (Blue et al., 2019; Dixon, 2014; Scott, 2014). Only two out of ten participants in my study sample identified as persons of colour (See Table 4). Not only did they tend to be more critical of participatory injustice and the lack of CJ understanding by some of their peers, but they were also able to speak directly of their experience of inclusion and exclusion in the campaign. Furthermore, many of the stories that participants shared with me about members who helped create a cultural shift in their organizational practices and pushed their campaigns to be more intersectional were from

minority populations. I was unable to go into detail of their stories in my findings because I did not want to risk identifying these members. Further research on the barriers to CJ practices from the perspectives of organizers from minority groups would be incredibly valuable.

Another issue that arose related to my recruitment strategy was that many organizers from CJUBC could not speak from their direct experience on divestment. I realized that this occurred because my recruitment letter asked for members who were "most involved". Although all participants were identified as heavily involved, because the campaign succeeded nearly two years before my data collection, those involved at the time of this study and those involved during the bulk of the campaign were not identical. I mitigated this by recruiting an additional informant who could provide me with a more detailed history of the campaign.

My position as a FFD organizer, though making me an insider to the research, may have evoked bias from key informants. Social desirability bias can occur when participants respond to a question seeking to present themselves or what they represent in a positive light (Bergen & Labonté, 2020). In my research, this bias may have been present because participants could have positioned their responses to make it seem like their practices were aligned with CJ. Because my research examined the practical implementations of the CJ principles, this limited bias as my data analysis was not solely reliant on a participant's personal perspectives, but rather their campaign's broader story. Furthermore, participants were asked about the barriers to implementing CJ and as my findings indicate, they were willing to critique their campaigns. A technique recommended by Bergen & Labonté (2020) to minimize social desirability bias is to ask participants for examples to pull more detail from their response to a question. This was where probing prompts were employed (See Appendix D). For example, when asking about membership socio-demographics, in cases where participants named one demographic and did

not provide details on other demographics, I followed up with a prompt to give examples of other types of data that I was interested in learning about. If a topic was mentioned briefly earlier in the interview, I referred to the original response and ask the question again with probing prompts to gain more details.

In a case study design, there is the risk of getting too much data (Yin, 2009**)**. It can be time-intensive to manage multiple data sources and researchers do not have the opportunity to thoroughly analyze every aspect of a case (Yin, 2009**)**. This becomes more evident in multiple case studies where time for data collection and analysis is split between cases (Yin, 2009)**.** I limited my data sources to interviews from key informants and two easily accessible public campaign documents in order to secure enough time to thoroughly manage all my data sources. However, all campaigns shared additional documents with me making my anticipated average of six documents triple. Considering this and the limits of a Masters' Thesis, I have not addressed every barrier that FFD campaigns faced in the outline of recommendations presented in Chapter 5. For example, I have not identified a solution to deal with the conservative campus culture of the University of Waterloo that negatively impacted FFUW's solidarity efforts. I also did not include every barrier or implication that was unique to each case. I decided to use a multiple case-study to develop research that could be more generalizable and could identify several CJ practices and barriers that other FFD campaigns and movements could find useful. I view the unique trials of each case as an indicator that further research can be applied in this area through a single-case study to provide a deeper look into one campaign.

Implications

Fossil fuel projects add significant social, environmental, and public health costs, both directly and indirectly (Huseman & Short, 2012). Despite contributing the least to climate

change, the distribution of harms has a disproportionate impact on BIPOC populations (Tokar, 2014). The impacts of fossil fuels are not limited to pollution but includes destroying cultures and livelihoods of Indigenous peoples (Huseman & Short, 2012) along with increasing drug abuse, gender-based violence, and human trafficking that are linked to fossil fuel projects (Fredericks et al., 2018). Lang and Rayner (2012) contend that Western capitalism, which prioritizes economic expansion over health, is to blame for the decline of ecological public health. The 18th century global energy transition exemplified the value for exponential wealth and this value has been perpetuated through institutional investments in fossil fuels.

It is critical to acknowledge that social and environmental challenges are inextricably linked to, and exacerbated by, climate change. The fields of Health Sciences and Public Health are in the position to confront various global health crises and social determinants of health through an integration and consideration of CJ principles. Public health and the bodies that regulate, investigate, and research health must consider the interconnectedness of health and our ecological systems. This idea has been articulated through the field of planetary health and can be established by recognizing the value of multiple perspectives when identifying climate issues and solutions through a transdisciplinary approach (Charron, 2012). This research can also serve to help scholars apply the principles of CJ into the decision-making structures and recruitment practices of health research. Additionally, the risks and recommendations raised by the contradictions of solidarity may be especially useful for health research that often involves working with community members and seeking traditional knowledge from Indigenous peoples to tackle complex environmental and health problems.

Although there is existing literature on successful FFD campaigns, far less studies examine what happens after these campaigns succeed. My research sought to fill that gap in the

literature on FFD and critically analyzed the practical implications of integrating CJ in the movement. By exploring not only how, but if FFD campaigns operationalize CJ principles, I identified the possibility that there were gaps in organizers' understanding and application of CJ. This was evident in some of the concerns raised in the literature and the contradictions I outlined in Chapter 5. Participants expressed that though barriers exist, they are grappling with overcoming them and identifying opportunities to ground CJ more deeply into their practices. Rather than affirming the positive operation of CJ campaigns, my research provides constructive feedback and opportunities for improvement which is far more beneficial to social movements (Bevington & Dixon, 2005).

The process of examining campaign documents and being in conversation with organizers has allowed me to interrogate how CJ could have been better operationalized in my divestment campaign and has inspired me to implement some of the practices that participants shared with me. Likewise, the findings and interview process offered the opportunity for organizers to become introspective about their campaigns and push them to consider the challenges of operationalizing CJ principles. As current FFD campaigns are navigating the application of CJ, this study aspires to inform their future practices. Collective learning and sharing resources within organizing spaces and networks are not only common but crucial to sustaining social movements (Polletta, 2002). Participants as well as other FFD organizers can use the findings from their peers to learn how they have attempted to align CJ principles with their campaign goals and facilitate inclusive participation and solidarity work, and what particular resources are required to apply CJ further. The unique application of a CJ framework within the organizing space of FFD campaigns also contributes to the growing literature on CJ application that recommends place-based research (Bulkeley et al., 2013; Schlosberg; 2012).

I encourage scholars in CJ to expand on this research by seeking the perspectives of activists from minority groups who can share the opportunities and barriers of CJ integration based on their lived-experiences. The CJ principles framework can serve to support the integration of CJ in other campaigns or organizations that consider themselves part of the CJ movement. There is also an opportunity to further explore the contradictions of participatory practices, solidarity efforts and climate solutions of activists through a single case study that can more deeply research the experiences and perspectives of a single campaign or initiative. Finally, this study could be expanded to explore more examples of the practical implementation of CJ principles, or elements of it, in other settings such as in other countries or in the health sector.

Conclusion

While we fight to dismantle systems, what are we creating in their place? Are we making sure organizing culture is safe and accessible? Are we ensuring our efforts are utilizing an intersectional approach? Are we investing in the repair of communities devastated by the climate crisis? Or are we just redistributing private wealth from one harmful industry to another? FFD is an excellent gateway for budding activists to start engaging in transformative CJ practices, but we should expect more from the climate advocates of our time. CJ is not limited to abandoning the traditional practices of climate solutions that rely on market-based strategies or financial arguments for divestment, but it works towards solutions that intentionally do not replicate the harms of our current system. Practicing CJ involves a care-based and planetary health approach that seeks to take care of our various human and non-human relations in order to take care of ourselves. FFD campaigns can be a pathway to transformative systems that value care, solidarity and collective action; a place to put one's values and academic theories into practice.

By helping to transition away from fossil fuels and embodying change within our organizing structures, we can work to create healthier, safer and more equitable communities. FFD has the potential to open up conversations on how we can build a just and regenerative economy, how to shift capital away from harmful corporations and to communities who deserve it and broaden who gets to decide what counts as CJ work. I believe that operationalizing the practices outlined in this study has the potential to evolve FFD campaigns from one-off, symbolic victories, to long-term and empowering movements.

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Appendix A - Information Letter

From Divestment to Climate Justice: Perspectives from University Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaigns

Thank you for your interest in this research project. Your time and help are truly appreciated. This sheet gives some basic information on the research, what you can expect, and how the data will be handled and used in the future. If anything is unclear or you want more information, please feel free to ask any question you wish; contact details are at the end of this document.

What is this research about?
This research seeks to explore if and how university-based fossil fuel divestment campaigns are applying climate justice principles in their strategies and practices. The broader goal of this research is to explore the barriers faced by campaigns to integrate climate justice, and to articulate the particular resources and supports required to apply climate justice further. Results from the study are intended to inform fossil fuel divestment and climate justice organizers, as well as scholars doing work in these areas.

What is being requested of me?
You are being invited to participate in this research because you are involved in a university-based fossil fuel divestment campaign. As a key member of **[campaign name]** I am asking you to participate in a Zoom interview approximately 90 minutes in length to share your knowledge and perspectives about your campaign**.** With your permission, the interview will be audio and video-recorded. Your participation is completely voluntary; you may refuse to answer any questions, or withdraw from the study at any time. I am also requesting access to your public campaign documents: one key presentation (video, PDF or powerpoint format with speaking notes) that your campaign has presented that can describe the demands, rationale and/or history of your campaign, as well as one additional campaign document that you believe would best suit this study.

Are there any benefits or risks I should be aware of?
Conducting this interview will help me understand how climate justice has been operationalized by fossil fuel divestment campaigns. It will also help me learn about the challenges and limitations to operationalizing climate justice and make recommendations to the fossil fuel divestment movement. This research will give your campaign the chance to learn about the ways that other fossil fuel divestment campaigns facilitate effective participation and solidarity, and how they align climate justice principles with their campaign goals. The findings and interview process may offer the opportunity for you to become introspective about your campaign, and push you to reflect on the challenges of operationalizing climate justice. The findings and recommendations of this research also aim to support the broader fossil fuel divestment movement. While there are very few perceived risks from participating in this research, I recognize that some questions may be perceived as sensitive, and you may not want certain

information made available. Your participation is voluntary and you are only being asked to offer information you feel comfortable sharing with us. One potential risk to being identified by name in this project is that what you say in an interview may hinder the relationship your campaign has with your university, or your relationship with your fellow organizers or the broader fossil fuel divestment movement. To mitigate this, you will have the opportunity to review the cleaned transcript following their interview. If you choose to be anonymous, given the small and well connected network of Canadian fossil fuel divestment, anonymity may be difficult to guarantee. This is because you may be identified by your position as a key organizer and thus risk being connected to your campaign. If you choose to be anonymous, I will do everything in my power to ensure that there is no identifying material in the distribution of my research findings.

How should I expect to be treated?
This research aims to maintain the highest standards of ethical conduct and integrity. Centrally, this means that in participating in this research you should feel that you, and your contribution to this research, have been treated with respect. Participation is entirely voluntary and all information offered will be treated in good faith. You are welcome to refuse to participate, withdraw from the research at any time and refuse to answer any of the questions asked without any negative consequences for yourself or your organization. All questions about the research, its aims and outcomes will be answered openly and honestly. While I retain final editorial control over what we choose to write, you are free to withdraw any information you have contributed at any stage by contacting us and indicating your wish to do so.

What will happen to the data after it is collected?
If requested, nothing you say will be attributed to you individually. Your anonymity will always be the number one priority. Only members of the research team will have access to the interview transcript and identifiable materials (including recordings, notes and your consent form). All raw data, recordings and typing up of interviews will be encrypted and stored on password protected computers and in locked filing cabinets for up to five years and then destroyed. The final research results will be submitted as part of a master's thesis.

If you have further questions about these processes or feel uncomfortable with any aspect of them, please let us know as soon as possible.

Thank you again for your time and assistance,

Shadiya Aidid
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Appendix B - Recruitment Text

Email subject line: Request for participation in research study on fossil fuel divestment

Dear [name of case],

I am contacting your campaign about participating in a research study titled **From Divestment to Climate Justice: Perspectives from University Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaigns.** This research seeks to explore if and how university-based fossil fuel divestment campaigns are applying climate justice principles in their strategies and practices. The broader goal of this research is to explore the barriers faced by campaigns to integrate climate justice, and to articulate the particular resources and supports required to apply climate justice further. Results from the study are intended to inform fossil fuel divestment and climate justice organizers, as well as scholars doing work in these areas.

This study will involve the participation of (3) members who are most involved with [name of case] in one-on-one Zoom interviews, approximately 90 minutes in length. This study will also require access to public campaign documents.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you are interested in participating, please respond to this email or contact me by phone to receive more information about the project.

Sincerely,

Shadiya Aidid
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Department of Health Sciences
Lakehead University
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Appendix C - Consent Form

Name of Participant _____
(please print)

I have discussed the details of this research project and agree to participate in the research.

I understand that the purpose of the research is to study how university fossil fuel divestment campaigns operationalize climate justice.

I understand that my participation in this study will bring minimal risks or harm.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time for any reason without penalty.

I understand that there is no obligation to answer any questions that I feel are invasive, offensive or inappropriate.

I understand that I have the right to be anonymous in this study if I choose to.

I understand that anonymity means that all potential identifying information will be kept confidential and I will remain anonymous in all distributions of research findings.

I understand I may ask questions of the researcher at any point during the research process.

I understand that the data I provide will be securely stored at Lakehead University for a minimum of 5 years following completion of this project

I give permission to have this interview audio and video-recorded.

☐ Yes ☐ No

I give permission for my name to be used in publications and presentations.

☐ Yes ☐ No

Would you like to receive a copy of the research results?

☐ Yes ☐ No

I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project as stated above.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature Date

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact Charles Levkoe at clevkoe@lakeadu.ca or +1 (807)-346-7954. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant in general, please contact Sue Wright at the Research Ethics Board at research@lakeheadu.ca or +1 (807)-343-8283.

Appendix D - Interview Guide

Date: _____

Interviewee: _____

Background Information (to email prior to interview)

Demographics Questions

1. What are your pronouns?
2. What is your age?
3. What is your race?
4. What is your current level of education?

Preliminary Questions

1. What is your role and responsibilities?
2. What was your campaign's demand(s) and why was it chosen?
3. What did your university commit to?
4. What strategies did your campaign employ?
5. What was the key turning point(s) that led to a divestment commitment?

Theme	**Question**	**Probe**
Values	What does climate justice mean to you?	
	How do you see climate justice being operationalized in a real-life context?	
	Why do you campaign for fossil fuel divestment?	
	What are the core values of fossil fuel divestment?	
	How do you think climate justice was integrated into your campaign?	In divestment arguments or in demands etc.
	Were there any challenges in integrating climate justice at any point in your campaign?	
Recognition	Does your campaign educate your members and your community on climate justice?	If so, how?

	What kinds of solidarity work does your campaign engage in?	Supporting, organizing, or collaborating on actions etc. How did this relationship develop? Does this relationship influence your strategies or practices? If so, how? If N/A, do you think it would be helpful? Why or why not? What about solidarity with frontline/Indigenous communities?
	Has your campaign done any work on reinvestment or a similar initiative?	If so, why and how? If N/A, do you think it would be helpful? Why or why not?
Participation	Can you describe your membership?	Age, gender, race, education etc. Membership structure (ex. group roles, leadership, formal/informal etc.)
	How does your campaign ensure members feel safe and welcome?	What is your campaign's decision-making process? How are disputes handled?
	What is your campaign's recruitment process?	Are there any voices and perspectives that are missing? Are there any barriers to participating in your campaign?
Success and Barriers	Can you tell me about your campaign's successes?	
	What were the main barriers in your campaign?	Externally (ex. university) Internally (ex. members/divestment network)

	What resources and supports was your campaign missing?	
	Is there anything your campaign would have done differently?	
Looking Forward	What are the next steps for your campaign?	
	What resources and supports does your campaign need now?	
	Do you think divestment commitments can be leveraged for further progress?	If so, how? If not, why?
	What are your aspirations for your campaign and for the divestment movement?	
Closing Questions	Is there anything else you would like to add?	
	What is the best way to share my research findings with your campaign?	Presentation, document, poem etc.

Appendix E - Codebook

Theme	Subtheme	Description	Illustrative Quote
Values	Climate Justice Messaging	Understandings of climate justice by organizers and communication of climate justice to membership, community and administration. Includes the objectives and core values of divestment such as divestment theory of change and the motivations to campaign for divestment	Anna B. (CJUBC): "[Fossil Fuel Divestment is] about sanctioning an industry for its violence against Indigenous people, its breaking of treaties and forcing pipelines through unceded land, its poisoning of water and creating places like Cancer Alley in Louisiana, and the poison [in the] Niger delta. The idea that its carbon impact is not where the impact of the industry ends and UBC needs to acknowledge that in its divestment."
	The Conflict of Values Between Students & Neoliberal Universities	Barriers to operationalizing values such as administration, neoliberal capitalism, false solutions, and campus culture.	Michelle (CJUBC): "It's all just about business. It's all about how do we make as much money as possible? And them being very legally conservative not willing to take any risks, and not seeing themselves as political actors in society. Really, I think neoliberalism is the big challenge. That they see their job as running it like a corporation and don't really think about the impact that the university has on society."

	Limitations of Divestment	Divestment operates within the stock market. Universities can still be invested in unethical companies after they commit to divestment from fossil fuels	Guy (FFUW): "We cannot just invest in biofuels that end up displacing farmers instead of displacing people near oil deposits. We can't just invest in Tesla and renewables that displace people living near lithium deposits instead of oil… we can't market-based approach our way out of climate change. It has to be very political."
Participation	Fostering Safety and Inclusivity Through Community, Accessibility and Care	How campaigns foster inclusivity and safety by considering access needs and risks, offering different levels of engagement and encouraging community building practices	Anna M. (CJUBC): "Providing safety, providing comfort, providing access is the full-time job of that working group a lot of the time alongside education. And I think at first I felt like this wasn't the real climate work because it's easy to only think of climate work as going to actions and things like that. But really, I think climate justice work involves so

			many different levels of engagement."
	The Role of Diversity and the Effects of White-dominated Spaces	A lack of diversity and structure creates barriers to participation and leads to practices that negatively impact members	Anna M. (CJUBC): "I had to go through kind of an extra step of the coordinating team, almost like asking for permission. And since all the coordinators were White I and I am not, it did feel like there was a bit of a dynamic there."
Recognition	Solidarity and Sovereignty	How and why campaigns engage in solidarity work with local and global frontline communities to support their sovereignty	Taylor (FFUW): "We in Canada are disproportionately responsible for emissions globally... so I feel like I have to fight as hard as I can to do something about that."
	Collaboration, Building Trust & Developing Reciprocal Relationships	How solidarity work is mobilized through pre-existing relationships	Emily (DC): "Part of what's necessary is creating relationships when it's not popular and when it's not obvious and when there isn't suddenly a social movement built up"
	Community Reinvestment	Can be a tool to address the limits to divestment and support frontline sovereignty	Anna M. (CJUBC): "[Community reinvestment is] fighting the bad while building the new"
	The Fear of "Not doing enough"	Solidarity can be passive and limited by a lack of capacity and long-term relationships	Taylor (FFUW): "We have not reached out in the ways that we need to… It's always been sort of like we need you and will you sign on to be part of this? Rather than

	finding ways to work together.”

Note. Acronyms: Climate Justice UBC (CJUBC), Fossil Free UW (FFUW), and Divest Concordia (DC).