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Kristopher Samuel
James Madison University

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Youth as coalitional possibility in the Youth Climate Movement:

An analysis of the climate justice rhetoric of Hilda Nakabuye, Autumn Peltier, & Greta Thunberg

Kristopher Samuel

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JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

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FACULTY COMMITTEE:

Committee Chair: Pete Bsumek, Ph.D.

Committee Members/Readers:

Paul Mabrey, Ph.D.

Carlos Aleman, Ph.D.

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Abstract

In 2019, Greta Thunberg delivered her “How Dare You” speech that captivated the social and political world. Throughout her speech she tethered ideas of extinction, future generations, and coalitional movements. These topics encouraged the Political and Social world to contemplate the reality of climate crisis and generated support for the Youth Climate Movement. However, Thunberg garnered a lot of attention that ultimately overshadowed the worksof other youth activists, particularly BIPOC activists. I analyze the rhetoric of fellow climate activists Hilda Nakabuye and Autumn Peltier utilizing psychoanalytic terms and analysis. Nakabuye and Peltier advocate for climate justice through a lens of racialization and experience with the climate crisis. Psychoanalysis is utilized because their rhetoric wrestles with anxiety and loss of self-hood. Moreover, I wrestle with the differences that occur within these three rhetors and ultimately point to their rhetoric as producing a “coalitional moment,” in which the three rhetors are able to produce a unified movement.

Introduction

On September 23, 2019, 16-year-old Swedish activist Greta Thunberg set sail across the Atlantic to New York City to speak at the UN Climate Action Summit (Alter, Haynes, & Worland, 2019). She had been invited to address the UN on the matters of climate change. As a climate activist she had already gained notoriety as the catalyst for the youth climate strikes that had grown into a global movement through her #FridaysForFuture strikes. The movement that she helped generate in Sweden started with youth led climate strikes in 2018. These strikes take place every Friday to bring attention to the ongoing issue of climate change by endorsing tactics of protest, refusing to go to school, and making demands on governments to act. This movement has not only "gone global", but is changing the current discourse surrounding climate change, particularly about individual responsibility and the future (Sengupta, 2019).

The movement caught the attention of the world and influenced the Climate Action Summit. Thunberg, alongside other youth activists, such as Bruno Rodriguez and Komal Karishma Kumar, attended the event to share their concerns and their approaches in dealing with the matter of climate change. These conventions are forums where world leaders, scientist, and climate movement activists come together to discuss new discoveries and possible climate crisis solutions. The 2019 Climate Action Summit was organized around the goal of discussing strategies for "reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 45 per cent over the next decade, and to net zero emissions by 2050" (United Nations, 2019, par.1). However, Thunberg's much anticipated address at the summit took a different tack. Instead of speaking on matters of working together, Thunberg reprimanded world leaders, chastising them for their inaction and their refusal

to listen to the science. In this address, often referred to as her “How Dare You” speech (Thunberg, 2019), Thunberg derided world leaders for not listening to facts and empirics, for neglecting their duty to protect the vulnerable, and for putting young people in the corner to salvage their future and the worlds.

Her speech caught those in attendance off guard and made world news. Her “justified anger” (Fuchs, 2019) struck a chord with audiences around the world. Political figures and commentators on both sides of the issue spoke up. On one hand, since her speech, Thunberg has conjured up support from celebrities, TV personalities (Henderson, 2019), and political leaders around the world. Kamela Harris, then presidential candidate, for example, tweeted: “@GretaThunberg is right: we are currently failing our nation's youth by not taking swift action to combat the climate crisis. We owe it to them to stand up to polluters and stop poisoning our planet” (Epstein, 2019). Former President Barack Obama also praised Thunberg, tweeting: “Just 16, @GretaThunberg is already one of our planet’s greatest advocates. Recognizing that her generation will bear the brunt of climate change, she’s unafraid to push for real action” (BBC News, 2019). On the other hand, her speech was met with personal attacks and belittlement, particularly from commentators on the Right. Michael Knowles of the “Daily Wire” stated on Fox News: “If it were about science, it would be led by scientists, rather than by politicians and a mentally ill Swedish child who is being exploited by her parents and by the international left” (Stenn, 2019). Vladimir Putin told the energy forum in Moscow that “no one has explained to Greta that the modern world is complex and different and ... people in Africa or in many Asian countries want to live at the same wealth level as in Sweden” (Soldatkin & Zhdannikov, 2019). President Trump engaged in what many might describe as

cyberbullying when he tweeted: “So ridiculous. Greta must work on her Anger Management problem, then go to a good old fashioned movie with a friend! Chill Greta, Chill!” (Gaubert, 2019).

Despite the posturing, Thunberg pressed forward. She was not alone. A global movement of young people was revealed in the wake of Thunberg’s transatlantic trip. Drew Kann from CNN reported that Thunberg has not been the only young women organizing and participating in these #FridayForFutures strikes. 58% of climate strike participants, he noted, are female and there were strikes worldwide (Kann, 2019). With the increase in activism and protesting, governments were taking note. Thunberg was honored with *Time Magazine’s 2019* “Person of the Year” award.

Heeding Thunberg’s call, young women have organized and participated in strikes, protests, and political reform movements, to change the way society views nature, ethics, and human relationships. However, each group that has taken up this mantle and responsibility to care for the environment has also interjected their own sense of “lost dreams” and the risk that comes from engendering the climate change movement, particularly in countries that are reticent on issues of climate change. In a similar vein, the movement remains largely antagonistic about leadership (Pousadela, 2020). Thus, while these advocates share a perception of reality and concern for climate disruptions by centering their conversations on coloniality, capitalism, race, gender, and sex, each iteration of those concerns is nuanced in the way violence, power, and theories of social change are articulated.

Two rhetors that align with Thunberg’s sentiments, yet offer distinct approaches based on different circumstances and experiences, are Autumn Peltier (Kelo, 2019) and

Hilda Flavia Nakabuye (Kogi, 2020). Both young women face the realities of climate change but articulate its implications in different ways. Autumn Peltier is a 15-year-old climate activist who is a part of the Wikwemikong First Nation in Ontario, Canada (Kelo, 2019). Having grown up near Lake Huron, Peltier recognized her privilege in having access to clean water while many others around the world do not (Par. 3). It was through this realization that Peltier began to advocate for the "universal right of clean drinking water" (Par.4), and for the sacredness of water. She has attended multiple conventions, received multiple awards, and has challenged development projects that violate treaties with indigenous communities such as fossil fuel pipelines through Native lands.

Nakabuye speaks from a different social location. Nakabuye is a 23-year-old climate activist who lives in Uganda. As a young girl, she experienced the effects of climate change intimately, witnessing the collapse of her grandparent's livestock and farm due to droughts, which left her and her family in economic crisis and hungry (Agaba, 2020). In many ways, hers is the voice that Peltier and Thunberg are seeking to amplify, a voice that has experienced the effects of climate change.

While the experiences of all three of these young women are different, which is reflected in their advocacy, they are, nonetheless, working in concert toward the goal of mitigating climate change. This thesis focuses on Greta Thunberg (2019), Autumn Peltier (Kelo, 2019), and Hilda Flavia Nakabuye (Kogi, 2020) as rhetors that have brought nuanced perspectives to the issue of global warming. While all three advocates are working in solidarity and speaking out about climate disruption and global warming, each occupies different subject positions and has different relationships to the political and social discourses informing the controversy. While their advocacy is distinct, they

support each other. Studying these three activists enables us to view the conversation of global warming, climate change, and environmental communication through the lens of the young women and global climate strike movement they embody. This project aims to elucidate how these rhetors and their movements are never isolated, but are in constant relations to each other, producing an assemblage that subverts power, galvanizes climate movements, and produces a collective conscious that seeks to better understand race, gender, sex, and class under the umbrella of climate change advocacy (Este, 2019; Houston, 2012; King, 2018; Nail, 2017; Tsing, 2015; Wehilye, 2015; Yusoff, 2018).

Statement of Problem

My interest in Thunberg and the youth climate strikes is related to the reception and responses to her "How Dare You" speech at the UN Climate Action Summit. The polarization of the conversation of climate change that she articulated was comparable to the 2016 Presidential election, in that it highlighted political and ethical identity. Moreover, this polarization culminated in acts of cyberbullying from the Right, where Thunberg was harassed and derided by social media users, Trump, Putin, and other political figures. Yet, despite all these cynical attempts to disparage, Thunberg remains courageous in demanding a different political and social orientation to the environment.

Moreover, what keeps me enthralled by Thunberg is Peltier and Nakabuye. The striking difference between these advocates is not only rhetorical, but experiential. When comparing all three advocates, there is a tendency to pinpoint consistent motifs that are common within the discourse of climate change advocacy: extinction and apocalyptic narratives as well as certain anxieties that stem from the future. However, the three young advocates offer staunchly different interpretation of these common themes: all three

speak from different social and cultural locations. Thus, my point of interest for analysis is how do Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye co-exist in the youth climate movement when their experiences are so different? In what ways are they able to gain traction effectively organizing strikes and movements in their own regions? This is important because all three are utilizing tropes of future generations, not only as rhetorical figures, but as embodied action – quite literally they speak from the position of future generations, as young people, to champion their movement.

Furthermore, Thunberg, Nakabuye, and Peltier have made waves in progressing the movement under different political, social, and economic circumstances. Thunberg being from Sweden, Peltier an aboriginal from Canada, and Nakabuye from Uganda have different obstacles and political textures to maneuver in order to produce an effective movement. They also exist in different social economies where Thunberg lives in a predominantly White society, Nakabuye in an African/Black society, and Peltier in a multicultural setting in Ontario, Canada. These differences effect the movement and future generations that congregate around their tropes and rhetorical themes because audiences identify with not just the message, but with the rhetor.

Lastly, my interest in this project stems from my curiosity in all three rhetors personal stories and the way that their experiences influence their desire to engage in climate strikes. All three have experienced a sense of loss, yet the grammar in which they articulate those losses are different and do not exist on the same plane. Thus, how is it that they can co-exist within these movements without contradiction? How are the three of them able to mobilize a collective identity that resonates with youth around the world?

Rationale

My objective for this project is three folds. First, I want to examine the speeches, public reactions, and the three rhetors. Focusing on the youth climate strikes and youth climate movement is warranted because they have produced a new conversation and a unique global coalition, while at the same time approaching climate change through their own set of language. Second, their invocation of tropes of future generation is important for analysis because that has become the suturing theme that has brought these three young women, and youth climate movement writ large, together. The loss of their futures and the impact that their children will experience suggest that this has galvanized their investment in the movement. Third, I want to focus on Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye as individuals who interject their own relationship to global warming. While all three adhere to the larger framework of tropes of future generation, they also relate to the movement through personal losses and anxiety that stems from the loss of their future. Thus, understanding their articulations of their own set of anxieties and potential losses helps to provide insight into the coalitional possibilities within their rhetoric.

My reasoning behind wanting to discuss the Youth Climate Movement and these three rhetors is two folds. First, the conversation of race that they elucidate, particularly Nakabuye and Peltier, resonate with me and my South-Asian identity. I see three identities at work in me: my spirituality, my south-asianness, and my American identity. I often see myself compromising my Indian identity for the sake of maintaining my spiritual and American identity for society. When I heard Thunberg's "How Dare You" speech, my immediate reaction was her rhetoric is situated within a context of anti-blackness. However, the more I ponder upon my own relationship to my identity, I

realized I also partake in a politics of anti-blackness when I choose to prioritize the needs of my spiritual and American identity/community, and not my South-Asian identity/community. The more I read and analyzed India's relationship to the environment and the crisis, I began to see the politics of anti-blackness become more and more real. Moreover, I saw, and see, the environment as a unique intersection of these three identities, which furthered my interest in the conversation and wanting to think through these issues rhetorically.

Second, I was captivated by the conversation of anxiety that is subtle throughout the speeches amongst the three rhetors. Being brought up within debate and learning about debate through a lens of critical race theory and psychoanalysis, I have always been perplexed by anxiety because it relates to desires and drives. As French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan once said "the unconscious is structured like a language" (Gasperoni, 1996, p. 77), meaning that when we deal with ideas pertaining to an individual's psyche, we must attend to the rules that are at play and how these rules influences the drives and desires. However, Lacan points how we do not know the rules of the psyche, but rather have an idea of how the unconscious acts when social and political economies pause/stutter upon certain moments. Thus, I was intrigued by Thunberg's speech because she provided a moment in which the unconscious spoke and society listened, and I believe they listened because their anxiety was named. That is what makes psychoanalytic methods unique and distinct from other methods of analysis. There may be claims and assumptions that seem "unwarranted", but you must be willing to make "unwarranted" claims to see how society and readers respond. It is the response that garners and produces the conversation that allows for us to make sense of what is

transpiring and to have better understandings of how the psyche formulates and how it functions.

Literature Review

The rhetoric, and specifically, the speeches of Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye has not been analyzed within the field of communication; neither has the youth climate activist movement been analyzed. Thus, in this introduction, I will first identify the motifs that all three rhetors utilize. In doing so it identifies the commonplace tropes and arguments associated with environmental rhetoric and advocacy that each of the rhetors call upon. Ultimately, this thesis will analyze the ways that the rhetors mobilize these tropes and other lines of argument in innovative ways contributing to the field of environmental communication. Three main rhetorical devises are identified: 1) Coalitional rhetoric and gestures of solidarity, 2) Tropes of Future Generations and the child, and 3) Apocalyptic narratives and rhetoric's of extinction and eco-anxiety.

Climate Activism and Solidarity Rhetoric

Another key area in environmental communication scholarship that is becoming more important is climate activism and solidarity movements. Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye utilize rhetoric to express a communal consequence to environmental degradation and failure to act. They invoke a symbolic "we" that, while differing in meaning, pronounces a need to work tangentially rather than separately. They call upon others to take up the social and political responsibility to act, to be in solidarity. Previous scholars have focused on themes of political and social transformation (DiCaglio, Barlow & Johnson, 2018), civic engagement (Brulle, 2010), and mobilization (Cozen, 2013). Often, rhetorical analysis on climate activism center the conversation

around these three areas because they focus on strategy. However, the conversation is moving away from concerns about scientific discourse to a focus on human rights. This is producing new analyses of strategy and its, purpose (Onis, 2012). DeLuca (2009) argues that strategy should be understood situationally and culturally because each region has a different set of needs with different media and different implications for framing environmental conversations (p. 264). Thus, when climate activist act, they partake in a process of being socially and culturally engrained to the community that they seek to ameliorate.

Moreover, symbolic gestures that produce solidarity and collational possibilities are increasingly important to the study and practice climate advocacy. Bsumek et al. (2019) in discussing Bill McKibben's climate movement rhetoric argues that the climate movement is increasingly utilizing symbolic and strategic gestures to produce transnational solidarity. They point to how McKibben's rhetoric articulates solidarity among climate activists by linking personal responsibility and individual action to political activity, and by linking climate activism around the world identifying at world-wide climate movement. Their work resonates with Osei-Kofi et al's. (2018) description of anti-racist activist Maria Teresa "Tess" Asplund's "clenched fist" that was not only iconographic, but an intersectional gesture that united anti-racist activist around the world (p. 139). Moreover, this idea of gestures having symbolic and material consequences align with Karma Chavez's (2013) conception of the "coalitional moment", where "political issues coincide or merge in the public sphere in ways that create space to re-envision and potentially reconstruct rhetorical imaginaries" (p. 8). It is the "coalitional moment" that provides the opportunity for a collective to emerge and produce a rhetorical

gesture that incites action. However, Chavez points to, an argument that is analogous to Deluca's (2009) and Bsumek et al. (2019) stance, the need to understand the rhetor's social and cultural point of exchange and what structures their need and rhetorical choice (p. 102). In doing so, she suggest that coalitional possibilities and the gestures that might enable them can produce a coalitional assemblage.

Environmental scholarship that focuses on climate activism under this framework seeks to translate language that is often utilized in scientific discourse to convert the "lay-person" into the movement for the "layperson" is key to changing the relationship to nature (DiCaglio, Barlow, &J Johnson, 2018). "Getting laypeople involved in citizen science, outdoor or nature-based educational activities, or showcasing the local environments are excellent starting points for helping people experience ecology" (p. 443). As M. Jimmie Killingsworth (2007) articulates, climate activist are not simply situating their ideas in the conversation of scientific vernacular because that will not create an identity for folks to invest and find themselves in. Rather, "we commit ourselves to the work of re-minding people of the lifeworld, calling them out of the trance of technological well-being and asking them, like their doctors, to listen to their bodies, their most vital connection to the lifeworld" (p.62). This helps explain why environmental rhetors utilize extinction rhetoric to bridge the gap between humans and nature because it becomes a common point of loss that has a grammar to articulate and possibly create a new relationship with the world.

Tropes of the Child and Future Generations

The trope of "future generations" and the figure of the child is also a reoccurring theme in the rhetoric of the youth climate movement and a rhetorical figure that

Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye deploy often. More importantly, the advocates in the Youth Climate Movement literally embody the trope in that they a speak as children. They are the future generation.

According to Lundberg (2009), the utilization of tropes produces an affective investment into ideas or chain of events. Tropes are economies that are affectively engineered and are understood through metaphoric and metonymic relations (p. 389). For Lundberg, a metonymy is a sign connected by representation based on its referent producing a chain of signification, while a metaphor is a channeled sign within a signified object, concept, and/or subject that is predicated upon the metonymic chain of signification (p. 389). Thus, a trope is a representation of an idea that registers for each individual, or public, differently based on the rhetor's delivery as well as the context of articulation. This bleeds into Kenneth Burke's understanding of tropes, in *Four Master Tropes* (1941), as a linguistically engineered device that is centered on discovering "truth" (p. 421) and allows for the possibility of imagination of futures and praxis (Vamanu, 2018).

Environmental advocates have long utilized the trope of future generations, in order to set the parameters of imagining a specific world. "The Child" as a trope invokes a different affective response because "the child" is not only signified within the realm of a future and can be understood through a linear progression, but also embodies the consciousness of society's wants. "It may also refer to innocence, nostalgic imaginaries of a childhood, perhaps placed in an ideal past, but just as easily in a timeless state" (Kverndokk, 2020, p. 143). Moreover, the concept of "the child" is a metonym of "we" in that "the child" represents a future not for the literal future generations, but for the

present and the relationship that they have to the world, thus invoking an enunciation of "we" in "the child" (p. 153). Matheson (2018) argues that the figure of "the Child" is a trope within the affective economy that structures how a subject, and society writ large, positions its desire in relation to this metaphoric figure and the motivations for why a communal subject acts (whether it be for reasons of resources, political sovereignty, or protecting their social/cultural economy). Moreover, the trope of "the child" reveals to the audience their understandings of current social and political fibers that threaten the very future, and more precisely desires, that they have purchased in the world (Katz, 2008). Thus, "the child" is not simply a metaphor to understand the future and an imaginary apocalyptic end, but rather signifies the metonymic chains of signifiers that represent hopes and aspirations, while pointing to the different political, social, and cultural economies that frame the present and jeopardize the future.

However, the tropes of "the future" divest from the concept of "the child" as far as "the future" represents the temporal imagination of relationships in the future. While "the child" represents the social relationship that is tied to ethics and questions of social responsibility in the present, the trope of "the future", or "future generations", represents the intergenerational responsibility the present has to the future (and often the past). For example, progressive era conservationist such as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot (Nash, 1990) both utilized the trope of "future generations" to skillfully articulate the concept of "responsibility" that individuals have in cultivating resources that not only benefit their current families, but future families. They both elaborated on the trope of "future generations" through the metonymic chains of ideas that deal with ethics, love for the future child, foresight, and economic utility. A point that Pinchot makes that is

nuanced in understanding is the responsibility to act for the benefit future generations. In doing so he reformulated classic utilitarianism adding “for the longest time” to its calculation of utilizing natural resources for the greatest good for the greatest many. While progressive era conservation can best be understood as viewing the environment through an economic concept of utility, Katey Castellano (2013) reinterprets the classical conservative concept of environmental protection and offers a British Romantic interpretation to viewing the land, as an imagination that ties the past, present and future together through memories, collectivity, and inheritance of the land intergenerationally (p. 8). This is similar to how Lee Edelman (1998) conceptualizes the trope of “the Child”. Now while Edelman is a queer scholar who is discussing issues of “reproductive futurism” that positions queer relations as antagonist to heteronormative family models, the trope of “the Child” has importance in thinking through rhetoric, advocacy, and climate change because the trope stands in for a fantasy of a future order that is created by a romancitization of the past. Thus, the trope of “future generations” synthesizes not only the future but is implicated with the practices from the past that helps to explain current affectual attachments that society has to rituals in relation to the environment. Moreover, the trope helps explain how different cultures have distinct interpretations in viewing land that stem from previous generations knowledge and traditions, creating a continuity amongst futures.

Extinction/Apocalyptic and Eco-Anxiety Rhetoric

All three rhetors utilize apocalyptic narratives and articulate concerns about extinction. Apocalyptic narrative is not new to environmental scholarship. Robin Veldman (2012) points to occidental societies being enamored by ideas of the “end

times" and "doomsday", partly because of western society being nested within the Judeo-Christian framework that prophesizes such events. Environmental advocates from Rachel Carson to contemporary climate activists have long utilized apocalyptic narratives to call attention to irreparable harm and pending environmental disasters (Cox 1982; Killingsworth and Palmer 1991). Scholars of environmental rhetoric have shown that such narratives can produce an affectual connection with the audience by staging a "drama" that jeopardizes the future of everyone and existing within the "end times" demarcated by death, resource scarcity, geopolitical struggle, and environmental collapse. Critics of environmental rhetoric argue that apocalyptic narratives can create fissures in dominant discourses that condone and enable acts of environmental degradation by changing the conversation of ethics and morals (Cox, 2007; Murphy, 2000; Killingsworth & Palmer, 1991). Apocalyptic narratives change the conversation of morality and ethics regarding the environment by placing morals and ethics alongside a network of consequences that weigh human life. This is like Barnett's (2019) concept of "naming and mourning", in which naming a species "prefigures grievability and, thus, contains the seeds of care and concern which undergird compassionate, ethical relations" (p. 289). This in turn, can provide audiences with agency. "The function of the apocalyptic narrative may be that it helps adherents determine how to act by providing a storyline from which they can imaginatively sample, enabling them to assess the consequences of their actions" (Veldman, 2012, p. 11).

Moreover, apocalyptic narratives have been used to provide audiences with agency to act or produce resignation to impending crisis. As Foust & Murphy (2009) characterize it, the cultural shocks provided by apocalyptic narratives usually are framed

either as a “tragic apocalypse”, in which climate change is framed as “fate” (p. 157), or as a “comic apocalypse”, in which there is an agentic capacity for humans to still act and mitigate the effects of climate change (p. 159). Activist tend to structure their message under an “comic apocalypse” because of the timeframe that is ushered under the discourse of “comic apocalypse” where there is still time to act and change the future. As they explain: “the issue of climate change appear less pressing to crass readers unconcerned with their families’ or communities’ futures, it permits human action on climate change, rather than limiting possible expressions of human agency to total resignation” (p.161).

Related to rhetoric of extinction and apocalyptic narratives is the idea of “eco-anxiety”. Usher et al. (2019) describe “eco-anxiety” as “a specific form of anxiety relating to stress or distress caused by environmental changes and our knowledge of them” (p. 1233). Psychologist Dr. Renee Lertzman (2015) expounds upon the idea, producing scholarship that amalgamates the rhetoric of extinction/apocalyptic narrative with anxiety. By utilizing a psychoanalytic lens to understand a subject’s reaction to global catastrophe, Lertzman points to the networks that stem from “anxiety”. First, fear and anxiety can leave a subject in a state of “paralysis”, when encountering the potential loss of future, of stability, and of self (p.75). This leaves the subject to reject, to disassociate, and deny the very validity of data of a future being lost to maintain self-unity and to still be human, as opposed to non-human, or dead (p.25-29). Second, even when confronted with the realities of loss, the subject responds with the mantra of “it cannot be changed”, accepting the inevitable end; this is ultimately a defense mechanism on the part of the subject, to break down and experience the loss presently, rather than in

the future (p.94). Albrecht (2011) coins this state as “eco-paralysis” where the subject is not apathetic to climate change but rather is destabilized by it. Lertzman argues that “anxiety” is not a phenomenon contrived out of an arbitrary volition on the part of the individual; that is a fear. Rather, she is suggesting that “anxiety” is an unconscious byproduct of affective economies that have structured an individual(s) response in a particular manner to an event. Furthermore, the ideas of “precariousness” and life being transient is cultural, in that extinction rhetoric is articulated and framed according to the cultural response of a given society. Thus, Cox (1998) suggests that to view life as “irreparable” may shock certain cultures to tense up.

On the other hand, Usher et al., (2019) also found that while “eco-anxiety” may leave an individual in a state of paralysis, they can also be motivated to act (p.1233). This stems partly from two ideas. First, borrowing from Killingsworth & Palmer’s (1995) centering of the “Western man’s ‘ego’” as a subject seeking to evade death whether through denial or hysteria (p.15), individuals will act in order to protect the self. David J. Maxcy (1994) points to how framing environmental issues in terms of crisis shocks the social system of ideas and produces a new schema of thinking about the environment and the relationship that we ought to have with nature. Second, subjects have a desire to act in order to sustain hope. Panu Pihkala (2019) articulates that “eco-anxiety” if situated under an umbrella of “hope”, motivates action because it does not bar the future from existence, but rather invokes the ability to change. Therefore, activist often frame extinction and the apocalypse under a “comic apocalypse” in order to produce a chain reaction of fear and anxiety not that is barred by paralysis, but to engender action (Cox, 1998; Maxcy, 1994; Pihkala, 2019; Usher et al., 2019).

However, push back does occur from black and brown communities and scholars, due to the use of extinction and apocalyptic scenarios. Karera (2019) points to how the conversation of climate change conceals societal structures that situates the discourse of extinction, in that climate change reflects a larger issue of racialization. For Karera, extinction rhetoric and apocalyptic scenarios are guises of an "#AllLivesMatter" approach to funneling praxis, particularly when the advocacy from black communities have been calling for political reprieve from environmental degradation (Logan, 2016; Wright, 2018). That process of attuning cohesive community building around a "common goal" does not address the issue of "desire". Extinction cannot be the point of "community building" when black folks have been going extinct since the very conception of the New World and the birth of the Middle Passage. As Lynch (2015) frames it, to highlight climate change and global warming as a "comic apocalypse" is to frame the issue as a contingent moment of violence or "a conflict to be resolved, not an antagonism to be faced" (par. 12).

What is Missing

Currently there are few studies on the Youth Climate Movement (Ryalls & Mazzarella, 2021; Sabherwal et al., 2020; Taylor et al., 2019). Indeed, scholarship on youth oriented environmental communication and activism is sparse. What scholarship does exist on youth and environmental communication focuses on education such as environmental literacy and behavioral change campaigns (Fishers, 2016), such as promoting recycling in schools. There are also studies that focus on Thunberg as a figure, showing her to be an individual that the public can relate to (Craps, 2020) and the "Greta Effect", where scholars focus on why the youth in the movement figure Thunberg as the

proprietor of meaning (Baraitser, 2020). In both cases, the focus is upon children and youth as extensions of the public, rather than being unique advocates with distinct voices. Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye advocacy represents a new and emerging trend in environmental advocacy and activism. The Youth Climate Movement and Youth Climate Activism have become a significant force in local and global politics. These three advocates provide an important point of analysis for while they align their advocacy with traditional environmental rhetorical themes and tropes, they depart from traditional understandings of environmental rhetoric by injecting their subjective fears, realities, and anxieties that stem from structuring principles of coloniality, race, and capitalism. Their rhetoric offers the field of communication another perspective of viewing the theoretical ideas that currently exist and the opportunity to fill in the gaps in existing literature on key figures and movements. Thus, this project will seek to fill those gaps by attempting to articulate what is unique about the Youth Climate Movement.

Preview of Chapters

In chapter 1, I will be focusing on Hilda Flavia Nakabuye and the rhetorical motifs that she articulates. I argue that Nakabuye's articulation of warming is vastly different from Peltier and Thunberg's because Nakabuye has experienced the effects of climate change intimately, which provides an insight to the black voices that gets overlooked. Nakabuye has experienced droughts, famine, and the economic loss during an apocalyptic scenario that forced her and her family to give up essential qualities of life. What makes her rhetoric unique is that she leverages that reality and juxtaposes it to the Imaginary space that she finds the political and social world imagining and, I suggest, seeks to collapse the dominant conception of reality into her reality. Thus, I examine how

Nakabuye sets up an apocalyptic scenario through her speeches and the tactics that she utilizes in her own strikes to demonstrate the reality of ongoing apocalypse. Moreover, she furthers this collapsing not just through her speeches, but through her usage of social media and Twitter. Throughout the chapter, I how Nakabuye utilizes Twitter to produce a new ideological turn.

The ideological turn that Nakabuye invokes is the focus on blackness, which structures the violence that warming, and the climate crisis produces. Nakabuye articulates that neither she nor the people of Uganda are well-known and are not often centered in many conversations about climate change. I argue that this is not an unusual theme, but rather is reflective of an unconscious nature that situates the conversation of blackness and climate change as separate phenomena, rather than structural attunements. I make this argument based on Nakabuye's description of life, which resonates with the force that drives an individual to experience anxiety; her narrative reflects the very ideas of "loss" that either motivates or deters an individual's relationship to activism. However, it is not only an ideological turn that she invokes that seeks to focus on blackness, but also she attempts to tether environmental advocacy to a larger conversation of black lives, pointing to the need to unite both the youth climate movement with BLM. Thus, I examine how Nakabuye's narrative, a vignette that represents the structure of black life, formulates activism. I also examine the ways that the consumption of her narrative is a reflection of a politics of fungibility that picks and chooses how to incorporate black life into the larger movement.

However it is important to note that I do not argue in this chapter that the climate movement is racist; by no means am I saying that there are not anti-black aspects to this

activism. Rather, I analyze Nakabuye's rhetoric through a lens of psychoanalysis and critical race theory to point out how she is the literal subject that has experienced the apocalypse and reflects a continent and racialize group that are experiencing violence yet continue to strive for survival. She invokes the trope of "future generations" to reveal the anxiousness that inflicts young individuals in realizing their futures is slipping away yet shows the "ambitiousness" to act. Thus, I analyze how her rhetoric is bringing in a collective that may very well be anxious but is nonetheless producing a synthesized movement that is aligned with Thunberg and Peltier.

In chapter two, I focus on Autumn Peltier, her speeches, and the movements that she has been a part of activating. I spend time unpacking how Peltier invokes the trope of "the Child" and "future generations" through the trope of "water" to signify a concept of unity across cultures and using the trope of "water" to return to a time of being where survival was tied to environmental care, more than economic industrial expansion. I highlight how she tethers these concepts through a lens of colonial power structures, pointing to the cultural ties that justify environmental degradation. I illustrate this through Peltier's subtle invocation of treaty sovereignty and the water "water" becomes a struggle for power and ideology through a chain of significance within the trope that registers differently for Indigenous people in comparison to other communities. Throughout the chapter, I articulate Peltier through struggle under a lens of power that resembles that of early interaction between Settlers and Indigenous people, revealing an antagonism that structures interactions and is amplified by climate change.

Furthermore, I focus on Peltier's Indigeneity. I do this because she sets the conversation in motion by dressing in indigenous attire, as well as stitching her rhetoric

around the traditions taught to her. However, she utilizes these traditions and intergenerational knowledge to situate communities that have experienced environmental degradation; she connects the significance of "water" to Flint Michigan and points to the mistreatment of black life. She positions herself in relation to other female leaders in her community, crediting them for educating her on responsibility and care for not just the land, but for the beings that inhabit it, reflecting an intergenerational imagination and coalition with the more than human world. Thus, I focus on Indigenous cosmology that centers other beings in conjunction to Indigenous perception of land and environmental care and how that plays in the larger schema of racialization and climate change.

In chapter three, I focus on the rhetoric of Thunberg and her unique position within the climate movement. I analyze her speeches by identifying common themes, tropes, and the flow of activism that has proliferated since her "How dare You" speech at the UN and the implication of her activism for political and social networks. Thunberg has become the image of the movement and has been the signifier that tethers the global youth climate movement together. She evokes political and social attention when she speaks, even if it is on issues that have little to no relevance to climate change. Thus, I analyze how the "Greta effect" magnetizes individuals into the movement and the frames that depict her to amplify this "effect".

In addition to analyzing Thunberg speeches and the movement that she has energized, her background and upbringing are of peculiar interest because she comes from an affluent upbringing and is, as she says often, the "lucky one" when it comes to experiencing the intimate impacts of climate change. She is not only lucky because she comes from a wealthy family, but also because she is white. This has not gone unnoticed

and has led to several critiques of the attention she receives. 6She is often criticized for being a privileged white child that receives an undo amount of media attention at the expense of people of color that have been making similar arguments for years. Thus, I am interested in how her social positioning deters and/or aides in galvanizing the global climate strikes and the Youth Climate Movement.

Lastly, Thunberg has a unique relationship to climate change due to the cathexis she formed in relation to the environment. Thunberg is Autistic, a spectrum disorder that affects an individual's ability to communicate effectively/efficiently, hinders social interaction, and can produce obsessive tendencies. As a child, her parents noted her behavior, refusing to eat, socialize, and partake in mundane activities that she once seemed to enjoy. However, her parents pointed to her behavior as being tied to the mistreatment of the environment. The Thunberg's indicated that their daughter was vexed by inaction. For example, she demanded that if they, as a family, did not work to minimize their carbon footprint, she would refuse to eat and socialize. However, she would eat and socialize if they partook in reducing waste and minimizing their carbon footprint. This cathexis, or obsession, that Thunberg had developed became the catalyst for her climate strikes protesting every Friday and partaking in multiple rallies, culminating to her sailing the Atlantic to arrive to the UN Climate Summit to challenge the world to act on climate change (Silberman, 2020). Thus, an individual could interpret this string of connections and surmise that for Thunberg, climate change is an issue of life or death because the loss of the environment may also be a loss of Self. But what is even more important is the Public that have adopted Thunberg's anxiety as their own. Thus, I

analyze how the “Greta Effect” is not simply a consequence of Thunberg’s rhetoric, but the consequence of her essence.

Conclusion

Thunberg, Peltier, and Nakabuye all represent distinct voices within the Youth Environmental Movement. They each present their own sense of urgencies that are distinct yet in a symbiotic relationship that aide in achieving the larger goal of maintaining a future where all can co-exist. Their movement has not only engendered a collective that pushes back against political structures, but a movement that is changing the way society interacts with nature and with each other. The Youth Climate Movement provides an opportunity to rethink the nature of political movements and the theoretical lenses that can inform our understanding of them. These young activists speak from unique political and social positions in comparison to the archetypal political adult. These young individuals provide an insight to the rhetoric of the next generation and how they think of the world that they will inherit.

Chapter 1: Nakabuye

Introduction

In 2015, at around the age of 15 years old, Ugandan native Hilda Flavia Nakabuye began to experience the effects of climate change (EKOenergy, 2019). She recalls how her first encounter with the reality of global warming occurred when her grandmother's fram was desiccated due to the lack of rainfaull. Having a prescient understanding of rainfall patterns is key for farmers like Nakabuye's grandparents. Nakabuye grandmother, like many Ugandan's, relied upon her farm for her livelihood. Agriculture is the backbone of Uganda's economy, where as much as 70% of Ugandan's are economically dependent upon it (Bajaj, 2019; Elks, 2020; Nakabuye, 2019). From her grandmother's point of view, Nakabuye saw the desiccation of their family's crops as a spiritual punishment: "[My grandmother] sometimes told me that the gods must be very angry at us ... I can remember her tears; her eyes sobbing with tears all the time" (Elks, 2020, par. 4). Nakabuye felt the impacts of global warming when her family was forced to sell their livestock and land, and she had to leave university for three months (Bajaj, 2019; Nakabuye, 2019). It was during these three months that began to connect the relationship between climate change and her family's suffering.

Nakabuye invested her efforts into understanding more about climate change and how to mitigate its effect and impact on family's like hers. It was through her research that she stumbled across Greta Thunberg on Twitter (EKOenergy, 2019). Nakabuye said, ""seeing Greta striking in front of Parliament motivated me to also strike and to remind [the] government and leaders of their inaction" (Mercado, 2019, par. 2). From listening to

Thunberg, Nakabuye was able to make the connection between her family's hardship and global warming.

Nakabuye began protesting. She started protesting in front of universities calling out their lack of education on the subject (EKOenergy, 2019; Elks, 2020; Nakabuye, 2020; PickEnvrionmentWorld, 2020). Like Thunberg, she was a single voice when she started. Nakabuye tried to persuade her peers to join her protests but no one came. "My friends didn't want to stand on the streets so I did my first strike alone in front of the university. I felt scared and thought maybe I was doing something wrong. But I felt responsible and felt like I should do it" (EKOenergy, 2019, par. 5). However, she washer persistent and eventually her friends and others young people joined her. A movement began to grow and spread from university to university: and beyond. "Our actions have brought more awareness because wherever we go, we raise awareness regarding climate change in many ways such as doing climate strikes, climate campaigns, climate discussions where we traverse schools, high schools, church groups, community gatherings and universities" (par. 7). As the message spread, Nakabuye garnered recognition and became the face of the Ugandan climate movement.

Through her activism she became aware that there is only so much she and the youth of Uganda can do to mitigate climate change. She and the Ugandan youth movement are certainly critical of Ugandan leaders and their lack of action such as allowing deforestation (Okello, 2020). However, she is also pointing out that Ugandans are not responsible for global warming (Mercado, 2019). As she says: "It's not all our responsibility. Africans do not deserve to suffer a crisis we never created" (Okello, 2020, par. 17). Like other BIPOC youth activists, she is quick to note that the industrialized

West is the main culprit responsible for the conditions that countries such as Uganda, India, and Puerto Rico are experiencing (Mercado, 2019). Thus, she points to how no amount of economic wealth nor technological advancement will protect the Ugandans as long as the West continues to emit greenhouse gasses.

Nakabuye's climate advocacy raises two important issues that are often ignored on the global stage. First, that this is an issue that reveals a logic of racialization (Okello, 2020). Nakabuye's rhetoric calls attention to climate change as a racialized issue, not simply because the emissions of the West are causing suffering in other parts of the world, but also because the discourses of global climate change center on white experience. For example, she was critical of how photographers cropped out fellow Ugandan youth activist Vanessa Nakate from a picture with other youth activist that included Thunberg and other white activists, arguing that is an example of environmental racism and discrimination. Second, Nakabuye uses her platform to point to how women in rural areas are disproportionately affected by climate change. In a traditional Ugandan setting, women suffer the most (Elks, 2020). "They play the most roles in a family or a community … Women have to move long distances to look for firewood, to fetch the water, to finish up all these chores (par. 14)". Nakabuye adds: "Women are on the frontlines of the climate crisis ... I don't think it is possible to have equality for women and girls without climate justice" (par. 15). With these two theoretical lenses, Nakabuye is attempting to offer a new way of understanding the movements, power, and rhetoric of climate change.

Thus, in this chapter I will be focusing on Nakabuye's activism discussing two of her speeches and her activism on Twitter. The speeches I will be analyzing are her C40

Summit in Copenhagen in 2019 speech and COP25 in Madrid in 2019. Before providing analysis of these speeches, I will give a brief review of anti-blackness theory, which situates and informs my analysis and then discuss approaches to social media that are critical to understanding Nakabuye's use of twitter. Then I will discuss the ways that she deploys the tropes of extinction and future generations. Finally, I discuss call for invitation to coalition.

Anti-blackness

A prominent theme in Nakabuye's advocacy is anti-blackness and its materialization. Anti-blackness as a term of art has been endorsed and adopted in order to explain violence that not only happens to black/African people, but to explicate larger global acts of violence resulting from processes of racialization (Omi & Winnant, 2015). The first instance of anti-blackness being theorized was under the branch of Critical Race Theory (CRT), grouping it with a larger explanation of systematic racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Some Black/African theorist have pushed back on the idea that anti-blackness is the same as other forms of racialization (Watts, 2015; Wilderson, 2010) and have argued that the black experience should be understood as distinct from the experience of other people groups, such as indigenous, Latinx, Asians, etc. (Karera, 2019; Sexton, 2010). Anti-blackness as a theoretical lens for understanding violence foregrounds questions of "Being", agency, culture, and systems that have been ignored by other critical theories. There are many approaches to theorizing anti-blackness including: Afro-Futurism, Afro-Optimism, Afro-Centrism, and Quare Theory, among others. However, each approaches the theory of anti-blackness differently, primarily on the question of "Being" and whether slavery was a sociogenic event or an ontological

reality that continues to suture black life to slave life, and questions whether or not the plantation is still very much alive and is the essence for black life. (R.L., 2013; Sexton, 2010; Wilderson, 2010). These debates about "Being" borrow from Orlando Patterson, Saidiya Hartman, and Hortense Spillers conception of "social death.". Most notably known for attempting to elucidate these dense concepts are Wilderson (2010), Warren (2018) and King (2017) all of whom take on the question of modernity, social structures, and governing structures such as the U.S. federal government, arguing that these structures find psychic coordinates in slavery and that this explains black death and the absence of "Being".

Communication scholars have followed this route, providing new ways of thinking through the questions of anti-blackness and it's implication for the field of rhetoric. Kelsie (2019) articulates the non-communicability and impossibility that blackness has in relation to crisis. Her argument situates a world crumbling, where the end of politics "drives the nostalgic desire for a return to a normalcy and civility" (p. 63). This results in a desire to return to the tactics that sustain modernity, thus, inoculating black death. Watts (2015) speaks to the problems of nationalism and cosmopolitanism that make it hard for a sense of "unity" when understanding the racialize figure of the Black Subject, particularly in communication. Watts also points to the need to provide a grammar to account for black suffering and highlights the need to synthesize an Afro-pessimist lens for analysis (p. 276). Moreover, rhetoricians and theorist have noted the need to understand black violence on a spectrum, so that critics can better account for how it interacts with gender and sex (Hall, 2020). Saidiya Hartman (2020) argues that the agency of black women is never affirmed as Human, but only through criminality,

captivity, and subjugation is it recognized. Hortense Spillers (1987) shows how the black female body is never fully recognized as a being that has ownership of its body but is stuck in a state of being “flesh.”. “In that sense, before the "body" there is the "flesh," that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography” (p. 67). Through the female body, modernity and global politics are able to exist because slavery was able to be sustained through black female death and labor (King, 2013).

Theorists have utilized anti-blackness to understand the intersection between climate change and race, focusing on labor and exploitation as the logic behind this violence. Davis et al. (2018) utilize the term “Plantationocene” to view the Anthropocene through a lens of black embodiment, capital investment, and labor to help highlight the ways slavery continues the process of dispossession of land and people. Scholars have also pointed to how spatial displacement, gentrification, and environmental dumping on black land are enabled through the reducing of black life to non-human (Cowen & Lewis, 2016; Wright, 2017). Bledsoe & Wright (2019) explain that this is able to take place due to a schema of power that dates back to the creation of the New World. “The logics underpinning anti-Black violence are inheritances of chattel slavery. These logics cast Black geographies as empty and threatening, open to occupation, and subject to surveillance and assault” (p. 11). Thus, the logics of “Platationocene” never ended, but was simply rearticulated (Davis et al., 2018; Sharp, 2016; Wilderson, 2020).

The emptiness of black lands resembles the logics of fungibility, where the appropriation of black life and land can be used however social structures deem is necessary (King et al., 202o). Some scholars have argued that the best response to anti-

blackness is “resilience” (Dei, 2017). However, other scholars have pointed to how the notion of “resilience” misattributes the larger issues as “resilience” misdiagnosis a system at work and the reason why black people experience constant dereliction (Ranganathan & Bartman, 2019). Thus, when environmental scholars theorize the relationship between anti-blackness and climate change, they do so in order to push back on Humanist renditions that shifts the logic of exploitation and misdiagnosis’s the relationship between violence and power, often through education systems (Davis and Todd, 2017; Nxumalo, 2020).

Social Media

Another key aspect in Hilda’s advocacy is her use of social media to educate, connect with other activist, and expand her audience. Social media as a platform for advocacy has been extensively analyzed. Platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram have become not only a space to receive information, but to disseminate and congregate on political and social issues (Askanius & Uldam, 2011; Nortio et al., 2020). These platforms have played an important role in advocacy for two reasons. First, these media outlets have become a space where individuals/groups can blur the line between public and private spaces and can act to change political and social perceptions (Macnamara & Zerfass, 2012). Carney (2016) writes “today we see a multiplicity of public spheres that overlap and are constantly shifting, public spheres that are not necessarily tied to any singular governmental entity or confined within the borders of a single nation-state” (p. 184). This has led to exchanges not simply being domestic, but also global.

Second, media outlets collapse the space between political figures and ordinary users, changing the dynamic of interpersonal communication. This collapsing allows for the emergence of collectives and collective action (Habermas, 1987; Leydesdorff, 2000). This enables a process in which individual subjectivity can be tailored to fit a collectives need, which scholars argue strips individuals of true "autonomy" (Zajc, 2015). However, scholars have contested that sentiment and have pointed to the ways social media functions as a site of reclamation, subverting dominant political and social norms, particularly for racial and ethnic minorities and women. Biven's and Cole (2018) write, "social media provides individuals opportunities to resist attempts to control women's bodies and to reinsert individuals' voices in political discourse aimed to exclude those bodies" (p. 6). Social media then not only becomes a space to create collective politics, but to also establish a sense of individuality that is distinct from a dominant or hegemonic collective body.

Moreover, communication scholars have studied the effects of social media regarding political conversations (Macnamara & Zerfass, 2012; Zuniga et al., 2017), conversations of race/gender/sex (Carney, 2016; Nakawaga & Arzubiaga, 2014), and social movements (Hwang & Kim, 2015; Milan, 2015). These scholars note how the media platforms never stifles these types of exchanges, but can embolden negative consequences depending on the content and group producing the exchange. Regarding climate activism, Zuniga et al. (2017) points to how Facebook users created a group to deny the validity of climate change and would sustain this mindset through an echo chamber of exchanges. This in turn produces the outcome of individuals holding onto false realities and problematic political agendas. "Some scholars argue that this high-

choice media environment may instead have negative democratic consequences by enhancing political knowledge gaps based on content preferences, interest, and usage patterns" (Zuniga et al., 2017, p. 106).

However, while social media can legitimize problematic groups and positions, communication scholars also point to how the use of media plays an integral role in activism (Milan, 2015). First, media use creates the conditions to circulate images that brings forth reality and shatters fantasies that individuals and groups contrive for themselves. This type of media use not only pushes back on problematic information that justifies the marginalization of people and groups, but indirectly influences individuals to rethink their relationship to larger social and political questions. Second, social media provides an opportunity to not only re-think relationships to political and social structures, but to the natural world and an individuals impact on it. Barnett (2019) writes "our smartphones and social media apps offer potent resources for archiving and disseminating information about the more-than-human world and, I wish to argue, create new opportunities for reconnecting with the places where we dwell" (p. 388). Third, social media provides a mechanism of creating material change through new orientations by providing a platform for organizing protest and disrupting ideological positions. Milan (2015) writes "rather than being a sporadic and intermittent encounter, it has colonized the everyday, multiplying the occasions for experiencing the collective dimension of social action beyond irregular events like a demonstration" (p. 890). Thus, social media has expanded the boundaries of advocacy/protesting, producing new modes of relationships and thinking through ideology.

Communication scholars have noted that within the youth climate movement, social media has been key for a couple of reasons. First, social media sites have been a more effective way to educate other youth on the issues of climate change due to the usage rate tilting towards the higher end for youth (Hibberd & Nguyen, 2013). Macnamara & Zerfass (2012) point out that social media was often used by marginalized communities and youth at higher rates in comparison to adults. Second, the ability to globally connect allows for the transference of experience and ideas (Curnow & Chan, 2016; Curnow & Gross, 2016). While the increase in exchanges does occur, there also is the realization that many youth are ignorant of the realities of climate change or fall into the case of hopelessness and despair, similar to eco-anxious subjects (Curnow & Gross, 2016). Third, social media creates the ability for youth to create agency within a field that is dominated by politicians and business investors (Zajc, 2015). Milan (2015) notes how social media is able to create these conditions not simply because of the pervasiveness it has in the everyday, but because of the linguistical nature of Hashtags and catchphrases that favors youth more so then politicians and businesses (p. 891).

Extinction Rhetoric

Nakabuye treats the concept of extinction as an “assemblage”, bridging the gap between the ways that society conceives of the terminology and the actual implication of the term. She seems to approach the conversation of the climate crisis by rearticulating extinction in terms of consequences it has on human subjectivity. Moreover, her use of the term can be viewed as an “assemblage” because of the “connectiveness”. In her conference speeches and twitter activity, she centers a different set of relations than are normally associated with the discourse in order to elucidate an antagonism that subtends

not only the ways that society conceives of the idea of extinction, but environmental movements as well. She approaches extinction similar to the way that Karera (2019) approaches it: ""In other words, extinction should not only be the impetus to reconfigure human subjectivity. It should also be the ground for creating a shared multi-species planetary community" (p. 42). From both Nakabuye and Karera's point of view, the usage of the term should bring humanity into relationship with each other through a common experience. However, Nakabuye does so by highlighting difference in the human experience based on racialization.

At the 2019 COP 25 conference in Madrid, surrounded by fellow youth-climate activists including Greta Thunberg, leading scientist, and climate activists. Nakabuye unpacked the paradoxical rhetoric of the environmental movement, showing how it overlooks the violence of extinction in East Africa. She begins her speech with an indictment of the conference itself, offering a structural criticism of the way that it enters the voices and narratives of the global north. She says, "I am happy to be here because I am among the few young people who made it from the global South. I do not understand why the most affected countries are always underrepresented" (Nakabuye, 2019). This entrance into the movement is what Lacan deems the point of analysis by catching the unconscious drives off-guard. For Lacan, the psyche is formulated through a triadic relationship: the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real (Lacan/Fink, 2006; Lundberg, 2012; Matheson, 2016). The three could be understood in the following matter: the Imaginary is the site of fantasies that govern a subject's relationship to desires and drives, the Symbolic is the conglomerations of signs and signifiers that give meaning to reality, and the Real is the very thing that escapes symbolization, or in other words the excess to

language that cannot be reduced to signs and signifiers (Lundberg, 2012; Matheson, 2016). Thus, when Nakabuye begins her speech with a critique of the conference, she offers a "critical interruption" (Pezzullo, 2009). This "critical interruption" mimics Lacan's point of analysis because she sets the stage for the theme of her speech not simply as a critique of the movement, but also to call attention to the drives that justify the underrepresentation of people like her.

She then extends her critique of the conference and the environmental movement with a critique of western media. "I'm very disturbed that the Western media is silent on the climate emergency happening in Uganda and the whole of East African region. I am the voice of the dying children, displaced women, and people suffering at the hands of climate crisis created by western countries" (Nakabuye, 2020). There are two important aspects to this articulation that she carries over into her other speeches and social media advocacy. First is that this "critical interruption" produces not only a new relationship to thinking about the ways that the Imaginary gets formulated and fortified via media silences and representations, but she also interprets all of this through the lens of anti-blackness. In this way she points to the psychic structure that unconsciously overlooks the "voice" that is in a state of abjecthood.

Her critique of the psychic structures disrupts what Haimes (2019) calls the "universal moral point of view," which is the European conception of thinking about the environment that ignores the experiences and voices of nonwhite people by universalizing whiteness as the human point of view (p. 35). She furthers this disruption in her other speeches, discussing how she is "a victim of this climate crisis" (Nakabuye, 2019) and even articulating the lack of presence in social media depiction of African

children dying from the climate crisis. In other words, Nakabuye is the critical interruption,. The presence of her body and voice produces a metonymic chain of signifiers that represent the unity of young African children and women that are dying. It is a a Symbolic representation that rhetorically fractures the Imaginary space that governments fashion.

Second, by speaking on the sacrificial processes that allow the West to progress while African children and women suffer, she is juxtaposing a larger question of relationality that blackness has to not only climate change, but to the world. In her COP 25 and C40 conference speeches, she discusses the idea of Ugandan families being "sacrificed" in order for economic and technological prosperity to occur. At the C40 conference she said:

> After the massive effects of climate change in my home village — the heavy strong rains that washed away our crops and left the land bare, the constant dry spells that left the streams and wells dry — my parents had to sell off our land and livestock to sustain our lives. And when the money was over, it was a question of survival or death (Nakabuye, 2019, par.4).

She ties her families experience to the climate crisis through a lens of the apocalypse based on her family's proximity to death. Her narrative was representative of the experience of many Ugandans. This type of natural disaster would cause governments to intervene and act, but Nakabuye points how they were silent and failed to represent the people of Uganda. She even calls out the leaders at these conferences for their silence. This invokes the concept of fungibility in which black life gets rendered in terms of

utility and significance, where black life is utilized but not valued by governments and the West. Winnubust (2019) writes:

> Fungibility exerts an ontological force that, in its birthing of blackness as a category that wields extraordinary meaning and power in global economies and societies, renders blackness intransigently exterior to the category of the human. Evacuated of any mark of individuality or interiority, blackness-as-fungible challenges the dominant discourses about race that spring so easily from the assumptions of classical liberalism (p. 105).

Nakabuye's advocacy points to how black life only has significance in relation to what it can produce for others. This is even seen in climate movements when black life is referenced aas a reason for intervention, but is absent or erased from global conferences and movement leadership. For example, when Vanessa Nakatake photo is cropped, she gets cropped because her utility in being with Thunberg and other white youth activist has no value except jeopardizing an image of "the child" being anything but white, an argument that will be flushed out in the Thunberg analysis.

Nakabuye sets the stage so that her audience can encounter extinction through a prism of racialization. She is forcing her audience to encounter a "being" that does not register in the universal point of view. She not only articulates these ideas in her conference speeches, but through her Twitter presence as well. On Twitter, she circulates the concept of death and climate crisis as through images of young black children dying. In doing so, she blurs the lines between the Imaginary and the Symbolic spaces that individuals desire. Twitter as a platform creates the conditions for users to post content that resonates with them; this can be chained through re-tweets, likes hashtags, and

simply sharing an image. However, this overflow of information can produce a sense of commodification in that users in cyber-space fail to have control over the information that they receive. (Ozdoryan, 2020). Rather, information is in a constant state of flux and bleeds into all areas of thought and experience. As Ozdoryan (2020) writes,

> "Most importantly, considering with the fact that media is gradually spreading to our daily life practices, it should be noted that the borders between "work" and "life", or between "work-time" and "life-time", or in Habermas' account, between "system-world" and lebenswelt, becomes more indistinct. Put another way, "system-world" is colonizing the life-world itself and subjects living in there." (p. 58).

Nakabuye and the Youth Cclimate Mmovement writ large have recognized that "bleeding" and have used this platform to blur the Imaginary, the space in which subjects "desire" to view reality, and the Symbolic, that space in which "reality exist".

Nakabuye also ties extinction not simply to a human experience, but to a "more than human" (Hasbach, 2015) experience by , considering the violence that materializes itself in relation to animals and nature. Nakabuye fortifies this sentiment, saying "voices from the global South deserve to be heard: animals, forest, fish and birds from Africa may not count to you as they do to us, but at least make us count. We are humans who do not deserve to suffer a crisis that we did not create" (Nakabuye, 2019). Nakabuye points to how there is a precious connection to animals and nature, a spiritual, cosmological relationship, to the "more than human", gets papered over; this papering over stems from this "universal moral point of view" (Haimes, 2019). Even before she started protesting, she pointed to how her grandmother thought God was punishing her family and that this

was a consequence of a spiritual disavow. Thus, when she uses extinction rhetoric as the means to "critically interrupt" dominant climate change discourse, linking it to anti-blackness, she is also theorizing how anti-blackness manifest itself through the death of the "more than human". The spiritual and cosmological significance of nature and animals within the African tradition gets ignored and papered over as lacking significance. In other words, she does not simply utilize extinction rhetoric to collapse the Imaginary, but rather rather to collapses the Imaginary by representing an aspect of the Real, a signifier that is only understood via experience not through language. In other words, her proximity to death can only be understood through similar experiences because the Symbolic can not adequately encapsulate it. She states:

> "how long will you keep negotiating? You've been negotiating for the last 25 years even before I was born. Do you want the whole of Africa to first perish before you start acting? Do you even care if we are all drowned in floods? If you don't know how to resurrect a dead person then why are you putting us with toxic air" (Nakabuye, 2019).

Nakabuye suggests that governments and businesses are willing to "negotiate" the terms of the future dependent upon their cost and their consequences. Nakabuye points out that Africa is the cost and that the lack of intervention reveals a drive and desire at work; this drive and desire is anti-blackness. Second, it is her juxtaposing the relationship that blackness has to death, a relationship that Membe (2003) articulates as the "state of injury.". The descriptors of "sacrifice, perish, death, and voiceless" are signifiers that many anti-black scholars point to as a logic of slavery, a logic that continues to suture the relationship that blackness has to violence. The inability to incorporate and treat black

life as fully-human is manifested through not only environmental exploitation and environmental degradation, but through the dialogue that surrounds the issue of failed representation and reparation to which Nakabuye calls attention. She is critically interrupting" the dominant discourse that is articulating a need to act due to an impending doom but fails to recognize its own complicity in the state of Africa being desiccated. Thus, Nakabuye's extinction rhetoric does not assume neutrality in violence, but calls attention to an extinction as a racialized phenomenon, a logic that mimics the desires and drives of slavery.

Future Generations

Nakabuye often couples her extinction rhetoric with the trope of "future generations". When she does, she calls upon her audience to think about the intergenerational significances of climate change. The relationship between death and future generations is not a new rhetorical devise. Edelman (1998) discusses this idea of future generations through the trope of the Child. Accordingly, the child is the object that holds the desires, futures, and imaginations of political and social possibilities (p. 2). It is the very idea that produces drives that sustain future political and social orders. "That Child remains the perpetual horizon of every acknowledged politics, the fantasmatic beneficiary of every political intervention" (p.3). Nakabuye borrows and reworks this idea of future generations providing a different articulation. In the process, she re-thinks the relationship that society ought to have with future generations.

Nakabuye ties these concepts together in her speech at the Madrid by saying "I'd rather fail my exams then fail my generation" (Nakabuye, 2019). In her speech at the C40, she articulates her experience of climate change. "I am missing my classes right

now, the same way I have missed them for the last six weeks to create climate awareness. It's not the first-time climate change has kept me out of school" (Nakabuye, 2019). In both of these cases she is deconstructing, or "critically interrupting", the Imaginary conceptions that social and political schemas attach to climate change and producing a new Imaginary. She deconstructs the Imaginary through her telling of experience and the reality of the violence that she and her family went through. As previously mentioned, she talks about the loss of her grandmother's plantation, her parents struggling to make ends meet, and having to drop out of school due to the lack of financial stability. While this is a way of articulating her proximity to death, she is also speaking to the reality of generational consequences that plague her family. She points to how the consequence of climate crisis is not simply a singular moment, but a lingering temporal consequence that will plagues generations.

While acknowledging her and her families' relationship to death, she juxtaposes her experience of survival with "luck", signifying "I am lucky that I am still surviving. I will not take this for granted because people are dying every day" (Nakabuye, 2019). This trope of "luck" is a common descriptor amongst young climate activists particularly when discussing future generations. At Madrid Nakabuye pointed to how government officials describe their desires to act because of economic turmoil and precariousness, not because African children and women are dying. She says "government officials are of course very many because they followed a huge allowance that come with such meetings" (Nakabuye, 2019). She indicts the leaders and individuals in power that attend these conferences because of the fear of economic futures collapsing. On the surface, Nakabuye seems to only be suggesting that viewing the climate crisis through an

Imaginary schema of economic precariousness is how political and social networks view "the Child.". But, she is not simply talking about viewing life through a lens of economic calculus. Rather, she is indicating that viewing life through a lens of economic calculus is a lens of "privilege,", or in other words "luck.".

Moreover, Nakabuye critiques current political and social networks that view the future through a lens of probability by hedging their bets on evading the climate crisis. However, she relentlessly dismisses that notion and indicates that those systems view life through a lens of "luck". Moreover, it is a privilege to assume the probability of security because it shifts the responsibility to act on to the next generation, a generation that is comprised of people of color. D'Amato (1990) discusses this idea of "luck" and "future generations" pointing to how "luck" does not diminish the ownness to act on those who come after. D'Amato writes:

> We may have been lucky to have been born at all, but we are not ready to relinquish that luck simply on the ground that large numbers and vanishingly small probabilities are involved. The fact that somebody will be born does not mean that the person lucky enough to be born is indifferent about who it is. Future generations cannot be indifferent about whether it is they or other persons who will enjoy the fruits of the earth. If we feel we owe an obligation to them, we, too, cannot be indifferent about the question. We cannot discharge our obligation to them if in the process of doing so we deprive them of life (p. 194).

Thus, when Nakabuye discusses her relationship to "luck", she is acknowledging her privilege while invoking the need to act for future generations, since "luck" may not be on their side. Moreover, she also points to the paradoxical relationship that black life has

to “luck.” Black folks often do not experience “luck” when their proximity to death is close. Dugassa (2011) discusses how blackness as a thought gets “symbolized as mourning, sorrow, bad luck, and evil” (p. 62). Thus, Nakabuye is not simply the trying to elucidate her proximity to the Real, but to refortify the zeitgeist of the movement: the apocalypse is here and killing black children, women and the “more than human.”.

Coalitional Movement

Nakabuye never ends her speeches without calling attention to the possibilities for unity and collective harmony in combating climate change. She ends her speech at the Madrid conference by saying “every Friday we continue to go on the streets and strike for our future… we do not end on that. Me and my friends in my country and other countries in the global South and other countries around the world continue to do what we can do best to fight for our future” (Nakabuye, 2019). Similarly, she concludes her speech at the C40 conference by stating:. “I made a decision to protect the only place I call home: Earth. And so, I joined other young people all over the globe to protect our future. Through endless fights and sleepless nights, we hustle our way. Because this our future. I can tell you that we are a generation of scared people, but very ambitious ones. United, persistent, and very good at action” (Nakabuye, 2019).

In statements of solidarity and continued action she is articulating that the movement exists, that it is an assemblage, and that it engenders networks that will continue to disrupt and deconstruct current political and social systems. In this way she is reclaiming the “future”. Until this point in her C40 speech she had bee pointing to the lack of political and social intervention on the climate crisis in Uganda stems from viewing the apocalypse as a future event. But she has established that the apocalypse is

not an Imaginary event. Instead, what she and the Youth Climate Movement are producing is a different Imaginary. One that acknowledges "the child" being sacrificed in the present, and that they are taking the responsibility of salvaging their future.

For Nakabuye the possibility for acting is nestled within the movement. Thus, she offers a movement comprised of minorities, women and children; a multiplicity that creates fissures in the ways that power is constructed and wielded.

Before she closes her C40 speech, she calls upon those who are in attendance to stand up if they align with her and the youth movement. Many in the audience did stand up: gesture of support and a "promise" to fight for future generations. However, some folks did not. Nakabuye took that moment to call them out and said, "for those of you that didn't stand up, your beds might be comfortable now but not for long. You will soon feel the same heat we feel every day" (Nakabuye, 2019). This rhetorical moment could be read in a multiple ways. However, I want to call attention to how Nakabuye strings along the conversation of what it means to be treated as non-human and the realities that the climate crisis brings. At CO25, she describes the relationship that women and children of Uganda had to the environment identifying the mistreatment of both as the same thing. However, she rhetorically points to the realities of climate change being a catastrophe that targets all groups, even those who have access to economic wealth and technology. This process of chaining these metonymic realities and collapsing into a Symbolic point is the ways that Nakabuye indirectly produces eco-anxious subjects as Usher et al. (2019) have pointed. She is attempting to instill fear into the Public that are in attendance through a revelation of climate crisis' effect on Ugandans. She is hoping to ignite action, but also recognizes the eco-paralysis, that lingers amongst others in attendance. This

duality in how subjects interpret Nakabuye's message is what complicates coalitional politics because the interpretation of Nakabuye's speech is contingent upon whether or not the audience views the people that are experiencing violence are worthy of intervention.

However, she ends her speech saying, "and I also promise you: Rest assured that youth from the other side of the world are fighting for a safe future for you and for us all and are not about to give up" (Nakabuye, 2019). She ends her speech with the promise of future generations acting to save the present, but points to how the youth who are acting exist on the other side of the world. Thus, she is ending her speech by not only describing a future generation that accounts for black life, but a present generation that hear's the voices of black youth. She is synthesizing a movement that she is exclaiming to be more than just a group that is seeking to save the world. She is saying that this movement is one that will be led by black/African youth.

This idea of black and African youth leading the movement is fortified through her presence on Twitter. She utilizes images, apocalyptic rhetoric, and comic tragedy to not only educate, but engender a response to the issue of climate change. This utilization of Twitter is then an attempt to restructure the relationship that individuals and collectives have to the topic. She accompanies these images with the accountability that she places on individuals and collectives. For example, she tweeted "Daily reminder that "children" are still here demanding #ClimateAction from y'all leaders, cooperate organisations and individuals. #fighteverycrisis #FightFor1Point5" (Hilda Flavia Nakabuye, 2020). This is one of the many tweets where she puts the ownness on not just

political figures, but on daily twitter users to act and exercise their privilege, indicating that this is a collective problem that requires a collective response.

However, the most interesting theme in her twitter usageis the subtle conversation between anti-blackness and climate change that she invites other to participate in. Throughout her tweets and images, she speaks on Uganda's crisis and illustrates the crisis with images of young African children suffering. This is what Lacan describes as an attempt to understand the desires and drives of the "unconscious". For Lacan, the "unconscious is structured like language" (Gasperoni, 1996, p. 77), meaning the ways that desires and drives operate are structured by rules similar to how society constructs language. Individuals can not truly understand their unconscious because they do not understand the rules that our psyche follows. But we can understand, to an extent, the desires and drives through our "cathexis" of objects. Here, Nakabuye is revealing our desires and drives through images and rhetoric. By tweeting the images of suffering, she is revealing the relationship that her audience has to violence and subtly articulating that violence through a lens of racialization. The depiction of the women, children, animals and nature is important because it is part of a larger chain of signification that Nakabuye frames to show, that this is an issue of racism just as much as it is an issue of climate change.

This leads into the overarching relationship between the rhetorical usage of extinction, the trope of future generations, and coalitional movement. Nakabuye uses social media as a site to connect movements and call for a unified collective. Nakabuye seems to suggest through her speeches and tweets that there is a disconnect between social justice movements that are centered on race and the environmental movements.

Instead, she advocates that they are one in the same. Chavez (2013) speaks on difference in movements occurring and how when different movements try to coalesce, they often are met with tension. However, where violence and power relations overlap, coalitional moments are possible. Nonetheless, coalitions are fraught and must engage with tensions as they build relationships.

Nakabuye is not only an advocate and ambassador for the Youth Climate Movement but is very much an advocate and an ambassador in the Black Lives Matter movement. In her speeches, twitter presence, and media critique she is consistent in pointing out the racial disparity regarding representation and experience that African/Black life endure under climate change. She vividly enunciates the need to incorporate strategies that help the continent of Africa and pleads with those in power to acknowledge their "humanness.". Moreover, she points to how she and other black bodies are not only a voice that gets neglected but are images that get forgotten and only leveraged when governments and businesses need more "allowance". This form of coalitional moment is then an attempt to bridge a "grammar of suffering" (Wilderson, 2010) that goes unnoticed. Thus, besides bringing to the surface an issue of racialization that is experienced through environmental exploitation, Nakabuye is expanding the conversation of how society ought to think of the Youth Climate Movement as an extension of BLM.

Chapter 2: Peltier

Introduction

In this chapter I will be analyzing Peltier's advocacy and the way's she utilizes the trope of water to expand upon ideas of extinction, future generations, and coalitional movements. Her water advocacy within the youth climate movement is a rhetorical maneuver that is not only significant for providing insight into Indigenous traditions, but to orienting to the discourse on climate change. While both Thunberg and Nakabuye had to encounter climate change and the crisis that loomed on their own terms and recognize the need for intervention, thus articulating a different set of thoughts, Peltier is different in that she understood the need to care for the environment and the relationship humans have to nature at a young age. At an early age, Peltier was taught to view the land as "alive" and to treat it as an equal to being human (Peltier, 2013; Peltier, 2019). This early education aided in the formulating of Peltier wanting to be an advocate, particularly as it pertains to water and having access to clean water (Kelo, 2019). By the time she turned 8, Peltier had attended multiple conferences, had spoken with several world leaders, and received awards for her activism regarding water regulations (CBC, 2019). She was even given the opportunity to meet with the Canadian Prime Minister and exchange gifts (BBC, 2017; Gabriel, 2017). This intimacy to land and advocacy was instilled in Peltier in two ways.

First, growing up within the Wikwemikong First Nations territory, conceived of Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi indigenous cultures and traditions, Peltier was taught to value nature and its inhabitance as one in the same, to provide care to all, and to speak out on injustice regarding nature (Kelo, 2019; Peltier, 2019; Volkov, 2018). Peltier is part

of the Wiikwemkoong First Nation on Manitoulin Island in northern Ontario (CBC, 2019), a nation that has taught Peltier to lean into her strong native heritage as the guiding principle for how she orients herself to the world and her advocacy. Indigenous communities do not have a monolithic interpretation of the environment, since each has their own cosmological relationship to land and nature. For the Anishinaabe tribe, water is their sacred relationship. “To the Anishinaabe tribe of Northern Ontario, water holds a sacred meaning to her and her people. She [Peltier] believes that advocating for the quality of water is an honor to water itself and Mother Earth” (Volkov, 2018, par. 2).Because of Peltier’s orientation to advocating and protecting water and the folks affected by poor water regulations, she was named “water warrior” (Korte, 2019).

Second, Peltier developed an orientation towards protecting the water because of her Great-Aunt Josephine’s teachings. Her aunt was a pivotal mentor for Peltier not just because of her aunt’s advocacy and engagement with communities, but her continuous commitment to the traditions of their heritage. Her aunt would bring attention to the issues plaguing the water sources in Canada and would walk everyday by the lakes and pray for the water (Korte, 2019). Josephine’s spiritual connection to the water viewing as another being shaped Peltier’s relationship to water. Josephine passed away in 2018 but left an impact on Peltier and her mission. “She’s my hero. Ever since I was a little girl, she taught me everything I needed to know about the importance of water and becoming a woman. She was one of the most important people to me” (par. 12). This relationship Peltier had with her aunt and with her heritage also shapes and informs the nature of her advocacy and the way’s that she embodies her rhetoric. In the same manner that her aunt would trek along the five great lakes and bring awareness to the issues impacting

indigenous communities, Peltier does the same: visiting communities, listening to their stories and struggles, bringing a voice to the crisis (Volkov, 2018).

However, Peltier does not only center her advocacy around indigenous cosmology and thinking through nature in the way past generations oriented themselves towards land, but she also critiques and analyzes social and political orders through a lens of settler colonialism (Gabriel, 2017). Her advocacy of subtly points to the logics of how power operates through dichotomies of subject versus object and human versus nature (Byrd, 2011; Rifkin, 2013; Wolfe, 2006). But there are moments where her rhetoric is not subtle at all. At times her critique is evident in her posturing and pathos. For example, when she was 12 years old she took part in a ceremony where she was to hand a gift along with two other leaders to the Canadian Prime Minister, Just Trudeau. While giving the gift, a photograph was taken of her crying while making the exchange. The tears were not interpreted as social anxiety or stage freight, but as an understanding of the history between indigenous communities and the settler government. Up to that point, the Prime Minister established hundreds of pipelines across and along sacred indigenous land, violating treaties that were established for many years. She told the prime minister “I am very unhappy with the choices you've made” (BBC, 2017) and reflected on the moment later, acknowledging that that may be the only moment she had to speak with him and she did not want to let it slip away (Alex, 2017). Understanding the historical antagonism that accompany indigenous sovereignty, Peltier structures her speeches in that regard. She focuses on the ways violence gets materialized and realized through water. She says “nothing can live without water, if we don’t act now there will come a time when we will be fighting for those last barrels of water, once that’s gone we can’t eat or drink money or

oil. Then what will you do" (Peltier, 2019, par.16). She utilizes water to not only reveal a logic at work, but to also suggest a different orientation to nature and the "more than human".

In this chapter, I focus on two speeches delivered by Peltier. The two speeches I focus on are the speeches she delivered at the UN in 2018 and at the UN Global Landscape Forum in 2019. I chose these two speeches because of the rhetorical threading that Peltier articulates that not only expands upon the ideas of extinction, future generations, and coalitional movements, but on the use of water to articulate a different sense of meaning. To do so I will discuss the lines of thought that inform and situate her advocacy. First, I discuss the ethics of care and the trope of water. Then I briefly review Settler colonialism. This is followed by an analysis of her use of extinction rhetoric, her adaptation of the trope of future generations, and her deployment of coalitional possibilities.

Ethics of Care and Trope of Water

Before progressing into the analysis of Autumn's speeches, it is important to understand her theorizing of an ethics of care that is synthesized in the trope of water. This articulation of the trope of water frames her relationship to advocacy and thinking through the relationship humans ought to have with the "more than human" other. The theorization around the ethics of care is premised on a conversation regarding relationality, emotions, and value-based judgements (Allmark, 1995; Botes, 2000; Christie, 2005; Crosweller & Tschakert, 2019; Hawk, 2011; Noddings, 2013; Whyte & Cuomo, 2016). Botes (2000) writes that an ethics of care "constitutes an ethical approach in terms of which involvement, harmonious relations and the needs of others play an

important part in ethical decision making in each ethical situation" (p. 1701). Under an ethics of care framework, decisions are made based on the collective rather than the individual. This approach distinguishes between an ethics of justice and an ethics of. An ethics of care stems from the field of feminism that seeks to contest the notion that justice can simply be articulated without enacting. Allmark (1995) points how an ethics of justice tends to focus on abstract concepts that theorizes around what ought to be, an idea that tethers towards patriarchal concepts, while an ethics of care is concrete and involved since "it does not see the person making moral decisions as a radically autonomous, self-legislating individual. Rather she is tied to others" (p. 20). Furthermore, an ethics of care re-articulates the ways we think through morality and our orientation the decisions we make. Crosweller & Tschakert (2019) writes that an ethics of care "recognizes the value of lived realities when engaging in moral deliberation, rather than just identifying abstract and universal principles such as peace, freedom, and human dignity. It also seeks to acknowledge the well-being of all those who will be impacted by our respective actions" (p. 11). This orientation in turn produces a new relationship that does not think of movements or ideas of harmony and peace through an abstract lens, but materializes the abstraction and extends it to groups that are affected by the deliberation.

Moreover, an ethics of care has been utilized within indigenous cosmology to disorient political and social relations towards the environment and indigenous groups. Scholars have pointed to how indigenous interpretation of an ethics of care disrupts normative understandings of viewing the environment and its inhabitance as commodities, pointing to the view of nature as a distinct object that has an exchange value, rather than an "other" that has agency (Whyte & Cuomo, 2016). Whyte & Cuomo

(2016) point out how indigenous cosmology unhinges materialistic interpretations of the environment due to the dependency that humans have on this "other". They write, "ethical paradigms centered around caring are able to acknowledge the significance of caring for all kinds of others, as well as the complex value of ecological interdependencies and the limitations of worldviews that deny reliance on nature" (p. 3), and that the denial of "reliance" is what produces environmental collapse and degradation. This orientation is what Rifkin (2013) calls a "disorientation", where an indigenous ethics of care disrupts neoliberal conceptions of the environment as simply another object to be exploited and accumulated (Fraile-Marcos, 2020).

In relation to the trope of water, ethics of care gets filtered through this trope to elucidate a few concepts. First, it helps to problematize the ways we think of life and exploitation as a relation that is produced through neoliberal agendas (Mohanram, 2003; Scott, 2019). While water can signify life and futurity, the trope can also be utilized to exploits and justify acts of violence because of the desire to secure life and futurity (Mohanram, 2003). Second, the trope reflects the proximity to death that society has in relation to nature. As Doughty (2006) indicates, the trope of water can function as a "double discourse" (p. 264) since nature is key to sustaining social life, but can be the cause of death and catastrophe. Third, the trope of water functions to produce a new possibility. As Fraile-Marcos (2019) writes "alternative ways of being and doing in the world that respect, nurture, and foster social and natural ecological balance" (p. 67). This alternative way of being is produced because of the spiritual, cosmological interpretation that indigenous communities attach to water. Indigenous collectives differ in the view of water, but a common theme is the idea of "birth" and being renewed; this idea stems from

the ways indigenous communities conceptualize the land as alive and society being derived from water and land (Jackson, 2005; Toussaint et al., 2001). Moreover, due to the spiritual connection to the water, different religious and oral traditions are created, which produces distinct subject orientations (Jackson, 2005).

Settler Colonialism

In addition to relying on an ethics of care, Peltier also points to the logics of settler colonialism as the constituting ideology that structures environmental injustices experienced by Indigenous communities. Settler Colonial theory focuses on historical relationships between settlers and indigenous communities and how these relationships are structured by a logic of dispossession, especially land clearing, and genocide. However, a point of deviation that Patrick Wolfe (2006) discusses when thinking through the thought of genocide to settler colonialism is the nuance that settler colonialism has to its ideology; it does not always manifest in full out genocide but through a dialectic of negative and positive relations. “Negatively, it strives for the dissolution of native societies. Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base—as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event” (p. 388). This type of dialectic is known as the “logic of elimination”. Moreover, the ways that indigenous groups are rendered by this violence results from the settlers need for space and territorial expansion, In order to gain economic access and resources (Byrd, 2011). Scholars point to how Settlers come to view the land as empty, known as terra nullius, despite indigenous presence. This is enabled by viewing indigenous people as “savage” and non-human (Englert, 2020; Wilderson, 2010). Thus, the distinct feature that Settler colonialism has in comparison to Imperialism and Colonialism is that the later exploits

and departs while the former stays, exploits, and builds a home to govern and sustain with political orders (Veracini, 2016).

This idea of building a "home" bleeds into another key aspect in Settler colonial studies, which is the theory of sovereignty and the way the settler state formulates its existence. Sovereignty, the political and social order established by settlers, is an important dimension in the settler's existence because it becomes a means of justify staying on the land. This justification is derived through the binary of viewing indigenous life as "savage" and needing of technological, social, and political refining (Byrd, 2011; Rifkin, 2013; Wilderson, 2010). Moreover, sovereignty is important when analyzing rhetoric because the idea of sovereignty is grounded in two ideas. The first is that its legitimacy is grounded on laws and legal systems. the idea of sovereignty articulates two ideas. Hiller & Carlson (2018) point to how sovereignty is an extension of how one perceives their relationship to the land and its inhabitance, and settlers mimic this orientation through laws and legal systems because of the necessitated to claim the land and discount other forms of governance. For the settler the primary goal is to establish legitimate claims to the land. This makes an ethics of care regarding the land as secondary. Morgensen (2011) writes that sovereignty through laws and legal systems becomes "a logic that presumes and produces apparatuses of colonial rule while precluding distinctive modes of Indigenous governance" (p. 64), since settler sovereignty becomes the presumed "legitimate" means of governing. This type of technocratic orientation to the land becomes the means to discount indigenous sovereignty.

Second, the desire to discount indigenous sovereignty is premised on the need to establish the settler's own view of legitimacy and making of an ethical stance. This view

of legitimacy is tied to the need for the settler to sustain their "imago". The "imago" is a psychoanalytic term that Jung introduced and Lacan expanded upon in his seminar on the "mirror stage" (Caton, 1993). "Imago" is a term for describing images that produce intersubjective relations because the image does not simply stand in as an object, but is an object that holds emotions and meaning. Moreover, the "imago", or image, becomes an object that the subject begins to identify with and aligns itself with. Henderson (2015) expands upon this theoretical lens and articulates that the settler's "imago" is premised on the elimination of indigenous groups and through the dichotomy of savage-settler relation. This "imago" is tied to sovereignty in the settler's "city on the hill" must be protected at all cost because if the sovereign ceases to exist, then the settler loses its existence. Thus the settler's subjectivity is intimately tied to the settler state. However, Henderson does point how the settler's "imago" experiences fractures when confronted with the realities of settler colonialism and viewing their tactics and schemas through the lens that indigenous groups view them through. This "revelation" becomes a shifting point in the Imaginary, in which the "city on the hill" is not a site to protect, but a site of desires that need to be deconstructed. Henderson (2015) writes:

> "This explosion is potentiated by the revelation of even a portion of the violence that is required to make settler life possible. If, for example, settlers are forced to see 'their' beach as a site of murder and ongoing colonization, it becomes more difficult to sustain it within the imaginary as a site of frivolity" (p. 50)

Thus, when confronted with the atrocities of settler colonialism, the settler's "imago" begins to break and through the breakage, a process of disorientation occurs, where desires become antagonistic to the settler state (Rifkin, 2013). Thinking through an

indigenous cosmology and its critiques of settler colonialism provides a new avenue for thinking about power and relations. This is what an analysis of Peltier's rhetoric offers.

Extinction Rhetoric

Like Nakabuye, Peltier also engages the conversation of extinction as an assemblage. She tethers the idea of extinction to indigenous traditions and cosmological orientation to elucidate a different relationship to death and climate change. The way Peltier tethers these ideas to her native traditions is through the trope of water, which provides her with a different Symbolic coordinate, a coordinate that accounts for the "more than human". Because for her water is alive and has agency, this trope creates a radical departure from the Western interpretation of viewing the land as a distinct other (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1995). As Rowe & Tuck (2017) point out, "water" in Indigenous social thought represents life and possibility for Indigenous collectives, a social thought that produces alternative orientation to western reality. "Much of Indigenous social thought is concerned with relationships, relationality, and collectivity. Important concepts include futurity, responsibility and reciprocity, obligations of being a guest, and resistance" (p. 10). Peltier's use of this trope fractures an Imaginary, or in Henderson's (2015) terms the "imago", and articulates a new orientation to the Symbolic, or a disorientation to settler relationships to land.

Disorientation is an important concept that Peltier subtly suggest throughout her speeches and advocacy, particularly when utilizing the trope of water to discuss extinction. As Rifkin (2013) points out, "disorientation" is an act of changing the relationship that individuals have to the land at a conscious machination and through

indigenous cosmology becomes a method of disrupting the way settlers orient themselves to both human and non-human relations. He writes:

> Becoming conscious of the everyday enactment of settlement involves relinquishing the notion of an autonomous, extra-political selfhood existing in a place apart, instead opening onto a recognition not only of enduring Native presence within contemporary political economy but of the effaced history of imperial superintendence and displacement that provides the continuing condition of possibility for the sense of settler escape into the wilderness (p. 336).

This form of confronting settler desires becomes an important framework in Peltier's advocacy. For example, she often compares the loss of human life to water pollution, arguing that they are one in the same.

She begins both of her speeches by greeting her audience in her native dialect, to set the tone and establish her identity in the speeches. It is a moment where she not only acknowledges her heritage and identity but forces the audience to recognize in her voice her indigeneity. She progresses in both speeches discussing the value of water and then shifts to the paradox that confronts her community and indigenous peoples. She compares the situation of indigenous people to that of "third world" countries. At the United Nation General Assembly, she said "It all started by learning why my people couldn't drink the water on Ontario Indigenous lands. I was confused, as Canada is not a Third World country, but here in my country, the Indigenous People live in Third World conditions"(Peltier, 2019, par.4). In her earlier visit to the UN when she was 13 years old, she had the same trepidations, saying ""I always hear other countries around the world having no water or having very polluted water. What will happen? Then I got

scared. This is serious" (Peltier, 2018, 1:28). This orientation that she articulates in both speeches echoes arguments that Nakabuye flushed out in her speeches: that the West was sacrificing West Africa and the global south for their own political and social gain.

However, Peltier explains this violence through the trope of water and the paradoxical relationship water now holds. From the indigenous point of view water is life. But, due to economic desires and the need to exploit and accumulate, water has become death both physically and spiritually. Physically in the sense that people are dying due to deleterious substances in the water. Spiritually because political and social networks are desacralizing the Symbolic value that water plays in indigenous cosmology. The very thing that Peltier desires, that her Aunt prayed to for thanks and to show gratitude, and that which is central to her people's culture is becoming a potential threat to their existence. For Peltier, extinction and death are not just physical acts, but a spiritual violence.

This articulation of spiritual violence is synthesized through Peltier's description of water being "alive". She says "When you ask the question about why is the water so sacred, it's not just because we need it, and nothing can survive without water. It's because for years and years our ancestors have passed on traditional oral knowledge that our water is alive, and our water has a spirit" (Peltier, 2019, par. 8). Here Peltier is not saying that our dependency on water gives credence to it's essence. Rather, water exist as a separate "being", as an Other that registers as human. Thus, when she articulates the manner in which extinction is manifested, she is pointing to water pollution as the signifier that the apocalypse has arrived. This type of articulation is the disorientation that fractures the "imago" and allows for a distancing of violence and responsibility. This

articulates and expands upon what Whyte (2017) indicates to be the act of "terraforming" the land to fit the schema of colonization, that the land must be made "flesh" in order to justify exploitation (p. 159). Therefore, when Peltier speaks about water as being "alive", she is attempting to undo a Symbolic schema that has reduced water to "flesh", as a non-human other that can be exploited.

Moreover, she extends the conversation of spiritual violence to the way's individuals experience the consequence. She funnels this reality through a particular signifier that is centered in her advocacy. In both of her speeches, she centers the concept of water being polluted and signified through boil advisory's. Boil advisory's are signs that are created and disseminated by governments agencies in order to signify the water being contaminated and needing to be boiled for consumption/use. For Peltier, the need to boil water and to purchase water reflects a dichotomy of experience that should never occur. In 2018, she says "I'm so fortunate I could still drink the water from the lake but sometimes I question it. Not far from where I live, there are communities that have lived through boil water advisory" (Peltier, 2018). She furthers this conversation by elaborating on the violence and connecting it to other experiences.

> "Boil water advisories are still in existence and have been for over 20 years in some communities. There are children born into a world living off bottled water, living off a certain amount to do everyday things. I began to research this issue and discovered it was all across Canada. Then I learned of places like Flint, Michigan, in the U.S. Then I learned the seriousness of having clean drinking water" (Peltier, 2019, par. 6).

Similar to how Nakabuye learned of climate change and the crisis that her people were experiencing through individuals like Thunberg, Peltier connects the relationship of water to death through places like Flint Michigan or neighboring tribes. She points out that this dichotomy exist because of the monopolization of water and the spiritual disavow that justifies monopolization. The ability for governments to look away and not take care of the water is reflective in their orientation to Indigenous groups and treaties. Historically there has always been an antagonism and failure to maintain these contractual agreements, primarily due to the inability to conceptualize land and nature in the way that indigenous groups do (Hiller, 2016). Peltier points out that this logic still structures the relationship to violence and is disguised in economic conversations. She says "water should not be for sale we all have a right to this water as much as rich people all people no one should have to worry if the water is clean or if they will run out of water no child should grow up not knowing what clean water is or never knowing what running for" (Peltier, 2018, 3:29). She rightfully points out that water is not a thing that can be owned in the same manner that human life cannot be objectified and owned. As she says "water is a basic human right" and to deny that right is to reinvest into a logic of settler colonialism.

Peltier views extinction through a lens of spiritual disavow that trickles to physical dereliction. It's through the lens of viewing the land as a commodity, a desacralizing orientation, that allows for the manifestation of people dying. Thus, the trope of water functions as a mechanism that not only elucidates an Imaginary that constructs nature as an "other" that in turn produces a Symbolic coordinate that leads to people dying, it is a rhetorical trope that is critical to disorienting desires. Peltier

embodies the idea of water being “alive” and through that embodiment reveals the terrors of settler colonialism and the ways extinction goes unnoticed.

Future Generations

In the same manner that Peltier interprets ideas of extinction through the trope of water, her understanding of future generations is informed by the value that water plays in understanding responsibility and covenantal agreements (Hiller, 2016; Whyte, 2016). Peltier centers the trope of water when discussing future generations, but does so in a manner that forces the subject to encounter a state of being before the realities of the world are realized. She thematically structures her speech to have the subject encounter their origins and primordial state of being before being polluted by the ideology of the world. This encounter is what Lacan calls the mirror stage.

The mirror stage is an important concept in Lacanian psychoanalysis. It is the stage where the child enters the state of rationality, where desires become recognized and rationalized; in other words, this is the state of “being” where the child is indoctrinated into the triadic relationship of the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real (Lacan/Fink; 2006; Lundberg, 2012; Matheson, 2016). Lacan points to the child in its primordial state of feeling and being “whole”, a feeling of completeness with no “lack”. However, when the child begins to develop, both mentally and physically, and sees itself through a mirror, it finally realizing itself as an “other”, and it becomes fractured (Gunn, 2004). It becomes fractured because it sees itself as a whole being, with a body and limbs that responds on command. But nestled within its body are desires that fluctuate and exist within different spaces and in different moments (Lacan/Fink, 2006). Thus, through this paradoxical relationship the child desires to return back to its primordial state, a state

before desires and a lack is created. It desires to be complete. This is the essence of the mirror stage.

This is an important concept when thinking through the concept of future generations in Peltier's speeches because she attempts to bring those in attendance back to the moment in which subjects where "complete". The moment that she chooses to bring the audience back to is their first encounters with water within their mother. She says "for years and years our ancestors have passed on traditional oral knowledge that our water is alive, and our water has a spirit. Our first water teaching comes from within our own mother" (Peltier, 2019, par.8). This point of articulation is important because she is returning the audience back to a point of gestation, a period in which the subject constructs their relationship to water through their mother without realization. Just like the child who does not recognize desires flowing, so does the child existing in the womb does not recognize intimacy and necessity of the mother's water. She continues, "We literally live in water for nine months, floating in that sacred water that gives us life. We can't live in our mother's womb without water" (par.8). The dependency that the child has to the mother is a consistent imagery that Peltier floats. It provides two important understandings when thinking through future generations. First, is that the relationship between the child and mother is sacred and is developed before the child is even born. The "nine months" that she alludes to is then not only the gestation period but is the period in which the child and mother create a pact, a covenantal, sacred relationship. Second, the uniqueness in this articulation that Peltier is fashioning is that water is the binding agreement that sustains the covenantal pact between the mother and child. It is the very thing that the child "can't live without", as well as the mother. It mimics a

relationship of a treaty, where both parties enter into a covenantal agreement with the understanding that each party will care and lend a helping hand to survive (Hiller, 2016). Thus, the child is not the only one that is dependent, but the mother as well.

She expands upon this idea, or signification, to arrive at a "truth" about intergenerational relationships. She says "as a fetus, we need that sacred water for development. The sacred significance is that my mother comes from her mother's water, my grandmother comes from her mother's water, and my great-great grandmother comes from her mother's water" (Peltier, 2019, par. 9). This tying of relationships is a signification that articulates an intergenerational relationship that is structured by water, water that has been passed on from each generation and with each passing generation carrying a part of someone. From that point of view water then is not only sacred because it gives life and affirms life. It is also sacred because it carries a memory of someone. It has meaning for its conglomeration of memories. Peltier furthers this idea with moral obligations to future generations, saying "one day I'll be an ancestor and I want my great-grandchildren to know I tried hard to fight so they can have clean drinking water. Water deserves to be treated as human with human rights" (Peltier, 2018, 3:16). That idea of someone being a part of each flow challenges the orientation a subject ought to have because it produces a responsibility to water as well as past and future generations. Future generations are not only affected by present decisions, but it shows and gives reverence to past relations. As Peltier points out, recognizing that she is part of a flow that tracts back to her great-great grandmother allows her to understand that her great-grandchildren will be a part of her.

Moreover, a key idea in her description of future generations is the way Mother Earth embodies morality and justice. Peltier says, “Flowing within us is original water, lifeblood of Mother Earth that sustains us, as we come from this land. Mother Earth’s power is in the lifeblood of Mother Earth, which is our water. Mother Earth has the power to destroy us all, and if we keep harming her, one day she may decide to destroy everything” (Peltier, 2019, par. 10). While this can be interpreted as extinction rhetoric, I want to focus on the intimacy in the violence. The humanizing and recognizing the agentic capacity for Mother Earth to respond with violence that is deliberate changes the idea of future generations. Peltier is pointing out that the need to act and to properly orient oneself to nature is important not simply because of Mother Earth’s ability to unleash violence, but because the violence would be experienced by our “great-grandchildren”. It would reflect a cyclical set of violence’s that mimic the violations of treaties. In the same way that settlers and indigenous communities engage in generational violence, Humans and Mother Earth will experience violence. Thus, Peltier is echoing the need for a return to viewing nature as life and reminds the audience that they are subject of the first covenantal agreement that we enter into. A covenantal pact sutured in our mother’s womb that is centered on harmony, dependency, and the need for survival.

Coalitional Movement

In the same manner that Nakabuye never ends her speeches without an orientation to coalitional movement and unity in the struggle against climate crisis, the same is true of Peltier. She points to the need to recognize the suffering that occurs in other communities and the necessity to empathize and act for those communities through the trope of water. Her articulation is producing a coalitional moment because she names the

very group that gets shadowed within political and social networks; in other words, she brings to light a violence that gets mapped over. “I have been raised in a traditional way and knowing my territory and the waters around my country and the issues my people face. I have heard of places like Flint and Six Nations in the Grand River; all across these lands we know somewhere where someone can’t drink the water” (Peltier, 2019, par. 13). Naming the group is significant because it values the voice that gets disavowed within political and social networks, validating their agency and “being” in the same manner she advocates for water protection. Moreover, Peltier is not only reifying the relationship in which human life and water are dependent upon each other, but she is also articulating the very structure that legitimizes the violence. While Nakabuye points to the logics of anti-blackness being the constituting schema in black death, Peltier is pointing to Settler Colonialism as the antagonism to the violence that Flint and Six Nations experience.

She verifies this point when she recalls her encounter with the Prime Minister in 2016. “I shared my thoughts with our prime minister, and he promised me in 2016 he would look after the water, and as a youth I will hold him or any future leader to this promise for my people” (Peltier, 2019, par. 14). This encounter is important because it reflects a symbolic encounter between the Settler and the Native, an encounter premised on promises, but met with failed promises. “Children in Northern Ontario communities right now still can’t drink their water. Water is a basic human right. We all need to think about the planet and work together on solutions to reduce the impacts of human negligence” (par. 14). Her revealing of the failed intentions of the Prime Minister changes the orientation individuals ought to have to groups that are suffering because of failed promises. Peltier is disorienting the narrative that violence can only be resolved by

political forces and is suggesting the need to act on the behalf of those pushed to the wayside. However she is also pointing to the need for the ordinary social subject to act and to partake in the movement. In the same manner that she has pointed to Humans and Mother Earth being dependent upon each other, she is showing that the political and social world are dependent upon each other. This echoes the resolve that she shows to the President in 2013, saying "Mr.President, we need to work together. Now is the time to Warrior up and Empower each other to take a stand for our planet. We need to sustain the little we have now and develop ways to not pollute the environment, and sustain our relationship with Mother Earth and save what we have left." (Peltier, 2018, 3:47). This type of articulation then not only challenges the nature of power and the circulation of power, but offers a different orientation to the relationship nature and "others".

However, a distinct aspect in her "disorientation" of the normative relationship is predicated upon a unique ideological turn. Peltier calls upon her audience to embrace indigenous cosmology, and a return to a proper orientation that views life at a primordial state of being. A state of being where decisions were based on survival and relations, not economic and technological ventures.

> "So why can't we ban all plastics and go back to the old way, and work for our daily living? That's an inexpensive solution, by trying to be more environmentally friendly and do the work. My ancestors were hard workers. My people survived without electricity and what we see today. Why can't we go back to our ways" (Peltier, 2019, par.16).

This call to a return to indigenous ways of being is a critical aspect in producing a coalitional moment because she is deconstructing an ideology that justifies the

exploitation of people and nature. If social and political networks oriented themselves to the possibility of viewing nature as "alive" and viewing life through the prism of survival and building relations, then extinction would not be a concern. Thus, she points to the need to embrace a cosmological return and points to elders and children holding the solution. "Maybe we need to have more elders and youth together sitting at the decision table when people make decisions about our lands and waters. I said it once, and I will say it again. We can't eat money or drink oil" (Peltier, 2019, par. 16). The reason for her call for more elders and youth is not only the generational relationship that is constructed, but stems from the view of life. She seems to suggest that both elders and youth view life through a framework of wholeness and need for relationships rather than economic gain. She understands that the youth are not rationalizing their futures through economic needs and the elders do not require economic desires. Those needs and desires do not serve a purpose because there is no "inherent" perceived lack.

Peltier is able to make this argument of "no lack" in conjunction to an orientation to indigenous cosmology because her system of value funnels desire through a need of survival and relationships. She has pointed out that survival is contingent upon building relationships, and relationships are essential for survival. Thus she forwards a call for coalitional movement through an ending of barriers and recognizing each other as human. She says:

> "We need to join forces with all nations regardless of colour and nationality. Mother Earth does not discriminate, and we need Mother Earth to live, and we need the waters. When we stand together as one, we are one voice and one nation,

> and together as one we are stronger. We have this one last chance to save our planet. Let's do this for our great, great grandchildren" (Peltier, 2019, par. 18).

She closes her speech in this manner because that is the centripetal point of her advocacy. We are all human. No one is better than the other. Unity and coalitions advance society and fulfills are basic need: survival. However, unity is fractured the moment we desire more than survival. For example, when desire takes shape through economic and technological advancement. Those desires that exceed survival produce violence, where individuals and land get reduced to objects to achieve it. She is offering these ideas and posing them to the audience not only to point to the necessity to act due to extinction or a moral obligation to future generations, but she seems to be suggesting that only a return to an indigenous orientation can fulfill the lack that has been produced and that can only be achieved through a coalitional movement.

Chapter 3: Thunberg

Introduction

I want to conclude the analysis of this thesis with Greta Thunberg, the youth activist that garnered my attention. Thunberg is peculiar when juxtaposing her experience in comparison to Nakabuye and Peltier. Even from early upbringings she experienced reality drastically different from Peltier and Nakabuye, where money was not an issue nor access to clean water. Thunberg was born into a very affluent, artistic family. “Her mother, Malena Ernman, is an opera singer, and her father, Svante Thunberg, is an actor. She has a younger sister, Beata, who is a popular singer in Sweden” (Biography.com, 2021, par. 4). However, Thunberg being brought up in a well-to-do family did not shield her from the realities of being “human”. She was diagnosed with Autism, had a problem socializing and building relationships. She was bullied at school. She would refuse to eat, interact, and open up with her family (Silberman, 2020). However, around the age of 8 she became fixated with the topic of climate change and started to learn more about collapsing eco-systems and their impact on other people.

Her concerns about climate change did not go unnoticed. Her family attempted to accommodate and address her concerns by getting more involved in the environmental movement and began with acts of environmental consciousness, such as recycling. However, Greta expected and demanded more. She wanted her family to become vergan because she understood that animal agriculture and especially meat consumption are a big contributor to the climate crisis. Thunberg said, “I just kept telling them that they were stealing our future…[I told them] that you cannot stand up for human rights while you are living that lifestyle. And then they decided to do those changes” (Pointing, 2019, par.

40). These were not just simple episodes of Thunberg demanding that her family act. Her calls for family action and demand that their action match their principles became the mantra of her activism: you are stealing our future.

This became her mantra embodied in her activism and advocacy. Since her famous reprimand at the 2019 UN Summit, climate activism has drastically increased. This is known as the “Greta-Effect”. Thunberg forced people to encounter their daily choices, even in relation to travel. “The term "Greta Thunberg effect" entered the lexicon more than a year ago in conjunction with reported declines in air and train travel even before the COVID-19 pandemic” (Flanagan, 2021, par. 4). More than the decline in fossil fueled transportation, or even in her family and potentially others transitioning to veganism, she has spurred action.

> “Surveying a representative sample of 1,303 adults in the U.S., they [climate activist] found a link between familiarity with Thunberg and collective efficacy – the belief that individuals can work together to achieve a common goal. Given that collective efficacy is associated with intention to take collective action, they concluded that awareness of Thunberg and her campaign lead to a higher likelihood of engaging in collective action” (Flanagan, 2021, par. 6).

The increase in action has been pivotal in the environmental movement. More people than ever are voicing their concerns and materializing their voice in bodily protest. Political networks are responding, social economies are shifting, and ideological conceptions of the climate crisis are changing.

While there has been an increase in the environmental movement writ large, two consequences have culminated due to the rise of Thunberg that has been documented.

The first, is an increase in activists that are motivated by anxiousness. Climate Psychology Alliance (CPA) and American Psychological Association (APA) call this "eco-anxiety". As mentioned earlier, "eco-anxiety" stems from the fear of the environment collapsing and changing the terrain of human life, or essentially ending it. A study from Yale in 2018 found that 49% of participants felt global warming was impending with 16% believing it would result in the destruction of the planet (Leiserowitz et al., 2019). However, psychologists and psychotherapists are diagnosing this strand of anxiety as a "normal and healthy reaction" to climate change and environmental catastrophes (Sarchet, 2019), describing eco-anxiety to the precariousness of the yet to come global catastrophe (Nugent, 2019). Thus the "Greta Effect", where other youth have joined the movement in the name of Thunberg as the proprietor of meaning (Baraitser, 2020), helps to elucidate the eco-anxiousness that cultivates action.

A second consequence that is occurring is that children are not the only ones being affected by Thunberg's rhetoric and activism; parents and adults are joining the movement as well. Lily Cameron, a member of Extinction Rebellion and a mother, talks about her involvement with the climate change movement. "I don't want her [Thunberg] to become anxious… for children, anxiety is more of a problem because they have so little control over their lives. Because of that, there are some things I wouldn't say to her" (BBC, 2019). Parents are identifying with their children in the same way that their children are identifying with Thunberg's eco-anxiety.

Thus in this chapter, I will analyze Thunberg's advocacy focusing on two of her most talked about speeches. I will focus on the famous "How Dare You" speech that she delivered at the UN Summit in 2019 and her follow up "Our House is on Fire" speech she

gave at Davos in 2020. These two speeches are important because they not only discuss the tropes that have been analyzed thus far but speaks to the ways that the "Greta-effect" articulates itself. I begin this analysis by unpacking the "Greta-effect". Then, I discuss her use of extinction rhetoric, future generation tropes, and finally, discuss the coalitional possibilities in her rhetoric.

Greta-Effect

Before progressing into the analysis, I want to spend time unpacking the "Greta-effect". As already mentioned, the climate movement has grown since Thunberg's 2019 UN speech, with 10 million advocates increasing whether through protesting, donations, or voting (Sabherwal et al., 2020; Taylor et al., 2019). This is what makes the term important, particularly when analyzing the public that aligns with the youth movement because there is the possibility that they identify with Thunberg more than the movement itself. Thus, the "Greta-effect" should be understood in its proper context to elucidate the consequences of Thunberg's rhetoric and advocacy.

As scholars have pointed out, Thunberg's rhetoric is situated within an interesting axis of experience: she is filtered under a rhetoric of feminism, disability, and whiteness. In regards to her being a girl, her advocacy garners media attention due to the rise in teen girl activism and advocacy; however, the rhetoric of these teenage girls is often subsumed and scrutinized through an ageist lens, which tends to dismiss and invalidate their voices (Ryalls & Mazzarella, 2021). However, what distinguishes Thunberg from most teenage activist is her disability and whiteness. These lens redirects the ways people interpret Thunberg and her place within the movement. Typically individuals that embody a disability are perceived to be an obstacle in of themselves and are expected to be limited

in rhetorical efficacy. However, Thunberg is an exception because her disability is not viewed as an obstacle, but rather as a superpower. Or rather, she has been able to claim her disability as a "superpower". What is distinctively important about her ability to turn her disability into an advantage is that it enables her to elucidate the concept of "hope and shatter the sense of normalcy.

While this aspect of the "Greta-effect" has a positive consequence, it has also been intimately tied to her whiteness. This further perpetuates a connection between her disaibility and whiteness. Scholars have often pointed to the way in which disability advocacy is leveraged and publicized via the discourses of whiteness. This is partially due to the nestling of special education programs are more common and pronounced in affluent white communities. Thus, when Thunberg leverages her disability for rhetoric effect that rhetoric is woven together with whiteness. Thus, the "Greta-effect" materializes as a psychic investment into the experience of whiteness.

This is crystallized in the environmental movement. The "Greta-effect" takes shape due to the combination of rhetorical tropes in extinction/apocalyptic rhetoric, future generations, and coalitional movements. "This is the strongest element of her rhetoric; her simple and mature ability to rationalize and address the problem at hand: the environmental crisis" (Michael, 2021, p. 34). Thus when communication scholars grapple with the "Greta-effect" they are indeed discussing not just the environmental crisis and the way it plagues communities, but a very real phenomena in Thunberg's "being" that is synthesized within the rhetoric.

Extinction Rhetoric

Like Nakabuye and Peltier, Thunberg utilizes description of extinction and the imagery that she attaches to the apocalypse to help construct a collapsing future. This type of imagery aligns well with Lacan's ideology regarding the mirror stage. As previously mentioned, the mirror stage is a formative part in Lacanian psychoanalysis. It is the moment where the child develops rationality, desires, and drives and spends their whole life trying to return to that moment of completeness. Thus, like Peltier's rhetoric that returns its audience to their mirror moment through the discourse of settler colonialism and indigenous cosmology, so does Thunberg. However, Thunberg's rhetoric differs because of the signifier that she embodies. This is an idea that will be flushed out in greater detail in the next section on future generations. For now, it is important to note that Thunberg, functions as the "little other", or what Lacan called a "specular image". Unlike Peltier and Nakabuye where their rhetoric and embodiment resonates within a particular cartography and ideological attunement, Thunberg seems to be more than that. She seems to be the little-other that resonates with the public. As Rivkin & Ryan (2004) write:

> This representational imaginary, which both culminates in and is engulfed by the cartographer's mad project of an ideal coextensivity between the map and the territory, disappears with simulation, whose operation is nuclear and genetic, and no longer specular and discursive. With it goes all of metaphysics. No more mirror of being and appearances, of the real and its concept; no more imaginary coextensivity: rather, genetic miniaturization is the dimension of simulation (p. 366).

Thunberg is the “representational imaginary” that explodes the Symbolics orientation towards the climate crisis. This is verified through the “Greta-effect”. This is an important point of emphasis because her rhetoric has a direct consequence that can be traced. Therefore, when she invokes extinction rhetoric and apocalyptic scenarios, there seems to be a thread in meaning to her imagery. She is attempting to be the “little other” that can produce a movement.

This is what makes her imagery and process of signification unique. Not because her rhetoric is distinct from Nakabuye, Peltier, or any other youth activist. What makes her unique is the significance in interpretation, the ability to cause a pause in social and political networks; to catch the unconscious within language. She leverages tropes of the apocalypse in this manner. For example, she says at Davos, “One year ago I came to Davos and told you that our house is on fire. I said I wanted you to panic. I’ve been warned that telling people to panic about the climate crisis is a very dangerous thing to do, but don’t worry, it’s fine” (Thunberg, 2020, par. 1). She enters the speech in this regard to remind them of her promulgation a year ago: that the climate apocalypse is here and we need to act. She personalizes the audiences’ attachment to the crisis by articulating how earth is their “home” and it being on “fire” postures the public in a fight or flight mentality. However, there seems to be little to no intervention from the political.

She continues “Trust me, I’ve done this before and I can assure you it doesn’t lead to anything. And for the record, when we children tell you to panic, we’re not telling you to go on like before (par. 1). This quote is interesting because she is acknowledging the limit to her rhetoric to invoke change within aspects of the Symbolic. The political has not moved and she even points out how the U.S. departure from the Paris Agreement has

motivated other nations to do the same. She points to economic futurity and technological advancement, or the fantasies of economic futurity and technological advancement, as the mechanism for lack of action. At the UN she say, “For more than 30 years, the science has been crystal clear. How dare you continue to look away and come here saying that you're doing enough, when the politics and solutions needed are still nowhere in sight” (Thunberg, 2019, par. 4). Thus, the recognition of the political’s failure to act is noted, as well as the limits of her own rhetoric. Or in proper Lacanian terms, the “little other” recognizes the limits of its own ability to change the “big other”.

But that is not the purpose in her usage of extinction rhetoric. She is not attempting to fracture the political’s imagery to act and respond. Rather, she is calling upon the social economy to listen. At the UN she says “My message is that we'll be watching you” (Thunberg, 2019, par. 1). The utilization of “we” was peculiar, for Thunberg was the only child to enter the domain of other world leaders. However, the “we” she denotes suggest a signifier of alliance. The "we" signifies not only the people and groups that align with her and her sentiment, but also differences in experiences. Before Thunberg, many children had taken the leap of courage to reprimand political and social institutions that have allowed global warming to progress, predominantly black and indigenous children, such as Bruno Rodriguez, Hilda Flavia Nakabuye, Autumn Peltier, and Ridhima Pandey to name a few. This means the "we" that Thunberg articulates is a metonymic signifier within a chain of intersubjective relationships that are situated within the chains of the symbolic exchange. Yet the difference in the intersubjective relation within the metonymic chain of signifiers rest in the experience attached to the signified object of climate change. She juxtaposes the “we” to her own experience, the “I”.

She says "You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words. And yet I'm one of the lucky ones. People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you" (Thunberg, 2019). Thunberg "acknowledges" the "detour" and eloquently spots how she is the "lucky one" while others are "suffering"; Thunberg splits up the "we" she speaks into two *distinct* groups that are experiencing climate change differently. At a meta-level, Thunberg's description of climate experience reveals the structural nature of the Political or the Other, where one group is "lucky," and the other is in a perpetual state of "suffering". The "suffering" group experiences the crisis because the Political fails to act. The Political fails to act due to imaginary spaces filled with hopes of economic and technological advancements.

This imagery of the "house on fire" and the juxtaposing of "we" and "I" is important to the social world. She is personalizing the experience to resonate a chord with the Pubic, to bring them to the mirror stage to so they can encounter the potential loss on a personal level. She further accentuates this point of analysis by showing the audience how the Political is willing to sacrifice individuals. She says, "I wonder what will you tell your children was the reason to fail and leave them facing a climate chaos that you knowingly brought upon them" (Thunberg, 2020, par. 7). This type of attack is what helps move the public, the social world, to act. The personalization of the loss and seeing children suffer justifies action. However, Thunberg's usage of extinction rhetoric is always at odds with her "being" because the rhetoric that she articulates resonates with the public differently.

Future Generations

The trope of future generations is vital to the rhetoric of Thunberg because it refortifies a particular affect. The affect that Greta wants to invoke, and seems to do effectively, is instill a narrative of fear and worry of a future collapsing and the need to change. This is important because this is the linkage between her rhetoric and eco-anxiety; she sets the stage for the Public's psyche to contemplate their loss. In other words, this pool of affect that is bolstered by a rhetorical schema around the trope of the apocalypse channels the Public's perception. Thus, when the Public encounters the rhetoric of "extinction" in Thunberg's speeches to explain loss of futures, they are simultaneously encountering the Child, a metonymy that is tied to "innocent and vulnerable" being that is lost within temporality due to the actions of humankind.

An example of this can be seen at the UN where Thunberg says "You are failing us. But the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you. And if you choose to fail us, I say: We will never forgive you" (Thunberg, 2019). She echoes this idea a few months later at Davos saying ""You say children shouldn't worry. You say, just leave this to us, we will fix this, we promise we won't let you down. Don't be so pessimistic. And then nothing, silence or something worse than silence, empty words and promises which give the impression that sufficient action is being taken" (Thunberg, 2020, par. 4). There are two important dynamics at work that should not go unnoticed. First, the symbol of the apocalypse that she poses to society through the "healthy response" of "loss of dreams, futures, and childhood" is her figurative stand in as "future generations". Thunberg embodies the idea of lost futures by

being the very interlocutor that represents the loss, similar to that of Nakabuye and Peltier.

Second, she becomes the rhetorical "embodiment" that situates the Public to enter the space that she imagines. This entrance into the Imaginary that she finds herself dwelling in creates an intersubjective relation in which she and the public attempt to symbolize the images and nightmares that shocks them into action. However, there is a limit to what images and grammar can encapsulate what is occurring. Thunberg can only represent so much and can only utilize language the encapsulate the fears that she imagines. This inability to encapsulate the entirety of the metonymic chain of signifiers that stem from "extinction", loss of self and future in the Symbolic or the Imaginary leaves the subject in a state of anxiety induced by the "horrors" imposed by the Real; or as eco-anxious subjects found in the public would suggest as being synonymous with the Real, climate change.

This claim is warranted when we situate global warming in its proper context. Global warming allows for the inundating of symbols tethered to death, suffering bodies, lack of resources, wastelands, and any other apocalyptic cinematic imagery that an individual can fathom because the subject views warming as the stage for violence. These Imaginary descriptors grip the psyche, fashion an anxious subject, and situate a fantasy in a state of injury. In turn, this engenders the subject to pick up the mantel of acting on behalf of future generations because "the child" represents wholeness, an idea that wards off the inevitability of death, or "failed unicity". Moreover, Global warming stages a process of alienation where the Subject is posed with a Symbolic reality that does not align with the Imaginary, and thus the Subject must act in order to salvage the fantasy.

Thus, “the child” invoked must be framed under a “comic apocalypse” structured by political failures as Thunberg consistently reminds her audience throughout both speeches. Her ideas of an Imaginary collapsing is not distinct from that of Peltier or Nakabuye. However, the Public encounters her rhetoric differently.

Thunberg closes her speech at the UN with “we will not let you get away with this. Right here, right now is where we draw the line. The world is waking up. And change is coming, whether you like it or not” (Thunberg, 2019). Her poetic gesture of “the world is waking up” reflects two important aspects that hovers around the trope of the Child. First, the phrase of “the world is waking up” is an inaugural “conscious” and a return to the Mirror Stage where the subject’s ego recognizes their very “Being” as alienated from the conception of reality that they have envisioned for themselves. As referenced earlier, Thunberg is able to create eco-anxious subjects because she has become a stand in for the trope of the apocalypse and future generations. She is, in other words, the object that produces a “potential lack”, or loss, for the Public. Thus, when Thunberg say’s the “world is waking up”, what she is revealing is society (the subject) recognizing their imagined future being lost (alienated) and the Child (the object) vanishing, leaving Society without an adequate future (Symbolic) to exist within. Thus, saving of “the child” is necessary to preserve the habitus of rhetoric that is stitched by the Symbolic and Imaginary. If “the child” is “dead” or in a “state of injury”, the habitus of rhetoric breaks for the Child has significance in Civil Society. The fantasy of the habitus breaking produces the drive for wholeness, of reclaiming the alienated portions of the future.

However, the second aspect of Greta's metaphor of "the world is waking up" and the return to the Mirror Stage seems to suggest that the Public is viewing the trope of the Child and future generations as white. At a symbolic level, Greta is registered in the affective economy of tropes as "the Child" imagined being lost. This is framed through "the Greta effect" where children refer to her as the image of the climate change movement, politicians reference her, and parents are eager to act due to her "boldness" and not wanting to see her "suffer". This in turn subtends the usage of "the Child" invoked in climate movements, the Imaginary structures a White Child as the suffering being within the subject. The overload of white middle class activist that have joined the strikes after years of silence reflects the habitus that denotes Thunberg and the Child as the same. The level of concern and need to act was never met when the Political and White Social economies benefited from environmental exploitation that disproportionately affected black and indigenous communities.

The invoking of extinction in climate discourse is figured around a white apocalypse because the grammar of black and indigenous life can not be situated within the same schema of violence. Recall that Nakabuye and Peltier both indicate that this violence is not unique to their experience and that their voice have been closed out of conversations. Too many failed promises on both political and social networks. Yet, they act now? Thunberg reveals the antagonism of the public that situates black and indigenous life within the schema of non-human. For years, black/indigenous life and non-human life had been dying, with no reprieve. For example, Newark is riddled with heart problems and asthma due to fossil fuel emissions. There are lax laws that allow for businesses to grab land near black and indigenous communities to dump waste and Flint

Michigan still has no clean water. These acts of violence when isolated do not encapsulate the narrative of the crisis. But in conglomeration, they reveal the drive at work that bypasses black and native death if it means white life is secured and will halt, for a moment, in order to protect white life.

Thunberg's rhetoric, whether she invokes this trope willingly or unconsciously, does not negate that the trope only has meaning when registered as white extinction from the Public's point of consumption. Thunberg encounters the Child in a moral way, but when the Public encounters the trope they can not reconcile the loss, and, thus have to find another grammar to explain it. They must tether extinction, apocalyptic scenarios with the sense of loss and fears to a white child because the object becomes emblematic of a white future. To put it precisely, the death of the white child reveals the drives at work within an anxious subject; the world is waking up to the tears of a White Child but had been asleep during the screams echoed by black and indigenous communities.

Coalitional Movement

Following the similar pattern of Nakabuye and Peltier, Thunberg mimics the call for action on the part of the youth to take the mantle for the failures on the social and political economy. Throughout both of her speeches, as well as in other speeches, she points to the ruse of economic flourishment and technological advancement as the fantasy that will collapse the future. She says "I wonder what will you tell your children was the reason to fail and leave them facing a climate chaos that you knowingly brought upon them? That it seems so bad for the economy that we decided to resign the idea of securing future living conditions without even trying" (Thunberg, 2020, par. 7). This articulation becomes not only a question of moral reflection, but also of hope and how the

social world should invest in the political. She changes the image of how folks ought to relate to the political by deliberately attempting to produce eco-anxious subjects that act in response to the failures on those in power.

However, the synthesis in coalitional movement is produced to her presence. Unlike Nakabuye and Peltier who are emblematic of the climate crisis, there is an apparent limit to their rhetoric to produce coalitional moments. Thunberg, however, is a coalitional moment in of herself because her "being" invokes a response. While Nakabuye and Peltier are the effects of the crisis, Thunberg is the essence of the crisis, the object that holds meaning for the future. Her coalitional moment produces a movement because her embodiment of the future has significance, it has meaning. Or as Lacan would articulate, her rhetoric aligns with the unconscious drives and desires of the audience (Lacan/Fink, 2006).

With the understanding of Thunberg's trope of extinction and future generations, and my suggesting that the Public encounters a white extinction and white future, how should we then interpret her call for a coalitional movement? If her coalitional moment is structured by whiteness, should it not be rejected? Is it not unethical to partake and align with eco-anxious subjects that hear the tears of a white child but are silent during the screams of black and indigenous communities? There are a few key important rhetorical points that Thunberg elucidates that makes sense of the tension between her Whiteness and the rhetoric of "we" that she elucidates.

Throughout her rhetoric she continuously acknowledges her privilege within the platform she is given and her upbringing. Identifying herself as the "lucky one" spearates her experience from the experiences of others and acknowledges that other voices are

obfuscated in political and social analysis. This is important because she is setting herself apart from the collective that produces antagonisms against black and indigenous communities. The recognition of her privilege and understanding that she is indeed "lucky" is the fissure within the environmental movement that discounts the need to recognize privilege.

Her own recognition and acknowledgement of her privilege is also coupled by the fact that Nakabuye, Peltier, and other young BIPOC activists have acknowledged the importance of Thunberg. She has shed light on an issue that not only fortifies the need for action but reclaims an overlooked aspect of the movement: that black, indigenous, and more-than human life are equal to the rest of the world and deserved to be saved. This changes the lens of viewing Thunberg's desires in relation to her "followers" who credit the "Greta-effect" as the meaning for movement. Thunberg is situating herself in a reflexive framework of analysis and her fellow advocates acknowledge her reflexivity.

Lastly, there is an inevitability to Thunberg's whiteness permeating the movement and potentially reinscribing an antagonism that re-sutures the ideologies of anti-blackness and settler colonialism. It is this type of multiplicity that Chavez (2013) indicates complicates the coalitional moment. However, the assemblage that is always in relation to its constituent part has the potential to "become" something that exceeds our ability to encapsulate within language. There is a limit to our rationality and the desire to box in the youth movement to be something that "we" think it ought to be or will inevitably be. To do so forecloses the potential of articulation and what has been put in motion by the Youth Climate Movement. What the youth movement is showing is that there is no limit to an assemblage. That the limit only exists when we allow our egos to contrive fantasies

and a Symbolic order to ward off the inevitable reality of the Real. Nakabuye, Peltier, and Thunberg are each unique. Each invoke a different response, a different historical/experiential perspective, and their rhetoric resonates with the Public differently. It is in their difference that they produce an assemblage that not only disrupts the dominant ideology that circulates through the social and political economy, but also produce a fantasy that is inclusive of a unified generation.

Conclusion

The youth climate movement is comprised of different rhetors, experiences, and interpretations of the climate crisis. Nakabuye funnels the conversation of the crisis through a lens of anti-blackness, Peltier through a lens of settler colonialism and indigenous cosmology, and Thunberg through language of catastrophizing. All three distinct in experience, yet united in movement and voices. Why is that the case? How can these three rhetors, along with other youth activist who have distinct narratives and ideological differences, draw close together to make sense of the crisis? There are a few reasons why I believe they are able to coalesce and produce a movement that is different yet united.

First, is the pointing to the fear of loss that engenders their advocacy. All three rhetors articulate a fear of a future collapsing that is structured through environmental exploitation. Moreover, they allude to desires and drives structured by economic and technological futurity that partially situates those desires and drives. However, Nakabuye and Peltier do point to a nuance in framing the conversation. Nakabuye points to anti-black desires that frame economic practices, practices that justify utilizing and disavowing the value of black life. Peltier points to settler colonial desires and how the pursuit of protecting the "settler's imago" and their sovereignty is what justifies the drives to eviscerate indigenous presence. Two distinct categorization of desires and drives that puts them at odds. The former based on accumulation the later based on elimination.

And while Nakabuye and Peltier discuss racialization and settlement as the drives for the crisis, Thunberg does not pinpoint or name an ideology that drives the crisis.

Rather, she points to the dichotomy of "luck" and "suffering" and how the discrepancy in experience reflects the political and social economies desires to pursue economic and technological innovation at all cost. While all three are distinct in their interpretation of drives and desires, they are united in movement. This is because they have found common ground in their anxieties and the future collapsing.

All three rhetors point to the need to act and produce a coalitional movement because of the fear of loss: loss of self and loss of life. It is this loss and the anxiety associated with the future that sutures their desire and drive into environmental advocacy. However, it is not just the ideation of loss that Nakabuye, Peltier, and Thunberg contemplate that engenders their advocacy, but all three are able to co-exist because the anxiety of loss draws them together. It is their suffering, or potential to suffer, that allows for this "coalitional moment" that Chavez (2013) articulates. This does not mean that tensions do not exist amongst the three rhetors nor does it mean that they support each other in every aspect for the sake of their anxieties. Rather, it is the fear that allows for the drives and desires to find common ground.

This is how assemblages are forming within the youth climate movement. The leaders and advocates of the movement do not do this fun, for a resume booster, or for the sake of presenting themselves as more ethical. Rather, they do this because their ideation of suffering allows for them to build empathy for each other and for individuals that they do not know.

Second, their sense of loss and anxiety is able to overcome issues of differences that on the surface would bar them from advocacy with each other that the political and social world would impose. Particularly the conversation of Thunberg's whiteness is at

times the center of public discourse. Scholars and columnist have pointed how Thunberg's whiteness becomes the center of the movement that tends to overshadow not only the rhetoric of these other youth advocates, but the voices and experiences. In essence, Thunberg as the "little other" functions as the "big other" within the movement and defines its identity; or at least, that is how the political and social world interpret it. But as previously mentioned, Nakabuye and Peltier do not blame Thunberg for her whiteness nor do they prioritize in their conversations. They allude to the significance of racialized matter and privilege, but never place the blame on Thunberg partially because that is not the future they want to produce. A part of the anxiety that structures the three rhetors is their experience or observation of racialization that is intimate within the crisis and the fear of that being replicated is what justifies their outburst. To re-center the conversation of Thunberg's whiteness not only takes a voice out of a movement that has power and significance but prevents a reflexive conversation to occur amongst the political and social world to confront how they structure conversations regarding race and ideology. It is through the lack of focus on Thunberg's whiteness that Nakabuye and Peltier are able to de-center whiteness. And it is Thunberg's calling out of anti-black and anti-indigenous actions that re-centers Nakabuye and Peltier's voices in the conversation. All three function differently but support each other in their differences. This is the "multiplicity" (Chavez, 2013) that exist within every movement. This is how assemblages' function.

Third, their rhetorical devices that are articulated and subtended by the concept of anxiety is a reason why psychoanalysis as a method is necessary. As stated in the introduction, one of the many aphorisms that Jacques Lacan had uttered was "the

unconscious is structured like a language" (Gasperoni, 1996, p. 77). When he articulates this concept, he is saying that desires and drives follow a pattern and ruleset like rhetoric. We do not know how they function, but there are moments where we begin to have a better understanding on how they function. These moments can be observed when there is a stutter/pause within the subject. These stutters/pauses are invoked by a rhetorical moment, which means these moments have significance.

Utilizing psychoanalytic methods is justifiable when analyzing the rhetoric's of Nakabuye, Peltier, and Thunberg because if their anxiety and fear of loss is what causes them to act, then there is a need to analyze their psyche, drives, and desires alongside their rhetoric. Psychoanalysis is more than just a method that makes assertions without evidence to justify the claims. Rather, psychoanalysis is a philosophical venture into the mind of the subject to excavate and figure out what exactly in causing distress within the subject.

Is it simply because of the apocalypse is coming that Thunberg acts? Do Nakabuye and Peltier only view their loss through the lens of economic exploitation and land disavow? Do individuals who join this movement join because of their desire to sustain a future for the next generation, or because of Thunberg? Asking these questions are tough and may never be answered. But that is the risk an individual should be willing to take in order to situate reality and understand what is transpiring. This is why psychoanalysis should be encouraged and used when concepts of anxiety are invoked, because it is a mediation of the psyche and the rhetor. It invokes ideas of drives and desires that can be better understood through philosophical pressure and psychological introspection.

Lastly, the Youth Climate Movement needs to be analyzed more from different perspectives. The voices that are being made known are representative of voices that are being continuously made unknown. As scholars and academics, we should want to understand what is transpiring. It is not simply because of economic desires and technological futurity that political, social, and economic networks are continuously overlooking the youths' voices. Something else is occurring that is changing the very fabric of how we perceive coalitional movements and ideological difference. Understanding what is causing these drives and desires draws us closer to a global assemblage and the closer we draw together in suffering, the closer we are to sustaining a future.

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