



ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIAL SUMMIT FOR CLIMATE

POSSIBLE LEARNINGS FOR FUTURE EVENTS



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PROLOGUE

We have brought our message of environmental protection and social justice to this process for years. We have shown our solutions and we now wonder: are they really listening to us?

Taily Terena,

Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas (ECMIA) and the Terena nation of Brazil

The purpose of this document is to evaluate the Social Summit for Climate (hereinafter know as the SSC), an event created by the civil society in the form of internationally-coordinated social movements in response to the COP25 Chile-Madrid.

The goal of this evaluation is to provide strategic support for the formation of similar movements. For this reason, it includes a description of the activities that took place under the SSC and its organisational model. It also includes the results of a survey to organisations and participants. Despite the survey's limitations, it offers interesting results to plan similar events.

Society cannot afford to look away at a time when it must face an increasingly undeniable climate emergency. It is now our responsibility to protect life, which is why we need to be well-organised and have the proper tools and strategies.

This document is expected to serve as a tool to create spaces for activism capable of listening, learning from past mistakes and aware of their own strengths.

CONTEXT OF THE COP25 (CHILE-MADRID)

Popular movements parallel to official political events (G20 meetings, climate summits, forum at Davos, etc.) have been common hallmarks of the anti-globalisation movement for decades. It is important to understand both why civil society decided to organise a social summit in the context of the 25th UN Climate Change Conference, COP25, and also why on this occasion it was tacitly understood to be more necessary than ever before.

The Chilean government, led by Sebastián Piñera, unilaterally cancelled the COP25 a month before its scheduled date, using the revolts of the Chilean civil society under the slogan “Chile Awakened” (*Chile Despertó*) as a pretext. This attempt to drive away media scrutiny over the repression and human rights violations perpetrated by the government offered a golden opportunity for the Spanish government to take over, which was eager to be perceived as being at the forefront of the ecological transition. Thus, the COP25 was to be held in Madrid, under the chairmanship of the Chilean Minister for the Environment, Carolina Schmidt.

This marked the third consecutive year a COP was held in a European country, contrary to the criterion of rotation. It moreover represented a significant blow to Chilean civil society, which had spent the months leading up to the conference organising events parallel to the COP: People’s Summit (Cumbre de los Pueblos), Social Summit for Climate Action (Cumbre Social por la Acción Climática), Indigenous Minga (Minga Indígena), the World Youth Conference, etc. Several of the initiatives held their meetings anyway but failed to draw the attention and build the political momentum that the COP25 could have provided. The Spanish social movements had therefore a sort of “moral duty” to do their best to give a voice to our Chilean brothers and sisters who had worked so hard and suffered so much repression in their struggle for social justice in their country. Moreover, a great number of international networks dealing with climate change had also been preparing their contributions, meetings and strategic events prior to the conference in Chile. Although a large number went ahead as planned and held their events in the social spaces of Chile, many decided to move to Madrid; as a result, offering them a space to meet with other movements became a priority for the Spanish social movements. The social forums and summits are spaces that are usually planned months in advance. However, the sudden turn of events left a very short time span of barely one month both for the COP25 to be organised in Madrid and for civil society to organise its response. After all, the economic capacity, the resources and infrastructures of a government to adapt to unforeseen changes of this nature are considerable; whereas for a social network mainly based around volunteer work and activism, it becomes a real challenge. In this regard, the Social Summit for Climate Action, held from December 3 to 13, 2019, in parallel to COP25, may be a milestone in the long history of social forums.

COP25, in spite of the expectations of commitment raised by the Spanish government, ultimately failed again. Obstruction from the world’s largest polluters kept hitting the headlines, while they ensured that no significant headway was made, beyond some successes such as a new gender action plan. The need to exclude the main polluters from the summits became evident once more. The disgraceful whitewashing by some companies made headlines again during COP25: money from large energy corporations such as Endesa and banks with ties to the fossil fuel industry like Banco Santander contributed to setting up the summit. Its failure to result in political agreements consistent with the scientific evidence and in line with human rights casts doubt once again on the efficiency of these decision-making bodies, while reaffirming the public’s perception of failing institutions and deepening mistrust and disillusionment over climate change inaction from governments.

However, what had an undeniably profound influence on COP25 was the constant and powerful social mobilisation, a testament to the remarkable global engagement around

climate justice. Presence in the streets and participation in the Social Summit for Climate Action itself exceeded all expectations.

For more information, Ecologistas en Acción has a [report](#) summarising the main developments from COP25.

CALL FOR THE SOCIAL SUMMIT FOR CLIMATE

The associations mobilised with the climate and environmental crisis organised in record time the social reaction to COP25. From the beginning, 2020 Rebelión por el Clima (2020 Clima Rebellion) took on the task of coordinating a response. It is a platform for joint action on climate justice born in February 2019 as a reflection of By2020WeRiseUp, an initiative originated in the European environmental movement with the goal of escalating social fighting strategies in response to the climate emergency. The initiative 2020 Rebelión Por el Clima has support from various associations and movements, both new and old, as shown in its [website](#). The fact that this group became the undisputed and natural organiser for the social movement in Madrid is a testament to its consolidation and its inclusivity to welcome different sectors.

2020 Rebelión por el Clima called the first assembly the week the Spanish government officially announced its decision to host the COP25. During that assembly, it became apparent that it was necessary to operate on two fronts: one would focus on organising a large protest on December 6, and the other on organising the Social Summit for Climate Action itself. From the outset these spaces benefitted from the participation of many organisations, groups and social movements beyond 2020 Rebelión por el Clima. However —particularly in the Social Summit for Climate Action—, 2020 Rebelión por el Clima kept a central role in streamlining and advancing activities, while serving as a guiding force for all the movements seeking to participate.

Various task forces were organised beginning at that first assembly. One of the most urgent ones was a group charged with issuing a call to participate in the Social Summit, with the added challenge of creating a consensus document in record time. One necessary premise in the drafting of this manifesto was to include whatever elements were deemed fundamental by the Chilean social movements. Calls for social justice, human rights, respect for traditional knowledge and recognition of indigenous peoples were therefore sure to be part of the manifesto. That is why, from early on, communication channels were opened with various Latin American and Chilean movements, with the added participation of Chilean activist groups in Spain.

The text was completed in a matter of days and petitions to participate began to come in. Thus the Social Summit for Climate Action was born as the product of the tireless organisational effort of the hosting groups and the synergy and the collaborative work with the Chilean associations, with the goal of doing justice to the months-long efforts of Chile's civil society and ensuring that the voices they tried to silence were just as loud 10,000 km away.

The following is the aforementioned text which served as the starting point for the Social Summit for Climate Action:

Beyond COP25: People for Climate

The unilateral decisions of, on one hand, Sebastián Piñera's Chilean government to cancel the hosting of COP 25 in Chile, ignoring the months-long work already done by Chilean and Latin American social movements, and, on the other hand, Pedro Sánchez's government to host the event, force Spanish social movements to take over a task they have not been consulted about, in an almost unfeasible time frame to guarantee adequate participation and social response.

Aware of the clear Eurocentrism that holding a COP in a European country for the third consecutive year implies, we accept the

challenge of articulating protests and criticisms against these policies as a huge responsibility. We do so in anger and powerlessness in the face of the injustices and atrocities being committed against the Chilean people, out of solidarity and support for the decision to continue holding the Peoples' Summit and the Social Summit for Climate Action in Chile, and in the determination to try to create a space where their voices can also be heard.

We strongly condemn the human rights violations in Chile and demand their immediate stop. The Government's war declaration against the Chilean people is an attack on democracy and on the struggle for social justice. We demand that those responsible for this repression be punished. We want to put under the spotlight that the social protests in Chile, and elsewhere in the world, are also an expression of the environmental crisis. The paradigm of unlimited economic growth is crashing humanity against planetary limits that the economic system insists on making invisible.

We live in convulsive times of genuine ecological, climate and social emergency. The scientific diagnosis is clear regarding the seriousness and urgency of the moment. Economic growth happens at the expense of the most vulnerable people: racialised people, indigenous people, people living in rural areas, the poor, migrants, LGBTI and queer, the avant-garde communities in resistance... And it also occurs at the expense of our environment, other species and ecosystems. Women, who are part of all these collectives, are affected differently and are victims of the worst consequences of the cisgender patriarchal capitalist model.

As activists based in Spain and the European Union, we want to accept the responsibility of exposing the exploitative role of the rich regions of the world and their key role in the creation of "sacrifice zones" in impoverished countries, through cultural, material and energy extractivism which destroys communities and common goods. We are living in countries that promote the consumption and destruction of humanity and nature, imposing our world models and visions to other parts of the planet.

In these same countries, which own a large military capability (especially nuclear weapons), a new concept of climate securitisation is promoted in order to protect their interests by means of the occupation of important power niches and leaving the control of key technologies for energy transition in the hands of large security companies, while the militarisation of borders increases and land is grabbed in a large scale all over the planet. Climate change will continue to fuel armed conflicts and large-scale wars and violence between communities.

From this privileged position, we pledge to take responsibility for our common past, present and future. We rebel to change this lethal system.

It is necessary to expose the hypocrisy of governments that have failed in climate negotiations for decades, while at the same time shielding trade and investment treaties as tools of capital domination, aimed at perpetuating the imbalance of power that allows the luxury of a few people at the expense of the suffering of the majority, hoarding, privatising and financing ever-greater spheres of life. Those same governments feed the fossil fuels industry with millionaire subsidies and protect and bail out fossil banks that profit from the climate crisis and the environmental and social devastation.

The role of Spanish and European transnational corporations in regions like Latin America has led to a lengthening of the long night of the 500 years of colonialism, deepening the environmental crisis and undermining the possibilities of peoples' sovereignty. Chile, today, is the expression of the exhaustion of neoliberal and extractivist policies throughout the continent. Latin America is Chile and Chile is Latin America.

We believe in climate justice as the backbone of the social fights of our time: sustainability is impossible without social justice, and justice does not exist without respect for all beings living on the planet. Climate justice is the broadest umbrella that exists to protect all the diversity of struggles for another possible world: environmentalism, climate activism, feminism, LGBTIQ+, trade unionism, anti-racism, anti-fascism, anti-militarism, de-colonial movements, indigenous movements, rural movements... We promote climate justice as a movement of movements in which many diverse worlds can fit.

We pledge to work to give visibility to the demands that guarantee a just transition carried out quickly enough to avoid new catastrophes, such as warming above 1.5°C or the collapse of ecosystems and society. It is necessary to make decisions based on science. The scientific community has already clearly indicated the need to leave most fossil fuels in the ground to achieve reductions in greenhouse gas emissions that are in line with the climate challenge.

That is why we rebel against extractivist models connected to fossil fuels production and consumption throughout the world, as well as rejecting with special emphasis the civil and military use of nuclear energy.

We urge for radical change in the mobility model, leading to the reduction of mass transportation of goods and people — responsible of, among other problems, the excessive tourism and gentrification in cities, generating serious social inequalities. The transport model must at the same time mitigate the increasing isolation of rural areas, one of the causes of their increasing depopulation.

We denounce the attempts to promote false solutions such as those based on geo-engineering, which seek to maintain the status quo of the current production system, moving the focus away from true solutions and threatening us with unequal impacts on a planetary scale, that will again sacrifice the more disadvantaged communities first.

We also denounce the imposition of a production and consumption model that does not recognise food as a right and is responsible for the climate and biodiversity crisis that condemns more than 800 million people to starvation. We demand an agro-ecological transition that promotes fair and sustainable systems that respect peoples' food sovereignty.

Similarly, we denounce the imposition of a production and consumption model based on “use and disposal” that once again affects the poor people the most. The huge amounts of waste produced by enriched countries are mostly transferred to countries in the South, forcing the most vulnerable communities and groups in these places to live in a spiral of poverty, violence and unhealthy conditions.

On the other hand, the Chilean social explosion and its brutal repression shows that the civilisational crisis we are experiencing is also a democratic crisis. We need to move towards the construction of more democratic models of society that guarantee collective decision making by putting the common good at the centre. In this regard, the decision to move COP25 to Madrid is also a democratic loss, as it jeopardises the months-long work by numerous networks, groups and organisations around the world that now cannot participate in the way they would have wished to.

We stand in solidarity with those who suffer the most, with workers and communities that are on the front line of resistance in all continents. We also stand in solidarity with those who have participated in fueling the climate crisis the least and those who suffer its impacts the most. We support all people, regardless of their gender, origin, language, race, ethnicity, physical abilities, sexual orientation, experience, age or belief.

We call on people and groups to rebel against an oppressive capitalist system that expels more and more people – many of whom are forced to migrate from their territories – and increasingly depletes the foundations that sustain life. We call on everyone to participate in the social response to COP25 and to network and build communities in the face of this climate crisis, that is just the most visible symptom of a deeply unfair system.

We invite all people and groups who feel compelled by these demands to participate in the construction of the Social Summit for Climate, to rebel, to propose and to build communities. In the face of increasing repression and strategies to divide and demobilise movements, we will show more unity than ever in the common struggle for justice.

937 groups joined the manifesto, 68.6% of which are Spanish. The remaining groups and associations are spread among over 60 different territories, Chile being the second country in percentage of groups joining, with 3.1%.

ORGANISATION

TASK FORCES AND DECISION MAKING

Several task forces (committees) were organised from the first assembly called By 2020 Rebelión por el Clima. Weekly General Assemblies were held during which the task forces reported the progress they made over the week. Each group worked rather independently. The most commonly used digital platform for coordination was Telegram. In order to have a decision space between the assemblies a virtual assembly of delegates was created, where two delegates chosen by each task force participated. The goal of this virtual assembly was to make decisions quickly. However, resorting to it was not done frequently due to the mutual trust in the independence and good judgment amongst the task forces, which proved essential given the time available to organise everything. Weekly assemblies were face-to-face meetings in Madrid (with online participation from people in territories outside Madrid) where:

- All groups were allowed to discuss the progress they made and their needs
- The decisions made online that week at the Assembly of Delegates were endorsed
- Specific items of general interest were discussed

When the Assembly of Delegates was not deemed the right place to solve some controversial issue, it was taken directly to the weekly in-person General Assembly so that it could be solved. Consensus was sought in the assembly when making decisions, although sometimes it was necessary to take a vote.

In addition to these structures, an open assembly was called in the first few days in the hope of getting society at large to participate. The meeting exceeded all expectations with such a massive turnout that the venue proved too small. Many people in attendance at that meeting later joined some of the task forces.

As mentioned earlier, the task forces' top virtual space for organisational purposes was Telegram. Moreover, the groups met either in person or online via Skype, Jitsi or Zoom,

as well as using pads for online collaborative work, with Framapad being the most widely used. The groups and subgroups (and their respective Telegram spaces) were created independently based on their needs, so that not even at the weekly in-person General Assembly was it known precisely how many branches were emerging beyond the agreed-upon core structure established at said Assembly.

At the end of the Social Summit for Climate, once things calmed down and there was time to take stock, over 50 active Telegram groups were counted.

The following are the aforementioned core task forces established by the Assembly:

- **Communication:** In charge of the press kits, the website, spokespeople, the streaming of the Social Summit and the social media campaigns.
- **Call and extension work:** It developed and reached consensus at the General Assembly of the call that made the starting signal for the Summit; it also made continued proactive efforts in the preceding weeks to get new groups to join.
- **Programme:** It launched an open-call form (in three languages) to register activities and managed the requests that arrived (hundreds in a few days) checking their viability. It identified possible areas of convergence to merge activities, making proposals for common agreements to the people responsible for different activities. Based on the particular needs of each requested activity (audiovisual needs, interpretation, space size and mobility, etc.) and the spaces available, it drafted and laid out a programme including most of the requests, with a few exceptions. The final programme included more than 300 self-organised activities proposed by a wide range of groups from all over the world. This task force had an intense daily activity during the Social Summit for Climate derived from the need for continuous daily readjustments of the programme both because of the sudden variation of real availability of spaces and the changing demands of the organisations in charge of the activity. This task force was also in charge of organising and facilitating the Social Summit for Climate Plenary Assemblies that were held daily at the end of each day. It also coordinated a programme of closing concerts, an opening ceremony, and a closing event.
- **Logistics:** This committee was divided into several working sub-committees as its task was enormous. It was responsible for obtaining licenses and permits, negotiating with the spaces, arranging accommodation and food... This task force successfully set up two main spaces: one in the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM) where the main tent and the classrooms hosting most of the activities were located, as well as the media centre, and a Convergence Space in downtown Madrid, which served as a base camp for many movements that needed to meet, have strategic discussions, or organise press conferences. The latter space also housed the Activism Centre. The Logistics committee was in charge of both spaces' internal management and fitting out.
- **Interpretation:** Its two main tasks were to find and hire interpretation teams and to coordinate a pool of voluntary interpreters¹. Regarding the interpreters, a registration form per language was created. Some professional interpreters signed up, but most of them were trainees and bilingual people who wanted to collaborate on a *pro bono* basis.

• ¹ Finding companies to cover the interpretation service was complicated because a large number of market players were already engaged in the COP25 meeting (which had a high demand for these services), and this raised prices significantly. Finally, a cooperative that usually works with social forums was hired.

- **Funding:** Its obvious mission was to seek funds quickly that would allow for operating everything planned in all other task forces. This committee's work is described in another section.
- **Care:** Its purpose was to create safe and respectful spaces. This group did not receive much attention despite the efforts made, possibly because of the urge to cover immediate needs in the other commissions.

Some task forces such as Design, Artivism, Translation or Facilitation were very much used but they are not described here. An attempt was made to create a Direct-Action committee, but it did not prove very operative and, to a great extent, the different groups organised themselves quite independently for their actions, despite a Telegram channel where some calls were shared.

The structure above described is shown in Figure 1

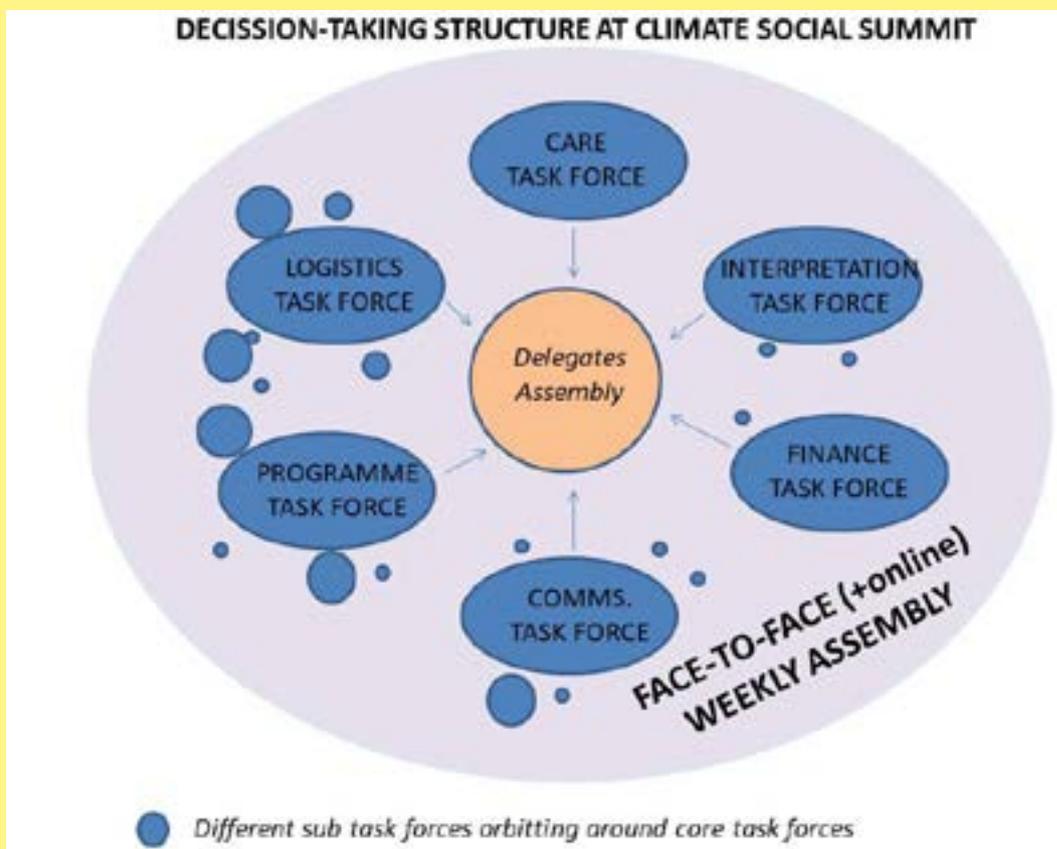


Figure 1. Social Summit for Climate diagram

For the protest, as already mentioned, other committees were organised independently of those referred to above.

In addition, a Padlet [virtual concept map](#) was created to define each committee and provide their contact details, so that activists wishing to join work already underway could do so easily.

INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION

From the outset, specific efforts were made to establish close and continuous coordination with the three most important Chilean spaces responding to COP25: Civil Society for Climate Action (Sociedad Civil por la Acción Climática-SCAC), Indigenous Minga (Minga Indígena) and People's Summit (Cumbre de los Pueblos-CDLP). These efforts had the dual

purpose of making their claims and actions visible in the communications and materials produced by the Social Summit for Climate, and of ensuring their physical participation in the events in Madrid. From early on (once the COP25 relocation was announced), weekly calls were held with Chile to ensure that these objectives were achieved. An additional on-going communication channel was organised by a WhatsApp group including around 75 participants from Latin America and Spain, through which the meetings were called and essential information was shared on the progress made in the shaping of the social protest spaces in Chile and Madrid. Movements such as Fridays for Future Chile also participated in these spaces.

At the same time, priority was given to coordinating these efforts with those under the Demand Climate Justice network, which included participating in the weekly international calls within this network. Both spaces fed into each other.

In these calls, the Chilean groups and the international networks that intended to participate in the events around COP25 in Madrid put progressively forward their logistical and programmatic needs, which were met as far as possible by the organisers of the Social Summit for Climate who participated in these calls. In addition, discussions at these meetings were always returned to the weekly General Assembly organising the Social Summit. The Communications committee tried to ensure visibility of the **events in Chile** on the Social Summit website.

Also, the Design committee and the Artivism space communicated regularly with Chile to work on common aesthetic standards for the spaces in Chile and Madrid. The use of the symbol of an eye (in reference to the eye injuries caused by the repression of the Chilean government) or the slogan for the demonstration are an example of this joint effort.

It is also worth noting the participation of the Chileans in Madrid group either in these weekly assemblies or in the task forces.

The relationship with the Indigenous Minga in order to know their priorities and needs was most often held through bilateral ties between Social Summit people that communicated directly with some relevant people in the Minga.

FUNDING

The Funding committee purpose was to establish mechanisms for rising the resources required to finance the logistical issues related to holding the Social Summit for Climate. The group was made up of some 3 people from different organisations, but all the arrangements relied mainly on the intense work carried out by the administrative staff from Ecologists in Action, one of the organisations involved in preparing the SSC.

The most relevant cost items included: tents, installation services, security, toilets, video and sound equipment, maintenance, travel, meals, taxes, certificates, insurance, furniture, internet connection, interpretation equipment, graphic material and stationery, etc.

In parallel, a campaign was launched through the social media for a donation appeal. Also, a letter was written (in 3 languages: Spanish, English, French), targeting all organisations or groups interested in providing some financial assistance and explaining the two procedures, either as a donation of paying invoices directly, to do so.

A budget, differentiating mainly the cost items for each of the two meeting spaces, and another document to record the evolution of donations and collaborations were developed. A procedure for expenditure presentation and approval was also created: each committee involved in organising the Summit determined their financial needs and sent them to the Logistics group and/or the Assembly of Delegates for approval, once the Funding task group accepted the execution of payments. A summary including incurred and budgeted expenses and the review of donations received or to be confirmed was submitted to the General Assembly on a weekly basis.

Other tasks carried out by the Funding committee included managing advance deposits, determining delivery locations and contact persons for products and/or services, obtaining the various tax data according to the organisation executing the payments, issuing donation certificates, engagement and receipt letters for donor organisations, and any aspects concerning payment administrative formalities.

A more detailed description of the economic management can be found in Annex I.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIAL SUMMIT FOR CLIMATE

SPACES AND ACTIVITIES

As mentioned, the SSC activities were mainly carried out in two locations: the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM) and the Convergence Space, the former headquarters of the UGT (General Workers Union) at 88 Hortaleza Street. In addition, many other places including the Convergence Space, self-managed social centres, sports centres, and private homes, were used to accommodate 1,100 people. More detailed information in this regard can be found in Annex II

The altruistic and proactive collaboration of both the Complutense University and the UGT was key in ensuring the success of the Social Summit for Climate. Similarly, it is only fair to recognise the collaboration of the public company TRAGSA to ensure some logistics-related requirements, as well as of the Ministry for the Ecological Transition at facilitating the arrangements, permits and procedures required to hold the Social Summit for Climate. The UCM played a key role beyond the assignment of spaces, extending its cooperation to other issues such as assistance with permits and communications. In addition, its collaboration was very intense during the Summit itself, and a fluid and continuous dialogue was engaged with the Vice-Chancellor's Office for Students to solve all the logistical problems that arose (changes in classrooms, enabling jacks for streaming, materials, staff, etc.).

The main SSC activities took place from December 6 to 13, 2019, although the days before were very busy with the arrival of groups such as the Indigenous Minga and other calls for response to COP25 such as those staged by Extinction Rebellion, the Demand Climate Justice network, the Space for Activism, Fridays for Future or organisations such as Friends of the Earth International, Sustaining All Live, or CAN (Climate Action Network) International. The bulk of this activity took place in the Convergence Space at 88 Hortaleza Street, which served as the base of operations for the different groups participating in the mobilisations. The Convergence Space housed a media centre, spaces for internal organisation, accommodation spaces for activists, and rooms for activities and press conferences, as well as for artistic creation. A variety of exhibitions covered its walls.

However, most of the activities and workshops proposed by the groups were held at the UCM, which provided classrooms in the Multipurpose Building and the Faculty of Philology, as well as some other classrooms in Medicine, Law, Mathematics and Biological and Geological Sciences faculties. In addition, an exterior central tent was installed in a parking lot next to the Multipurpose Building. Besides some activities, this tent hosted the Plenary As-

semblies, which summarised each day's actions, made appeals and gave voice to personal testimonies, many of them from people and communities in the front line of the climate struggle. They were also accompanied by musical performances.

The **programme** included more than 350 activities grouped into the following thematic areas:

- Planetary limits and climate emergency
- Economic and financial power
- Social, environmental and economic justice
- Political systems and institutions
- Intersectionality
- Alternatives

Interpretation services were available for many of them. Ten UCM classrooms were equipped with interpretation booths, as well as the central tent for each day's Plenary Assembly. During the first 3 days of the Summit (7-8-9/12), interpretation services were provided for an average of 23 talks per day, while the request was for about 7 talks per day during the remaining days. The number of talks that required interpretation was very variable and volatile given the urgency to organise the activities, so estimating each day's needs for interpreters and their coordination was a huge task. Once the Social Summit was over, a significant number of participation certificates were issued to student volunteers who helped with the interpretation.

SCAC, CDLP and the Indigenous Minga held activities at the Social Summit. The Indigenous Minga carried out its own programme parallel to the Social Summit central programme and participated in some of the larger Plenary Assemblies. SCAC organised activities at the Social Summit as part of its process of developing the Latin American Climate Manifesto, to which a good part of one of the daily Plenary Assemblies was devoted. CDLP did not originally consider sending a delegation to Madrid, but concerted efforts of several organisations (mainly War on Want and Ecologists in Action) obtained last-minute permits and tickets for three representatives of that space, who were given the opportunity to organise some unscheduled activities (the official programme was already closed) and to participate in several Plenary Assemblies.

In order to facilitate the widest possible participation, the Social Summit for Climate organisers sought to accommodate those who had moved to Madrid and also to guarantee their meals. A kitchen offering food three times a day was installed in both spaces (and also on a travelling basis, for example, at the demonstration). This was achieved with the collaboration of groups such as Kochkollektiv and La Villana de Vallekas. The meals, which were offered at will (with a recommended price), were completely vegan, seeking out organic, local and fair-trade products as far as possible.

PROTEST

A demonstration was called on 6 December at 6pm in Madrid, from Atocha to New Ministries, under the slogan: *The world woke up to the climate emergency*. The selected slogan and time were a gesture of alignment with the Chilean people. On the one hand, the slogan reminds of the "Chile awakened" that was so much felt at the summit and the time was explicitly chosen to broadcast the march called in Chile with the same slogan once on the stage.

The demonstration was convened by Youth for Climate - Fridays for Future, By 2020 We Rise Up-Spain, Climate Alliance and Climate Emergency Alliance. The march was prepared and organised in parallel with the preparation of the SSC explained above and had the following blocks:

- Indigenous groups, Chileans and racialised people
- Youth
- Feminists
- Ecologists
- Social organisations
- Unions
- Other civil society

A stage was set up at New Ministries to read the manifestos, give voice to representatives of the blocks and for concerts, in which artists such as Amaral, Macaco or Artemuhé participated.

The demonstration was described as a success, with around 500,000 participants according to its organisers. However, there were also several incidents.

Police charges and arrests in Neptune were one of these incidents, and the other was a stressful situation on stage between the march organisers and the indigenous groups. The coordinator of Ecologists in Action, Luis Rico, experienced the situation first-hand. His reflections on the event, as well as a detailed explanation, can be found in Annex III

PARALLEL ACTIONS

Many activities took place in parallel to the official programme of the Social Summit on Climate, most of them organised by the SSC Convergence Space; the Social Summit encouraged participation in such events.

These included **authorised sit-ins** in front of the COP called by Fridays for Future, tourist tours pointing out the perpetrators of the climate crisis (**Toxic, Tour** organised by Ecologists in Action, Multinationals Observatory-Latin America, Gastivist and Corporate Europe Observatory), activism and **protests in front of embassies** to denounce extractive abuses. The indigenous communities also staged **other protests** against the interests of some corporations that threaten their way of life.

Civil disobedience actions had a major impact. Extinction Rebellion led **most of these actions** with a large influx of international “rebels”. Some of these actions, based on the philosophy of non-violent direct action, targeted the COP headquarters (blockades, camping, performance) and others were located in other key areas of Madrid.

But they were not alone in conducting acts of civil disobedience. The Social Summit for Climate explicitly invited to participate in the **protest organised by civil society** on 11 December inside the COP25 with hundreds of activists from civil society organisations, social movements, trade unions, indigenous and youth groups, as well as women and youth organisations took part in a casserole protest to call for rich countries to take a step forward in their ambition and action to fight climate change. This protest was accompanied by a concurrent one at the doors of the building. In addition, more performative actions, such as the **oil spill** led by Ecologists in Action and many other similar actions, were carried out.

SURVEY ON THE SOCIAL SUMMIT FOR CLIMATE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Evaluations are much-needed processes to strengthen strategies and should therefore be a cornerstone of any struggle. They help guide a process of reflection and learning. The Social Summit for Climate (SSC) was a response by the social movements to a COP25 that was perceived as an ineffective tool to guarantee a just and effective transition to a new global model that would allow us to emerge from the climate and ecological crisis.

Knowing the assessment of the de SSC by the groups and individuals participating in it provides information on how effective this tool for struggle and action is perceived and how to improve it in the future, as this is not the first social summit nor will it be the last.

The SSC was held from 3 to 13 December 2019. The evaluation process was first conceived in January 2020. It includes surveys through two online forms, one focused on groups and the other on individuals. The forms were distributed through the SSC work and dissemination channels with the express request for their wide diffusion within each group, and various reminders were sent during the response collecting period; they were also e-mailed to any organisations (both in Spain and elsewhere) that submitted a proposal for an activity to be included in the SSC programme. The forms can be found in Annexes IV and V. They were launched in February and were open for four weeks.

There are several preliminary comments about this evaluation and its constraints. Firstly, it is important to note that it was carried out a month after the SSC. The accumulated exhaustion after the meeting and the Christmas holidays prevented us from dealing before with this important task. Furthermore, the organisers had not considered it right at the start of preparations, which is understandable due to the lack of time –the COP25 was announced in a surprising way and left little time for the social movements to react– and work overload, as other tasks needed to be carried out urgently, so the evaluation did not received the attention it deserved. Therefore, this evaluation may not be as representative as it should be. A total of 102 people gave their views individually and only 34 of the almost 1,000 groups that joined the appeal participated.

It would also have been desirable to open up the evaluation design itself to greater participation by the groups and individuals involved. However, this would have further delayed its implementation. In this regard, it is important to note that an evaluation is meaningful as long as it arrives in time to influence other processes. Specifically, the preparatory works to hold a summit in response to COP26 were already underway, so, given these constraints, producing an assessment in time was given priority over a broader and more inclusive participation.

RESULTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL EVALUATION

The form for individuals aimed to obtain a rough image of the profile of SSC participants, their interests and affiliations, and their free assessment not filtered by political-strategic guidelines such as those that can be provided by groups and organisations.

The profile of the respondents is as follows:

- 53% of the people surveyed belong to the following important groups in Spain: Ecologists in Action, Extinction Rebellion, Fridays for Future and Greenpeace. 16% do not belong to any group.
- Only 6% belong to groups outside Spain
- 32% of the survey respondents had participated in organising the summit
- As for their dedication to the SSC, 31% of respondents reported having spent little time on it, 36% a standard amount of time and 33% reported having spent a significant amount of time; and more than 40% of the latter (14% of all respondents) felt

swamped with the work

In the light of these data, a first bias of opinion in the assessment needs to be highlighted: the voices of international people and activists, especially those from the Global South, are underrepresented. On the other hand, the participation of those highly involved in the process is around 30% which is probably enough to hear critical voices about the internal organisation processes.

Next, we will analyse the answers by taking the following aspects into account:

Dissemination of the call to the event

As shown in Figure 1, most people found out about the call through their own groups

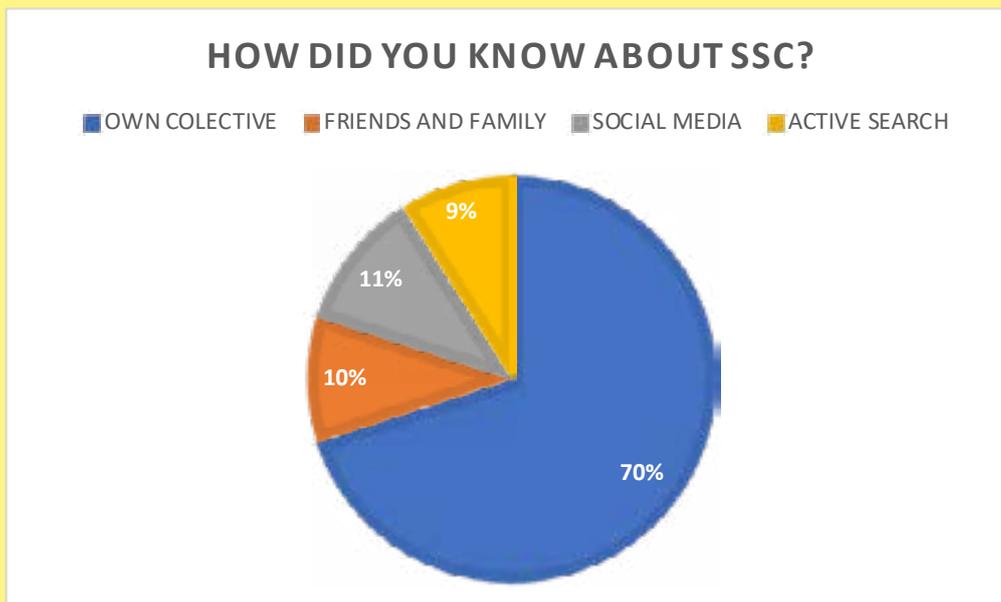


Figure 1. Answer to the question "How did you hear about the SSC?"

These data are understandable given the bias described above, so the value they provide in relation to the effectiveness of the pre-SSC communication campaign is probably low. Similarly, it does not help understand whether or not the SSC could, to an extent, go beyond the activism "bubble" towards more extensive levels of society.

Most interesting activities

With the purpose of knowing what type of activities were most interesting for the assistants, the question was asked in a free way without conducting the question. The resulting answers were grouped in large groups, as shown in Figure 2. The thematic areas of the most frequently mentioned activities were also collected, as shown in Figure 3.

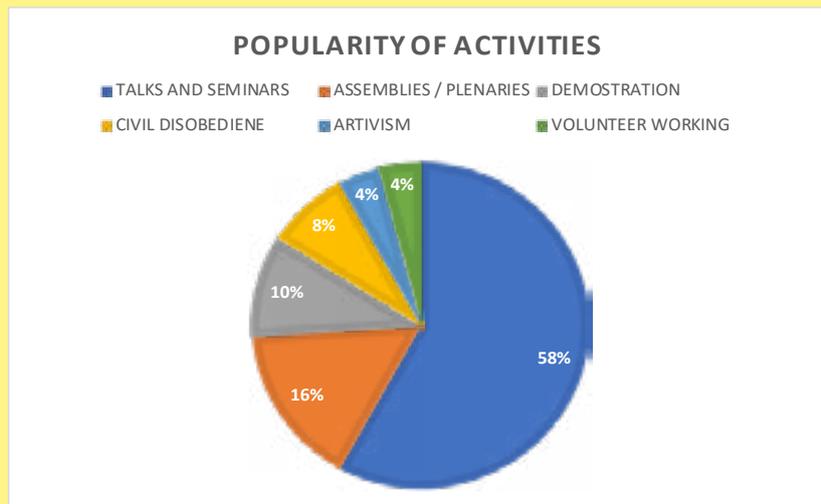


Figure 2. Percentage chart of the responses categorised in 6 major groups of activities

More than half of them are talks and workshops, which is in line to the SSC organisation effort targeting (since they constituted the bulk of the programme), together with the Plenary Assemblies.

It should be noted that actions of non-violent civil disobedience were not centrally coordinated by the SSC, although many of the calls were public and disseminated in SSC spaces. The demonstration did rely on the SSC organisational efforts (in addition to other groups that did not participate in the SSC itself) and had a significant communicative diffusion. However, these two activities highlighted a remarkably similar share of people. This probably means a certain desire for disobedience actions, which are expressly sought out by increasingly more people wanting to participate in forms of protest other than the traditional ones.

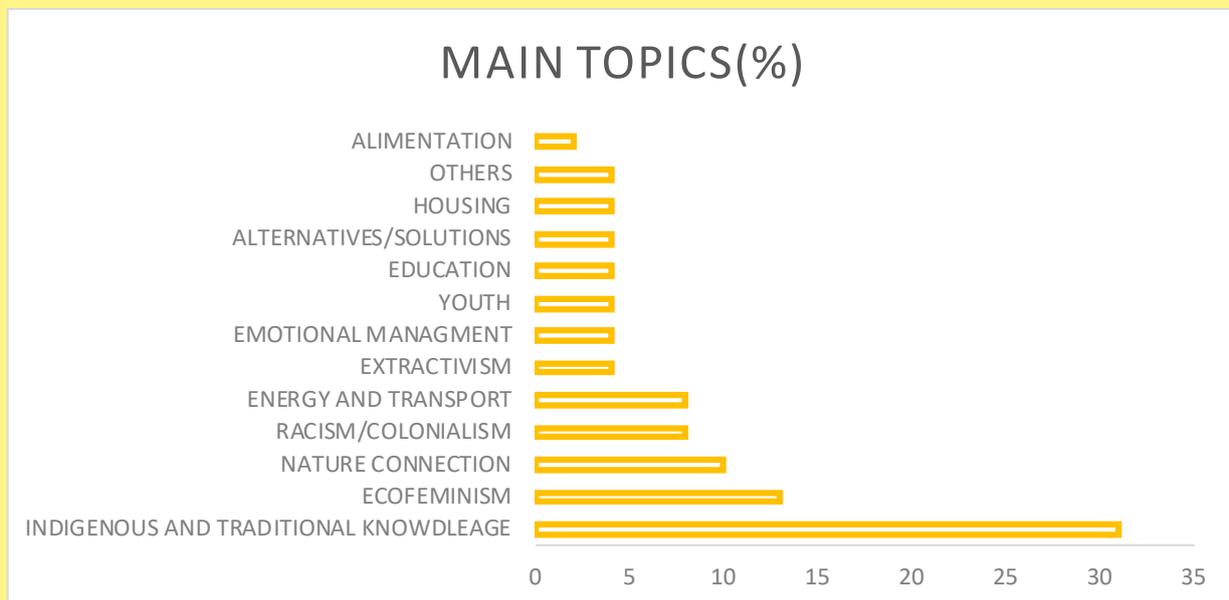


Figure 3. Thematic areas included in the survey according to the share of times they have been specifically mentioned

In spite of the bias that was pointed out at the beginning of the conclusions for the individual evaluation, the most important item in terms of the activity thematic areas relates to indigenous communities and traditional knowledge, showing that there is a great interest in participants from enriched countries, in particular Spain (which were the majority of participants in the evaluation), in focusing on the voice of indigenous communities and other communities in the front line of the fight against the climate and ecological crisis.

Level of satisfaction with the organisation effort

In general, a high level of satisfaction with the organisation effort is shown. This is a remarkable point considering the conditions under which the SSC had to be organised. Specifically, 50% of the participants in the evaluation rated the organisation as good and 34% as excellent. However, 15% found it to be fair (and 1% poor). We can conclude that the overall feeling is positive.

In addition, questions were asked about sleeping facilities and the meals offered. As for the facilities, the number of answers is very low, thus their assessment has been disregarded. As for the food offered, completely vegan and local, 85% of the respondents found it good or excellent (when choosing between four options: bad, medium, good or excellent). In order to know the opinion about these aspects (and for future evaluations) it would have been ideal to collect the evaluations in the same facilities where the services were provided: dishwashing area, spaces provided for rest, etc.

Most impressive messages

The main messages that the SSC had left in each person was again collected by means of an open question. The answers were then reclassified according to similar patterns. The results are shown in Table 1

Table 1. Table with main messages and their percentages

KEY MESSAGE	%
We have to act together as civil society, the power for change is in ourselves. We need to empower ourselves and build better international and culturally cross-cutting networks	42
We are increasingly prepared and organised to respond to this crisis	22
We must act for climate justice and reciprocity between the Global North and the Global South and give voice to indigenous peoples	16
We are facing a profoundly serious problem, COP25 is not enough, we need to build alternatives to a system based on unlimited economic growth	9
This is a mostly <i>white</i> movement and native peoples are used by it	4
Much power was lost due to lack of coordination, many interesting initiatives but low real impact	3
Capital resists, but environmentalism is getting increasingly strong	3
Young people are highly involved in these processes	3
There are many things we can do as individuals to reduce our footprint	1

The most repeated message is that civil society must act in a sound and organised way. And the responses include a call for an increased search for new joint strategies, new strategic coordination efforts that go beyond the very groups and movements. The idea that partial struggles are no longer meaningful in the current scenario of ecological and climate crisis seems to be on the rise, as well as that it will be necessary to weave new intersec-

toral networks, work hard on intersectionality, and seek broad narratives for a systemic change including the various approaches.

In this regard, it is noticeable that only 1% of respondents left the SSC with the message that this struggle can be dealt with changes in our individual routine. The message of individuality and consumer “solutionism” is hegemonic in the capitalist system and we are continuously exposed to this idea. It turns out that the narrative of sustainable development (where any economic activity is possible if carried out in a “sustainable” way and we have ecological consumption patterns) is clearly opposed by social movements.

Messages on climate justice and on reciprocity between peoples or recognising that environmentalism and the protection of the territory are becoming more and more internationally strong are also prevalent.

Elements that triggered discontent

As in the previous questions, the aspects that generated the greatest discontent in the person surveyed were freely asked about and these feelings were subsequently grouped into four categories, which are shown in Figure 4.

Each category is broken down by the specific items that generated discontent and their percentage within the responses. These items can be found in Table 2.

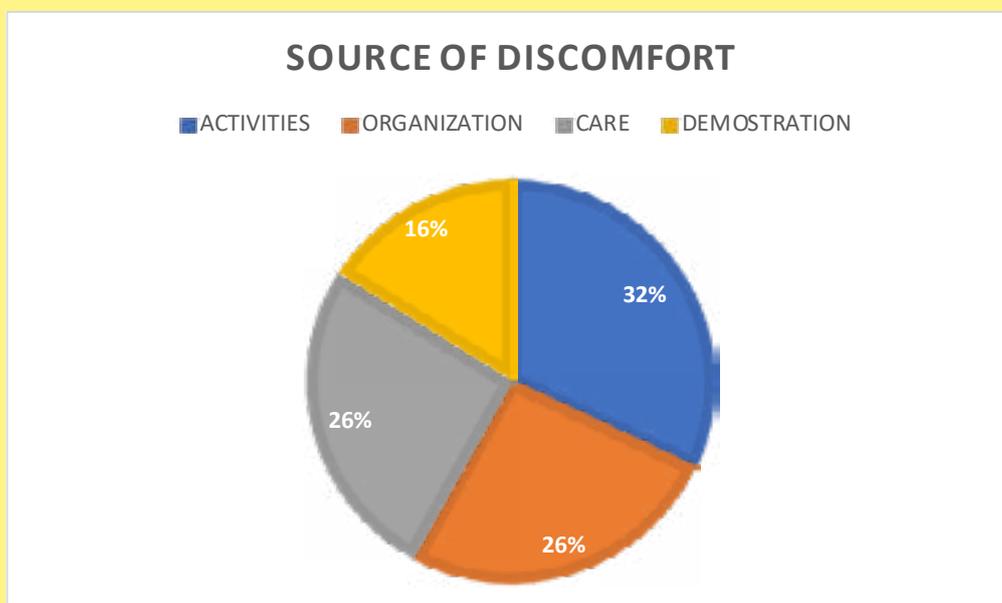


Figure 4. Representation of the four categories of sources of discontent for respondents as a percentage of the times mentioned

Table 2. Breakdown of the aspects that caused discontent according to their share and the categories in which they were grouped

IN ACTIVITIES (32%)	%
Overloaded programme/tight schedule/hard to follow	36
Lack of coordination with activities and schedule	36
Little impact	18
Very traditional format	5
Little choice for children	5
ORGANISATION (26%)	%
General lack of organization	33
Poor external communication	16
Overworked volunteers	16
Little time to organise	11
Monopolising by large NGOs	6
Participation hampered because of living outside Madrid	6
Little involvement in organisation by some groups	6
Difficulty coordinating massive street actions	6
CARE (26%)	%
Conflicts or disputes between groups	38
Overworked volunteers	16
Discomfort related to food	16
Uncomfortable accommodation	6
Loss of materials	6
Opacity in decision making	6
Lack of commitment	6
Lack of “violet” point	6
PROTEST (16%)	%
Incident at the demonstration	45
Little impact	37
“Messy” demonstration	9
Choice of Javier Bardem as representative	9

As for the activities, the complexity of organising more than 300 workshops and talks according to their specific requirements in such a short time did not allow for developing a friendly programme. In addition, the continuous readjustments in such a short time forced to reshape the programme almost daily, thus creating chaos and confusion. Due to this fact, the truly valid programme was only available on the web, where it was continuously updated. There was insufficient time to have the final programs printed (in addition to the organisation pressure, December 6 to 9 were holidays and all businesses were closed), since the posters that had been printed on 5 December were outdated. The lack of coordination in the programme also related to the varying degree of commitment by the people responsible for the workshops and talks. A greater commitment by some of these persons in maintaining their initial schedule and programme proposal would have prevented some trouble. Proposing a programme structure with a limited number of activities from the beginning is a good strategy for a clear activity organisation, although their selection may pose important inclusiveness challenges. In this case, a programme as inclusive as possible was the priority, but time was insufficient to seek deeper convergences, beyond the

obvious ones, which would have allowed a greater number of activities to be merged.

Organisation challenges are obvious given the short time to hold such a large and important event. Most of them would probably have been dealt with by setting up the logistics more calmly. The ranking of poor external communication in the responses is noteworthy. The communicative deployment was particularly important, with many resources contributed both by the different organisations involved from the outset and by groups that joined the SSC in the process. It would be necessary to go deeper into the reasons that may have led to this response and may be a sign that it has not been possible to fully communicate the SSC much beyond the activism “bubble”. It is important to note, however, that the communication window was narrow as most of the mainstream media devoted most of their efforts to following the negotiations at COP25.

The challenge of care is a profoundly serious issue; a specific working committee was created to ensure both internal and external care, but there were never enough people with time available to help with it properly. In addition, communications with the rest of the organising team about the developments in their work were poor, so there was a lack of general understanding of the progress (or even its absence) within that committee. Its efforts focused on only one of the SSC spaces (the Hortaleza space), leaving unattended the venue for talks and workshops where many people gathered. Time constraints should not be an excuse for not establishing minimum care networks. This was no doubt greatly missed. “Conflicts or disputes between groups” was one of the most pointed out dimensions of care. Part of the answers may involve a conflict on a programme activity proposed by an international pastoralism network, which included the arrival of a flock of sheep and a lamb stew to feed the shepherds prior to a round table on food sovereignty. This activity was strongly rejected by animal rights groups. An attempt to settle differences was made at one of the weekly assemblies prior to the SSC, but the result –which sought a meeting point– did not satisfy all the groups, some of which even led a protest against the shepherds within the SSC itself.

Finally, the demonstration triggered unrest mainly due to its related incident (see Annex III), concerning the feeling of hurt by the indigenous communities due to the treatment they received, as well as the poor impact. This should serve as an experience to establish protocols and avoid serious disrespect.

Strategy of struggle

When asked about the SSC impact, 52% of respondents consider that the social summit has had a negative impact and 12% think it has been medium. In contrast, 35% think it has been good or excellent.

This makes us wonder if the SSC strategy has been a right one. With a view to this item, a question was included on the strategy in which, according to those participating in the evaluation, more effort should have been invested (by means of a guided multiple-choice question). According to the answers, the result is as follows:

The strategies of 1) “generating direct influence on politicians present at the COP”, 2) “acts of non-violent civil disobedience” and 3) “generating meeting spaces for social movements and joint organisation” are tied at 30%. On the other hand, the strategy of “permitted protests” only accounted for the remaining 10%.

This answer shows that, although at a personal level many of the participants consider that a greater weight should be given to direct non-violent actions –something that has evidently gained social momentum in past months regarding previous situations in our recent history–, a similar trend considers equally important the more classic political advocacy action acknowledging a capacity for change to the classic political decision-making spaces, and a minority support to directly turning our backs on them has been reported. Likewise, the meeting spaces for social movements such as those created by the SSC –

similar to the social forums— are still considered particularly important.

RESULTS OF THE GROUPS' EVALUATION

In addition to collecting the individual views of the participants, it is important to consider the more strategic and political vision of the groups and organisations that both organised and participated in the SSC. According to the answers, the profile of the groups surveyed is as follows:

- Only 34 groups responded to the form, including 38% from outside Spain. A territorial bias in opinion persists here, but it is significantly lower than that of the individual evaluation
- As for involvement, 10% of the groups reported a low level of participation, 50% a medium level, 30% a high level and 10% a very high level.

When giving a certain value to this survey, it is important to consider that groups most likely to participate in it may be those with some special interest (groups affected by some unrest generated, with objectives whose strategic insights are other than the dominant ones, groups highly involved in the process...). Although this fact may introduce some biases in the results, it does make the survey more interesting for identifying some important elements regarding the SSC.

The answers are now analysed looking at the following aspects:

Level of satisfaction

When asked about the level of satisfaction with the SSC (low, medium, high or excellent), it was found that 3% of groups reported a low level of satisfaction, 19% medium, 47% high and 31% excellent. The two following aspects (strengths and resulting problems) provide a notion of the reason for these results.

Strengths

Groups were asked about the strengths of the SSC. It was an open question and the answers are categorised and listed in Table 3 along with their relative share.

Table 3. Strengths of the SSC according to the groups surveyed

STRENGTHS (%)	
Opportunities for convergence between international groups. Networking and rapid response capacity	41
Broad range of activities and quality of the Plenary Assemblies	22
Participation of native peoples	16
Social mobilisation	11
Voice of women	5
National and international visibility	5

A large share of the groups recognises the capacity to create a space for convergence between them as one of the SSC's strengths. In order to make the most of this, harmony should be enhanced through common meetings the networks' well-being should be en-

sured by means of conflict resolution.

Another aspect to be considered, related to what was mentioned in the individual evaluation, is the positive assessment given to the focus on a complete activity programme including many voices.

Resulting challenges

When asked if they had experienced any problems during the SSC, 48% of the groups said they had no problems at all. On the other hand, 31% had problems, but these were resolved, while 21% had issues that were not resolved by the SSC's organisers. Table 4 shows the types of problems

Table 4. Problems mentioned by the groups and reclassified with their corresponding share

PROBLEMS REPORTED (%)	
Room or activity logistics	35
Ideological differences or tensions between groups	20
Disappearance of groups' equipment	15
Work overload	15
Discriminatory treatment of indigenous, migrant and/or racialised groups	15

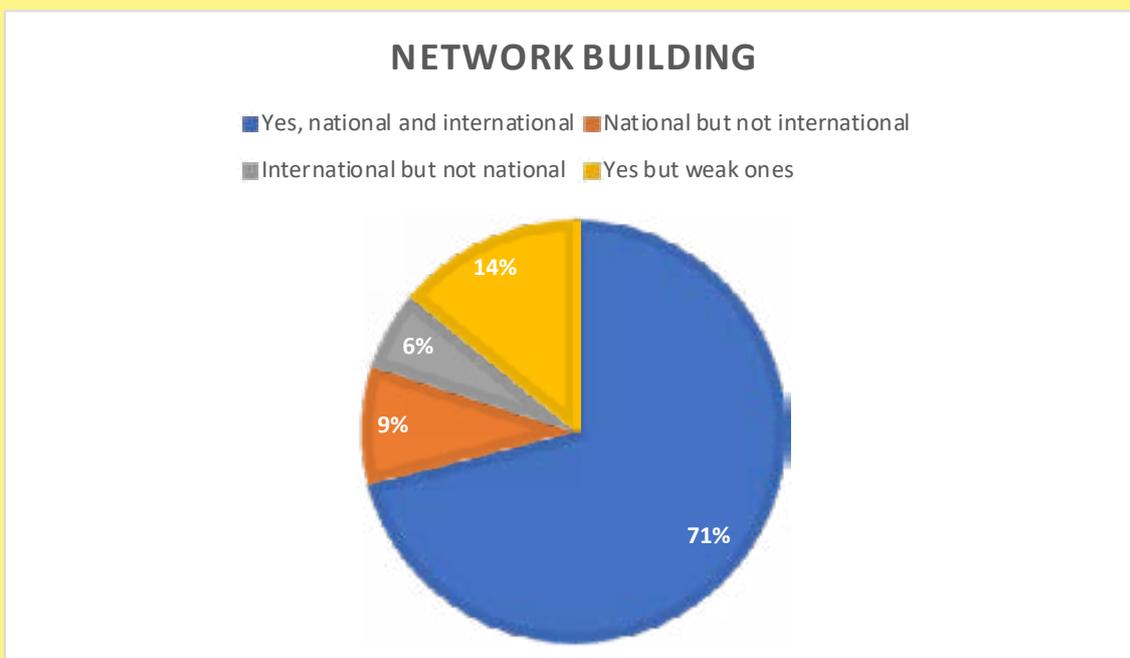
Organisational problems and internal conflicts are to be expected in these events, so it is particularly important that the organisers facilitate and strengthen working groups specifically focused on care and conflict resolution, as it has already been pointed out. On the other hand, most of the problems considered as solved are connected to activity logistics. The team of volunteers responded effectively; this type of problem would not arise if spaces and activities were planned sufficiently in advance, but they are even more understandable in an exceptional situation such as the Social Summit for Climate.

The disappearance of objects of great symbolic and also economic value for the groups generated a strong discomfort in the days following the clearance of the Convergence Space. Chaos at the time of clearance resulted in some groups mistaking their equipment or taking other people's materials because they might be discarded to clean the building. A lot of materials were recovered in the following days, but a considerable part of them has not been found yet. Besides, there were also cases of theft inside the Space.

Despite its low representation in the table, discriminatory treatment to indigenous, migrant and/or racialised groups is another important issue that comes to light with this question. A clear example is the incident at the demonstration (see Annex III), which shows that good will is not enough to advance on the path of decolonising our relations with the Global South. We need to be critical of the way we relate to the political aspects around us and to question the extent of our privileges if we are to pull in the same direction.

Networking

A large part of the SSC effort concerned opening a space for the convergence of groups, facilitating the creation and strengthening of international networks for organised and global responses. Therefore, the creation of networks was evaluated by asking the groups if they believe that the SSC has served to generate networks (through a multiple-choice question) and what could be done to strengthen them (through free response, subsequently categorised). The result to the first question can be seen in Graph 5.



Graph 5. Groups' view on the SSC effectiveness to create networks. Originally there were 5 options, but "No networks were created" has been removed from the result as it received zero answers.

Regarding network building, Table 5 shows the two main feelings

Table 5. Groups' categorised feelings on how to build networks, including their share

HOW TO STRENGTHEN NETWORKS (%)	
Coordinate alliances at national and international level, by means of a common platform where contact, information flow and position are facilitated. In addition, hold regular telematic meetings	80
Building more inclusive and reciprocal relations, rethinking positions, and developing strategies to avoid cornering by the large organisations and with an enhanced voice of the global North/South dialogue	20

The main measure proposed in this regard is to emphasise the need to generate tools and processes to facilitate communication between the different groups and enhance collaboration skills. With a lower share, there are proposals that advocate revising the position papers and building healthy and intersectional relations between groups in order to avoid the strategic bias of the stronger movements (given the existing privileges). It should be noted that both responses are not exclusive. It is possible that the second proposal is under-represented and that this is related to the participation bias mentioned above: it is highly likely that greater participation of Global South groups in the survey would have given greater weight to this strategy.

Strategy of struggle

As for the strategy of struggle, the groups were asked their view about the social-forum strategy proposed by the SSC as a response to the COP. An 80% of the groups surveyed considered that holding a social summit was an appropriate response, and it could be con-

cluded that the Social Summit on Climate was quite successful in generating a sufficiently broad narrative for most groups to feel comfortable with. On the other hand, 20% said it was not. Those who responded negatively were asked about what type of space should have been generated. The results were reclassified and are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Reclassified responses with their corresponding share on the response alternative to the SSC social forum

ALTERNATIVES TO THE PROTEST SPACE	
The space generated is acceptable, but it must be much greater in terms of representation and equity	42
The social forum is a necessary space, but more focus must be given on generating mass direct action	29
It is adequate, but there must be a way to provide proposals	29

All the answers in this category recognise the importance of the SSC, but a significant number of them consider it lacks representativeness and equity or report strategic differences in their approach to the type of social response required. Ideally, the strategy should be well defined with the groups before inviting them to participate and join the appeals. This was not fully possible due to the lack of time to organise it.

As for the type of strategy preferred, the same question as in the individual form was asked by means of a multiple-choice question. According to the answers, the result is as follows:

A 24% percent of the answers point to “influencing politicians acting at the COP”, 14% point to “conducting permitted protests”, 24% point to “organising mass civil disobedience actions” and 38% point to “generating spaces for convergence and strategic planning”.

Comparing these results against those of the same question in the individual evaluation, it emerges that permitted protest is the strategy that receives the least attention from both the groups and the participants. This could indicate a certain general feeling that, although necessary, they are perhaps no longer the most effective tools for responding to the challenge of the ecological crisis. On the other hand, the strategies related to generating civil disobedience actions and exercising direct influence on COP politicians (both strategies are compatible but not *per se* the same) were equally recognised in both evaluations. Finally, it seems that the evaluation confirms the social forum (space for convergence and strategic planning) as a necessary tool and a valuable form of activism.

Finally, groups were asked about the next steps of the climate movement in the run-up to COP 26 in Glasgow. The proposals were collected by means of a free answer question and the results were classified into seven categories as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Groups’ opinions on the next steps of the climate movement. Reclassified responses with their respective shares

NEXT STEPS (%)	
Prepare a common narrative integrative with the Global South. Set objectives and monitor the agreements made and our own proposals	34
Start now to weave the network of contacts building on what has been woven in this social summit. Do so in a representative and equitable way	28
Prepare mass civil disobedience actions that will have a political impact on the official summit	23
Support frontline organisations in leading denunciations	9
Choose a venue close to the official summit	2

Give more weight to evaluation processes	2
Carry out previous awareness campaigns	2

In the light of these results, it is clear that there is a need to establish an effective and inclusive tool for groups to facilitate collaboration and strategic planning. It is important to recognise the privileges enjoyed by organisations in countries rich in resources (labour, economic, skills, etc.) in order to ensure that a bias is not introduced in the agenda and in the participation of groups according to their size, origin or resources. Prioritising an intersectional approach is also important. A good transition between the Madrid Social Summit on Climate and the one to be held around COP26 is desirable. Efforts should be placed in the coordination of mass civil disobedience actions as a key to political advocacy. In this sense, the power of the culture of disobedience recently established in the United Kingdom (with mass actions around the Extinction Rebellion movement) may be an asset.

LESSONS LEARNED

- Evaluation processes should be given more importance to the early on in order to make them an effective and representative tool.
- According to this evaluation (including its clear biases), the SSC shows a high level of satisfaction but there is much room for improvement.
- Despite certain logistical problems, activities were one of the SSC successes, with the participation of native peoples being one of the most valued aspects.
- One of the main messages of the SSC is the responsibility of civil society to catalyse the transition to a socio-economic model consistent with the ecological limits of the planet and fair to all the peoples that inhabit it.
- Since it is a global problem that needs global responses, these responses should be fair and show harmony between the Global North/South peoples
- Many of the discomforts arisen during the SSC could have been minimised by a strong working group specifically devoted to internal and external care that would also ensure self-care and satisfaction for under-represented groups.
- Different capacities among organisations should be considered so as avoid biases in the agenda and participation.
- It is crucial to recognise the particularities of the indigenous communities (decision-making times, procedures, differentiated attention...) so that their participation is effective and is accorded the importance it deserves. An early intervention with the indigenous groups to understand and internalise all these particularities from the start can help to avoid subsequent problems that will be difficult to solve.
- The creation of a convergence space for the groups was one of the SSC strengths, but the social-forum strategy could be improved in terms of representativeness and strategic planning.
- Network creation and maintenance is important, so tools and processes should be developed to facilitate this on an ongoing basis.
- The creation of spaces for convergence and strategic planning is validated among

the strategies of struggle, followed by other strategies of direct political advocacy at the COP or the facilitation of mass civil disobedience mobilisations. The strategy of permitted demonstrations remains in the background in comparison.

- In view of Glasgow (COP 26), we must build on the networks created and develop a common narrative integrating the Global South, as well as define clear objectives and strategies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

For many people, the SSC is a clear sign of a civil society that is taking responsibility for the climate struggle and is becoming increasingly organised. However, the element that undoubtedly is strongest in the current scenario is not us, as organised civil society, but capital. It can be said that they are winning the battle at the moment. What should be the synchronic struggle of all the nations of the world for our ways of life is undeniably a scenario dominated by economic interests, blind and deaf to the evident alarms and incapable of responding firmly. Not only is it necessary to bring about a radical systemic change to operate within planetary limits, but we must also ensure an adaptation that makes us resilient to the climate and ecological crisis.

Resilience to the ecological and climate crisis must also take place on an emotional level. These crises generate increasing psycho-social pressures that must be addressed, by generating strategies to reduce the resulting growing personal and social anxiety and seeking collective responses that allow strengthening in this regard.

On these grounds, opposition spaces such as the Social Summit on Climate are necessary. Thanks to them, it is easier to weave networks in order to organise solid responses to the blockage of global institutions due to the climate and ecological crisis. Also, these spaces allow for reflection on their inclusiveness and equity with the peoples, communities and sectors most affected by the crisis.

Three main lessons can be drawn from the SSC process:

- The organised civil society, supported by the reason given by science, is absolutely determined to overcome the paradigm of the current system, and is full of hope to achieve it.
- Reflection and learning processes must be enhanced and therefore action and evaluation have to be given equal weight.
- The concept of climate justice is essential in the coordination of international networks, so that the climate struggle incorporates social justice and equity from scratch.

To conclude these reflections, the following sentence by Mapuche activist Moira Millán provides a good framework:

“The hope of building a new humanity that radically challenges the establishment dwells in the Mapuche people. It is necessary, urgent and essential to recover harmonious relationship with nature and with the concept of reciprocity between peoples.

In order to be reciprocal with all the original peoples, the first world should provide reparation. We will reciprocate by building resistance.

Moira Millán, a Mapuche weychafe

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This evaluation could not have been accomplished without the collaboration and contributions of many people who were key to the event organisation, as well as those who devoted time to filling out the forms provided. To all of them, thank you.

We also thank deeply the collaboration of so many people who experienced the Social Summit for Climate. We extend our warm wishes to all those people who worked so hard to organise something so beautiful in so few days, and specially to those people whose activism is a risky activity; to those who lack the privilege of being able to participate or expose themselves with the “normality” that others can. Thank you also for opening our eyes to this situation.

Let us keep the flame alive.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

This section provides different contents about the Social Summit for Climate and the juncture generated during those days, in addition to the vigorous speech that closed this social forum.

[YouTube channel](#) where the streamings of the Plenary Session were uploaded and lot of additional audiovisual content may be found:

[SSC presentation](#)

[Indigenous Minga presentation](#)

[Plenary Assembly I](#)

[Plenary Assembly II](#)

[Plenary Assembly III](#)

[Plenary Assembly IV](#)

[Plenary Assembly V](#)

[Closing ceremony](#)

Some additional related articles:

[We're screwed, Andreas\(s\) Peck \(personal web\)](#)

[Corporate Europe Observatory](#). Corporate COP25: the biggest failure so far?

[Climática](#). La contracumbre: espacio para la gestación de nuevos colectivos por el clima

[Climática](#). La Cumbre Social por el Clima arranca sin Ibex ni coches

[Climática](#). La crisis social y política de Chile es también una crisis climática

[Ctxt](#). “Lo hago por mi papá y mi mamá. Por mis abuelos. Por mis ríos y mi tierra”

[Ctxt](#). La rebelión climática tras la COP25: rumbo 2020

[Ctxt](#). Emergencia climática: ¿Qué activismo para la nueva década?

[El Salto](#). Entre esperanza y desesperación nos rebelamos por el clima

Meta. Lukewarm UN climate conference failed to reflect the heat on the streets

Open democracy. Using narratives for strategic adaptation: lessons learned from COP21
Open democracy.

SSC closing speech

The Social Summit for Climate (SSC) has been a fundamental space for the social response to the COP25. Since we took the unwanted baton of trying to build this space in record time, we committed ourselves to functioning as a loudspeaker for the demands of the Global South communities and, in particular, the Latin American and Chilean social movements, whose voice was intended to be silenced. Despite the logistical and human challenge involved in organising everything in such a short time, we always sought to ensure coordination with the various Chilean social spaces that were already underway, particularly the Indigenous Minga, the People's Summit and Civil Society for Climate Action (SCAC). These spaces maintained their activities in Chile, but the presence of both their messages and their delegations at the SSC was key. Elements such as denunciation of extractivism, the violation of human rights, and demands regarding social justice and native peoples have been at the heart of our claims from the outset. With very tight deadlines (and thanks to the contribution of the Complutense University of Madrid-UCM and the General Workers Union-UGT), the challenge of preparing the physical and human space for the SSC has been achieved. We have channelled more than 370 requests for activities structured around different thematic axes: planetary limits, economic and financial system, social justice, political systems, democracy and human rights, intersectionality and true solutions. Over 15,000 people and 300 organisations, networks, groups and social movements from all continents have met these days at the SSC to talk, exchange insights and make proposals on ecofeminism, migrations, neocolonialism, indigenism, employment, agroecology, energy, transitions, democracy or regenerative culture, among other issues. Faced with the disappointing discussions in the official negotiations, which focused on carbon markets or offsets, the SSC sought to open up the space for a much richer and more diverse discussion on the real solutions. But, above all, the SSC space has served to continue weaving the social and community network that will make us stronger for the scenario of ecological, social and climate crisis before us.

During the daily plenary assemblies, in some of which nearly a thousand people have participated, we had the opportunity to listen to dozens of colleagues from very diverse communities who have shared their struggles and how they are confronting on the front line the extractive aggressions and climate impacts. Sharing these two weeks with indigenous peoples has been one of the most constructive, enriching and touching experiences of the SSC. As stated in their letter delivered to the COP25 Presidency, indigenous peoples are the "guardians of life in the most biodiverse territories of the planet", working for "good living, life, nature and humanity, whether indigenous or not". These indigenous peoples and nations (who defend the territory from multinationals, from extractivism, from the commodification of the planet..), have made it clear that land is essential for the sustenance of human and non-human beings and that the balance between the material and the spiritual dimensions. Based on their conception of Mother Earth as a living being and based on their traditional knowledge, they have provided valuable insights into the necessary ecological transition. We join these peoples and nations in denouncing the role of the multinationals, mainly the Spanish ones, demanding an end to the criminalisation and persecution they suffer to protect the ecosystems, declaring Mother Earth a living being subject of law and demanding that fossil fuels be kept under the ground, out of the acts of colonialist extractivism.

If we have learned something from the indigenous peoples, it is that colonialism continues, not only in big corporations but also in our ways of thinking and acting. During these two weeks, we have made mistakes that are the result of a thought that, despite good will, does not sufficiently question the power of white people. Those mistakes have generated pain. We apologise for this. And we want to learn from these mistakes. The road to decolonisation is long, but we want to travel it because, as the letter presented by the Indigenous Minga to COP25 ends, "it is time to unite all the efforts of the world and put aside our differences".

It is also important to highlight the persecution suffered by Mapuche people and women (whose repression is a historical practice of all governments to date). That is why we support their struggle and demand the end of repression and the release of political prisoners. In the same way, we support all peoples fighting to defend their territories and we recall those who have been killed in the exercise of this right. It has been an honour to have at the summit Laura Zúñiga Cáceres, a daughter of Berta Cáceres, who was murdered by the government of Honduras for defending her territory.

Our look has indeed been placed on the recent mobilisations in Chile, whose population takes to the streets every day to fight for change. We have denounced the human rights violations by the Piñera government, which,

is responsible for murders, disappearances, wounds, tortures and rapes. They are the clear manifestation of the crisis of the neoliberal system, which has not only made the public health system precarious, plundered the pension system, and put broad sectors of the population (and very particularly students in debt), but has also been carrying out a predatory extractivist policy on the territory for decades. As the climate crisis becomes more evident in Chile –with processes such as desertification, the exhausting of aquifers or the rise in sea level, undermining the possibilities for life in the territories–, these demands have been incorporated into the struggles for social justice. For this reason, the SSC has always sought to make visible this nexus connecting the social crisis with the ecological crisis as signs of the same problem: an economic model that is contrary to life.

The plenary assemblies have also followed the official COP25 negotiations, the climate struggle of youth movements, the launch of the Latin American climate manifesto by SCAC and FIMA, the Peoples' Summit final declaration, the struggles of women human rights defenders, the criminalisation of protest and the activist struggle against fossil fuels and megaprojects, ecofeminisms and alternatives for a desirable future. The dissemination of culture has also been central through exhibition spaces, art workshops, performances, poetry readings and musical shows.

Our vision for COP25

We, climate justice advocates, scientists, young people, women, indigenous people, peasants, activists from social organisations and movements around the world, have gathered at the Social Summit for Climate and demonstrated massively in Madrid to sound the alarm once again, with one voice: the COP25 negotiations are leading to global warming with catastrophic consequences. It is up to us to articulate responses to the climate emergency; we can expect nothing from most States whose commitments should be greatly increased.

People's and our planet's lives are at risk. Global North countries are accumulating a historical debt to which they must respond by ensuring the necessary funds to deal with the ecological and social emergency in most of the planet. It is unacceptable to continue to question the human rights safeguards in the fight against climate change. It would be inexcusable if mechanisms such as carbon markets or clean development mechanisms continued to be the source of major social and environmental violations.

This summit once again ignores the need to drive the big polluters out of these events. Moreover, it allows them to become a showcase to sponsor greenwashing by the companies responsible for climate degradation, while also gaining privileged access to politicians and negotiators.

While the massive mobilisations in recent months are mentioned in the plenaries, the demands for real action are ignored; and over 300 people—climate justice advocates, scientists, youth, women, indigenous leaders, representatives of organisations from around the world—, who had united in peaceful protest to sound the alarm with one voice: the COP25 negotiations are dangerously off track, were driven from the official summit.

In 2015, countries agreed to a weak process known as the Paris Agreement, but as the scientific community is making clear, this global pact seems incapable of keeping the increase in global temperature well below 2°C and if possible 1.5°C. This COP25 could further reduce that ambition. By delaying the timing of new commitments, we may delay for years our efforts to face the climate emergency, which could have a catastrophic impact.

We only have 10 years ahead to address the climate emergency. However, there are still proposals to deepen mechanisms such as the carbon markets or clean development systems, which have already been the source of many human rights and environmental violations. By further allowing the large oil, civil aviation, maritime, mining and electricity companies, etc. to condition the decarbonisation route of the economy is simply unacceptable. Only correct planning able to transform the predatory capitalist system into a system that fits within the planet and with life at its centre can stop the climate emergency.

In these last hours of COP25 we reaffirm our commitment to coordinate real solutions to the environmental and social emergency. Our capacity to mobilise, organise and understand each other can save us from the ecological and social emergency we are experiencing. We have learned from each other, have drawn up solidarity bonds, have passed each other the will to fight. We are leaving much stronger than we arrived. We will keep up the pressure on the politicians for the common good. We will stay in the streets to curb the climate emergency. From Santiago to Madrid we will coordinate networks of solidarity with the populations fighting for justice all around the world. In the face of the neoliberal policies, the sacrifice zone or the madness of continuing to extract fuel from the ground, we call for peaceful but firm and continuous resistance. After all, the world has woken up to the climate emergency.

ANNEX I: ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The first important step for the general organisation of the summit was to obtain confirmation of the solidarity facilities to house the event. This information was particularly relevant for the Funding committee since it would be the starting point for the budget and the economic resources required. Once the two main locations for the SSC were confirmed (Complutense University of Madrid and the UGT premises, as we will see below), further meetings were held to negotiate the coverage of certain expenses that would arise from the use of these facilities. The results of these meetings were positive, and many of these expenses were assumed by the institutions that cooperated with the organisers. The Ministry for Ecological Transition, with the collaboration of the public holding TRAGSA, paid for the large tent, air conditioning, sound, tent furniture, chemical toilets, etc. The UGT, for its part, assumed the cost of security in the building where the Space for Convergence was located.

Regarding the UCM classrooms, the university made an economical estimate of the cost of activities carried out in space. (The budget tables, if they are to be included, should be pasted here, but I think it is better to include them attached. Annex I)

The cost of the security services at the UCM was estimated by the University at EUR 12,434.00 + VAT, but this expense was finally assumed by Ecologists in Action.

The main expenditure items assumed by the SSC organisation were the following:

SSC EXPENSES	TOTAL (€)
UCM	28,959
UGT space	15,908
Bar	3,176
Interpretation	18,187
Communication	1,804
TOTAL	68,034

Food budgets were managed directly by the groups in charge of meals; this heading does not include the centralised financial management.

Expenses were covered by donations. The main donations (over EUR 1,000) came from the following entities:

Rosa Luxembourg Foundation, Guerrilla Foundation, UMI Fund, XR, 2020RxC, ELA, UGT, CF, War on Want, Peace with Dignity, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and Ecologists in Action.

It is important to note that many other entities and individuals made smaller donations.

ANNEX II: SUMMARY OF THE ACCOMMODATION SPACES USED DURING THE SOCIAL SUMMIT FOR CLIMATE 2019 IN MADRID

A total of approximately **1,100 people** were accommodated during the Social Summit for Climate held in parallel to COP25 in Madrid. The activities were carried out over 2 weeks, from 30 November to 15 December, although the bulk of the people concentrated over 3 days, between Friday 6th and Sunday 8th.

Most people were accommodated in collective spaces, sleeping on the floor with sleeping bags and mats (to be brought). Accommodation was also offered in solidarity houses and in some rare cases in hostels, for those with health problems or lacking a sleeping bag.

It is pertinent to mention the challenge of not having all the spaces available during all the activity days, which meant an important fitting work to assign the accommodation spaces. In addition, many persons that came with an organised group had also signed up individually, so it was impossible to know exactly how many people would finally come. We can estimate that between 20% and 30% people had either made the request twice (individually and in groups) or finally decided not to attend.

The spaces available were as follows:

Space	Conditions	Maximum capacity	Persons
Centre for Convergence in Hortaleza street	Collective space provided by UGT	100	85-100
Complutense University (sports area)	Space provided by the UCM. Several spaces with showers	425	385
Getafe Sports Centre	Space provided by the Getafe City Council	300	300
Alcobendas Sports Centre	Space provided by the Alcobendas City Council	200	150
Rivas Sports Centre	Space provided by the Rivas City Council	?	15
Leganés First-of-May Centre	Space provided by Leganés Town Hall	15	0
EVA Social Centre	Self-managed Social Centre	100	50
La Canica Social Centre	Self-managed Social Centre	40	19
La Enredadera Social Centre	Self-managed Social Centre	40	40
Metropolitano CC Hostel	Space managed by Ecologists in Action	15	10
Solidarity Houses	Solidarity accommodation provided	50	50
Total		1,285	1,104-1,019

ANNEX III:

ANNEX REFLECTIONS ON THE INDIGENOUS MINGA PARTICIPATION AT COP 25

Previous note: This text contains the events that I lived and some personal reflections. There may be elements that I missed or that others may have been experienced differently. My contribution results from the fact that I was one of the people who (fortunately) experienced the participation of the Indigenous Minga at COP 25 most closely.

1) Before the stage.

The first thing I learn about the Indigenous Minga is that it is one of the three entities that are organising, together with the Peoples' Summit and the Civil Society for Climate Action (SCAC), the mobilisations under COP25 in Chile. The second thing is that the COP25 is relocated to Madrid, the Indigenous Minga obtains funds from contacts to travel to Madrid and asks us for a space where they could stay (all together) and meet. At that time, we were in the midst of the organisation turmoil and only the space Hortaleza 88, which the Minga considered adequate, was available. Upon their arrival, the Minga asks for support from any organisation to receive money from international donors and to withdraw it from ATMs (EUR 12,000 in total), as well as to buy tickets. Ecologists in Action handles it (in record time and with much effort by 4 members of the organisation: Espe, Paco A, Luis B. and me).

Additionally, seven blocks were created in the demonstration's assemblies: 1) indigenous groups, Chileans and racialised people, 2) youth, 3) feminists, 4) ecologists, 5) social organisations, 6) unions, and 7) others.

At the same time, since a lot of work is done in small groups (there was no time to agree on so many things in such a short time) to organise the demonstration, a group is created to organise the mobilisation's final act. I take part in this group. The group agrees that there will be 2 hosts (we propose the actor Bardem, who had already been contacted by Greenpeace, and Ana Tijoux, a Chilean singer), and that 3 groups: indigenous groups, youth (Greta Thunberg was chosen) and human rights groups (from Chile), would have the same time, 3 minutes, to talk. In addition, the manifesto would be read by each of the protest sectors (not to be confused with the blocks), in which the indigenous peoples were represented. Ana Tijoux could not attend, thus Sonia Guajajara, coordinator of APIB (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil/Brazil's Indigenous People Articulation), was contacted to make the presentation with Javier Bardem. For the musical performances, the members of such heterogeneous group contacted many different artists to try to ensure some performance in such a short time. Many groups confirmed and it was decided not to decline any of them, so we set up a playlist with truly short times. A person from "Poetry is my blanket", a group of Senegalese migrants, joined the interventions at the last minute.

No one realised that it was an exceptionally large block and that many of its participants were scattered around the planet, with many communication challenges. The groups from Chile and of racialised people who had come to the assemblies asked for help in organising but, in the swirl of activity, nobody offered (besides there was considerable confusion of groups and contacts). At the last minute (the night before the demonstration), Tom (from Ecologists) helped organise and reach agreements on representation at the head of the demonstration and on the stage. This led to the fact that it was not known until the last minute who was going to come on stage. The indigenous groups asked for 2 interventions (one in English for the English-speaking groups and another in Spanish for the Latin-speaking groups) and, in the rush, they were told to split their 3 minutes into 2.

Each block of the demonstration organised its own security except the first one, which would be ensured by the head security. The head of the demonstration including its security overflowed, thus Block #1 was not cordoned off. This meant that this block got trapped at the end of the demonstration among the people that

crowded the front rows of the act, and it was difficult for the indigenous groups to reach the stage. Nobody helped them (except for a few persons that happened to be around).

2) The incident on stage:

When they reached the stage, after bypassing the crowds, because of the organisation challenges concerning Block #1, the indigenous persons had no pass, which complicated their entry into the backstage, thus increasing anger. Upon entering into the backstage (thanks to Tom's intervention), all the indigenous persons wanted to get on stage, which for security reasons was not approved by the gatekeeper (given its limited capacity). In a high-tension atmosphere, including moments where the indigenous people considered cancelling their participation (and again with Tom's assistance in the negotiation), they were all finally allowed to come onstage for a longer time (3 minutes per group, 6 in total). As a sign of protest, our indigenous fellows decided not to leave after their 6 minutes on the stage and not to accept the requests of the volunteer staff to get off. After 20 minutes on the stage, the person in charge of the playlist, who was clearly nervous, asked for the lights to be turned off and the sound to be cut off. This made the indigenous groups even angrier as they continued to sing off-microphone and with no lights. Finally, the volunteer staff on the stage vehemently encouraged the indigenous people to leave. Again, there was a lot of tension and shouting in the backstage.

I learnt most of this later on because I was in the first rows of the audience during the incident, in a rather low mood and knowing that a big storm was coming...

When I went backstage, I talked to both the organisers of the final event and the indigenous people. They shared anger and sadness. I agreed with several of the indigenous people (from both the English-speaking and Latin-speaking parts) to discuss the incident again.

3) After the stage:

The following day we discussed the incident in the Telegram of the final act. There was still anger, sadness and a certain lack of understanding of what had happened. But it was decided to issue a statement of apology:

We, the organisers of the final act of the climate march on December 6 in Madrid, declare:

That it was a serious mistake to have given the indigenous groups 3 minutes, the same time allowed to youth and for denouncing human rights violations, while the former are more diverse, the most harmed by the climate change and from whom we have to learn more. It would have been fairer to give them more time and allow their space to be the longest one on stage.

We did not understand the time needed for the indigenous-people block, this group facing the greatest dispersion globally, the greatest difficulty in travelling and the greatest linguistic diversity, to organise their performance on the stage, which then led to misunderstandings, problems and serious communication failures.

We are hurt by what happened and apologise for what happened on the stage. It was not intended, and we sought to make the indigenous block visible by assigning it the first demonstration block, the reading of the manifesto, its own space and an act opened by Sonia Guajajara. But we made mistakes from which we will surely learn to continue on the path of decolonisation.

We look forward to fighting together to stop the climate emergency and against colonialism.

That same day I talked about it with several Minga members and showed them the letter. In the workshop called "Colonialism, patriarchy, capitalism and the struggle against REDD+" in the Minga space, in which I participated, we discussed the issue (and made a reconciliation ceremony). I suggested to several Minga members reading the letter and discussing the issue in a public assembly at the Social Summit for Climate. They refused the offer because "it was not their way to figure things out". To resolve the issue (and other conflicts that arose) they asked me to hold a meeting with 70% of the organisations participating in the demonstration and the Summit, something impossible considering the cash availability. They explained that the problem that they usually find, and that we were replicating, is that we were behaving "as the state behaves": new persons, unknown for them, appeared continuously to give instructions, and this way of functioning is fatal for them (bringing in unknown actors is the way the state uses to kill, spy and abduct). To avoid this, they ask then for a dialogue with a stable body representing at least 70% of the organisations. Since then, I (as somebody close to the different spaces coordinating the Social Summit for the Climate) kept an eye on the Minga over the remaining days to help solve conflicts (this does not mean that there were no other people very attentive to the Minga; indeed there were).

4) Other conflicts:

I mention two other conflicts because I consider they are illustrative examples of 1) the problems that arose from colonial issues, 2) the good will (and the work done) and 3) that by talking things over, we come to understand each other.

The Minga asked to participate in the workshops of the Social Summit for Climate after the deadline. It also asked for three adjacent classrooms, one of them with movable tables. The Programme group (with several sleepless night) accepted the workshops and found off-plan three eligible classrooms on the second floor. When we reached the Social Summit for the Climate, we realised that the entrance to those three classrooms was quite hidden and that made the Minga truly angry. They requested a change, which meant modifying a large part of the programme. Despite the difficulties, Samu and Marta (from Ecologists) and another third person agreed to change the whole program, to move many workshops (an additional burden of work) and to provide them with more visible classrooms. While discussing this conflict with the Minga, they asked us to understand the longer times they required as they came from many parts of the world, spoke very diverse languages, and it was more difficult for them to communicate, thus they required more time to organise themselves. They also said that we need to understand that becoming visible is more necessary for them than for the other groups because they have been made invisible for years, it is them who have suffered the most from climate change and who can offer many solutions.

The second conflict occurred when the Minga's participation in the COP blue zone was accepted. I arranged with the kitchen that they would be exempted from queueing and would not be charged (as they only had money for taxis). Also, with some help, I set up a table for 50 people outside the tent (using the tent chairs that were tied up in rows of 20). When I got to the table, the indigenous people were all visibly upset. One said to me: "Don't worry Luis, I can't fit the chair on the plane, I'm not taking it with me." I understood that they thought that we had tied up the chairs so they would not steal them. I explained to them that this was not a measure for them, but that all the chairs in the tent were tied up as a safety measure to keep the aisles clear. Besides making them laugh (and lowering the tension), I was explained that they are permanently suspected of stealing (for example, when they go into a supermarket, they are chased by security) and that it is the time to denounce all the situations in which they glimpse that type of behaviour; that they might be wrong (as in this case), but they preferred to say it and not to be silent anymore.

5) Reflections and jokes (not aside)

Sharing so many things with the Minga allows for a lot of thought about decolonisation. Of course, it is not an overcome issue (the way is long), nor do I have a special sensitivity (I just happened to be there). So, these

are the reflections that I consider to be useful.

Firstly, as in other similar issues, for example feminism, questioning privileges that you have on grounds of your “whiteness” and that you are not even aware of them being privileges (such as organising a protest, a heading, an event, walking down the street without being asked for documentation, speaking in a workshop, being listened to when you speak or organising a workshop). This doesn’t mean that you have to stop doing that, but that you have to be careful in case there are groups that don’t have that faculty (or privilege) and see if you can do something to make it easier for this to be for everyone and to be no longer a privilege. It is about (in a very simplified way) asking yourself all the time... Can everyone do this? Is there anyone for whom this is more complicated?

In this case, we could have been more aware of how hard is for a group of indigenous people from all over the world, with no base in Madrid, to get organised, to have planned spaces and to have the organisation better adapted to their times (this is difficult when time was so pressing, but surely we could have thought of something). Also we could have provided more support in organising the first demonstration block, considered a separate security for it, approached differently the issue of the permissions to the stage, considered that indigenous people could have been given more time on the stage because of their diversity, because of being affected peoples and because of their capacity to provide solutions, etc.

In working with the Minga (and probably with other indigenous groups), I think it is important to make clear who the organisers are, how decisions are made and how they can participate in decisions. I believe that designating someone informed about the event organisation to accompany them constantly can be helpful. This helps clear up misunderstandings, build trust and resolve conflicts more quickly.

Understanding the times needed for indigenous groups to get organised and not taking them for granted is also quite important. There is not a magic formula, but it is probably good practice to seek flexibility mechanisms and consider providing longer times than may initially seem sufficient.

In hindsight, I think that the stage incident, being very unpleasant, helped make privileges and colonialism visible. At the Minga’s farewell dinner, to which I was invited, and in which Ecologists in Action was publicly thanked for the support provided over the COP days, I was asked how I had experienced the incident on stage. At the end, a Mapuche woman jokingly told me: “It wasn’t that bad, they didn’t gas us or take us to jail, so don’t live it with so much drama”, and I said: “If all we have to pay for 500 years of colonialism is seeing our stage boycotted, I accept the deal.”

ANNEX IV: INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION FORM

FRAMASOFT SURVEY

Which was your implication on SSC?.

- Public
- Organizator
- Speaker

Name of your colective _____.

How did you knew about SSC?.

- My colective
- Active search
- Friends and family
- Social media

Which activities did you found more interesting? _____

In which work groups did you participate? _____

How much time did you spend on SSC ?.

- Not much
- something reasonable
- Lot of time
- Too much time.

Reate this aspects as bad, normal, good or excelent.

- Satisfaction with SSC
- Quality of the food provided.
- Quality of sleeping commodities
- Impact of SSC.

Which is the main message of the SSC for you _____

Which elements of the organization gave you discomfort? _____

In which strategy do you think we should focus more?.

- Influence over politicians in COP25.
- Allowed demonstrations
- Civil disobedience
- Spaces for congregation

ANNEX V: FORM FOR GROUPS

FRAMASOFT SURVEY.

Name of your collective _____

Rate the following aspects as bad, regular, good or excellent.

- Your collective's implication on SSC
- Your collective's satisfaction with SSC

In which working groups did your collective get involved? _____

How many volunteers did your collective provide? _____

Which are the SSC's strengths? (your collective's point of view) _____

Did you have any issue? Describe it if you want _____

Do you think the issue was managed with respect? .

- Yes
- No
- We did not suffer any issue

Do your collective think the "Social Forum" strategy like the one created in SSC is adequate for a COP25 response?.

- Yes
- No

If the answer is no, how should it be? _____

Do you think SSC has improved the national and international networks?.

- Yes, national and international
- International but not national
- National but no international
- Yes but weak ones
- No

How'd you strengthen these networks? _____

Do you think there should have been more meetings between collectives?.

- Yes, we felt a lack of it.
- Yes, but we didn't feel a lack of it.
- No, there were more than enough.

In which strategy do you think we should focus more?.

- Influence over politicians in COP25.
- Allowed demonstrations
- Civil disobedience
- Spaces for congregation

Which do your collective think should be the next steps of the climate movement towards COP26 Glasgow? _____