Introduction

Staged as a UN Special Session at ODUMUNC, the Climate Change Conference of the Parties 28 (CoP 28) simulates the 28th annual meeting to monitor and guide implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The 1992 Convention remains the primary international agreement guiding UN Member States as they address the issues of global climate change.

CoP 28 met from 30 November to 12 December 2023. ODUMUNC delegates should think of their version as a replay. Hopefully it brings better results. But that is not guaranteed.

Previous CoPs have negotiated major agreements on implementation of the UNFCCC, most spectacularly the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and the 2015 Paris Convention on climate change mitigation, adaptation, and finance. The Paris Convention established basic global goals and national targets on global temperature change and greenhouse gas emissions. Whether CoP28 at ODUMUNC is remembered as a monument to climate progress, or a diplomatic disappointment, remains to be seen.

For decades, the presence of Historically Marginalized Voices, activists from diverse backgrounds, and civil society organizations has always been a significant aspect of the CoP’s near-annual international meetings. Gathering in the section of the conference available for public entry, advocates engage in inclusive conversations which are less prevalent within the CoP-only zones (Burke-White, 2019). The conference is an opportunity for climate advocates to converse with each other on proposed solutions and systemic changes and make global connections with like-minded advocates.

Despite the various agreements and policies developed by the CoP, the influences of political tactics and prioritization of the wealthiest nations’ interests - at the detriment of Historically Marginalized groups - has proven to be a pervasive challenge in generating sustainable solutions. Over time, the CoP’s
implementation of policies which ultimately contributed to exacerbations of global inequalities (Friedman et al., 2021), has caused efforts centered on achieving climate resilience to stagnate.

When discussing the future of climate policymaking and overcoming barriers to climate action progression, the resilience, knowledge, and innovation of Historically Marginalized Voices is invaluable insight. Though the contributions of Historically Marginalized Voices throughout history have been minimized, they are ‘The most vital voices pushing back against these systemic problems in favor of meaningful and ambitious climate action (HRW, 2023).’ Historically Marginalized Voices have always been at the forefront of climate activism, advocating for adjustments to climate crisis management and expanding inclusivity in the construction of solutions.

Background

**Loss & Damage:** A significant topic of discussion at the previous CoP27, the usage of the phrase Loss & Damage describes the adverse impacts of these environmental disturbances on one’s security and quality of life. (UNEP, 2022) The progression of the climate crisis highlights the severity of these ramifications. Climate disasters - such as floods, droughts, or ocean acidification - pose increasing dangers to climate-vulnerable communities through resultant health risks, food insecurity, and infrastructure destruction. The Loss & Damage incurred upon communities is devastating, both psychologically and to their security, and requires significant financial assistance to repair.

*Climate-Vulnerability:* The concept of Climate-Vulnerability describes the impact of conditions and circumstances on the climate-related risk an individual faces. This can be simplified as the following descriptive formula:

\[
\text{Exposure} + \text{Sensitivity} = \text{Impact}
\]

(GIZ-México, 2015)

Certain factors to Exposure - such as geographic location, access to sustainable resources, or infrastructural integrity - influence the potential risks one might face. A drought could devastate an agriculturally reliant community, a flood could cause significant harm to residents of a coastal community, and so on. The element of Sensitivity refers to a community’s ability to adapt to a climate disturbance, and the resources available to them in the recovery process.

An individual's circumstances influence their ability to react to climate disturbances and can either help or hinder them in efforts to mitigate risk. Factors such as a community’s access to healthcare, financial resources, and secure food and water sources, determine the measures they are capable of taking in the recovery process. Exposure is the risk a community faces, and Sensitivity is their ability to adapt and respond to it. Together, these facets of the Impact are representative of the *Climate-Vulnerability* a community faces.
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Throughout history, certain communities have faced discrimination, injustices, and civic alienation, which created circumstances of systemic oppression. These Historically Marginalized Voices, whose needs have been overwhelmingly ignored by policymakers, have been forced to manage the resultant inequalities which have been exacerbated by the worsening state of the climate crisis. The influences of racism, colonialism, and classism in policy-making force communities into conditions which have a limited access to resources, and thus make them more vulnerable to climate-related risks (IPCC, 2022).

These systemic limitations impede on these communities’ opportunities for financial growth, access to non-discriminatory healthcare, and control over the policies in place to implement disaster-response. Additionally, the lack of consideration for the needs of young people in global policymaking creates a particularly contentious issue for young generations to advocate for, as they are denied a voice in climate discussions yet face the effects of the crisis equally to adults. Ultimately, the combination of these factors gives Historically Marginalized communities less ability to adapt and respond in the event of a climate disaster.


This need for change in the world of climate justice can be attributed to “a lack of power and representation in political and economic systems” which “makes it difficult for these communities to build climate resilience” (Smith, 2021). Recent efforts have been made to assist developing nations with the Loss and Disaster incurred from these events (see sec. CoP Precedents), though there are still many securities which need further insurance. Protections for the lands and livelihoods of Indigenous communities, reflecting the needs of communities of color - who face the brunt of the adverse effects of climate-related policy decisions - in policy-making, and preservation of the future for the children who will be the ones left with the effects of current actions on the climate crisis, are just some of the points of advocacy being emphasized by Historically Marginalized Voices who are leaders in climate advocacy. Climate injustices have become most prevalent in policy decisions which lack
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inclusive representation and have highlighted the need for Historically Marginalized Voices to be listened to internationally.

Gathered in Glasgow for CoP26, the event’s organizers aimed for it to be a landmark meeting for the body. There were many Historically Marginalized Voices highlighted at the event, with the conference guests invited to speak centering many human rights concerns and emphasizing the importance of supporting the resilience of Indigenous communities internationally. Activists, scientists, world leaders, and climate experts and advocates from all backgrounds, came together to change the future of the international response to climate change.

However, throughout the days of deliberation from the body, it became clear that the decisions emerging from CoP26 would not be as remarkable as intended. Despite a conference in which nearly every speech was deeply both impassioned and informative, highlighting leaders from communities and nations which have consistently faced the brunt of the climate crisis, the body ultimately concluded with a controversial agreement. The final decision which defined the overall international perception of CoP26, was to implement measures to phase down fossil fuels, rather than phasing them out (CNBC International, 2022).

The response to the internationally disappointing culmination of this conference was fierce. Spearheaded by younger generations of climate activists, who felt betrayed by the minimal advances in international efforts to preserve their future, the backlash to CoP26 made it clear that CoP27 would need to regain the trust of the public.

Regarded across the world as the potential revitalization of international cooperation against climate change, world leaders came together in Sharm El-Sheikh with the determination to not just discuss among themselves, but to take action. However, as these efforts for action progressed, the need for significant inclusion of Historically Marginalized Voices in the climate conversation became more prevalent than ever before.

With the risks for Historically Marginalized communities during the climate crisis becoming too severe to be met with a passive response any longer, discussions amongst CoP member states took a more humanitarian approach than in previous years, and primarily revolved around the needs of developing nations. Historically, these states - particularly island nations (Sadat, 2009) - have managed the brunt of worsening climate devastation, while receiving little aid from nations which were benefiting from global economic inequality (Wijaya, 2014).

World leaders at CoP27 seemed invigorated to change this, with the open ceremony setting the tone for a meeting with a responsibility to the global public, taking steps to create a more inclusive response to climate change. Though specifically concerning the needs of developing countries, this shift in approach had the potential to be significant for the future of policymaking which benefits Historically Marginalized groups internationally.

In November of 2022, CoP27 concluded with a milestone agreement among member states. After decades of conveying the need for international responses, a UN body finally addressed the messages of urgency being highlighted by climate-vulnerable developing countries (UNEP, 2022). At the time of the agreement - which resulted in the formation of the Loss and Damage Fund (refer to sec. UN Precedents) - efforts to diversify the priorities and preservation of interests in climate policymaking were in the early stages of implementation and expansion. As the culminating act of the CoP’s most recent conference, the body set a precedent for the
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progression of UN inclusion in climate policymaking. Though a hopeful development for climate activists across the world, the desire for further effective change is strong within the public.

Notably, just about every iteration of the annual meeting is hailed as the one that will change everything for the international response to the climate crisis. As nearly three decades of conferences have come to pass, with the world still on the verge of an irreparable climate disaster, the public’s previously hopeful expectations for CoP28 have been generally disheartened. As time goes on without the purpose for the body’s creation being achieved, the CoP has recognized an increasing need for adjustments to their approach.

The overwhelming public criticism of the CoP, and the greatest challenge against progress that they face, is their lack of success at engaging in Ambitious Action thus far. Ambitious Action is the shift in the international response to climate change which Secretary-General António Guterres has spent many years of his term highlighting. This approach to international cooperation, is the development of solutions which balance viable planning with a climate-visionary perspective (Guterres, 2019).

Nations’ prioritization of shielding themselves from accountability, over the development and implementation of ambitious changes to climate policy, has alienated many members of civil society. Moving forward, the question of how this Ambitious Action will be further implemented and interpreted by world leaders is yet to be seen.

**Current Situation**

Disproportionately to other - more privileged - communities, Historically Marginalized groups are harmed by the adverse effects of climate change. Fueled by systemic racism, colonialism, global economic inequality, the international response to climate change has generally ignored the needs of oppressed communities (The World Bank, n.d).

As the climate crisis escalates, weak inclusivity in climate policy-making bodies has concerning implications for the future of policy decisions, which have the potential to more effectively center human rights and consider the needs of Historically Marginalized groups. Refusal to acknowledge and act upon the needs of the world’s most climate-vulnerable communities, places those who have been Historically Marginalized at higher risk for climate-vulnerability, and exacerbates inequalities which predate the climate crisis. This perpetuates the erasure of Historically Marginalized Voices in climate advocacy, a conversation already pervaded by unequal representation. Weak inclusivity in policymaking thus far has created a system of oppression through forced conditions of climate-vulnerability, which have the potential to be repaired.

Predominant in many discussions of how to best support the resilience of Historically Marginalized communities, is the significance of control over decisions which impact them. Ensured inclusion in climate policymaking would create equal opportunities for individuals from Historically Marginalized contexts to advocate for themselves. This is beneficial for a multitude of reasons, most prominent of which are that an inclusive approach to policymaking uplifts the resilience of Historically Marginalized communities, and generates policy decisions which more effectively tackle the climate issues affecting these groups.

**Green Generation Initiative (GGI):** Founded by climate activist Elizabeth Wathuti in 2016, who was inspired by the devastating effects of deforestation on her community growing up, the GGI was designed to uplift communities in the
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face of these disturbances. Run by young people passionate about environmental advocacy, the initiative works to create change for the youths of the world. From educational programs to hands-on deforestation repair, the purpose of the GGI is to put the power of saving the future in the hands of those who will be living in it, and to uplift the resilience of young people internationally. This group of youths works to move beyond previous interpretations of international cooperation being a state-led endeavor. Instead, the GGI works with young people and climate-vulnerable communities around the world to develop solutions and create change (UN Climate Action, 2022).

The World Bank: Operating under a “[commitment] to promoting socially equitable responses to global crises” (World Bank, n.d.), the World Bank promotes an approach to climate change which is structured around humanitarian measures. Their strategy is largely shaped by the acknowledgement of social, political, and economic factors which influence the impact climate change has on various communities, providing support to prevent inequalities in climate resilience. Of the many pillars which shape this organization’s approach to climate change, is their goal to “[address] the underlying causes of vulnerability, including social exclusion” (World Bank, n.d.). The World Bank’s mission highlights the importance of an intersectional perspective to climate policymaking, combining financial support with considerations for disproportionately affected communities and climate injustices. This approach underscores the need for expanded inclusion in climate policy, as excluding voices prevents the development of a solution which truly promotes climate justice.

Greenpeace: A primary challenge facing advancements in solutions for climate change which center Historically Marginalized Voices is the lack of inclusion in policy-making spaces. To combat this phenomenon, Greenpeace has dedicated itself to “[using] peaceful protest and creative communication” (Greenpeace, n.d.). Though decision-making bodies widely have refused to listen to the voices of those facing inequalities, Greenpeace aims to support the advocacy and climate resilience of communities who have been disproportionately affected by climate change.

The Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS): In the current inter-governmental state of climate politics, the needs of developing nations are generally less accounted for than their wealthier peers. While the management of the climate crisis has progressed, these nations have worked to become more prominent voices within policy-making discussions. Small island states face the most pressing of climate change’s manifestations, threatening them with rising sea levels and loss of access to resources which threaten their very existence (Sadat, 2009).

Ensuring that decisions reflect the needs of these communities goes beyond private policy-making discussions. Inclusive policy requires advocacy by and in support of Historically Marginalized groups, in order to create effective solutions which address their needs. The AOSIS has consisted of member states across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans, as well as the Caribbean and South China seas. Working together to promote their urgency and proposed solutions, this alliance advocates for the needs of island nations who are particularly vulnerable to climate change in international policy discussions (UN-OHRLLS, n.d.). Influencing the UNFCCC and various other climate policy conferences, the AOSIS has acted as a bureau of advocacy across the globe.
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‘Humanity will not be saved by promises.’ H.E. Fatumanava-o-Upolu III Dr Pa’olelei Luteru, Chair of AOSIS, Permanent Representative of Samoa to the United Nations, https://www.aosis.org/about/chair-of-aosis/

UN Climate Action Summit; September 2019: In the early spring of 2019, Secretary-General António Guterres announced his plan for a Climate Action Summit. Designed to ensure international implementation of the Paris Climate Accords’ goals, the summit equally aimed to promote climate action for the preservation of younger generations’ futures (UN Climate Action 2019).

A total of six primary topics were considered by world leaders, which addressed the immediate needs of Historically Marginalized communities globally, while simultaneously promoting sustainable problem solving for the climate crisis. Leading up to this summit, the crucial nature of avoiding exacerbating inequalities for any community with proposed actions was highlighted. Emphasized alongside this requirement, was the goal of implementing measures which would produce opportunities for those who have been disproportionately harmed by the impacts of the climate crisis. This particular request from the Secretary-General aimed to uplift Historically Marginalized communities, to mitigate systemic inequalities and improve their quality of life throughout the climate restoration process (Guterres, 2019). World leaders were urged to channel their inner activist, engaging in Ambitious Action.

These preparations culminated in a gathering of international organizations, advocates, private sector actors, and governments, discussing their proposals and affirming their dedication to combating the climate emergency. Notably, the U.S., China, and India participated in this summit minimally, despite the Secretary-General’s urgency. In contrast to this, 70 member states - including all 47 members of the LDC Bloc at the time - made agreements to increase their nation’s commitments to the Paris Climate Accords the following year. Additionally, various Western, Northern, and Southeastern European nations outlined their plans for promoting the elimination of fossil fuels and support of climate adaptation efforts (Rosane, 2019).

UN General Assembly Resolution A/76/L.75; July 2022: This session was a significant step towards the UN’s expanded discussion of environmental human rights. Inspired by the resolution passed by the UN Human Rights Council the previous year - which affirmed a healthy and sustainable environment to be a universal right - the UN GA intended to refine the definition of and expand a framework for the preservation of those rights. The resolution, which was finalized late July, “[declared] access to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment, a universal human right” (UN News, 2022). Through the formal establishment of these rights, the inclusive protections for Historically Marginalized Voices can be expanded, as inequalities in the severity of climate disturbances will be addressed as an infringement on their human rights (Day &
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Krampe, 2023). Though - with 161 votes - the resolution passed favorably, it did face minimal pushback from states which opted to abstain.


UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC)
Resolution 50/9; July 2022: In deliberations

Initiatives from CoP27

Loss & Damage Fund (LDF): The concluding decision of CoP27, the LDF is a system of financial aid, serving as an effort to combat the disproportionate devastation of climate disasters on developing nations. Since developing regions are generally more vulnerable to severe Loss & Damage, but often lack the proper resources to effectively help affected communities, the LDF was developed to assist these regions with adapting to and recovering from climate disturbances. The fund was proposed to provide coverage for issues such as damage to infrastructure, food and water scarcity, and necessary healthcare. However, the security and success of the program’s funding was a point of concern among members of the body. As a new initiative, the LDF will be up for review in CoP28, where the program’s success at ensuring the inclusion of developing nations in climate responses will be evaluated (UNEP, 2022).

over how to protect the human right of access to food, the UNHRC developed potential approaches to providing food security for climate-vulnerable communities. Recognizing “that the adverse impacts of climate change negatively affected the realization of the right to food” (UNHRC 2022), the council recommended “reports on the issue, followed by a panel discussion and interactive dialogues on the topic” (UNHRC 2022). These dialogues were advised to highlight inclusivity, looking to local experts and members of climate-vulnerable communities who have firsthand knowledge on the issues being discussed. The goal of the UNHRC was to open a pathway for the development of solutions which directly addressed the needs of communities facing food insecurity, whose situation has been exacerbated by climate change.

Thematic Days: As part of the organizers of the meeting’s aim to adapt to what the public was identifying as faults in the CoP, themes for each day were selected which surrounded various marginalized groups and minimally addressed topics in climate policy. Communities which have been disproportionately affected by the climate crisis were highlighted, with topics such as “gender, youth, and civil society” (Davis, 2023) encouraging CoP discussions to approach climate policy with a perspective centering humanitarian concerns.

Public Participation: Another shift to a more inclusive CoP were decisions made by organizers regarding public access to the event. Previous meetings have implemented separate public and UN zones, separating the two groups. At CoP27, the area known as the Green Zone - designed as a space dedicated to including members of society who are passionate about climate policy in the conference - was placed closer than ever before to the Blue Zone which required UNFCCC approval to enter. A landmark change, the amount of space allocated
for the Green Zone at CoP27 was tripled in size from the year before. Additionally, the event encouraged greater public participation, with approximately 99% of invitees not being UN affiliated (Davis, 2023).

Currently dominate groups—typically well represented in the government, including the foreign ministry, do not want to undermine their authority and cannot afford to antagonize their own supporters.

Asia-Pacific: The region with the largest population to be represented in the CoP, focuses on separate national efforts to address worsening impact of climate change and impacts on financial inequality and insecurity. Asian national especially tend to appreciate global goals, but insist on national interpretation and implementation. Pacific Island countries have a different attitude. They need global action.

Seeking to further the international response to these economic points of concern, collaboration amongst nations in Asia and the Pacific has worked to further development and shrink wealth gaps (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Research conducted by nations within the region have mostly centered on finding the best methods to promote financial and infrastructure resilience against climate disasters.

Country and Bloc Positions

Africa: African countries tend to approach issues of marginalized groups with great care. Acknowledging a bigger role for the marginalized is tricky. Much depends on the concerns and willingness of the highest level official in each home government.

Because of their domestic politics are very delicate, involving difficult relations between ethnic, linguistic and religious groups they must think about the impact of elevating any new claimant to power on their complicated societies. In many African countries, tensions between group identities has often led to civil war. Other cases, these tensions lead to violence and the overthrow of governments. This makes African governments cautious about any initiative that risks favoring previously marginalized groups.

Africa and Asia Member States want to preserve state control and avoid measures that make it difficult to stress benefits for preferred ethnic groups and political factions. With a few important exceptions, they will resist proposals that call for more aid to their domestic adversaries and disfavored groups. Supporting representation and inclusion is easier than funding. Their support is conditional on finding new sources of funding to pay for any initiatives. They usually reject any independent roles for NGOs, and insist that the role of any NGOs always be approved by their home governments.

China will stress keeping Member States in complete control. In its own territory, China will meet UN goals with assistance to their official ethnic minorities. Beijing will tend to support measures that allow China and other Member States do whatever they like, as sovereign states.
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China will support aid to vulnerable island states, for example, especially as part of its Belt and Road investment system, stressing long term loans from China. China opposes giving NGOs any decision-making authority, and prefers that they in UN fora only under special, carefully monitored, circumstances.

**European Union** (EU) strives to promote representation and inclusion of traditionally marginalized groups, and support financing to ensure their specific needs are addressed in final UN documents. The EU tends to stress universal standards and major aid programs, as part of global progress toward the SDGs. They will be the big force behind a definition. For the EU, the other difficult issue is funding. Where does the money come from; shifting resources from current climate program, for other development aid, from domestic resources found within recipient countries, or new money to be found by donor states? Finally, the EU will insist that marginalized groups control much of the decision-making over how these programs are designed and implemented. The EU encourages broader recognition of NGOs, especially indigenous NGOs from affected countries. But it opposes giving them decision-making power.

**Latin America** is similar to the EU, willing to undertake new initiatives to specifically help marginalized groups and states. Latin America is generally accepting of proposals based on universal norms and standards. But the regional is more cautious of funding obligations. Latin American countries sometimes include marginalized groups in their delegations and emphasize their concerns in presentations, but they do not always work to ensure those priorities become national priorities. Broader national interests like exploiting revenue from fossil fuel exploitation can dominate some of their country positions.

**Russia** believes that policy on marginalized groups is best handled by each Member State, through their domestic process, not through the UN. It does not believe in additional funding, except on a voluntary basis from donor governments. It rejects giving any systematic role to NGOs. Russia itself strives to address the representation, inclusion and needs of its marginalized ethnicities and other marginalized groups through its own official domestic policymaking.

**The United States** is strongly supportive of clear definitions of historically marginalized and clear international obligations, but it also will resist calls for additional spending. The US tends to insist that new requirements be funded with existing resources, so something has to be cut. Like the EU, the US will insist that marginalized groups control much of the decision-making over how these programs are designed and implemented. That already is American domestic practice, with 574 federally recognized sovereign American Indian Tribes. Also like the EU, the US encourages broader recognition of NGOs, especially indigenous NGOs from affected countries. But it opposes giving them decision-making power.

**Proposals for Action**

Most of the attention at the Special Session tends to go to the Member States themselves, reflecting their environmental and economic interests. The hard bargaining tends to stress questions about Member States like their role in climate change, their reliance on fossil fuels, and their willingness to make commitments an invest in these issues. The needs of marginalized groups tend to get literally marginalized. How can the Member States help ensure that doesn’t happen? Three paths of action stand out: representation, programming and spending.

**Representation** or inclusion means measures that bring more people from marginalized
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groups into formal processes, having them present. But representation is not the same as power. Will the new faces at the table be able to make demands and get action? Will currently dominant ethnic and linguistic groups, women, sexual minorities, the poor, prisoners, the disabled, and senior citizens have veto power over decisions? Will they be able to determine outcomes about all-important issues like funding and spending?

**Programming** means shaping current efforts to reduce global warming and climate change, so they include specific measures to aid marginalized groups. Do the programs approved by the United Nations directly affect the demands and hopes of marginalized groups?

**Spending:** As advocates are quick to note, representation and programming don’t mean so much unless funding follows. Finding the money often is the hardest part of any action by the United Nations. If each Member States is left to find its own funding—the usual method at the United Nations—not much will happen in most countries. Poorer countries, those of the Non-Aligned Movement, may make agreement contingent on new foreign aid commitments from wealthier countries. But new money for marginalized groups has to come from somewhere. Will current climate change mitigation projects have to be sacrificed to achieve this new set of goals?

**Replacing national goals with community goals:** A similar, but more community-centric approach which has been a topic of international interest, is to implement measures which allow for the inclusion of members of the public in CoP deliberations. People who experience climate-vulnerability are forced to adapt to climate change's most aggressive effects, despite their communities engaging in the least of the world’s harmful climate practices (Khalili, 2021). Greater consideration for inequalities which have been exacerbated by climate change have yet to be addressed, in major part due to a lack of awareness. Increasing the UN’s consultation of climate activists, advocates, and researchers when addressing climate policymaking will give the representatives of more climate-resilient nations significant insight into the best measures of climate support (Cilem & Sangokoya, 2021). Ensuring inclusion promotes the resilience of climate-vulnerable groups, by creating space for self-advocacy in conversations which are usually not representative of their communities.

On a national level, the shift to an open civic space will establish opportunities for previously excluded communities to directly convey their perspectives on the climate crisis. Currently, approximately “3% of the world’s population live in countries where the fundamental freedoms of peaceful assembly, association and expression are adequately protected” (Cilem & Sangokoya, 2021). This disparity prevents many people around the globe from raising awareness and advocating for their communities, as they are excluded from conversations concerning climate change policy. The inclusion of historically marginalized voices through the promotion of open civic spaces globally has the potential to generate more comprehensive solutions for nations with minimal climate resilience. But it also may create new tensions, requiring creative solutions.
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