

A Field Analysis of the Climate Movement: The Perils and Potentials of Climate Activist Capital

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A FIELD ANALYSIS OF THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT: THE PERILS AND POTENTIALS OF CLIMATE ACTIVIST CAPITAL

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This dissertation examines the climate movement as a social field where actors vie for position and capital. This competition strongly influences framing, tactics, and strategy, while it ultimately bears on the effectiveness of mobilization. I analyzed the climate activist field (CAF) through a case study of resistance against a gas pipeline project. In the first phase of resistance, I found there to be a divergence between local activists with little to no experience in the CAF and climate activists operating within it. In the second phase, after climate activists had taken over, there was a division among climate activists themselves. Here, climate activists carried themselves and made decisions based on what they thought was objectively the correct thing to do. However, activists' practices (encompassing decisions around tactics and strategy but also their judgments and disposition) were structured through the competition for the rewards of the CAF—Climate Activist Capital (CAC), especially Symbolic CAC—and the associated increased status for activists.

I used a mixed method approach involving a survey (N=146), participant observation (200 hours), and interviews (N=51). The survey collected data on activist background and preferences, as well as subjective assessments of their own participation and indicators of economic and cultural capital. Participant observation in a range of groups and social spaces allowed for analysis of activist practices in real, observable

ways. Both the survey and participant observation informed a purposive interviewing strategy that collected data from the most heavily involved to more peripheral activists.

The analysis sought to locate patterns in activist background, quantity and composition of capital, and practices. Differences in activist practices were hypothesized to be the outcome of the interrelation among: an actor's background embedded in the habitus; an actor's volume and composition of capital, as well as their social trajectory; and the competition for capital and position within the CAF (itself structured by actors, their backgrounds and practices, and influence from other fields). The hypothesis received mixed support in the data. Participants in the resistance were not conscious of how their preferences for tactics and strategy were guided by the competition to valorize Symbolic CAC inflected by activist orientation, relatively internal or external. Structured by the field that they help construct, climate activists' practices and the overall effort to stop the pipeline project became increasingly internally oriented, situated antagonistically with the field of power. This resulted in an increased distance between climate activists and non-climate activists as well as a focus on civil disobedience to the exclusion of other tactics.

The dissertation represents a novel approach to understanding dynamics within the climate movement and contributes to three areas of research. First, my research on resistance against fossil fuel infrastructure addresses a deficit of empirical scholarship on climate activism, especially at the local level. Second, I contribute to the social movement scholarship on strategic choices by locating them between individual rational calculation and predetermined agency-less decisions by focusing on the effects of activist field position. Third, the research extends Bourdieusian scholarship by testing his

theoretical schema built around social reproduction in a field that is organized around social change. In bringing a Bourdieusian approach to movement scholarship and the climate movement in particular, the research delivers an analysis that weaves together micro-level social processes—activists and their practices objectively positioned in the CAF—with an historically developed CAF at the macro-level. The analysis is pertinent not just to scholars but to climate activists and activists more broadly. Ultimately, I argue that the climate movement will be served best by drawing on the distinct advantages of both internal and external spaces in the CAF. This requires more reflexivity and introspection among climate activists so they may understand how their position informs their practices and how they can more consciously mediate the position-to-practices process and bend them in contextually appropriate ways, which will lead to more effective climate activists and enhanced climate movement efficacy.

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INTRODUCTION

“To be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, [and] kindness. What we choose to emphasize in this complex history will determine our lives. If we see only the worst, it destroys our capacity to do something. If we remember those times and places—and there are so many—where people have behaved magnificently, this gives us the energy to act, and at least the possibility of sending this spinning top of a world in a different direction. And if we do act, in however small a way, we don’t have to wait for some grand utopian future. The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory.” (Shared by “Carrie”² at a nonviolent civil disobedience training, from (Zinn 2006:270).)

² All names have been altered to respect confidentiality. I have attempted to maintain fidelity with the substantive meanings of actual names, though I have falsified some of the reporting to respect confidentiality. For individuals’ names, I used online lists to locate pseudonyms that approximated the actual names of participants in terms of popularity over time and the frequency that such names appear in the same family trees, which is a rough proxy for class and race (e.g., <https://www.ssa.gov/OACT/babynames/decades/> and <http://www.magicbabynames.com/>). Furthermore, some I have altered some details and removed most of the pictures and parts of some citations. While I hope to restore this work to the true account, that will have to wait until I obtain permission.

Bill McKibben, the author and climate activist who co-founded 350.org, said of the climate movement in 2007: “We've heard the science, the economics, even the policy proposals. The only part of the movement we haven't had is the movement itself” (Donnelly 2007). A dominant figure in what would become the climate movement, McKibben was correct that climate mobilization was lacking. A few years later, Skocpol (2013) pinned the failure of U.S. cap-and-trade legislation in 2010 on the absence of a broad-based and sustained movement. While non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had been mobilizing around climate change since the 1980s, they had confined themselves largely to international negotiations as well as raising public awareness of the problem.³ While there was organizing outside of the international scene that could be understood as climate mobilization, like combatting polluting facilities or fighting for public transit, this environmental justice work was neither framed around climate change nor understood as climate activism by climate activists.⁴ In the country bearing the largest responsibility for the emissions that have caused climate change,⁵ as well as the dismal failure of international policy to reduce emissions (Jamieson 2014), the most prominent

³ Especially when conducted on an information deficit model, scholars have documented the limits to raising awareness with regard to addressing climate change (Allum et al. 2008; Kahan, Jenkins-Smith, and Braman 2011; McCright and Dunlap 2011a; Wynne 1992, 2008).

⁴ As I discuss, this is now changing, with the People’s Climate March in New York and other cities in 2014 and efforts toward a Green New Deal building momentum (Falzon et al. 2018).

⁵ At present, the U.S. emits fewer greenhouse gases than China, but it will remain the world’s largest climate offender because of the longevity of emissions through approximately 2030 (see fig. 3 (Rive, Torvanger, and Fuglestad 2006)). The U.S. is also a leader in terms of per capita emissions (Agarwal and Narain 1991) and consumption-based emissions (Davis and Caldeira 2010), while it is also a stronghold of fossil fuel companies, conservative think tanks, and market fundamentalist policies that continue to stymie international action (Frumhoff, Heede, and Oreskes 2015; Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman 2008; Oreskes and Conway 2014; Oreskes and Erik M Conway 2010; Stahl 2016).

activism was the climate change counter-movement. This well-funded, highly organized collection of conservatives (especially the “market fundamentalist” variety (Block and Somers 2014)), elite scientists, and think tanks successfully shaped and prolonged a “debate” around the long understood and robustly documented science of climate change (Gunn 2015; McCright and Dunlap 2000; Oreskes and Erik M Conway 2010).

By the early 2010’s, this had all changed and there was a climate movement—and by “movement” I follow McAdam (1999) and Flacks (2005) to mean actors organized collectively to bring about or resist social change, largely through non-institutional means. The climate movement can be seen across a range of activities like campaigns and actions against fossil fuel infrastructure (coal- and gas-fired power plants, fossil fuel extraction, transportation, including by train, barge, and perhaps most prominently pipelines, including the significant mobilizations against the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines), the national divestment campaign, faith and religious organizing (thousands of congregations organized under Interfaith Power and Light, more recently Catholics mobilizing following Pope Francis’ Encyclical (2015)), and maybe most vividly the 400,000-person People’s Climate March (Bond 2015; Dietz and Garrelts 2014; Hadden 2015; Klein 2014; Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse 2014; Tokar 2014).⁶

⁶ I focus on efforts that explicitly aim to address climate change—by reducing emissions or targeting fossil fuel companies or their projects, for instance—though I recognize that many people and organizations in related areas, such as food sovereignty and animal rights, could be understood as part of the climate movement (in part through the way climate and energy interact with virtually all domains of life), and I agree with North (2011:1582) that climate activism is “wide ranging and diffuse.”

There are multiple reasons for the rise of a climate movement. One is the failure of “insider” efforts by NGOs to pass climate legislation in the U.S. (Skocpol 2013). Another is the continued disappointment of international negotiations (Ciplet, Roberts, and Khan 2015; Hadden 2015). At a discursive and ideological level, the movement may have been propelled by the development of “climate justice” as an alternative and more radical approach to addressing climate change (Bond 2012; Building Bridges Collective 2010; Smith 2014; Tokar 2014). Elite attention to climate change, as well as structural economic factors may have also played a role (Brulle, Carmichael, and Jenkins 2012). The climate movement may have been spurred by activism at a broader level, such as organizers who had been intentionally building capacity and leadership for years—as can be seen in efforts such as the World Social Forum (Juris et al. 2014; A. D. Morris and Staggenborg 2004; Smith 2012)—and the wave of global protest following the 2008 global recession (Brulle et al. 2012; Gamson 2011a; Kurzman 2012; Robbins 2014).

While research has documented the increase of climate activism, there is insufficient attention to grassroots activism at the local level, especially ethnographic analyses. Notwithstanding some research (Carter and Fusco 2017; e.g., Endres, Sprain, and Peterson 2009; Gullion 2015; Ladd 2018; Schlembach 2011), scholars have noted the scarcity of work focused at the local level (Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz 2015; Dietz and Garrelts 2014) pointing to, for example, the abundance of research focusing on international climate negotiations (Cassegård and Thörn 2017; Ciplet et al. 2015; Dietz and Garrelts 2014; Hadden 2015; Hoffmann 2011; Roberts and Parks 2007) and the more recent growth in research on climate activism at the national level (Hadden 2017; Haluza-

DeLay and Carter 2014; Kent 2016; Nerbonne and Pearson 2014; North 2011; Nulman 2015). While it is true that progress at the global level is necessary, local (and regional and national) action is also critical. On this count, I am not alone, as Ciplet, Roberts, and Khan (2015:17) state: “we do not see any hope of realizing an adequate international deal without far more aggressive and ambitious social movement organizing at the local and national levels,” which would push states to act (see also, Hale 2010; Jamison 2010; Urpelainen 2013). Second, existing research lacks a sustained and embedded perspective that attenuates a long-standing division between structural (macro-level) and individual (micro-level) agency focused arguments.

This dissertation utilized an alternative approach, both in the level of analysis and strategy of inquiry. I examined the CAF by studying the collective mobilization against a pipeline I call the Geneva Pipeline Project (GPP), a six-mile spur off the larger Sauk and Fox Expansion that enlarged the existing Sauk and Fox Pipeline. I used a mixed method approach including a survey (N=146), participant observation (200 hours), and interviews (N=51). The survey collected data on activist background and preferences, as well as subjective assessments of their own participation and indicators of economic and cultural capital. Participant observation in a range of groups and social spaces allowed for analysis of activist practices in observable ways. Both the survey and participant observation informed a purposive interviewing strategy that allowed me to collect data from a range of activists fighting the GPP.

Following Bourdieu, I conceptualized the climate activist field (CAF) as a social space of contestation where activists vie for position by seeking to accumulate Climate

Activist Capital (CAC) (see chapters three and four). Their practices are both interested and structured by their position within the CAF where they hold different levels of status and command various levels of respect. The study hypothesized the CAF to be structured by an opposition that oriented activists' practices and accounted for their preferred framing as well as tactical and strategic tendencies. My analysis supports this hypothesis. There is a more externally oriented wing of the movement that is less antagonistic toward other fields (including the field of power) and thus more concerned with the views of actors outside of the CAF. The more internally oriented wing of the climate movement is hostile to the field of power and overwhelmingly concerned with what others in the CAF think. By understanding how climate activist practices are shaped by activists' positions within the diametrically structured CAF, this research rejects the notion that activists' preferences regarding strategic choices and frames are chosen rationally. In my estimation, activists in both wings of the movement can make valuable contributions. Reflexive activist introspection that locates the centrality of self-interest in activists' practices can help decrease antagonism, inform better choices, and increase the climate movement's efficacy.

I also hypothesized that more externally oriented actors would hold a greater degree of economic capital relative to cultural capital while more internally oriented actors would possess a higher proportion of cultural capital to economic capital. However, the antinomy within CAF is based on slightly different grounds than I originally suspected. While I have some evidence for my original hypothesis, the division appears to be intrinsic to position in the CAF and becomes self-reinforcing. That is,

activists in the CAF are situated more or less internally and by virtue of this position, they seek to valorize the practices associated with it and thus increase their status. I suspect that one's initial position is associated with age and level of dependence on the CAF for livelihood. Younger activists less dependent on the CAF—in part because of a preference for a low cost lifestyle—tended to be most strongly internally oriented. Older activists earning their income through the CAF were more externally oriented. But both of these potential factors regarding initial field position pale in comparison to the effect of momentum after the initial point of departure.

The rest of this introductory chapter is organized as follows. Next, I situate my project within the literature and highlight my contributions. Then I establish the field site and rationale for choosing it. After a discussion on research methods, the chapter closes with an overview of the organization of the dissertation.

LITERATURE

I situate my project within social science on climate change, specifically sociological research. Additionally, this research engages with social movement studies (SMS), Bourdieu's oeuvre, and the turn toward it within SMS.

Social Science on Climate Change

Economists and political scientists have done the most work on climate change, though psychologists and sociologists are increasingly active. My focus is on the sociological

work. A recent edited collection (Dunlap and Brulle 2015) provides a useful overview of sociological contributions to the field. A great deal of research has focused on the “climate change counter-movement.” This scholarship highlights the organization, strategies, and effects of the counter-movement (Antonio and Brulle 2011; Brulle 2013a; Dunlap and McCright 2010; Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman 2008; McCright and Dunlap 2000, 2010, 2010, 2011a). Historians of science (Oreskes and Erik M Conway 2010; Oreskes and Erik M. Conway 2010) and journalists (Gelbspan 1998; Klein 2011, 2014) have also documented the efficacy with which conservative and market fundamentalist forces have delayed action to address climate change.

Sociologists have also addressed climate related issues around inequality and the human drivers of emissions (Dunlap and Brulle 2015; Foster 2015; Zehr 2015). These scholars have documented the unequal distribution of climate harms cutting across race, class, gender, ethnicity, and geographic location (largely “North” and “South” divisions) as well as the outsized role of rich countries, people, and corporations in causing the problem (Coventry and Okereke 2018; Frumhoff, Heede, and Oreskes 2015; Godfrey and Torres 2016). Indeed, much scholarship documents the importance of climate change inequities and points toward the important place of a justice framework in addressing climate change (Benford 2005; Boyce 2007, 2013; Boyce and Stanton 2007; Čapek 1993; Chakravarty et al. 2009; Goldman 2005; Guha 2006; Guha and Martínez-Alier 1997; Klinsky et al. 2016; Park and Pellow 2011; Roberts 2009; Taylor 2000). For example, Parks and Roberts (2006) argue there is a basic injustice in that countries contributing

least to climate change “suffer worst and first.” The authors link this injustice to a colonial past and the hierarchy of the world economy.

Sociologists have also addressed the role of consumption in climate change as well as potential solutions to address the problem. For instance, research has argued that reducing work hours can decrease emissions as well as increase quality of life (Schor 1992, 2010, 2011). Knight, Rosa, and Schor (2013) examine a panel of high-income countries and find working time to be significantly associated with environmental pressures. However, business has long fought reduced hours (Schor 1992) and a devout work ethic is deeply rooted in the U.S. (Berman 2007; Weber 1905). Another solutions oriented angle is the “behavioral wedges” approach that identifies a number of behavioral changes, like more efficient driving, which can reduce emissions without requiring structural or significant lifestyle changes (Dietz et al. 2009; Gilligan et al. 2010).

A relatively small amount of research addresses the climate movement proper. For example, a sweeping edited collection on climate change and society (Lever-Tracy 2010) has no substantive chapter on the climate movement and a search of the book reveals more mention of conservative movements in favor of climate change than resistance movements. I address the research that does examine the climate movement in the next chapter when I discuss the history of the CAF.

Bourdieu

Bourdieu’s scholarship is built around what he called habitus, capital, and field (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990). He argued that tastes and practices are ingrained in a “habitus,” one’s

semi-conscious sense of preferences and their associated practices—behaviors and mannerisms. The word connotes habituation, almost automaticity. The habitus varies and corresponds strongly to social class,⁷ though habitus is dynamic, a “structuring structure” that generates practices: an actor’s thoughts, actions, and disposition given a certain social space (Bourdieu 1990:53). Based on their relational social history, individuals develop and internalize a “practical sense,” which orders tastes and preferences that produce “schemes of action” providing a “‘feel’ for the game” or “a practical sense” for what is to be done in a given situation (Bourdieu 1998:25). Habitus allows the researcher to interrogate practices and their objective source formed via one’s structural location without eliminating purposive action (viz., Brubaker 1985). Because the habitus is closely linked to class, it provides a cultural theory of agency that sheds light on inequalities.

Bourdieu conceptualized social class in terms of three types of capital—economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu 1986). These capitals are exchangeable to some extent, and possession of one can influence the others. Economic capital consists of economic resources—money and assets—that through more or less effort can be converted into the other two forms. This means that while most recognizable, economic capital is critical in the development of the other two. Social capital consists of the

⁷ Fundamentally, Bourdieu understands social class in terms of power. More specifically, he threads a line between a Marxian conception of social class rooted in the social relations of production and a Weberian market situation where members of a class share life chances. Bourdieu’s social classes are about those occupying similar positions in social space, which create similar practices such that classes are “biological individuals having the same habitus” (Bourdieu 1990).

resources linked to one's social network, especially the durable and institutionalized relationships that will be recognized by others, which may act as credentials to the group's collectively owned resources.

Cultural capital takes three forms: embodied (the dispositions of mind and body), objectified (cultural goods such as books), and institutionalized (formally granted degrees and titles). These forms interact. For example, a college diploma is an institutional form, but the process of attending college can yield the embodied form as well, via, for example, ways of speaking or mannerisms appropriate to a college educated person. A college degree will also carry with it the accrual of objectified cultural capital, for example, in the possession of the works of “great minds”—those whom college-educated actors will (or should) have knowledge of in their embodied cultural capital. Upbringing is another important transmitter of cultural capital. Parents socialize their children by providing direction and guidance—consciously and unconsciously—in preferences, values, mannerisms, and other social tendencies. Those possessing much cultural capital, from their college-educated parents for instance, will have different tastes and mannerisms from those with non-college educated parents.

In the Bourdieusian schema, social action occurs within distinct yet overlapping fields: social spaces governed by sets of rules, norms, and other institutional arrangements.⁸ These are “relatively autonomous” spaces of struggle for control over valued resources, including those that are specific to a field (Wacquant 2008:270). Those

⁸ Going back to the 19th Century, social theorists have understood that the social world is divided into distinct social spaces with their own dynamics (Durkheim 1997).

with more resources, especially the kinds of capital consecrated and held in high esteem within specific fields, hold dominant positions relative to subordinate actors. Because fields have their own rules and hierarchies flowing from developments both internal and external to the field, they impose specific forms of struggle for the actors therein. In Bourdieu's language, fields have "doxa" or agreements over the stakes of the struggle within a field. They also have "illusio" or acceptance over the value of the "game."

Through possession of different capitals, valued differently in distinct fields, an actor and their practices generated from their habitus can be located in terms of social class and position. Socialization and the distribution of capitals provide children and later adults with a sense of what is "good," that which is comfortable and natural to an actor because it matches their habitus. The background experiences of socialization also shape the quantity and species of capitals that individuals inherit, develop, and draw upon as they operate in various fields. In other words, social practices stem from individuals operating in a given field that functions like a game that imposes rules on individuals who possess unequal resources and are differently disposed to tendencies rooted in the accumulation of their social experiences. In these ways, individuals can be analyzed relationally as they operate in a social field, such as the CAF.

Bourdieu was interested in the relationship between practices and the underlying order of social reality (1977, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1990). His (1983) analysis of the field of cultural production provides an example of the approach. In order to understand art, one must examine the specific logic of the field of cultural production, and how that field relates to the field of power where economic capital dominates. Bourdieu finds that the

field of cultural production is situated within the field of power (and therefore in a dominant position in the universe of class relations) where it occupies a dominated position. The field of cultural production is relatively autonomous from the field of power but the degree of autonomy is historically determined, ever changing, influenced by external and internal forces, and, most importantly, is itself a site of contestation between actors. A double hierarchy thus structures the field of cultural production: an autonomous and a heteronomous principle of hierarchization. The former is stronger when the field of cultural production is further away, and thus more independent, from the field of power. The latter, the heteronomous principle, becomes more important to the degree that financial concerns—the realm of economic capital (the dominant classifier within the field of power)—matter to the cultural field. Bourdieu argued that historical analysis demonstrates that the field of cultural production has become more autonomous from the field of power, and thus structured more so by its own internal logic.⁹

Bourdieu argues that the structure of the field of cultural production along two opposing principles of hierarchization results in two competing subfields. One consists of the field of large-scale cultural production, which is governed by the heteronomous principle. The prize in this subfield is economic capital, so the metric for recognition is success as measured by sales or number of performances and size of audience and other factors that have a relationship to the production of economic value. This subfield consists of popular culture and has given rise to a large culture industry—the films,

⁹ Just as in the academic field, Bourdieu understood increasing field autonomy to be normatively positive; however, a field's autonomy is never absolute and always historically contingent.

magazines, advertisements and so forth that Horkheimer and Adorno criticized (2002:94–136). The other subfield—restricted or small-scale production—is governed by the autonomous principle. Here, goods are produced relatively free from economic demands of the field of power, and they are aimed at other cultural producers. Capital is awarded in the autonomous subfield to the degree in which a product or producer is consecrated and celebrated by those whose sole criterion for legitimacy is recognition by those whom they recognize. The economy of practices in the autonomous subfield is organized inversely to the field of power such that profit, honors, and institutionalized cultural authority can all be seen as “selling out” and as going against the “interest in disinterestedness” which predominates. In these ways, the autonomous subfield can be understood as “the economic world reversed.”

To understand practices of producers within the field of cultural production requires conjoining position and disposition. The position that any individual artist occupies within the field of cultural production is dependent upon their habitus (which creates dispositions in a given field) and the composition and quantity of their capital. However, position itself will have some influence on disposition and ability to accumulate capital. Thus there is an “astonishingly close correspondence” between disposition and position (Bourdieu 1983:345). A cultural producer free from economic necessity will be able to occupy the riskiest of economic positions like the avant-garde over a sustained period of time, which opens opportunity for capturing a great quantity of symbolic profit. This producer likely grew up in a privileged environment providing confidence and a general disposition that can attract social capital, sense the changing

hierarchies in the field, and thus be more likely to occupy the economically risky but potentially lucrative position (in terms of symbolic capital).

The field of cultural production has a number of similarities to the academic field, and, as I propose to determine, the climate field as well. The academic field is structured homologously to the field of power where one pole consists of those dominant in economic capital like executives and managers and the other consists of those dominant in cultural capital like intellectuals and artists. This opposition between economic and cultural power organizes the university field. Here, there is an opposition between a pole oriented toward cultural production—scientific capital in the form of intellectual prestige—and a pole oriented toward academic capital in the form of institutionalized power—temporal power or the ability to reproduce the hierarchy. The former is organized autonomously, like the artistic avant-garde, and is dominated largely by the faculties of the sciences and the arts who focus on accumulating symbolic capital through scientific research. The latter is organized more heteronomously and is dominated largely by the faculties of medicine and law who accumulate and manage temporal (administrative) and political power. Science and Arts faculty conduct research that is limited only by itself—it is autonomous to the field of power. Alternatively, medical doctors and jurists work to put science into practice, they seek to impose order, which can be seen, for example, in their participation in a wide range of public bodies. Thus, there emerge two antagonistic principles of hierarchization: the first consists of a social hierarchy that corresponds to the inherited and presently held social and political capital;

the second consists of the field specific cultural hierarchy of scientific authority and intellectual prestige.

With this conceptual armory in place, I turn to social movement analyses that have incorporated Bourdieu's insights.

The turn to Bourdieu in SMS

Social movement scholars have taught us much about movements, from the Resource Mobilization tradition (McCarthy and Zald 1977) through Political Process models (McAdam 1999; Rule and Tilly 1975) and New Social Movements (Melucci 1980), scholars have offered important insights into the structure of movements, framing processes, the role of political opportunities, and much more on collective identity and mobilization (Benford and Snow 2000; Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina 1982; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988).¹⁰ However, the established agenda in SMS has been criticized for its poor treatment of the agency/structure divide and for limited incorporation of insights from cultural sociology and social psychology (Goodwin and Jasper 2012; Klandermans 2013; Klandermans and Roggeband 2007; Morris 2000; Snow and Oliver 1995). While there have been clear corrections (e.g., Polletta 2008; c.f. Jasper 2011), increasingly scholars are incorporating Bourdieusian scholarship into SMS (Bloemraad 2001; Crossley 1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2003a, 2004; Fligstein 2001; Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Haluza-DeLay 2008; Husu 2010, 2013a; Ibrahim 2013, 2015;

¹⁰ For SMS overviews, see (Marx and Wood 1975; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; McAdam et al. 2001; Oliver, Cadena-Roa, and Strawn 2003; Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013; Tilly and Tarrow 2012; Walder 2009).

Lawler 2004; Samuel 2013a). This scholarship demonstrates the utility in examining social movement groups as sites of contestation for relevant capitals and where actors bring their backgrounds and social trajectories as embodied in their habituses. While Bourdieu's science of practice has been criticized as being overly structural (Grenfell 2010; Jenkins 1982), it is the interplay between structure and agency in his framework that I find so useful. A Bourdieusian approach holds potential for synthesizing cultural and structural approaches (Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Jasper 2004; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). Most importantly, for an SMS field increasingly attuned to processes (Jasper 2010; Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013), my approach reveals new insights into activist strategy (Maney, Kutz-Flamenbaum, et al. 2012). Furthermore, such an analysis could elucidate Bourdieu's model by testing it in a field that has social change at its core. This section reviews Bourdieusian scholarship within SMS.

Crossley (1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2003a, 2004) has done the most work in bringing Bourdieu's theory of practice to SMS. Originally examining mental health users in Great Britain (Crossley 1999a), he argues that Bourdieu's theory of practice helps address inadequacies in SMS. Beyond encouraging the analysis to connect structure and agency, Crossley finds Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus gracefully accommodates an array of insights from SMS. For example, while resource mobilization has shown that economic and social resources matter, so do symbolic and cultural capitals. Besides an activist's background structuring their practices (for instance, how a banker's child differs from a unionized service worker's), the social field in which an activist operates also shapes their practices. Piven and Cloward (1979:20) understood this, stating that "features of

institutional life determine the forms that protest takes...it is no accident that some people strike, others riot, or loot the granaries, or burn the machines, for just as the patterns of daily life ordinarily assure mass quiescence, so do these same patterns influence the form defiance will take when it erupts.” Even in a single setting, say a factory, some workers will negotiate with management, others might occupy the factory and take over production, still others will seek support from outside forces, and so on. Connecting these different strategies to field position and habitus may be a useful approach.

Crossley (2003a:62) highlights how political process literature is helpful but ultimately inadequate because of its “naïve realism and a narrow (big ‘P’) view of politics which seemingly prevents [political process theorists] from grasping the complex differentiation of the social world into multiple arenas.” Every social field has its own structure and rules that situate actors as they vie for power and domination, even though each field is in a dynamic relationship with others. A classic statement on resource mobilization characterized Social Movement Organizations, Industries, and Sectors (McCarthy and Zald 1977). These parts of movements are similar to different fields and subfields, though the latter provides more complexity because any movement field or subfield can only be understood when it is situated around other fields. While more difficult to analyze, this complicated picture of multidimensional social spaces comes closer to reality’s empirical complexity.

Crossley’s work suggests other benefits of a Bourdieusian analysis. The approach is useful to analyze changes in movements over time. Consider the structuring structure

that is the habitus. What happens to an activist who, over the course of their life, becomes increasingly involved in movement activity? According to Crossley (2003a:61), their “disposition towards critique and protest... is generated through involvement in critique and protest.” Crossley suggests that a “radical habitus” can create contexts in which new recruits are radicalized and proceed to radicalize others. Such a radical habitus is sustained by *illusio*—belief in the game—which Crossley (1999b) notes is not a given, requires work, and contributes to activists experiencing low morale when their belief in the game is challenged. Tracing the ways that movement experiences accumulate over time and interact with biography and field structure points toward the potential for understanding an important though undertheorized and little-understood notion in SMS: the how’s and why’s of the finding that participation in a movement tends to dispose individuals to more movement participation (McAdam 1986, 1989). It may be that it is not just habits of thought and practice that adapt to movement spaces, but also efforts toward accumulation of social capital and capital specific to an activist field. There are processes involved here that I hope to understand through this research.

Mayrl (2013) examines what he calls the “social justice field” as a site of contention using the prison abolition movement. He notes that SMS scholarship has conducted field analyses in ways that simply translate existing concepts into a new conceptual terrain. For example, fields have been used to analyze the entire Social Movement Sector (Crossley 2003a) or within a particular Social Movement Industry (Diani and Pilati 2011; Levitsky 2007; McAdam and Scott 2005). This discounts the way that Bourdieu’s economy of practices must be understood within the context of his entire

apparatus. Similarly to Lichterman's (1996) research that found environmental activists organize their life around activist beliefs, Mayrl argues that his activists organizing around prison abolition understood themselves first and foremost as social justice activists. They framed their experiences and positioned themselves in the social justice field, which Mayrl (2013:293) defines as a "delimited, trans-movement arena of contentious politics united by the logic of the pursuit of social justice." This resonates with some climate activists, but not others. Part of my aim is to conceptualize activist practices rooted in the habitus as a competition over the definition of the CAF itself. For instance, does addressing climate change mean fighting the logic of capitalism itself as some have argued (Malm 2016; Moore 2015)?

Extending this line of inquiry, Goldberg (2003) argues that it is not just individual interest in the struggle over classification of the field. Examining the demobilization of the Workers Alliance of America—a powerful national movement of unemployed people from 1935 through 1941—he shows that the formation of collective identity is also a battle over classification. This research shows the value in bringing together strategic and identity-oriented models in the study of movements. Bourdieu's framework allows the analyst to extend interest to the area of culture while it also extends culture to the realm of interest (Bourdieu 1984; Swartz 1997). Movement spaces are without a doubt about culture *and* interest. This research helps document how activists' cultural practices are interested practices and that through relational exchange, activists accumulate CAC and status. For example, how might overtly political symbols like stickers on computers,

bicycles, or cars indicate one's strategic interest in the climate field (such as a "fuck Donald Trump" sticker relative to an "I'm with Her" decal)?

Fominaya (2014) examines global justice activists in Madrid. Specifically, she discusses movement assemblies where highly ritualized practices were never broken. There was an agenda and then a "turno de palabra" where participants requested to be put on a list for speaking. Very similar to "stack" in the U.S. context, and with similar outcomes, the turno de palabra meant that those who felt comfortable speaking had no problem putting themselves on the list. Fominaya says this practice comes from institutional left organizations, but I would argue it also comes from a desire to differentiate from those organizations and what are seen as their exclusionary practices by providing a formalized route for anyone to speak. Of course, it is the cultural patterns of exclusion that limit who will "get on stack."

Fominaya finds that the transnational nature of the global justice movement—while noting that only a small proportion of the activists are actually transnational—challenged the ritualized assembly practice around consensus. Specifically, she argues that disagreements over when consensus decision-making should be utilized came from a cultural clash that led to a failure in creating a collective identity. Furthermore, she finds that the internal evaluation after the failure did not lead to changes in the future but a criticism of "new people who just 'didn't get' the project or the process" (Fominaya 2014:201). Interviews with the activists who attended showed a mindset of superiority in their own practices, taking the failed collective effort as a symbol that their method was better. In other words, high status activists valorized their own preferences in ways that

worked to increase their own position while further marginalized the already lower status activists.

Several scholars have used Bourdieusian tools to examine identity-based movements. Samuel (2013a, 2013b) argues that the suffering produced through symbolic power and domination provides grounds for normative justice claims. Using collective identity formation in the North American LGBTQ movement, he argues that collective identity is itself a site where justice can be applied, and the scope of justice is both internal and external to the movement. Samuel (2013a) demonstrates that mainstream gay and lesbian politics around gay marriage provide symbolic capital to activists while normalizing the capitalist state's power. However, this process devalues queer cultural forms, including different approaches to family and community building.

Another analysis of an identity-based movement is Husu's (2010, 2013a, 2013b) research examining the Nation of Islam. Husu finds that class position is closely related to the strategies and tactics available for a movement to pursue. It is not only that unavailable resources close off options; it is also that class position and habitus can constrain the kinds of options considered. Individuals in the Nation of Islam, for example, were typically from marginalized communities. They contrasted themselves to more moderate civil rights leaders thereby taking positions within the activist field that, in part, stemmed from their lack of economic capital but that also may have been associated with a field specific capital that prized more radical positions. This had a positive effect in that the white press began approaching the civil rights movement in a more positive manner (Ogbar 2004), which indicates just one of the consequences of symbolic struggles and

how fields in relation to one another provide a linkage to the radical flank effect (Haines 1984, 1988). Husu argues that movements can transform and reconfigure the habitus to be a tool for political and social resistance.

Ibrahim (2011, 2013, 2015) has fruitfully applied Bourdieu to examine what he calls the British anti-capitalist movement field. He uses Bourdieu's apparatus to understand activists' political histories, their activist experiences, and their relationships with other activists to help understand and explain ideological competition within movements. Interviews among anarchists and socialists in the anti-capitalist field reveal how activists seek political distinction through symbolic position-taking. Ibrahim argues that the political history and ideology of activists become embodied and regularized—invoking the habitus—and that this explains the durable divisions along ideological lines in the British anti-capitalist movement. Ibrahim (2011) argues that anarchists did not want to participate in the European Social Forum (ESF) because they did not want to be associated with socialists. The anarchists were distancing themselves not only from socialists but from the negative marker of centralized power as they organized their own counter forum that celebrated autonomous spaces.

In an analysis of the Quebec independence movement, Bloemraad highlights how multiple collective identities exist in “mobilization playing fields,” which are “analytically distinct political action environments where each field has its own logic, constraints and conventions” (2001:276). Specifically, she highlights how the movement appealed to three different identity discourses—ethnic, linguistic, and civic—but in mobilizing for collective action, the more exclusive ethnic identity came to the forefront.

She finds that collective identities are critical for mobilization—as have other scholars (Gamson 1992; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Taylor and Whittier 1995)—but activists and movement leaders can find it difficult to develop an identity that resonates in an inclusive way. Bloemraad’s approach is more relational than some research in the political opportunity structure tradition (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996) in that the use of different identities is not just a rational calculation but rooted in the habitus and resources that can be mobilized to make a case. She also notes how an identity frame might work well for activists but be hopeless from a legal point of view, or the frame could be ideal for media consumption but a non-starter politically. Bloemraad may be too skeptical of movements that, in spite of what some say (e.g., McAdam and Boudet 2012), history and evidence show have accomplished great achievements (e.g., Andrews 2004; Fantasia 1989; Morris 1984; Polletta 2008; Reed 2005; Zinn 1980, 2011).

Others have demonstrated that Bourdieu is helpful in movement studies on an array of important issues. Betsy Leondar-Wright (2012, 2013, 2014) found class differences to be critical in the way activists work—and fail to work—together.¹¹ Drawing on data from 25 left leaning activist groups in five states (including 34

¹¹ Leondar-Wright’s interest in how class matters in social movements was rooted in part in her experience with Movement for a New Society (MNS) (Cornell 2011; Leondar-Wright 2013). Most MNS founders grew up poor or working class. When class privileged college educated activists (like Leondar-Wright) joined MNS, some thought they held a similar class position to lifelong working class MNS activists because their current incomes were similarly low (something she also found in her research, especially among voluntarily downwardly mobile activists). Misrecognized class privileges troubled working-class MNS activists who intervened by holding workshops focused on what they called classism. Drawing on their belief that open and honest discussion of class differences makes for more effective social movements, Leondar-Wright and others have continued this work through the nonprofit Class Action that promotes cross-class exchange through workshops (see also Leondar-Wright 2005).

observations, 364 surveys, and 61 interviews), Leondar-Wright shows how differences in class positions (background, current, and trajectory) structure activist collaborations, specifically how class cultures divide activists and undermine their effectiveness. For example, middle class activists typically framed and discussed issues with abstract and theoretical terms, they spoke less frequently but for longer stretches, they held negative views of leadership, they used white supremacy and institutionalized racism to frame racism (see Gamson 1992), and they laughed less, more often relying on cultural references and word play. Working class activists more often used concrete terms and specific aspects of issues, they spoke more frequently at shorter lengths, they positively viewed leadership, they used anti-bigotry tolerance to frame racism, and they laughed more, especially through negative humor like self-deprecation and teasing. When it came to recruitment and attendance, working class activists focused on tangible benefits and their community and ensured they had food at their meetings while middle class activists overwhelmingly emphasized ideological alignment and formalized processes. Leondar-Wright found no evidence that class positions correlated to levels of militancy among activists.

Interestingly, Leondar-Wright found that among the activists she studied, privilege could work as a putdown while disadvantage and oppressed identity could confer status providing what she called “movement capital.” (She draws on Ward’s (2008) “liberal capital,” which is provided to LGBT activists with diversity expertise).¹²

¹² I saw privilege used as an insult among the activists I studied when a voluntarily downwardly mobile activist with an upper middle class background was described as a “proletarian cadet.”

Relatedly, Kadir (2016) ethnographically explored how hierarchy and authority function in the Amsterdam squatter space that disavows status differences and found “squatter capital”—skills acquired through experience and socialization in this social space that also provide status, especially when performed with seeming ease (the way culture is achieved, a “possession turned into being” only through negating the way it is artificially acquired (Bourdieu 1993:234))—essential to understand its concealed value system. For instance, Kadir finds that scarce and desirable skills, like breaking open doors and campaigning (publicizing an empty residence and its relation to gentrification and asinine policies), provide more prestige and squatters possessing them have the most authority and are most subject to gossip. Mastery of squatter skills combined with rejection of mainstream tastes and values lead to authenticity and status. Moreover, squatter capital is awarded to symbolic acts of bravery, for instance, “the more arrests squatters have from political actions, the more squatter capital they accrue” (Kadir 2016:91).

Nepstad and Bob (2006) build on Ganz (2000) to develop a relational “leadership capital.” They use Nigeria’s Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Catholic Left-inspired Plowshares movement, the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, and the liberation movement in El Salvador and find that leadership capital can allow movements to counterbalance lack of material resources, political opportunities, and organizational resources. To take another example, Crossley and Ibrahim (2012) examined student activists through ethnography, interviews, and participant observation. They found that universities bring together the politically inclined through homophilic tendencies while also supplying a mass of potential activists who can be activated by pre-

existing social networks and the organizing work of collective bodies like student unions. Schlembach (2015) uses Bourdieu to show that theory within SMS can itself be considered practice. Such practice helps to blur activist and academic divisions. When academics study movements, Schlembach argues, their analyses are not external to the game, but part of the game itself. Arguing against activism as distinct from theory, what they call “activism,” Featherstone, Henwood and Parenti (2014) have argued that “ideas don't belong on pedestals. They belong in the street, at work, in the home, at the bar and on the barricades” because “thinking, after all, is engaging.”

A great deal of valuable social movement scholarship not explicitly in conversation with Bourdieu has similarities to his approach. Morris and Braine (2001), for example, show that the social location of activists matters in that those from marginalized groups in subordinate positions will have different opportunities and mobilize in distinct ways from those in more powerful groups and dominant positions. The latter can mobilize mass actions and expect little repression while the former face substantial risks. On this score, Oliver (2013) notes how repression and violence against marginalized activists can make protest against their subordinate position all the more challenging. This can make activists from more dominant groups useful to marginalized groups. As a Bourdieusian perspective would add, however, dominant actors have a habitus that will elicit very different practices that could play out in ways that cause conflict within movements and groups (Leondar-Wright 2014).

Other examples of research with definite affinities to Bourdieusian scholarship are the investigations showing that participation in and commitment to activism is supported

through development of collective identity and empowerment, consciousness raising, and collective identity (Gamson 1991; Hirsch 1990; Klandermans 1984; McAdam 1990; Taylor et al. 2009). For example, participation in activism can and often does encourage further participation. This is especially the case when activists are young, take part in inspiring actions that are well coordinated yet leave room for individual agency, and where teaching and learning are facilitated through intentional and empathic experiences. Van Dyke and Dixon (2013), for example, show that those who participated in the AFL-CIO's labor organizing internship developed what they term activist human capital—the skills and knowledge relevant for activist work. A Bourdieusian lens would show that the development of such activist human capital does not just play a critical role in empowering activists and sustaining activism over lifetimes, it also helps position activists. What Van Dyke and Dixon miss, and what I aim to show, is that while activist skills and knowledge can be helpful, their deployment is interested; it is part of competition within the field.

There are a number of scholars using Bourdieu to understand environmental activism in a broad sense. Haluza-DeLay (2006, 2008:206) introduces the notion of “ecological habitus” that provides an “orientation which privileges ecological considerations.” He argues that this ecologically sound way of being can be “caught” within environmental social movement spaces. Therefore, environmental activists would be well served to think of themselves as demonstrating and teaching (directly and indirectly) an ecological habitus as well as providing spaces where participants can practice it. Such “reconceptualization of the purpose of the environmental movement as a

whole is its lifeblood, the genuine praxis needed in an unecological society” (Haluza-DeLay 2008:215). Mick Smith (2001) similarly deploys eco-habitus to refer to a “practical environmental sense” situated in places that are necessary to halt environmentally destructive tendencies. The ecological habitus concept has been applied in the case of permaculturalists in an ecovillage practicing a “learning community” that develops and nurtures (especially experientially) individuals’ eco-habitus (Haluza-DeLay and Berezan 2013). Schor and colleagues (Carfagna et al. 2014) used the eco-habitus concept to describe an emerging high cultural capital consumer orientation that privileges the local, material, and manual while providing distinction for these ethical consumers. However, this eco-habitus consumer orientation does not, as a rule, reduce ecological footprint (though it does for some) and it has not quite become mainstream (Schor and Wengronowitz 2017). Kasper (2009:318) uses Bourdieu and the eco-habitus concept in a similarly ecological footprint neutral manner to refer to “the embodiment of a durable yet changeable system of ecologically relevant dispositions, practices, perceptions, and material conditions—perceptible as a lifestyle—that is shaped by and helps shape socioecological contexts.” For her, eco-habitus is a tool to conceptualize a more multidimensional understanding of socioecological relations.

Hughes (2015) has used Bourdieu’s notions of field and symbolic power to examine the IPCC. She finds the IPCC has a central place within the CAF because of the symbolic power associated with the ability to construct the very meaning of climate change. However, this power was challenged, first by developing countries who challenged the IPCC as a legitimate starting point for international negotiations. The

IPCC responded in their Second Assessment Report where it addressed the structural challenges for developing country participation. The IPCC was challenged again by climate denialists who targeted its practices and the credentials of its authors. Hughes also sketches out how the IPCC and its centrality in the CAF offered an opportunity for others, like global health actors, to strategically align their interests with climate change in ways that potentially benefit both domains, a process she calls bandwagoning. While revealing aspects of lesser known IPCC history, Hughes' main point is that one can use field analysis to examine the global climate change arena and specifically the struggles waged for symbolic power (where already endowed power is of course relevant).

A limited number of scholars have used Bourdieu to examine environmental activism understood in a more narrow sense. Horton (2003, 2006) examined the performative and material aspects of environmental activists and their positioning via “green distinction” and earning of “green capital.” Using participant observation, focus groups, and interviews among environmental activists in Lancaster, England, he describes the “green scripts”—settled rules to which activists must conform—and “green codes”—specific behaviors that can be negotiated. For example, moving to the country follows the green script of living in nature and being able to grow more of one's food but it breaks the green code of carelessness and thus “depletes green capital.” Via food preferences that are highly visible, varying reluctances around technology, transport preferences, and an overall tendency to situate oneself in a participatory and locally-based social milieu, his activists performed a “green” identity. Horton finds actors' abilities toward green relate to their networks, location, material world, and period in life.

Unfortunately, aside from their consumption practices, Horton does not describe the political activism of different environmental activists—their forms of collective mobilization—and how those might relate to habitus and correspond with different practices. So while the reader learns that “radicals” wear khakis and presumably adhere more closely to green scripts while “reformists” wear fleece and hi-tech waterproofs and presumably compromise on their scripts more frequently, there is little content beyond lifestyle practices, which Horton does argue provides critical opportunities for practicing environmental citizenship.

Schlembach, Lear, and Bowman (2012) examine climate action camps in the UK (see also Schlembach 2011). Using their background as activists in these camps and document analysis, they find a focus on carbon and urgency relying on a scientized understanding of climate change. Activists in the climate camps use this understanding to speak to what they see as a post-political discourse around climate change. The authors note that while these are radical direct action activists, their framework restricts deeper criticism by directing attention to personal responsibility and a fetishization of carbon-counting. For example, when activists took a vote on their large direct action to occupy a coal-fired power plant in 2009, they presented information on the company’s size and its emissions, as opposed to, say, the strategic benefits to the movement or the political costs and gains. The authors believe that scientific understandings of climate change built around the urgent need to reduce emissions tended to supersede more strategic political understandings where activists can position the issues in the domain of social justice and emancipation. This useful research is limited in that the class background of activists is

unknown, which makes it difficult to objectively locate patterns across their position, background, and practices.

There are two major weaknesses in the SMS literature drawing on a Bourdieusian perspective. First, there is little attention to movement strategy and how it could be better understood through field analysis. Second, while research has usefully drawn on Bourdieu's apparatus, field, habitus, and capital are often used in isolation and the field itself is often left unspecified. This is understandable in that fields are complex and interconnected but the task is so central to the oeuvre that analysts should try. Additionally, much of this Bourdieusian scholarship is related to consumption rather than activism. This research seeks to improve on these gaps.

CONTRIBUTION

Drawing on Bourdieu, I show how different approaches to addressing climate change are connected to the structure of the CAF, actors' backgrounds, and the competition for position and power. As detailed in the previous section, such research follows scholarship incorporating Bourdieu into movement research (Bloemraad 2001; Crossley 1999a, 2002, 2003a, 2004; Haluza-DeLay 2008; Husu 2010, 2013a; Ibrahim 2013, 2015; Lawler 2004; Samuel 2013a). Here, I highlight my three main contributions.

Considering the expansive literature on climate change—e.g., approaches from economics (e.g., Garnaut 2008; Sachs, Tubiana, and DDPP 2014; Stern 2006), behavioral sciences (e.g., Dietz et al. 2009; Doppelt, Markowitz, and Initiative 2009; cf. Shove

2010), psychology (e.g., American Psychological Association 2009; Corner 2013; Stoknes 2015; Stoll-Kleemann, O’Riordan, and Jaeger 2001; Weintrobe 2012), media studies and communications (e.g., Boykoff 2011; Ockwell, Whitmarsh, and O’Neill 2009), and sociology (Caniglia et al. 2015; Dunlap and McCright 2010; Hadden 2015; Jacques et al. 2008; Norgaard 2006)—we know very little about the movement seeking to tackle one of the great challenges of our time, what Noam Chomsky continually refers to as a great existential threat (Goodman 2018). I fully agree with the assessment of Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz (2015:261–62) that scholarship on the climate movement “is extremely limited” with a deficit of empirical scholarship, especially research that illuminates tactics (and strategy) and framing. So first and most simply, my empirical analysis of climate activists as they engage in movement work contributes in that we simply do not know much about climate activism.

Second, SMS stands to gain from increased incorporation of Bourdieusian insights especially vis-à-vis strategy (Jasper 2004), which has been useful regarding movement emergence (Benford and Snow 2000), collective identity (Bernstein 1997; Clemens 1993), and organizational success and failure (Ganz 2000). Movement strategy can be defined as the “plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context” (Maney, Andrews, et al. 2012:xvii). By bringing activist position within a social field to bear on the strategic choices of activists, my work contributes to scholarship demonstrating how factors matter outside of rational decision-making influence group and individual choices. How a strategy is developed, for instance, may be determined by practices given little thought and that appear disinterested. For example,

research on a variety of movements—e.g., the United Farm Workers (Ganz 2000), turn of the Twentieth Century women's groups (Clemens 1993), and mid to late Twentieth Century gay groups (Armstrong 2002)—shows a clear link between strategic choices and individual and collective identity.

Downy and Rohlinger (2008) provide a relational way to conceptualize activists' strategic orientations that I draw upon. Their idealized map of strategic space presents a tradeoff between depth of challenge (deep/shallow) and breadth of appeal (insular/mass). The basic logic is that the deeper the challenge, the less likely it is to appeal to more people. On one end, actors with a deep challenge may have a strong oppositional consciousness (Mansbridge and Morris 2001), orient toward contentious tactics, and be a part of a smaller, more insular group. This is similar to the internal pole within the CAF. These actors would be at home in Morris's (1984) movement halfway houses where activists developed movement capacity and tactical diversity. On the other end of the spectrum, actors with a more shallow challenge orient toward less contentious tactics (like spreading information) and consist of a larger base of less deeply committed activists. This is similar to the external pole within the CAF. Individual activists and their groups and organizations face tradeoffs in their choices, though I question the extent they are conscious choices. Recent experimental research (Feinberg, Willer, and Kovacheff 2017) shows that more extreme kinds of action like unlawful activities tend to reduce movement recruitment as well as weaken public identification with movement actors. Many activists are aware of the consequences of extreme actions in terms of recruitment and public sympathy. However, when carrying out such tactics is celebrated among an

insular group of activists and, furthermore, when it improves one's position, alternative tactics with a broader appeal will be less likely chosen if even considered. Similarly, externally oriented activists will be focused on low-level less contentious action to the extent that they are positioned near the external pole among others similarly situated.

There are notable similarities between Downey and Rohlinger's conceptualization and my own, but my analysis furthers their work. I agree that there are tradeoffs—between the depth of challenge and breadth of appeal with corollary positions in terms of tactical choice—but it would be helpful to understand the root of the strategic orientations that form strategic choices. My hypothesis is that these orientations are rooted in activist field position, which provides an interested logic to their choices. Downey and Rohlinger argue that a movement will be most successful when the breadth of the appeal and the depth of the challenge are both expanded. This may be difficult, however, if the roots of strategic orientation are less than consciously felt and if they are articulated in competitive ways.

Third, this research presents an opportunity to bring the insights from applying Bourdieu within social movements back to Bourdieusian scholarship and other research oriented toward challenging the agency/structure dualism. I interrogate Bourdieu's underlying assumption of competition by testing his apparatus in a field that is organized around social change. Research shows how actors reproduce structures of power through their practices (Bourdieu 1984, 1998, 2001), even when they intend to follow a more egalitarian order (Attwood-Charles and Schor 2015; Schor et al. 2016). Careful analysis can, therefore, shed light upon the reproduction of power in movements aimed, in part, at

devolving power. Such research may assist those interested in building a stronger and more inclusive climate movement, while also pointing toward insights in the construction of a more reflexive habitus.

To what extent, if at all, can actors within the CAF reflect and act consciously upon internalized dispositions potentially using them for strategic purposes? “In every field,” says Bourdieu (1983:340), “the dominant have an interest in continuity, identity and reproduction, whereas the dominated, the newcomers, are for discontinuity, rupture and subversion.” This would seem to be the case in the CAF. All actors, both dominant and dominated in the internal and external oriented wings have an interest in overthrowing the fossil fuel economy. However, more internally oriented actors are also interested in challenging the fundamental logic of the field of power, namely, the dominance of economic capital. By their nature then, more internally oriented activists distance themselves from those dominant in the field of power, which paradoxically, may make it more difficult to influence centers of political power that must be compelled to address climate change.

Here, I follow Crossley (2003b, 2003a) in conceptualizing human agency as neither completely free nor determined. His point of departure is Bourdieu’s work on crisis—May 1968 when the doxa of the state and politics was challenged—and the public sphere where participation depended on the habitus with the educated middle and upper classes better resourced and more disposed to participate (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Haacke 1995). Crossley (2003a:49) argues that crisis and protest do not provide a complete break from the habituated action of the habitus; rather, that it “presupposes

learned activist know-how” and “is rooted in the habitus.” Crises, however, are short-lived, which leads Crossley to consider the potential for a “radical habitus” developed through the lasting effects of activist experience. Indeed, research within SMS has documented effectively permanent changes in Civil Rights Movement and Anti-Vietnam War Movement participants (Fendrich 1993; Fendrich and Lovoy 1988; Jennings 1987; McAdam 1989).

First, a radical habitus would structure activist practices, as in the case of activists pursuing occupations in line with their values or that afford time flexibility (Downton and Wehr 1997; Searle-Chatterjee 1999). Second, it would also be structured by practices, by accumulated experiences. For instance, activists might have a tendency toward participatory models of deliberation (Polletta 2002) and may absorb more generally what Reed (2005) calls “movement cultures” that provide alternative models of what social life can be. Third, a radical habitus might also be patterned to background. Religiosity, politically engaged families, higher levels of education, and middle class origins more generally have all been shown to increase the likelihood of activism (Bagguley 1995; Downton and Wehr 1997, 1998; Rootes and Maheu 1995). However, background cannot be changed, and anyone interested in cultivating a movement habitus would prefer there be some opportunity for intervention. Crossley suggests movement experience inculcates the following: 1) dispositions tending to be critical of politics and political elites, 2) political knowledge to take these dispositions into action, 3) a spirit of engagement, and 4) a belief and feel for the game of protest. Crossley does not elaborate on these points.

This work does: I explicate more precisely how not just background but also position and trajectory structure activist practices.

This research also adds nuance to psychosocial research. Recent experimental research (Melamed and Savage 2016) shows that as uncertainty increases (which may be the case for climate change and climate activism), the status of individuals becomes more important in making decisions. Intuitively, it probably makes sense for groups to place more weight on the views of someone with more knowledge, expertise, or experience related to a given question. However, because of biased views on individual status (for instance, that women's views should be discounted (Ridgeway 2011)), this social process may result in poor choices. The Melamed and Savage experiments were highly simplified—binary choices selected at the same time by all individuals, which is not how groups tend to make decisions. My research contributes to a better understanding of the way that status within groups influences decision-making. For instance, it shows how an activist's Symbolic CAC weighs on their ability to influence decisions.

THE FIELD SITE

The study of the CAF presents a complex challenge, especially with regard to starting point. I circumscribed the field under empirical study by focusing on one site of contestation: the resistance efforts against Enterprise Products' Geneva Pipeline Project and Metering and Regulating Station ("Geneva Pipeline Project" or GPP). Geneva is a densely populated residential neighborhood in the southwest of Majorville. The area was

agricultural into the 19th Century and was notable for the utopian community that formed the Geneva Center for Agriculture and Education. The Majorville Railroad opened a Geneva stop in 1848 and residential development expanded thereafter, slowly evolving from vacation estates to suburban housing. The area developed as a suburb with shopping outside of the city, saw decline in the 1970s, and revitalization up through the present. The area is known for its largely Irish-descended, white population¹³ and its connections to political power.

Enterprise Energy is a Fortune 500 company headquartered in Houston, Texas that stores, transports, and processes natural gas and oil (Enterprise Energy Corp 2016). The GPP would be a six-mile, high-pressure (800 PSI) spur running from Plano through Lake Forest and into Geneva terminating at a proposed Metering and Regulating (M&R) station at the intersection of Orchard and Middle Streets. The M&R station would be directly across from Geneva Blasting Quarry, an actively blasting quarry. From the M&R station, the gas would be distributed through Central Utility's local distribution network. The GPP is part of the larger Sauk and Fox Pipeline (SFP) Expansion meant to increase capacity into the region. The project was originally announced in June 2013 when Enterprise informed the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) and began the statutory process of notifying the city of Majorville and pipeline abutters.

I was interested in studying the site where climate activism was increasingly directed: fossil fuel infrastructure. A local site where natural gas infrastructure was being

¹³ Percent of white residents are as follows: 99.2% in 1970, 97% in 1980, 94% in 1990, 84% in 2000 (Majorville Redevelopment Authority 2015).

built presented a perfect opportunity. Outside of this, I had four reasons for selecting the GPP case. First, the GPP resistance brought a wide range of different actors to the same site of contestation. These included two main sets of actors. On the one hand, neighborhood residents were mostly not climate activists, though some did have experience in the CAF and others gained experience as time went on. Some organized into Stop the Geneva Pipeline Project (SGPP) in response to the GPP while the longer-standing Geneva Goes Green (GGG) also played a role. On the other hand, climate activists, some with a great deal of experience in the CAF and others relatively new, organized into Fight the Pipeline (Fight). Climate activists from other groups also participated at different times, including Majorville Climate Action Network, Mothers for Climate, Livable Planet Center/350State, and the Butterfly Coalition (with much overlap with Climate Action Now) from Western State. In short, the social field surrounding the GPP brought a range of actors with different repertoires of contention (Tilly 1986) utilizing a range of contentious performances (Tilly 2008). This presented an opportunity to examine differently positioned activists to observe variation in preferred frame and tactics at the same site.

Second, the GPP resistance presented interesting dynamics around a concern within the CAF regarding the role for relatively privileged segments of the population. Poor people (except for voluntarily poor) and people of color were largely absent, though there were interventions to collaborate with people of color, especially using a faith angle. This is not unique to this effort and was itself data because many in the CAF are

uncomfortable with the whiteness in their groups.¹⁴ Unlike Norgaard's (2006) informants who collectively organized denial, my participants were actively engaged on climate and often struggled with the inequities in climate causes and outcomes and their own role. One climate activist described Geneva as Majorville's "whitest, most racist, and, ironically, one of the most powerful neighborhoods in Majorville." The irony was that Geneva had become a frontline community unable to halt a pipeline in its own backyard despite its relative power. This differentiates the community from many other frontline communities, which are disproportionately poor, lacking political power, communities of color (Bullard and Smith 2005; Lerner 2010; Roberts and Toffolon-Weiss 2001).

Third I was well-acquainted with the actors and well-informed about the effort. I knew some of the climate activists for years and had strong relationships with them. For instance, despite coordinated illegal activities, I had no difficulties obtaining their unanimous consent to use the site for research purposes. In short, I was an insider with access to internal social forces and power dynamics (McCurdy and Uldam 2014). I also learned of an effort fairly early in the resistance and was able to join two meetings with Senate staffers and the Mayor's office about the GPP. Through a short-lived group called

¹⁴ Schuldt and Pearson (2016) found that relative to white people, people of color are just as worried about climate change if not more so (though see Taylor's (1989) overview of earlier research finding both concern and action "gaps" between blacks and whites). However, people of color often reject the label "environmentalist" and "climate," which was largely constructed in the US around the work that white people and white dominated groups were doing, might operate similarly.

Flood Majorville, in which I played an integral role, I made contact with some of the most important early activists in the SGPP group.¹⁵

Finally, the outcome of the resistance was ongoing and indeterminate. Because I wanted to study activist practices, I needed ongoing climate activism that I could observe. Since the outcome was unknown, the research corrected for the tradition of selecting successful cases of mobilization, or selecting on the dependent variable (c.f. McAdam and Boudet 2012:33–34). Since actions were ongoing and the outcome not yet known, the case allowed for observation of contestations in framing and tactics.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

At its core, Bourdieusian field analysis is a relational approach centered analyzing power relations within social spaces. I used a mixed methods design (Morse 2003; Patton 2002) combining three forms of data: participant observation (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Lichterman 2002), purposive reflexive interviews (Blee 2013; Denzin 2001; Gray 2014), and a survey (De Vaus 2014). Multiple sources of data on actors provided a useful way to understand these relationships in action. For example, ethnographic observations provide opportunities to examine power relations in situ. Interviews allowed me to connect those observations to activists' positions within the CAF. They took place in a context in which

¹⁵ The Flood Majorville space was dominated by class privileged actors who were attracted to the radical elements of the climate movement and steeped in anarchist and anti-authoritarian politics. While the space was highly attentive to exclusionary patterns, there developed a largely homogenous group of activists—young, white, class privileged, and adept in the rules of the activist field. These activists possessed what Leondar-Wright (2014) called “movement capital” (also see Polletta 2002, 2005).

both the interviewer and interviewee presented a version of self in a Goffmanian (1959) sense. Because of my position simultaneously as a researcher and climate activist, interviewee self-presentation provided another lens into activist position. Interviews also helped me understand activist judgments and preferences, their sense of their own position and that of others, and how they make sense of what they do. Surveys were also helpful in this regard and aided in analyzing objective position and trajectory through quantitative assessment of participation and demographic background. I agree with Lamont and Swidler (2014) that there are limits to interviews just like there are limits to any approach to data collection. Therefore, I join Bourdieu in methodological pluralism.¹⁶

Social fields are constructed via relations, among actors and their practices, and between different fields. Therefore, to think with fields and to analyze their structure one must think relationally.¹⁷ I attempted to utilize correspondence analysis (CA). The technique shows the relationship between row and column data as points on a multidimensional space so that similarities and differences are highlighted. CA works by transforming the data in a table into factor scores that can show observations or counts in single vectors and allows for analysis of their relation. In short, CA allows one to examine the relative frequency of different combinations of properties—exactly what will

¹⁶ To take just one example, Bourdieu (1996) utilizes survey data, discourse analysis, interviews, ethnography, and historical archival material as he examines the role of elite schools in the division of labor vis-à-vis domination.

¹⁷ Drawing on the work of Ernst Cassirer (1923) and Gaston Bachelard, Bourdieu argues that relational thinking is the foundation not only of sound sociological research but science more broadly, from structural linguistics and anthropology to mathematics and physics (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, and Passeron 1991; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:95–97). Wacquant further locates relational thinking in the works of Durkheim and Marx (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:16).

be called for by my data. (Abdi and Williams 2010; Beh and Lombardo 2014; Greenacre 2007). CA “‘thinks’ in terms of relations” making it an excellent tool with an epistemology that “corresponds exactly” to “the reality of the social world” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:96). There is nothing intrinsic to any social group (e.g., class) but rather, they become significant when contrasted to another group. In this way, the analysis matches a core aspect of the Bourdieusian perspective I apply here: the relations of social life are filled with competition and domination.¹⁸ This is also why a movement oriented toward social change is such a rich space to apply Bourdieu’s approach.

Unfortunately, I struggled to construct a series of binary oppositions and map these onto the CAF with the data I possessed. Composition and quantity of economic and cultural capital—the dimensions I hypothesized to structure the CAF—failed to demonstrate their utility in the CA. Using regression analysis, I did find weak support for the hypothesis that more internally oriented climate activists had more cultural capital than economic capital and more externally oriented climate activists had more economic capital than cultural capital. Ultimately though, it was an iterative process involving field notes of my observations, interview transcripts, and survey data that proved most useful. I used survey data to provide a sketch of a given activist’s background and participation, and combined field notes and interview data in order to flesh out their position and associate it with practices.

¹⁸ Some have challenged this construction on the grounds that cultural practices, especially in highly differentiated societies, are not always in a relationship to one another; however, relative autonomy for a field or a social group does not mean pure autonomy and it seems likely that there is always some relationship (see, e.g., Hebdige 1979; Lamont and Lareau 1988:158).

My approach was influenced by the ideas of “militant anthropology” (Scheper-Hughes 1995) and “militant ethnography” (Juris 2007). I understand my research as politically engaged work and explicitly reject the observer/participant duality and the inherent hierarchy embedded therein (see also Dixon 2014; Graeber 2009; Pinto 2001; Smith 2012). Reflexivity requires understanding one’s position in the field because one’s position matters (see Martin 2003). While the GPP activists knew I was “researching them,” they also understood I was a climate activist and supported them. For example, I participated in a variety of protests, including marches, rallies, and civil disobedience actions. Beyond this, I made myself useful as note taker in many meetings. I provide a more detailed explanation of my research methods in Appendix 1, including my own positionality. I believe my approach shows that activist research can be done in ways that are ethical and reciprocal while rigorous and innovative (Ryan 2005; Ryan and Jeffreys 2019; Ryan, Jeffreys, and Blozie 2012).

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene: The History of the Climate Activist Field

This chapter provides a history of the Climate Activist Field.

Chapter 2: The Local Fight

This chapter covers the first phase of the fight: the local resistance from inception until the point when climate activists became the driving force. I focus on the divergence

between local activists and climate activists especially in terms of framing and tactics. I also explain the slow start and analyze the field position of the most important actors at this stage.

Chapter 3: The Material Economy of Climate Activist Capital

This chapter covers the second phase of the resistance after climate activists took over and until the pipeline was completed. I analyze the way civil disobedience began in ways attentive to the local fight. Then I describe Lisa's entry and her CDAP Strategy. I use two actions during Escalation Summer, the height of the resistance, to show how activists battled to valorize a more internally or more externally oriented position regarding action within the Climate Activist Field. The chapter demonstrates how activist practices are structured by the given activist's position and orientation within the Climate Activist Field.

Chapter 4: Theorizing the Economy of Climate Activist Capital

This chapter theorizes the economy of Climate Activist Capital within the Climate Activist Field.

Conclusion

Here I review findings and draw on them for insight into current climate activism.

Appendix 1: Methodological Note

This appendix outlines my approach, how I came to it, and lessons learned. I also include data collection instruments: the survey, participant observation instrument, and interview questions.

Appendix 2: Survey Analysis

This appendix covers survey analysis that did not make it into dissertation.

Appendix 3: Survey Instrument

This appendix supplies my survey instrument.

Appendix 4: Interview Protocol

This appendix supplies my interview protocol.

Appendix 5: Observation Protocol

This appendix supplies my interview protocol.

1 CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE SCENE: THE HISTORY OF THE CLIMATE ACTIVIST FIELD

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sketches out the climate activist field (CAF) because the field is “primary and must be the focus of the research operations” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:107). The central point is the trajectory of the CAF from externally oriented activism—toward the field of power as represented by international negotiations and federal legislation in the US—toward internally oriented activism away from the field of power and toward other activists. I begin with the pre-history of the CAF where the environmental and environmental justice movements provided a backdrop that opened space for internally oriented climate activists to claim symbolic power by criticizing class and race privilege within environmental and climate social spaces. Though it has continued to play an important role, climate science was another backdrop to the CAF. More externally oriented activists relied heavily on climate science, but internally oriented activists have also used it to bolster their claims for climate justice.

The CAF proper began with an external orientation when international bodies began working to address climate change in the late 1980s. They have continued to do so, but activists have been present in these international delegations, starting slowly in the late 1990s and increasing in the late 2000s. Some climate groups (and environmental groups shifting to engage in the CAF) participated in activism outside of the international

arena, but it reigned supreme as the site of contestation until around 2009. At this point, the CAF shifted away from the field of power and toward the internal pole as grassroots activists increasingly mobilized national, regional, and local action. The shift toward the local coincided with an increase in the range of tactics and targets and the growing power of a climate justice frame in the CAF. Finally, I discuss the history of the local CAF in Majorville.

1.2 ENVIRONMENTAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS

The environmental and environmental justice (EJ) movements were an important precursor for climate activists. They parallel the CAF shift from the external to the internal, at least in some ways. To overgeneralize, activists in the environmental and climate movement often portray their movements as overly externally oriented, white, middle class, reformist, top-down, and rooted in technical expertise while the EJ and climate justice movements are understood to have more people of color and lower-income folks, have a more radical orientation, and be rooted in grassroots action (Bond 2012; Sze and London 2008; Taylor 1993). This is despite black and brown people (and women) being more concerned with climate change than white people (and men) (Jones, Cox, and Navarro-Rivera 2014; McCright and Dunlap 2011a; Schuldt and Pearson 2016). These portrayals are not entirely accurate, however. Where does one locate the original Earth Day with its mass participation (Rome 2013) or the disdain for it among some climate activists (Yan 2014b)? Similarly, what of the classed, gendered, and raced

exclusivity of some direct action groups like Earth First! (c.f. Leondar-Wright 2014), or the technical expertise in the EJ movement (c.f. Ottinger and Cohen 2011)? Nonetheless, the presence of these discourses and conceptual categories among some activists makes them real in their consequences (Thomas and Thomas 1928; see also Merton 1995).

The history of the environmental movement is fairly well documented and often begins with the race and class privileged conservation movement, with its focus on preservation and appreciation of nature (Gottlieb 1993; Guha and Martínez-Alier 1997; McCormick 1991; Shabecoff 2000; Taylor 1995). Notwithstanding the role of scientific management in this early phase (Nash 1974), science came to play a role in what Mitchell (1989) calls the “second generation” of environmentalism where the movement extended beyond conservation to address the introduction of toxins into the environment. Milestones in this growth included Rachel Carson’s (1962) *Silent Spring* that popularized concerns with pesticides (Shabecoff 2003),¹⁹ Lois Gibbs’ fight in the late 1970s over contaminated land in Love Canal, New York (Levine 1982), and degradation of the environment as memorably experienced in 1969 with the Santa Barbara oil spill and the Cuyahoga River in Cleveland going up in flames (Dowie 1995). The wellspring of environmental concern and activism in this period was most vividly captured on the first Earth Day in 1970 in which some 20 million people participated (Dowie 1995).

This explosion of environmental engagement led to institutionalization and a strong orientation toward the field of power that resulted landmark legislation. The

¹⁹ Carson’s book may have helped frame environmental concerns in a scientific manner with her focus on pesticides and chemicals, products that Allen (2008) engagingly traces to the mobilization of World War II research.

Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) and the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) were indicative of this externally oriented environmental activism that focused on policy making and friendly engagement with business (as EDF's lawyer president Fred Krupp would say). New legislation such as the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, and the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency all came in this period (Dunlap and Mertig 1994; Schlosberg and Dryzek 2002). Following the golden years of US environmentalism in the 1970s, the political environment symbolized by the Reagan Administration became less friendly but environmental groups doubled down on an external strategy that emphasized political lobbying and professional advocacy. This strategy by "Big Green" organizations, as grassroots activists came to see them, left only a passive role for the masses.²⁰

There was a push from three areas against this external orientation with its professionalized and reformist strategy. Two of them were more marginal. In a minor way, internally oriented activists with a class-based politics criticized the external orientation that was especially characteristic of the reformist post early 1970s environmentalism (Burch 1971; Gale 1983; Schnaiberg 1980). Additionally, internally oriented direct action activists (often in the anarchist tradition) challenged white, middle class environmentalism. They criticized what they saw as unprincipled and ineffective

²⁰ Following September 11, 2001, there also may have been increased repression from the state that created a more hostile atmosphere for environmentalists working "outside" the system (Hadden and Tarrow 2007).

reformism as well as hierarchical nondemocratic organizations (Scarce 1990; Tokar 1997).²¹

The third challenge came from people of color. For example, Hare (1970:2) wrote that “blacks and their environmental interests have been so blatantly omitted that blacks and the ecology movement currently stand in contradiction to each other.” Much of this was due to the way white supremacy stripped black, brown, and indigenous people of political and economic power. Systematically deprived of land and equal rights, people of color were less oriented toward the field of power because they lacked power and political efficacy. People of color—and a similar story rings true for poor people as well—were often unable to access the “wilderness” (c.f. Cronon 1995) that environmentalists had conserved (or worse, were restricted from it like traditional fishing grounds (Davis 2018)). People of color were generally excluded and unable to see a place for themselves in the movement (Gottlieb 1993; Taylor 2016). However, people of color were active in the environmental justice (EJ) movement.

The EJ movement’s historical lineage is often traced to the well-known 1982 case where residents of Warren County, North Carolina fought their state and EPA regulators over its placement of toxic waste in a predominantly African American and poor county (Čapek 1993; Faber 2008). An outpouring of grassroots organizing aided by the United

²¹ Some of these, and other environmentalists, played important roles in the Global Justice Movement (O’Neill and VanDeveer 2005; J. Smith 2001). Pellow’s (2014) research on animal liberation activists suggests the origins of this direct action challenge were rooted in 1) the increasing threats to life on earth, 2) the racist, elite, and reformist tendencies of mainstream environmental groups and 3) influences from social justice groups, especially working-class and people of color.

Church of Christ (UCC) resulted in over 500 arrests for nonviolent civil disobedience against the toxic landfill. This helped lead to investigations of environmental injustices around the country. For example, a Government Accountability Office (1983) report found that low-income African American communities in the southern US hosted a disproportionate number of hazardous waste sites (see also, Freeman 1972). A landmark UCC report on toxic waste and race in the US documented unequal and discriminatory placement of hazardous waste facilities throughout the country (1987).

The EJ movement's fundamental demand was a redress to the imbalance of power and thus it was inherently antagonistic toward the field of power. Harmful and poisonous facilities were not placed in the neighborhoods of black and brown people or poor people by accident. While I am not suggesting an intentional strategy of racist or classist poisoning by any individual, these kinds of environmental injustices are firmly rooted in power—who has it and who does not have it. The EJ movement—influenced by Native American, Black, Chicano, farmworker, and other movements (Cole and Foster 2001)—did not merely seek to expose and end the disproportionate distribution of environmental risks and benefits. Rather, the movement was fundamentally about shifting power structures and increasing the power of marginalized people. Indeed, a Washington Post editorial (Editors 1982) described it as the “marriage of civil rights activism with environmental concerns.” The importance of addressing inequalities by the EJ movement helped show that while race and racism remain central (Bullard and Alston 1990; Bullard and Wright 2009; Pellow 2007) other inequalities like class, gender, and geography also mattered (Bullard 1990; Freeman 1972; Gottlieb 1993; Szasz 1994; Szasz and Meuser

1997). To this point, Bullard declared that EJ embraced the principle that “all people and communities are entitled to equal protection of environmental and public health laws and regulations” (1996:493).²²

The more internally oriented EJ movement also challenged inequities within the environmental movement. EJ activists portrayed the environmental movement, especially large organizations, as overly professionalized, dependent on grant support and beholden to funders, and centralized in terms of decision-making and power more generally (Dowie 1995; Gottlieb 1993; Solis 1996). The EJ movement also challenged the environmental movement’s reform orientation in terms of tactics and strategy, which reflected acceptance of the division between people and nature as opposed to a deep ecological approach (Devall 1992; Manes 1990). The EJ challenge to mainstream environmental groups came to a head in 1990 when a group of leaders from grassroots, civil rights, and community groups wrote a letter to the heads of ten environmental organizations charging them with racism (Southwest Organizing Project 1990). While on its face the charge had to do with the whiteness of leadership and staff of national environmental groups, a field analysis might reveal a cultural alignment with technical competency rooted in credentialed scientific expertise—possessed more so by white men—that went back to the early years of conservationism (Jordan and Sow 1992).

²² The EJ movement did score policy victories, such as the Clinton Administration’s executive order 12,898 that required federal agencies to incorporate EJ as part of their mission by seeking to identify and address disproportionate environmental harms, though the order was non-binding, legally unenforceable, and has been deeply troubled in implementation (Franzen 2008).

In summary, the environmental movement was constructed as more externally oriented with professionalized organizations lobbying within the field of power while the EJ movement was more internally oriented, antagonistic to the field of power, and critical of the class and race privileges within the environmental movement. Internally oriented climate activists would later criticize the climate movement similarly: an over reliance on professional, top-down reformist approaches too friendly to the field of power. Part of their critique was an overreliance on the depoliticized science dominant in the external pole of the CAF.

1.3 CLIMATE SCIENCE

Science plays a dominant role in the CAF in part because climate scientists were out in front of other actors. After all, it was scientists who informed others of the problem.²³ However, externally and internally activists draw on science in distinct ways. A scientific

²³ Scientists discovered climate change almost two centuries ago because it is rooted in basic physics. In the early Nineteenth Century, Fourier (1824) linked carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases (GHGs) to the earth's temperature. Tyndall (1861) correctly measured these gases a few decades later. Before the turn of the Twentieth Century, Arrhenius (1896) estimated that a 40% increase or decrease of CO₂ would cause the retreat or advance of glaciers, respectively, which is correct. Before World War II, Callendar (1938) provided measurements of rising surface temperature due to humans burning fossil fuels. Charles Keeling began observations of atmospheric CO₂ in 1958 and by 1979 the National Research Council declared there was "incontrovertible evidence that the atmosphere is indeed changing and that we ourselves contribute to that change" (Charney et al. 1979:vii). The Charney Report said that CO₂ was rising and directly linked to fossil fuels and land degradation. It argued that a doubling of CO₂ would raise temperature 3°C plus or minus 1.5°C, which approximates current models (IPCC Working Group I 2013). Hansen testified to congress in 1988 that he was 99% certain people burning fossil fuels were already heating up the planet (Shabecoff 1988). (Bolin 2008; e.g., Le Treut et al. 2007; Weart 2008).

framework has been especially important for externally oriented climate activists who draw heavily on it to inform policy and align themselves with the field of power. Consider that the most prominent climate group in the US, 350.org, draws its name from a peer-reviewed paper arguing that the parts per million of carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the atmosphere must be reduced to 350 or lower “if humanity wishes to preserve a planet similar to that on which civilization developed and to which life on Earth is adapted to provide” (Hansen et al. 2008:217).²⁴ Or consider that the Climate Action Network (CAN) began in 1989 because a growing number of NGOs working around climate change sought to coordinate activities and support one another following the 1988 World Conference on the Changing Atmosphere and the formation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (CAN 2014). The IPCC itself is representative of the importance of science and the external pole as it is a body of scientists who provide information that directly feeds into international negotiations to address climate change (IPCC 1998).

While climate science informs all climate activists of the nature of the problem, internally oriented activists tend to focus more on the most alarming literature and how the climate crisis inherently provokes antagonism to the field of power (Foster and Clark 2012; Klein 2014). They note, for instance, that the climate system is non-linear such that small increases in temperature “may elicit rapid, unpredictable, and non-linear responses that could lead to extensive ecosystem damage” (Rijsberman and Swart 1990:viii).

²⁴ It’s also the case that a number transcends language, and 350.org desired something globally recognizable.

Internally oriented activists call attention to the profound, even existential, nature of such responses, like a die-off of plankton that provide approximately 70% of earth's oxygen (Harris 1986; Sekerci and Petrovskii 2015). These activists also highlight underestimates of harms from rising emissions, particularly those from the IPCC (Brysse et al. 2013). For humanity's intents and purposes, CO₂ continues to heat the planet indefinitely even as there is a delay in surface warming caused by the enormous thermal capacity of the oceans and the masking effects from aerosols (especially soot from burning coal).²⁵ Combined, humans have only seen approximately one-quarter of the warming already "baked in" such that even if emissions had halted completely—dropped to zero—in 2005, temperature would have risen from that point onward in the range of 1.4-4.3°C (best estimate 2.4°C) (IPCC Working Group I 2013; Ramanathan and Feng 2008).

Thus, internally oriented activists draw on science to present a picture of humanity standing like Wile E. Coyote: already off the cliff, we only need to glance downward to see our decided fate. Externally oriented activists suggest the alarmism is too extreme, even if it is evident that the present course of emissions will result in a planet inhospitable to human civilization (Anderson and Bows 2011; Hansen et al. 2016). Externally oriented activists draw on scientific expertise to inform policy and align themselves with the field of power. Internally oriented activists criticize externally oriented activists' "uncritical belief in the power of the scientific worldview" (Smith and Howe 2015:120), their implicit expectation that scientific facts spur action per se, and the

²⁵ Some 40% of CO₂ dissipates over centuries, a similar amount over millennia, while ultimate elimination from the atmosphere takes hundreds of thousands of years, all the while contributing toward warming (Archer et al. 2009)

way their drawing on science may depoliticize climate activism (Bjurström and Polk 2011; Brulle and Dunlap 2015; Moser 2010).

1.4 CLIMATE ACTIVISM

This section begins with the international climate movement that has always been oriented to the field of power even though there has been much effort by more internally oriented activists to incorporate a climate justice frame. Next, I move to the US where there was a lack of climate activism until recently, then a dominant external orientation, and eventually a shift toward the internal pole. I conclude briefly with climate activism in Majorville.²⁶

1.4.1 International Climate Activism

International climate activism started with a strong orientation toward the field of power because it was associated with intergovernmental negotiations. The Climate Action Network (CAN) began in 1989 because a growing number of NGOs working around climate change sought to coordinate activities and support one another following the

²⁶ There is no comprehensive history of the climate movement and analyses of its early stages are especially sparse. The edited collection by Dietz and Garrelts (2014) as well as a number of popular treatments (e.g. Avery 2013; Klein 2014; Yan 2015) has begun this work. Much of the research on climate activism centers on international negotiations at annual Conference of Parties (COP) meetings (Betsill and Corell 2008; Caniglia 2001; Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz 2015; Ciplet, Roberts, and Khan 2015; Parks and Roberts 2008, 2010; Roberts and Parks 2007). In general, climate activist influence is highly restricted and their groups are often left with mere watchdog roles, though scholars have shown them to have some influence and press states toward less inequitable ways to address climate change (e.g. Pulver 2004; Roberts and Parks 2007).

1988 World Conference on the Changing Atmosphere and the formation of the IPCC (CAN 2014). Interest in, and action around, climate change had increased in the lead up to the 1992 Rio Earth Summit where over 150 countries approved the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that sought to stabilize GHG concentrations “at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (Mintzer and Leonard 1994; Weart 2011). Though science and an international accord reigned supreme, the 1990s saw the emergence of a more internally oriented climate justice (CJ) framework. Early groups on this score included the Ecuadorian group Acción Ecológica as well as indigenous peoples, anti-corporate direct action activists, and communities of color. For example, in 1998 the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN) held a climate change workshop in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which led to the development of the “Albuquerque Declaration,” which was sent to the fourth Conference of Parties (or COP, the annual meetings under the auspices of the UNFCCC) (Native Peoples 1998).

The first attempt at an international treaty to address climate change was the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. Activists had sought binding commitments where countries would set a common target and then be legally obliged to reduce their emissions. Kyoto accomplished this task; furthermore, it followed the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities where developed countries with more historical responsibility would take stronger actions. However, the U.S., the largest emitter at the time and far and away the most responsible country historically, signed Kyoto but never ratified it. Inspired by the industry funded Global Climate Coalition, the US Senate

unanimously passed the 1997 Byrd-Hagel Resolution that called for the US to reject Kyoto (Fisher 2006). Notwithstanding activists' work, international climate policy was troubled (Betsill and Corell 2008).

Kyoto's failure opened space for more internally oriented activists. For instance, a 1999 report called *Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice* by the Transnational Resource & Action Center highlighted the oil industry's—the "greenhouse gangsters"—role in global warming (Bruno, Karliner, and Brotsky 1999). The report found that 122 transnational corporations accounted for four-fifths of GHG emissions, thus individual consumers' impacts were "dwarfed" by "giant corporations" (ibid.: 1). Furthermore, Bruno, Karliner, and Brotsky argued that climate justice was fundamentally democratic and rooted in the work of environmental justice activists and indigenous peoples. It also noted a role for trade activists and in a hint toward the later fossil fuel divestment movement, students could "reign in unaccountable university investments" (ibid.: 2). In 2000, the climate justice Rising Tide network and others facilitated the first climate justice summit to coincide with the sixth COP in the Hague, Netherlands (Whitehead 2014). 2002 saw the creation of the Bali Principles of Climate Justice, which articulated a twenty-seven-point program to help "build an international movement of all peoples for Climate Justice" (Indigenous Environmental Network et. al 2002). The Durban Group for Climate Justice emerged in 2004 and by the 2007 COP in Bali, articulated a unified statement under the banner of "Climate Justice Now," which called for financial transfers from the North to the South, reduced consumption in the North, the end of fossil fuel extraction to be replaced by energy-efficiency and community-led renewable energy, the

protection of indigenous rights, and a transition to sustainable agriculture. However, the “greenhouse gangsters” and rich countries with large quantities of fossil fuel reserves like the US, Canada, and Australia, continued to dominate international negotiations.

More internally oriented climate activists supporting climate justice received another boost following the failure of the Copenhagen COP in 2009 (Bond 2012; Chatterton, Featherstone, and Routledge 2013; Hadden 2015; Mukhopadhyay 2009; Routledge 2011).²⁷ There was considerable optimism around what was branded “Hopenhagen,” and not without reason, the Climate Justice Alliance and Mobilization for Climate Justice had formed and some 40,000 representatives from non-governmental organizations participated (Bond 2012; Wahlström, Wennerhag, and Rootes 2013). Furthermore, Obama had been elected and Democrats controlled both the House and Senate. Copenhagen resulted in a no binding agreement to reduce emissions, due in large part to the US garnering support from China, India, Brazil, and South Africa and basically strong-arming the world into signing the Copenhagen Accord (Ciplet et al. 2015; Monbiot 2009; Traufetter 2010; Vidal and Goldenberg 2014). The Accord was critical in that it rejected binding commitments for countries to reduce emissions. Bolstering the internally oriented framework, the world was left with what Ciplet et al. (2015:251) described as an international system that “has furthered the interests of a powerful investor class.”

²⁷ Research by Van Laer (2017) uses a unique data set of potential climate activists and finds that only 10 percent of the members of four environmental organizations participated in climate protest and explains the relatively small numbers by the sparsity of those deeply embedded in informal networks as well as a lack of strong emotional and motivational energy.

The failure of Copenhagen helped lead to the 2010 Peoples' World Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Sponsored by the Left government of Evo Morales, the 30,000 plus in attendance articulated a People's Agreement on climate change and a Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth (WPMCC 2010). The next critical COP—Paris 2015, which saw the Paris Accord that was signed by virtually every country on the planet—further enshrined what was started at Copenhagen. Under the Accord, individual countries determine their own emissions reduction level and there is no enforcement mechanism. Under President Trump, the United States is withdrawing from even this voluntary reduction agreement. Activism at the international level has continued. While this part of the CAF is structured such that externally oriented still dominate, there has been a shift toward a climate justice framework supported by more internally oriented activists.

1.4.2 US Climate Activism

This section examines the CAF within the US. While there were some early campaigns like activism against coal, the story is largely the absence of such activism, so I examine why that may have been the case. An external orientation was dominant among US climate activists until 2009 when the domestic CAF turned toward the internal pole, targeting fossil fuel infrastructure (sometimes using civil disobedience) and building a grassroots movement. I find four reasons for this shift and document what the movement looks like as it has turned away from a strong external orientation.

Climate activism in the US is a fairly recent phenomenon. Lipshutz and McKendry (2011) say that while some NGOs considered climate change an issue as early as the 1970s, climate action did not emerge in any serious way until the 1980s when it did so slowly and in a strongly externally oriented fashion given the state of the environmental movement.²⁸ Brulle (2000, 2014) documents that beginning in the late 1970s, a small number of environmental organizations raised the issue of climate change in congressional hearings. This number started to rise more quickly in the 2000s and reached 123 by 2010, a pattern that was mirrored in the total number of US climate organizations (467).

Though climate activism is relatively new, there have long been acts of resistance against fossil fuels, “subterranean” forces as Morris (1999) calls the pre-Civil Rights Movement struggle for Black liberation. For instance, Nace (2009) recounts a 61 year old widow and her sons blocking a Caperton Coal Company bulldozer in Kentucky in 1965. Eventually she and others formed the Appalachian Group to Save the Land and People that protested coal mining including 20 women occupying a strip mine in 1972. Kentucky River Coal and Kentucky Oak each saw one of their diesel-powered shovels dynamited in 1967. This period also saw externally oriented activism—this was the golden era of environmental law-making—like the political lobbying that resulted in the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act, though enforcement would be challenging (Edgmon and Menzel 1981).

²⁸ Towery’s (2014) examination of four environmental NGOs’ efforts to shift toward climate change and the creation in 2011 of the Climate Coalition documents organizational challenges and struggles to incorporate volunteers and movement building activities.

Both internally and externally oriented climate activists experienced growth in the early 2000s. In 2002, activists at the second National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit drew on the EJ framework to address climate change (Bullard 2002). For instance, Robert Gough (2002:1), secretary of the Intertribal Council on Utility Policy, said that “no portion of humanity is more at risk to the impact of the anticipated and presently occurring climatic disruptions than the world’s marginalized poor and indigenous communities.” Noting the lack of electricity in some fifteen percent of tribal households, he articulated a plan for economic revitalization. The plan hearkens to what trade unionists and climate activists would call a “just transition” (Newell and Mulvaney 2013; Swilling and Annecke 2012; Young 1998). Direct action activists also took action. For instance, Johnson (2013) described an early protest in this period, in 2003 against the Robert Clear Coal Company in Tennessee, including a road blockade where members of Rocky Top affinity group were arrested.

More externally oriented climate activism also accelerated in this period. For instance, in 2004, climate activists led by those at the Sierra Club, and in collaboration with other organizations, launched the Beyond Coal campaign. The campaign targets coal as the greatest source of emissions in the US (and the world (Steckel, Edenhofer, and Jakob 2015)). Using donations from Michael Bloomberg and other wealthy philanthropists, the Beyond Coal campaign is oriented toward the field of power relying heavily on a strategy of litigation and policy advocacy (Grunwald 2015; Sierra Club Foundation 2016). It has allied with businesspeople and deploys arguments less about climate and more about the health and economic costs of coal (Grunwald 2015; Sierra

Club 2017), which are many as coal has been estimated to have as much as 5.6 times the external costs relative to its value added (Muller, Mendelsohn, and Nordhaus 2011). Sierra Club and their allies have helped retire or prevent the building of 281 coal plants and have their eyes set on the remaining 249 (Sierra Club 2017). Other groups and coalitions launched in the 2000s. In 2006, a coalition of groups formed 1Sky to push for “strong federal action to tackle global climate change” on climate change (1Sky n.d.). In 2007, Bill McKibben and colleagues launched a campaign urging Congress to Step It Up. One of Step It Up’s main goals was to support a moratorium on coal (Nace 2009).

Notwithstanding these and other efforts, the story of US climate activism is largely its paucity and weakness, which begs for explanation.²⁹ McAdam (2017) suggests three major reasons that follow along three areas of SMS research. First, in the political opportunities domain, the Republican Party has become an “ideologically extreme” “insurgent outlier” to use the words of American Enterprise Scholars Mann and Ornstein (2012). The climate change denial movement (or climate change countermovement (Brulle 2013a; Jacques et al. 2008)) led by market fundamentalist activists and their allies in the fossil fuel sector have attacked climate science and polarized the public through a classic fear, uncertainty, doubt campaign (Dunlap, McCright, and Yarosh 2016; McCright and Dunlap 2000, 2003, 2010, 2011b; Michaels 2008; Oreskes and Erik M Conway 2010). Second, the institutionalized and professionalized environmental

²⁹ Roser-Renouf and colleagues (2014) developed a model that explained about half of the variance in climate activism. Those engaging in climate activism held higher levels of individual and collective efficacy in addressing the problem and served as thought leaders in their own social networks. They also perceived climate change to be human caused and a threat.

movement was ill-suited for the large changes necessary to address climate change (Caniglia et al. 2015). Finally, McAdam suggests there are four issues related to framing processes that help explain the absence of significant grassroots mobilization around climate change: 1) the only ownership of climate change as a powerfully salient issue has been on the far right (at least until recently) (Kahan 2015; McCright and Dunlap 2011b:2011), 2) climate is a problem on an extended time horizon such that issues like economic prosperity—especially if conservatives effectively situate financial wellbeing antagonistically to climate solutions—can have a chilling effect on climate concerns (Kahn and Kotchen 2011), 3) related to the first two, there has been a lack of strong emotions like fear and anger around climate change, 4) acute grievances like those from extreme weather events of the imposition of fossil fuel infrastructure have seemed to cause little mobilization (Konisky, Hughes, and Kaylor 2016; McAdam and Boudet 2012).

1.4.3 Shift from External to Internal

Beginning around 2009, climate activists increasingly shifted away from the field of power to a more internally oriented approach that focused on grassroots mobilization and base-building. They targeted fossil fuel infrastructure and sought to stigmatize the fossil fuel industry. It is important to understand why this shift happened because it is the recent history of the CAF, the terrain where climate activists operate, so it informs their

thinking. Though other factors probably played a role,³⁰ I argue there are four central reasons: the externally oriented insider strategy failed to secure national legislation or an effective international deal; from the 2000's on, there was a major build-out of fossil fuel infrastructure supported by new technologies and a friendly political field that has created new targets and opened recruitment from aggrieved local communities; the CAF has grown with new entrants, especially young people, as well as activists from other activist fields; and there's some evidence that grassroots mobilization and more internally oriented tactics have been effective.

1. Failure of Insider Strategy

The first reason for the shift toward grassroots activism in the CAF was the failure of the insider strategy oriented toward the field of power, including congress and big business, which had been the main tactic of the climate movement in the US. Moser (2007) finds evidence that the “long shadows of federal inaction” have quietly contributed to the climate movement going back to the second Bush Administration. Large environmental organizations—“grasstops” as Luers (2013) called them—saw a critical opportunity at the start of the Obama Administration. With philanthropic organizations playing key strategy roles (e.g., California Environmental Associates 2007), environmental groups had formed partnerships with major corporations under the US Climate Action Partnership (USCAP), including NRDC, EDF, BP, and Duke Energy (USCAP 2007). Pooley (2010) detailed large environmental groups' Washington DC

³⁰ For instance, elite attention to climate change and structural economic factors may have also played a role (Brulle, Carmichael, and Jenkins 2012; Schor 2014:2008–2013).

insider orientation that focused on passing cap-and-trade legislation with a somewhat sympathetic lens. While the grasstops' strategy resulted in a bill that passed the House, it failed in the Senate, and I agree with Skocpol (2013) that a key issue was the lack of grassroots action in the CAF. This was also evidenced in the 2010 letters from grassroots groups criticizing the prioritization of a Beltway Strategy by the climate group 1Sky (which folded into 350.org) (1Sky 2010; U.S. grassroots organizations 2010).

2. Expansion of Fossil Fuel Infrastructure

Second, there has been a robust expansion of gas and oil extraction and distribution across the US. Unconstrained by national legislation (or an international binding deal), new technologies supported by the federal government made this expansion possible (Shellenberger and Nordhaus 2011). Advances in hydraulic fracturing (fracking) technologies vastly increased the recoverable quantity of shale gas and tight oil (Moniz, Jacoby, and Meggs 2011). At the same time, politicians created an industry friendly policy environment. George W. Bush had founded an oil exploration company and his administration was awash in fossil fuel funding and connections that successfully weakened fossil fuel industry concentration rules and extraction regulations (Abramowitz and Mufson 2007; Downey 2016; Stone 2001). While Obama had talked about climate change on the campaign trail, he practiced an “all of the above” energy policy, touted a “supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years,” and boasted about approving enough pipelines to circle the globe (Inman 2014; Moorhead 2012). The US became the largest oil producer in 2013 when it surpassed Saudi Arabia and it has been the largest gas producer since 2009 when it surpassed Russia; total gas and oil production

has increased 60 percent since 2008, according to the Energy Information Administration (Doman and Kahan 2018).³¹

This fossil fuel build-out has created aggrieved communities as well as new targets for climate activists, though it has been a recent shift. As late as 2009, the Sierra Club was accepting donations from natural gas companies and their executive director was touring with Chesapeake Energy's CEO to tout the benefits of natural gas (Walsh 2012). This was at the same time they were accepting millions of dollars from Chesapeake Energy. Indeed, the Sierra Club's position on gas pointed toward where, by and large, the climate movement was at the time: natural gas was seen as a bridge fuel (Klein 2014; Phillips 2013). The shift against gas in the CAF was rooted in communities where fracking was occurring (Jerolmack and Berman 2016) and was supercharged by Josh Fox's film *Gasland* in 2010 (Vasi et al. 2015; Wood 2012). Communities dealing with fracking often found themselves and their animals sick and their water poisoned (Moyers 2013). Part of the push against gas came from a scientific framing where leaks in the production and transport of gas, which is mostly comprised of the potent GHG methane, have been found at the level that would make gas worse than coal in terms of overall GHG emissions (Howarth, Santoro, and Ingraffea 2011; McKibben 2016). Climate activists have now won fracking moratoria in many municipalities, New York and Maryland, and multi-organizational coalitions have now embraced efforts to ban fracking.

³¹ The U.S. government would like to export natural gas for geopolitical reasons (Blackwill and O'Sullivan 2014).

Oil infrastructure has grown along with the increase in gas infrastructure, opening more opportunities for climate activists. The most dramatic example was the fight against the Keystone XL led by 350.org and others. Climate activists cited James Hansen's research that in furthering tar sands development such a project would mean “it is essentially game over” for climate change (Barlow et al. 2011; Hansen 2011). The battle against the Keystone XL utilized a pledge to commit civil disobedience to stop the pipeline, which over 86,000 individuals signed (Democracy Now! 2014). In 2011, over 1,200 were arrested at the White House targeting the Obama Administration to reject the pipeline, the Forward on Climate February 2013 rally against the Keystone XL was billed as “the largest climate rally in history” (350.org 2013) with tens of thousands showing up on a blistering cold day in Washington DC, hundreds of students were arrested targeting Obama and Secretary of State Kerry (Jon Queally 2014; Wengronowitz and More than fifty other students 2014), climate activists with Tarsands Blockade were using tree-sits and other escalated tactics to stop pipeline construction on the southern leg of the pipeline while indigenous climate activists and ranchers were fighting the pipeline farther north (Avery 2013; Klein 2014; Yan 2015). The president and CEO of America’s Natural Gas Alliance referenced the turn to direct action against fossil fuel infrastructure as the “Keystonization” of fossil fuel projects (Gardner 2015). Brune, the executive director of Sierra Club summed it up well: “Over the course of the last six years, concerns about climate change have grown to the extent that we now have pressure campaigns against every form of extraction, every operation on the supply side—from drilling and mining, to pipeline fights, to refineries, all the way to the tailpipe” (Mooney 2015).

3. Increase of New Activists

Third, the climate movement has experienced an influx of new activists. Besides those who participated in directly targeting infrastructure, climate activists also launched a fossil fuel divestment campaign. College students—disproportionately burdened by climate change relative to older cohorts—as well as individuals and groups in churches and in municipalities targeted the investment policies of their institutional homes. Borrowing from divestment campaigns that stigmatized companies doing business in South Africa, these climate activists argued that investing in fossil fuel companies was immoral. Furthermore, because the quantity of proven fossil fuel reserves was on the order of five times as much as could be burned to have a decent chance of meeting the 2°C level of warming that countries had agreed to at the international level, institutions investing in fossil companies were making financially imprudent decisions. Colleges, churches, and municipalities were overvaluing “stranded assets” in the form of unburnable fossil fuels and the investments in infrastructure to extract them. Thousands of climate activists used an array of tactics to make the “carbon bubble” clear to decision-makers. (Ansar, Caldecott, and Tilbury 2013; Grady-Benson 2014; Healy and Barry 2017; McKibben 2012; Readfearn 2014).

Aided by the devastation left in the wake of Superstorm Sandy the 2014 People’s Climate March saw an influx of activists into the climate movement. In the lead up to the march, climate activists participated in the Climate Convergence, which allowed for useful discussion around tactics and frames (Falzon et al. 2018). 350.org, Avaaz.org, the Climate Justice Alliance, and many dozens of other organizations and their members

participated in the actions and debates. The decentralized, aggregate nature of the weekend's structure provided space for a huge range of environmentalists and direct action activists while it prioritized a climate justice framework by foregrounding front line groups and indigenous and other people of color groups. This reflected efforts to center marginalized people by providing visibility and leadership roles within movement spaces. It builds on similar strategies within environmental and global justice movements and the World Social Forum process (e.g., Juris et al. 2014). The March itself was organized into six sections (from front to back: Frontlines of Crisis, Forefront of Change; We Can Build the Future; We Have Solutions; We Know Who Is Responsible; The Debate Is Over; To Change Everything, We Need Everyone), which allowed space for all activists to participate. Furthermore, the Flood Wall Street action the day following the March brought activists to Wall Street and framed climate change as a problem of capitalism, which further opened space in the climate movement (Giacomini and Turner 2015; Smucker 2014).

Based on participant observation and interviews with activists fighting tar sands in Canada, Haluza-DeLay and Carter (2014) show the influx of activists from indigenous, religious, and labor groups. They found that when aboriginal (presenting tar sands as an indigenous rights and health issue), environmental (shifting toward civil disobedience and deploying evocative imagery, like tar sands as "Mordor"), religious (playing moral and educational roles), and labor groups (largely pushing for renewable energy) formed coalitions, they had a political impact. They point to success in shifting the rhetoric around tar sands development and legitimating a critical position, though note there was

little success in changing policies. Like the PCM then, Haluza-DeLay and Carter's work points toward increased movement building as the focus of climate activists after 2009, though with the important addition of infrastructure targeting.

Additionally, the climate movement was very likely spurred by activism at a broader level, for example, organizers who had been intentionally building capacity and leadership for years, as can be seen in efforts such as the World Social Forum (Juris et al. 2014; A. D. Morris and Staggenborg 2004; Smith 2012). The wave of global protest following the 2008 recession also likely contributed to the climate movement's shift to the internal and its growing power (Brulle et al. 2012; Gamson 2011a; Kurzman 2012; Robbins 2014). Finally, many of the radical direct action activists who had participated in the global justice movement found a home in the climate movement, especially European global justice activists (Goodman 2009; Hadden 2015; Schlembach 2011; Thörn et al. 2017).

The influx of activists has gone together with an increase in the range of tactics, and it is related to those earlier defeats. Here I follow McCammon (2003). She argues that the Women's Suffrage movement's turn to the suffrage parade as a novel tactic was rooted in their political defeat and organizational characteristics (diversity, decentralization, and conflict). States where suffrage bills were defeated were more likely to see suffragettes pursue new tactics. Not to rehearse what I covered above, but effective GHG emissions mitigation is sorely wanting and helps explain climate action.³² While

³² There's also a recent literature on domestic climate activism in other countries being propelled in part by the lack of international effectiveness, like Kent's (2016) research on grassroots

US intransigence and international failure goes back to Kyoto in 1997, from 2008-2010, there was considerable optimism around the “Hopenhagen” COP in 2009 and Obama, Democratic control of both the House and Senate, and the Waxman-Markey cap-and-trade legislation. The 15th COP in Copenhagen resulted in no binding agreement to reduce emissions, while the cap-and-trade legislation was roundly defeated and Obama supported an “all of the above” energy strategy. McCammon also found that states where suffragettes were more organizationally diverse and less formally structured were more likely to pursue new tactics. Besides the documented steep rise in organizations working on climate change (Brulle 2014), large and small organizations and groups, formal and informal, and based on a range of affiliations have all participated in campaigns against fossil fuel infrastructure, fought for divestment, and engaged decision-makers on state and city policies.

4. Efficacy of Internally Oriented Tactics

Finally, there is some evidence that targeting fossil fuel infrastructure and pursuing a “keep it in the ground” approach have been effective. Climate activists point to success in previous grassroots mobilization and direct action efforts, like anti-nuclear activists and civil rights activists (Epstein 1991; Morris 1999). They also point to fossil fuel industry actors voicing concerns over activists. For instance, executives at a 2018 fossil fuel energy conference described how “keep it in the ground” activists have escalated their efforts and increased their sophistication. The CEO and president of

activism in Australia and Nulman’s (2015) work on climate activists in the United Kingdom (see also Cassegård and Thörn 2017; Delina and Diesendorf 2016; North 2011).

Enbridge described how “the effort is much more intense. There’s more opposition.” He said climate activists were “more organized” and their “tactics” had “evolved,” citing a case of direct action where activists shut down oil pipelines.³³ Russell Girling, the CEO and president of TransCanada, described how pipeline companies should anticipate activists fighting all of their projects while Energy Transfer Partner’s CEO and president Kelcy Warren went so far as suggesting eugenics removing activists targeting fossil fuel infrastructure from the gene pool (DiChristopher 2018).

The shift toward grassroots mobilization and targeting infrastructure has been mirrored at the discursive and ideological level where climate activists were increasingly propelled by a “climate justice” frame (Bond 2012; Building Bridges Collective 2010; Goodman 2009; Hadden 2015; della Porta and Parks 2014; Schlosberg and Collins 2014; Smith 2014; Tokar 2014). Scholars have examined climate framing both domestically (Brulle 2014; Schlosberg and Rinfret 2008) and at the international level (Bäckstrand and Lövbrand 2007; Newell 2006). While their terminology differs, these scholars all document that an ecological modernization approach had been dominant in the Global North and in international settings, while a Leftist, civic environmentalist frame was prominent in the Global South (Doyle and MacGregor 2013). Ecological modernization celebrates reforms, technologies, and markets, like a carbon market, and contrasts with civic environmentalism that calls for radical democratization of political and economic power and centers on climate justice, which aims for a “fundamental transformation of

³³ See (N. 2018; Yan 2018b) for an overview of the Pipeline Stoppers. The Climate Direct Action Group, which I discuss in Chapter 3, has played a role in these actions and their following court trials.

consumption patterns and existing institutions to realize a more eco-centric and equitable world order” (Bäckstrand and Lövbrand 2007:132; Brulle 2013b). A moral component was important in the discursive shift as were equity and sovereignty concerns around indigenous people (Fogel 2007; Klein 2014; Smith and Lövbrand 2007).

Thus, in the years leading up to the resistance against the GPP in Majorville, climate activism has grown, especially among internally oriented grassroots activists targeting fossil fuel infrastructure. I identified four reasons: the failure of the insider strategy, the build-out of fossil fuel infrastructure that has created new targets and aggrieved local communities, the influx of new climate activists, and some evidence that targeting fossil fuel infrastructure may prove effective. It has also shifted toward a climate justice frame. Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz (2015:239) say the climate movement “appears to be failing despite its ability to mobilize an impressive array of social movement organizations, coalitions, and protest actions.” Indeed, the pace with which emissions must decline to come anywhere close to the 2°C threshold agreed upon by world leaders is staggering. If there is to be anything approaching equity regarding responsibility, rich countries must reduce emissions on the order of 15% per year, and the results will still be ugly (Anderson and Bows 2011; IPCC 2018). All told, the increase in climate activism and the shift toward grassroots mobilization and a climate justice frame will likely continue into the foreseeable future.

1.4.4 Majorville's Climate Movement

I turn now to look specifically at the climate movement within Majorville. Majorville makes a useful site for research on climate activism because it has been present since before the 2009 turn to grassroots mobilization. In the following, I locate some of the reasons for climate activism in Majorville. Then I recount some of the local history of the CAF in Majorville.

There are several factors that likely contribute to climate activism in Majorville. These include the preponderance of students, an influential group within the climate movement; relatedly, the multitude of scientific institutions including universities and other research facilities working in climate science and technologies related to renewable energy and efficiency; a long history of social movements within the city, like feminist activism (Boylan 2002; Spencer 1987), racial justice (Useem 1980) though see (Formisano 1991), anti-nuclear (Miller 2000), and religious movements (McRoberts 1999); its majority minority status (Li. and Mel. 2013) (people of color generally have much higher levels of concern about climate (McCright and Dunlap 2011a)); stark changes in weather, especially extreme precipitation, as well as its coastal location and the threat of sea level rise (U.S. Global Change Research Program 2014); limited fossil fuel resources and, therefore, the practical non-existence of a fossil fuel extraction industry (Institute for Energy Research n.d.); and finally, the area is prime for renewables, especially off-shore wind (Department of Energy Resources 2008; Rogers and Colleague 2016). The State also has a strong Democratic orientation and relatively high level of progressives (Geis. 2010).

Majorville is also situated within the Northeast US where there has been significant institutional and governmental action on climate change (Selin and VanDeveer 2009). The State has been a leader in energy efficiency and renewable power due in good measure to the State Climate Act (SCA) of 2009. The SCA committed State to reduce GHG emissions 80% below 1990 levels by 2050 (State 2017). This legislation places the state in a league with a handful of other states that look more like European commitments than the rest of the US. These and other successes have been due at least in part to climate activists in the area.

An early climate group in Majorville is the Majorville Climate Action Network (MCAN), born in 1993 and re-established in 2005. It encourages Majorville residents to take personal action and to press the City's political leadership to reduce fossil fuel usage and increase resilience. Established in 2000, the State Climate Action Network (SCAN) works across the State to share information and help coordinate local groups (46 chapters as of 2014). They have contributed to development of the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI), which became the first regional cap-and-trade emissions program in the US covering ten Northeastern states (Bushinsky 2010). SCAN also engages with communities and households to reduce energy usage through energy audit and efficiency programs (Huynh et al. 2010).

Environmental justice groups have also played some role in Majorville's CAF (Pong 2017). Environment Justice for Communities (EJC) is an organization that fights environmental racism and classism by including those excluded from decision-making to challenge power and create healthy, sustainable communities. There are also smaller

neighborhood groups, like Environment Roseville, Geneva Goes Green, and Limerick Earth. Drawing on interviews with members of various actors in the CAF, Loep (2014) examined the division between climate and environmental justice focused groups, which she finds have developed independently and struggled to challenge the neoliberal order. However, a rise in the late 2000s of new movement building organizations and a number of activists oriented toward collaboration through the climate justice frame, gives Loep hope. Similarly, in a network analysis of climate non-profits in Majorville, Stein. (2009) found a relatively dense network with many ties. However, he also found there to be weaknesses, with many climate groups linking to environmental justice groups but environmental justice groups not feeling like they are linked.

Majorville was important in one of the first national climate actions. In April 2007, hundreds gathered for a National Day of Climate Action as part of the Step It Up campaign (McKibben 2007; Pre. 2009). Pre (2009) found a festival-like atmosphere where participants and organizers did a poor job of performing protest. Organizers claimed a “tidal wave of activists urging government action” (Pre. 2009). However, a number of elements belied the claims of a powerful movement as well as that movement’s aims: low numbers, lack of clarity on next steps for participants besides lifestyle changes, common threads among speakers and participants that a scientific understanding of the problem would seamlessly lead to a moral imperative to save future generations, and cheerleading for green technology that painted solutions as so obvious that one might have wondered why they weren’t already taking place.

In 2011, three climate activists—Dave, Lisa, and Tiffany—teamed up to found the Livable Planet Center (LPC) to address climate change. In 2012, LPC launched a climate network called 350State that has since grown into a statewide network with seventeen nodes (LPC n.d.). Organizing efforts connected to Occupy Majorville in late 2011 led to a working group focused on climate and environmental justice, which, among other things, targeted a US senator around fossil fuel donations (Noch. 2012). Yan (2014a) recounts how activists engaged on economic and climate justice collaborated at Occupy Majorville and have since formed other projects. Majorville climate activists participated in the September 2011 Moving Region action that saw approximately 2,500 people converge on Christopher Columbus Park on Majorville’s waterfront. Livable Planet Center and the 350State network played an important role in shuttering a coal plant that had been the largest single source of GHG emissions on the Eastern Seaboard and the State’s last coal-fired plant (Anon n.d.; Holtzman 2013; Lee and Ray 2014; Serreze 2017; Yan 2013). In late 2012 and early 2013, Tiffany and Caroline launched Mothers for Climate (MFC) (Caroline’s father is the federal senator who introduced the first climate bill in Congress). Organizing through the nurturing frame of mothers (“and others” as MFC activists sometimes add), MFC has quickly become a national effort with a \$3 million budget and chapters in eight states (Mothers For Climate 2017, n.d.).

In 2012, divestment campaigns engaged many Majorville area climate activists. That effort kicked off with a November 2012 production featuring Bill McKibben and Naomi Klein pleading with nearly 3,000 people in Majorville’s Orpheum Theater to force institutions to sell fossil fuel company equities. Before this, students had been mobilized

locally in the group Students for Climate Justice. One of their efforts, the Responsibility Campaign, consisted of seven weeks of students sleeping outdoors at their universities as well as at the Majorville Commons. They demanded 100% renewables by 2020, regularly visited the Statehouse, and mobilized attention and action in the lead-up to the 2009 Copenhagen COP. Several climate activists recall this effort fondly, counting it as what drove them to climate activism, and often pointing to the radical demand coupled with real action. (Abrams 2009; SCJ 2009).

Climate activists in Majorville have led the nation in targeting aging gas infrastructure. Besides the danger of explosion due to gas leaks (Abel 2016), it appears that a sizeable amount of gas is leaking into the atmosphere unburned (Howarth et al. 2011; Miller et al. 2013) especially in cities like Majorville where infrastructure is dated (McKain et al. 2015). Joseph, a climate activist and professor in the Department of Earth Sciences at Majorville University, has been injecting energy around gas leaks into the Majorville's climate movement for years. He discovered in the course of his tree physiology research that gas leaks were so high they were damaging and even killing trees. His research has since documented over 3,000 gas leaks in Majorville and estimates that over 3% of the entire gas supply is lost, which contributes on the order of 10% of State GHG footprint. Collaboration among MFC and MCAN, with support from other organizations, led to grassroots mobilization and political pressure to increase the rate at which pipelines are repaired. Their work has resulted in improved policies around aging gas infrastructure (Ail. 2014; Majorville Beacon Staff 2016).

There are other campaigns and organizations working in the CAF in State like Elders Climate Action and Sunrise. Faith groups have long been involved in the local climate movement. State Interfaith Power and Light started in 2002. It was a branch of the national Interfaith Power and Light that started a couple years earlier. These organizations work mostly with congregations to reduce energy usage and increase sourcing from renewables (State Interfaith Power and Light 2017; The Forum on Religion and Ecology at Yale n.d.). In 2015, the State Interfaith Coalition for Climate Action formed and brought increasing organization to this area of the field.

1.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I sought to provide the contours of the CAF, especially its shift toward an internal orientation. I noted three backdrops to the contemporary climate movement: environmental and environmental justice movements and climate science. Next I highlighted work in the international arena before moving to the US where there has been a strong shift away from an externally oriented, toward the field of power insider strategy into base building and grassroots mobilization, especially that targeting fossil fuel infrastructure. Finally, I provided some of the history of the CAF within Majorville. The shift toward climate justice and a total rejection of all new fossil fuel infrastructure was in the minds of the climate activists in my case study as they interacted with local actors intent on fighting the GPP that was endangering their community. I turn next to this local resistance against the GPP.

2 CHAPTER 2: THE LOCAL FIGHT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter tells the story of the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project (GPP) up until climate activists took over. In this first phase of efforts against the GPP, activists failed to unite against the pipeline in terms of framing, strategy, and tactics. This disunity did not stop them from accomplishing a great deal—they informed the community; held meetings, vigils, and rallies; filed complaints and interventions through the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) (the federal agency that regulates interstate gas and oil, electrical transmission, hydropower, and liquefied natural gas); and engaged politicians—but it reduced their effectiveness and hampered their ability to both stop the pipeline and strengthen the climate movement. The divisions among activists represent a puzzle: by definition everyone against the pipeline shared the same goal, so why didn't they come together? The answer is rooted in the divergent field positions of local activists outside and climate activists inside the Climate Activist Field (CAF). Due to their position outside the CAF, non-climate activists generally used a safety NIMBY frame while climate activists used a broader climate frame. Tactically and strategically, non-climate activists targeted politicians less forcefully and generally spent more time and energy engaging FERC. Climate activists reached out to others in the CAF while non-climate activists sought to spread information with a local orientation.

I turn next to the beginning of the fight against the GPP. Non-climate activists did not heed the warnings of climate activists who themselves failed to inspire action. I then describe the start of the GPP resistance especially Danie's role and the challenged emergence of the local group responding to the GPP. Up until a summary conclusion, I spend the rest of the chapter examining the split between non-climate and climate activists in terms of framing and tactics. In analyzing this first phase of the GPP resistance, the chapter points toward a deeper understanding of activist strategy and framing by locating it in the space of activist field position.

2.2 MAKING SENSE OF A SLOW START

Collective efforts against the GPP could have begun in summer 2012 when climate activists and local non-climate activists discussed the GPP. However, it wasn't until summer 2014 that any resistance began to form when local activists worked to educate one another and raise awareness about the project in explicitly non-confrontational ways. When climate activists did become involved, they did so slowly and ineffectively. Repeatedly throughout this fight both non-climate activists and climate activists complained about their tardiness and that starting earlier would have given them a much better chance of winning. There's little doubt that's true. The primary reason for the slow start was the divergence between how climate and non-climate activists perceived the threat of the GPP. On the one hand, local non-climate activists held the view that their neighborhood's political power and the GPP's blatant safety issues would prevent the

pipeline with little to no effort. On the other hand, climate activists thought the GPP would be immensely difficult to stop (like other pipeline projects) and that if local activists didn't resist immediately, they wouldn't have a chance. The other reason the GPP resistance began slowly was the regulatory process overseeing pipeline construction. While providing a patina of community input, the regulatory process delayed resistance and channeled it into the byzantine FERC process that rarely resulted in pipeline rejections (for an overview of the FERC, see McGrew 2009).

Climate activist Lisa told me she first learned about the GPP during the summer of 2012 when she recalled that it was still in the "permitting phase." This is when Enterprise³⁴ would have been negotiating with local distribution companies to sign contracts that demonstrated the need for the pipeline. At the time Lisa was directing a program within the LPC called Climate Youth Camp that brought high school and

³⁴ I use "Enterprise" throughout. However, Enterprise has since merged with another company. Most of Enterprise's work on the GPP and larger SFP was technically done through Enterprise's subsidiary, Sauk and Fox, LLC.

There is a complex story regarding natural gas and electricity generation that involves the private though heavily regulated Regional Utility, Enterprise Energy (federally regulated by FERC, which regularly overrules local and state policies), and the independent, non-profit grid operator ISONE. To take just a couple of examples, Regional Utility and Enterprise jointly own another pipeline project in the region, which is designed to "benefit customers" and "reduce costs" through an "environmentally-responsible approach" that works "toward solving the looming energy crisis in the Region" (Han. and Pret. 2014). However, the necessity for increased gas transmission has been widely criticized by activists and a recent report from the State Attorney General's (AG) office "demonstrates that we do not need increased gas capacity to meet electric reliability needs, and that electric ratepayers shouldn't foot the bill for additional pipelines" (Hibbard and Aubuchon 2015). To take another example, ISONE considers grid reliability its main purpose and has developed a peculiar way of counting generation in that renewable projects in development do not count as electrical production. This is because ISONE cannot "turn on" renewables like they can dispatch fossil fuel fired generation, which has obvious negative ramifications for a future where electricity is provided by renewable energy. Finally, I'll never forget a meeting with staffers from a US Senator's office in 2015 regarding the GPP where activists were told that challenging the gas industry would be a losing battle not just for this senator but for the Democratic Party because gas was the future, period.

college-aged young people together to bicycle through different towns making connections with communities and mobilizing action around climate change. The program aimed to develop leadership capabilities of young people who were increasingly a part of the CAF. Lisa was well-versed on the efficacy of the program's namesake, Freedom Summer, and the way it gathered support for the Civil Rights Movement and radicalized participants, especially students (McAdam 1986, 1990).

Climate activists visited the neighborhood for a week in the summer of 2012 and again in 2013. Lisa said they also "tried a little bit harder in the off season [during school year], and we just couldn't." Climate Youth Camp participants even met with Geneva Goes Green (GGG), an organization that ended up playing an important role in the resistance, especially through Danie, its leader. Climate activists and local residents spoke past each other due to their field position. Lisa said GGG "didn't do anything that felt really all that climate-y to me." Coming from her position within the CAF, she distinguished herself from non-climate activists like those in GGG who were working on plastic bags, bicycle advocacy (bike lanes, safety, etc.), and recycling. Climate activists typically perceive climate change as a crisis of epic proportions and thus differentiate from environmentalists and their campaigns to, for instance, reduce waste.

Furthermore, Climate Youth Camp was more about leadership development and deepening climate activists' engagement in the CAF than it was about mobilizing local resistance on climate projects or campaigns. Climate Youth Camp participants spent virtually all their time with a small group of other climate activists. They rode bicycles, literally, everywhere. They slept in church basements. They often smelled like young

adults repeatedly breaking into sweats. They were learning the rules of the CAF and increasingly operating under them. For these activists, climate change can become an existential threat, which results in a crisis mode of operation that might hamper one's ability to recruit and engage those outside the CAF. For example, Pearse and colleagues (2010) speak of climate activists "immobilized by fear" and facing "climate depression" that can be especially intense among young people. Furthermore, they tend to engage in work that speaks more to other climate activists than to non-climate activists. For example, in July 2013, Climate Youth Camp participants held a satirical press conference with spokespeople for Enterprise Energy, and presented the company's new slogan "Energy for Death." They had ghoulish looking Death with a scythe and explained how through its pipeline projects, Enterprise was "actively digging, building, and locking us into catastrophic climate change." The spokespeople sardonically described how Enterprise "embraced climate change" and saw gas not as the bridge fuel some people thought necessary to transition to renewables, but as the final "destination" for Enterprise, "a climate change company." It was the kind of action that only spoke to someone already concerned with climate change. (Climate Youth Camp 2013).

Non-climate activists were in disbelief about the GPP because of their position in Geneva and outside of the CAF. Lisa told me climate activists "couldn't get anybody to give a shit or to believe them." The Climate Youth Camp team met with local residents who "would be really nice and listen to them," but "they couldn't believe that something like [the GPP] would happen." Patricia, a political activist and long-time educational consultant and author, knows the area well. She told me that Ward 20—encompassing

Geneva, part of Sunnyvale, and the GPP project—was politically powerful. Though Patricia noted the area directly next to the GPP was less affluent and powerful, Ward 20 had “by far the highest voter turnout ward in the city.” Furthermore, neighborhood residents were more conservative than the city average and even further right of climate activists who tended to be liberal and left.

The data confirm Patricia’s analysis: Geneva residents voted at higher rates than the City average (though this was slightly less the case for the precincts most affected by the GPP) and more conservatively (especially the areas closest to the pipeline). More than a third (36.77%) of voters in the Ward encompassing the GPP cast ballots in the November 2017 municipal elections, above the City average of 27.8% and the highest for any ward. Within the Ward however, three of the four precincts most affected voted at rates below the Ward average (the fourth was half a percent above the average), though these were all higher than the Majorville average. Additionally, the neighborhood was conservative relative to the larger city. The Ward voted for Trump/Pence at a rate of 26.23%, almost double Majorville’s rate of 13.88%. Furthermore, the precincts adjacent to the GPP (and thus most affected it) voted for Trump/Pence at higher rates than the Ward average, ranging from 28.20% to 34.96%. (City of Majorville n.d.).

Lisa nicely summarized the divergent position of climate activists and local residents: “we were just telling them the sky was falling, and that wasn't a universe that they lived in, in which the sky could fall.” Rose, a long-time Geneva resident, shared her sentiment about the neighborhood that many others echoed: it was conservative in a “follow the rules” and handle grievances through proper channels kind of way. Along

with many other activists, she also mentioned the high number of police officers that lived in the area. This relatively conservative stance may have exacerbated the prominence of the FERC process in the way non-climate activists challenged the GPP.

The process that the FERC oversees with regard to gas pipelines allows for public input and at first glance appears to provide an opportunity for those affected to engage meaningfully.³⁵ Before the first step of the FERC process, Enterprise would have been negotiating contracts with gas distribution companies that would connect to end-users. Signed contracts demonstrate to FERC demand for gas and the pipeline's utility, thus approval is likely after this point. For the GPP, the process began in June 2013 when Enterprise began the "pre-filing" process with FERC. FERC requires companies like Enterprise to notify abutters within 50 feet of the proposed route, City of Majorville officials, and the company's choice of local civic associations. Enterprise sent out a postcard to the most directly affected individuals, which read like an advertisement as it addressed "common questions" such as how the project will benefit residents and what Enterprise has done to "ensure safe operations."

The process to inform the community and allow for input continued in September and October 2013 when FERC issued a request for comments on the GPP (as part of the larger SFP project) and held a scoping hearing that was required in preparation for the draft version of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). In December 2013,

³⁵ McAdam and Boudet (2012) argue that movement scholars have overplayed the power of activists by showing the limited opposition against liquefied natural gas terminals in the US, and the ineffectiveness of that opposition when it materializes. But even these scholars understand the challenges FERC presents to activists when they note that "predictably, in spite of all this opposition, the FERC approved" the LNG facility in question (McAdam and Boudet 2012:165).

Enterprise held a required meeting to inform the community. They chose the Geneva Civic and Improvement Association for the venue. About 30 attended and expressed concerns about safety and the route, especially vis-à-vis the quarry, as well as the need for gas. Enterprise representatives talked about “operating safely” “for over 60 years” and how the pipeline would be tested and x-rayed for quality. They also talked about benefits like a reduced price for gas and less of an environmental impact than oil for heating purposes. While Civic League members, as well as Councilor Shanahan, said they were alarmed, it doesn’t appear as though anything came out of any of these meetings in terms of resistance (Robare 2013). I was told that the Civic League “is like six people” and that there was no chance it would be an effective organization for organizing a resistance. In February 2014, Enterprise officially filed its FERC application for the SFP project. In August 2014, FERC issued its draft EIS and provided until September 29 for public comments. On September 3rd, Enterprise held an “open house” that was meant to provide information at the Elks Lodge in Geneva with perhaps 25 people in attendance.

These meetings and comment periods provided a veneer of community input, but they were anything but. The public meetings appear to be the kinds of required formalities that the company understands as a public relations event. For instance, local activists told me the September Elk’s Club meeting provided little information; they had “no presentation, no meeting, and no agenda.” A climate activist told me they felt the representatives at one public hearing they attended were either lying or clueless. One of the ways Enterprise misinforms the select few who have somehow found out about the public meeting and taken the time to attend, is by downplaying the scale and scope of the

project while overplaying the remaining opportunities to intervene. Sonia, an organizer with a well-established large environmental organization who has worked extensively fighting pipelines and is very familiar with the FERC process described it to me. She said the public meetings are “kinda like a trade show” where they bring their “easels and their charts” and ensure people they are very early in the process. However, by this point, “it’s like two steps from the end.” In terms of submitting comments on the application—a complicated process if one does not have specific instructions explaining how—Sonia thought it could be useful to show FERC there was opposition and maybe drum up press coverage and educate people, but “basically, FERC doesn’t care.”

FERC itself held a public input session for the larger pipeline on September 8th, 2014. This was the day before primary elections, which activists did not think was a coincidence but rather intentional in order to make it difficult for the most politically active to attend. The “so-called information session” as Patricia put it, was the only FERC session about the larger SFP project for all of State. It took place in Lake Forest, right next to Geneva. Danie described it as a “packed room” with some 75 people present. Almost a third of them spoke, with all but two speaking against the pipeline. Geneva’s Councilor Shanahan and the State Representative attended and spoke about “their inability to support this project in light of the lack of process, notification, and transparency and their concern about safety issues,” as Danie explained. Danie also said that assistants from the Mayor’s office and another Majorville Councilor both attended.

The FERC meeting was described in less negative terms than the Enterprise meeting. This was largely due to a period where individuals could speak and at least feel

like they were heard. Nevertheless, less negative is not positive, and everyone I've spoken with who was at either these or similar such meetings described them with terms like "worthless" and "frustrating" and how they were "a joke." The little information they provided served to confuse many participants. Indeed, the food and company swag offered to participants suggests gas companies operate under the letter of the law and carry out the FERC required meetings, but they see these events as public relations opportunities. As Danie told me, "you couldn't even figure out what the route was at that open house they held," a basic piece of information. Sonia said that while communities are regularly left in the dark about pipeline projects, she had only seen one community so badly informed as Geneva.

2.3 THE RESISTANCE BEGINS

By September 2014, a small number of local activists understood the GPP was dangerous, unnecessary, and very much looking like it would be built. Patricia told me that the way Enterprise failed to inform people of what was happening, including at the required information meetings, "pissed off everybody" who was aware of what was happening. Local activist Christina recalled how the pipeline "changed [her] life" because she lived very close to the M&R station (the facility that depressurizes gas down to a level that can flow through the local distribution system to end-users) and got the impression that the pipeline was going to be built unless she and others did something about it. Christina had heard about the meeting from an email Danie sent informing

people about the September 8th FERC meeting. Danie runs Geneva Goes Green, the organization that didn't feel "climate-y" to Lisa. Danie was explicit in the email that alerted Christina that there should be a fight against the pipeline. It was striking because this was stronger language than I heard from her at any other point. She said "I don't think we want to let this company expand their gas pipes through our town without a fight," though as a signal of the direction she would take, she continued "or at the very least, finding out the details of their plan."

After Danie told GGG members about the pipeline, invited them to engage on the FERC process, and said that it shouldn't happen without a fight, she heard feedback that would influence how she operated going forward. Danie said she "heard from a number of people on my Geneva Goes Green list that 'natural gas is a good thing, it's clean, it's a bridge fuel, what's your problem, why are you opposed?'" She told me it was "enough people" that she no longer put GGG under her name in emails sent about the pipeline because she "felt uncomfortable representing Geneva Goes Green and all my members, who clearly were not all against natural gas." Danie told me that "GGG is basically" her and her partner and has been that way "from the beginning." Nevertheless, she quit speaking against the pipeline on behalf of the organization. Even more, she moved into a much less assertive stance even speaking for herself. This mattered because Danie played an instrumental role in spreading the word, educating people, lobbying politicians, and filing FERC motions. So how she framed the pipeline as well as the tactics appropriate to fight it informed a lot of people, especially early in the fight.

Though she never wanted to be an organizer against the pipeline, many looked to her and the GGG to play that role. And in fairness, it was a role she played to some degree.

In part due to her own concerns about the pipeline and in part due to the lack of community education and input, Danie organized an educational meeting that happened on October 8th. Though it was organized in a short time, it was attended by the local Councilor and the State Representative, and some 200 people, suggestive of strong potential for community resistance. Christina, a local teacher with a history of activism, did a lot of work spreading the word about this meeting. She was interested in organizing local opposition and looked to Danie to lead that resistance. Danie communicated to Christina that there was no group against the pipeline, certainly not the GGG. Informed by the experience of GGG members criticizing her for being against gas—a “bridge fuel” and so on—Danie took great pains to be objective, factual, and not alarmist. She was explicit that this meeting was informational: it was “not a protest meeting against this or any other pipeline.” Danie told me, they worked “*really hard*” on being the “information people,” to the point that even putting “danger” in small print on the flier for the October 8th meeting was going out on a limb for Danie. As yet another indicator of the lack of interest in hearing residents’ concerns, Enterprise failed to send a representative. This was despite multiple requests, including one from the US Representative’s office. The path that Danie took was also designed to maintain and strengthen relationships with politicians. A low-level ask like sending a letter to Enterprise requesting they send a representative to a community meeting fit well within that path.

It was clear how much Danie wanted to NOT be an organizer in this fight. Patricia knew Danie well. They worked together on political campaigns, and Patricia had supported Danie's GGG organization. So I asked Patricia for her sense of Danie's role early in the fight. Patricia recalled the October community meeting that Danie organized. At the end of it, people started to speak up saying "'I wanna get active,' which—Danie doesn't like organizing people." Patricia elaborated that Danie's skills are research and writing, editing and communicating, and getting into the details. Again she told me, Danie "did not like organizing people." Similarly, Danie told me that after that meeting she had "people jumping up and down" saying "why aren't you doing anything, aren't you angry?" Danie told them she thought anger wouldn't get anywhere and again described her and GGG's position: "what we set up to do is get information and convey it to the community in an accurate fashion without a lot of emoting, without a lot of scare tactics, without 'oh terrorism!'" Danie did send an email after the October 8th meeting that helped link up those who wanted to actively fight the pipeline. She said that subsequent to the meeting "an anti-pipeline group called the Committee to Stop the Geneva Pipeline Project has formed, and that group has asked me to forward to all of you the following information. I have agreed to do so, but we are neither endorsing this group nor do we have a position on any of the actions they are planning or will be discussing at their meeting. The sole purposes of my efforts and others engaged with me on this matter have been and continue to be to provide information about the Geneva Pipeline Project and to attempt to hold Enterprise accountable for the safety and health ramifications of their proposal."

2.3.1 Explaining Danie's Position

Three related factors explain Danie's role in this fight: her position not quite in the CAF but in the fairly close social space of non-climate environmental groups, her relationships with politicians, and her non-confrontational, introverted style. Danie's background is in editing—"pen and paper, great job, especially if you don't have to deal with the author." She likes these impersonal and quick interactions because of her deep anxiety regarding public speaking: "My mind goes to mush. I sweat. I can't think straight." This informs Danie's work—she does not like to be front and center, and she abhors speaking in front of crowds. Danie told me about her organization that "for years" did things like "giving away reusable bags," "organizing winterizing workshops." So Danie held these kinds of events and did the typical small environmental group kinds of things. She also added that she's "no expert on the environment," so they bring in experts to talk, which works well since she "likes to be in the background." Implicitly, Danie is operating under the same assumption that environmental groups in the US used for decades—the information deficit model according to which action follows from information deposited into people's heads (see, e.g., Kahan et al. 2012; Kellstedt, Zahran, and Vedlitz 2008).

Danie's position not quite in the CAF and with a conservative "accomplish what you can" view led to a NIMBY framing that was part of the mutual non-collaboration between her and climate activists. This was clear from emails during this early period. Danie and local activist Christina were friends and regularly communicated including about frames like the NIMBY position. Coming from her experience in the CAF, Christina thought the local campaign would lose potential supporters if they framed the

GPP in a NIMBY way. Danie said that it was NIMBY, though “only to a point. It is hard to argue that a LESS residential area than where they are putting it wouldn’t be less dangerous and disruptive of people’s lives. Most of the rest of the many hundreds of miles of SFP is NOT in heavily residential areas.” Like virtually all the non-climate activists, Danie saw the difference between placing a high pressure pipeline in Geneva versus a sparsely populated area. For climate activists, a pipeline built out of sight might be even more problematic because local residents fearful of an explosion would not be potential recruits.

During my interview with Danie, she was very clear about her NIMBY position. She told me that early on she and her partner “actually thought we could get the pipeline moved, that was our first goal, to somewhere else besides Geneva. We never said don’t build this pipeline. We knew how far along this was, and we were 99% sure we were never gonna shut it down...it’s happening, so let’s get it out of a residential neighborhood and away from the quarry.” Danie went so far as to identify “a better spot for it.” “We felt we had a pretty strong argument that moving it a mile and a half away so that the ‘incineration zone’—which we didn’t ever really refer to [because she understands it to be alarmist]—wouldn’t include houses and schools and nursing homes. It would be parking lots and, ironically, a Central Utility building.” Indeed, in her survey she said her top priority in the fight against the GPP was “relocating the pipeline to a nonresidential area away from the quarry.” She told me very clearly that she felt it was “travesty where this thing’s [pipeline’s] being built.”

Danie told me that if she'd known about the GPP a year earlier, she "could have done a lot more to delay it or stop it, but certainly I think they could have moved it to a different location." The central reason Danie thought it was too late was because she placed her hopes in going through the proper route to stop a pipeline; namely, FERC. She told me that, "given the FERC process, there was no way to stop the pipeline." Not only was it too far along, Danie came to understand that the larger pipeline "was just too important." The reason was because in order to obtain FERC approval, pipeline companies must demonstrate demand. They can do this by establishing what are called precedent agreements and contracts with local distribution companies. Enterprise needed the GPP to make the larger SFP, because "they needed Central Utility's contract for the Geneva Pipeline. If that fell through in any way, shape, or form, they couldn't build all the rest of SFP. This was just too important for them, so it wasn't going away."

Danie's position outside the CAF explained her thinking. For example, her analysis that the GPP was undefeatable due to its criticality for the larger pipeline came in part through her understanding of the successful efforts to stop another pipeline in State, Enbridge Pipeline. She thought this other pipeline fell through because they couldn't get the precedent agreements with the local distribution companies. Danie said that the climate activists would love to believe they were responsible for cancelling the Enbridge pipeline, but they weren't, it was all about the lack of demand contracts from local distribution companies. Climate activists in Western State did believe they were responsible for stopping the Enbridge pipeline. This is logical from within a CAF position where stopping a pipeline is a great accomplishment and provides status to those

involved. However, Danie also seeks credibility for her own position when she takes what she sees as an objective stance that is unmoved by activist sentiments. It seems very likely to me that both the lack of precedent agreements demonstrating sufficient demand for the pipeline and the resistance by climate activists played a role in stopping the pipeline. In fact, the local distribution companies might very well have been influenced by climate activists. In any case, climate activists seeking credit is similar to Danie seeking to bolster support for her position and downplay the importance of activism. In doing so, they both use thinking that is tied to their field positions.

Danie's relationship with politicians also helps explain her role in this fight. She wants to think that the politicians who are elected to work on behalf of their constituents should be looked at favorably and given the benefit of the doubt. For example, Danie recalled the way she did not want to look backward and blame politicians for their lack of resistance, in part because they just didn't understand. Enterprise reached out to local elected officials to inform them of their project back in 2013 when they also met with the Geneva Civic League and sent out fliers to abutters. However, "it was incredibly played down" because "they didn't understand what the project was." There's no doubt Enterprise would have sought to make the GPP and larger SFP project appear less significant to elected officials, but these officials are in a position to find out more if they don't understand.

Consider as well Danie's comment that "the other thing we found out very quickly is our electeds were pro-natural gas." Here she pointed to the Mayor's office where his Energy and Environment Chief was highly supportive of natural gas. Danie's

preference to give the politicians the benefit of the doubt despite discovering widespread support for natural gas is explained by her position. Looking back and trying to hold politicians accountable could mean confrontation, which Danie avoids; it also could mean identifying support for gas infrastructure among politicians with whom Danie has relationships. Whether looking back or not was the correct decision, it is easy to see Danie's interest in looking forward and giving benefit of the doubt to the politicians. All told, Danie was very careful about what she would support and how she would interact with politicians. As she told me, she "never said natural gas is bad" and "never said stop all pipelines," which could have jeopardized relationships to politicians.

Additionally, some local activists asked over email how the pipeline could have been approved by local politicians who were made aware of the GPP in 2013 if not earlier. Some non-climate activists like Patty who never became very involved, were concerned that politicians knowingly let it happen and if so, they should be held accountable. Danie wrote that she was aware politicians knew. Though these were "fair questions," her understanding was that communication between Enterprise took place during the previous Mayoral administration. She told me that although she and her partner "don't know what kind of deal [the previous mayor] made, we know he gave his blessing, I mean we *know* that. Nothing happened in this city without [the previous mayor's] go ahead. And as we always say, Central Utility's on speed dial with the mayor.'" Danie's collaborator Patricia agreed and added that the previous mayor was a friend of the head of Central Utility. So it was with all of this in mind—maintaining current relationships with politicians, not upsetting powerful people, and taking what was

a strategic approach reflective of her position—that Danie “made the decision not to spend time going back and questioning past decisions. Whether or not this was the best decision, Danie has relationships to politicians that she would rather not jeopardize; in fact, she would like to develop them further and in some ways used the fight against the GPP to do just that (and reciprocally, those relationships no doubt helped the campaign against the GPP). Danie’s position as the head of GGG and her past work on politicians’ campaigns meant that she could lose status if she had supported or was currently supporting a politician who was part of the problem.

2.3.2 The Birth of SGPP

This section describes the birth of what would become Stop the Geneva Pipeline Project (SGPP), the local activist group that formed in response to the pipeline project. I detail one other community meeting that happened in the lead up to SGPP because it is important to see how the safety logic worked to encourage the NIMBY framing that would be prominent in SGPP. This framing was also encouraged by politicians.

Local activist Rebecca found a note on her door advertising a neighborhood meeting “to discuss issues with the quarry” scheduled the next day, October 15, 2014. The quarry had long been a nuisance with regular blasting that residents could feel and that some said caused cracks in the foundations of their homes. Furthermore, there were heavy semi-trucks, and thus more traffic and air pollution. She estimated that some 1,000 people attended, though others put it at half that. It was organized by the Mayor’s office and included the Mayor of Majorville; the congressperson, state senator, state

representative, and city councilor who represent Geneva; and one other state representative.

At the meeting, Rebecca recalled that the Congressperson explained three threats facing the Geneva community. The first two were health hazards and increased traffic because the quarry might start accepting waste from buildings. “And then third—and this is when everybody went crazy—he tells us about the pipeline. Seriously, everybody went, ‘*What!*’ We didn’t go crazy at the carcinogens [from the building waste] like we did the pipeline.” For the hundreds present, there was serious concern regarding the GPP, which speaks to the potential for community members to fight the pipeline. Rebecca added, “He assured us he’s doing everything he can to find another location.” Its location next to an actively blasting quarry, as opposed to the pipeline per se, was the problem for the Congressperson. This was the first time Rebecca and many others in the community heard about the pipeline. Importantly, politicians used a NIMBY frame and played up the fact that they were already working to relocate it.

Rebecca “was really mad” when she heard about the GPP and wanted it out of her neighborhood. Besides being directed by speakers at the meeting to think the GPP should be relocated, it’s not difficult to understand Rebecca’s NIMBY perspective. Her immediate thoughts on learning of the project were “property values and safety.” Her concerns related to her geographic location and financial interest. The M&R station was “right behind” her house. Property values and safety go together as Rebecca felt she would “never” be able to sell her house because nobody would purchase a home in the “incineration zone” so close to the M&R Station. Furthermore, much of her net worth

was in her home. She had “a lot of equity in that house” buying “it for 80,000 [and] it's worth 415,000 now.” Rebecca felt her modest rise from a working class background was jeopardized by the GPP. Furthermore, she had no experience in the CAF, so climate activist thinking held no influence over her.

At the end of the October 15th meeting that was supposed to be about the quarry but instead focused on the GPP, none other than Danie announced that people could sign up to be involved in a group forming to address the pipeline. Rebecca and a handful of other people signed up. She surmised the small numbers were because people had already signed multiple sheets when they entered the meeting. However, that information went to the politicians. It might also be possible that politicians' explanations that they were already working to move the pipeline reassured some who might have been interested to fight the pipeline if they thought it necessary. This was another lost opportunity, especially given the number of attendees. Rebecca was probably more upset than most at the meeting given that she decided to do something, but the way she took the news further suggests a missed recruitment opportunity. That night Rebecca “stayed up until 3:00 in the morning trying to figure out what the heck was about to hit me.” She told me how her “life was really, kind of, turned upside down” by the pipeline project and how she felt “overwhelmed” and “very angry at corporations and the government.”

It's true that Danie did not want to organize people to stop the GPP, but it's a role that she played in several ways. For instance, after the information only October 8th meeting, it wasn't until people spoke up at the end of the meeting about the need for collective action that a separate list was circulated. About ten people signed up, a low

number relative to the 200 estimated to be in attendance. This speaks to the way Danie organized the meeting for information purposes only and her non-endorsement of collective action. However, Danie collected contact information from everyone she could and added them to the GGG list. This could have been used, especially at the beginning, to pull people into the activist group forming, but that might have led to criticism from some and would have gone against Danie's devotion to her factual, information provider role. She did play that role well: her emails to this list over the course of the campaign proved to be a widely used resource for updates on the project as well as interactions with politicians. The low number who signed up for the organizing effort might also have been related to the way a climate activist had called for confrontational tactics that local residents felt unnecessary or too hasty.

A local activist group formed largely out of those who signed up after the October 8th and October 15th meetings. Danie had the sign-up sheets and so she connected them via email, though said she would not be participating. Rebecca recalled how the email said "this guy from, like, Prairie Point [a nearby neighborhood] is putting together a group." Brian was the person organizing that effort. He had known about the pipeline because he was operating at the edges of the CAF and the pipeline seemed like a great way fight climate change. He also had some history in the broader activist field and a great deal of financial resources. Beyond Brian and Rebecca, the group consisted of ten to fifteen people from a variety of backgrounds including the following: Christina, a public school teacher also involved in the climate activist field who lives in Geneva just a block and a half from the quarry; Sharon, the executive director of Majorville Green Fest

who lived in nearby Sunnyvale; Scott, a local activist who often played host and was a communications consultant and adjunct communications instructor; Edward, local activist and IT consultant; and Luke, a natural gas safety consultant who used to work fitting gas pipes. This group would eventually become Stop the Geneva Pipeline Project (SGPP).

From the beginning, there was a great deal of head butting and lack of leadership in SGPP. Brian said that he, his two “protagonists,” Edward and Scott, and others couldn’t get on the same page. They “couldn’t get anything fucking written” because everyone was throwing out lots of ideas and not coming to agreement about what to do and how to do it. “Oh it was so *frustrating*” he recalled. Rebecca told me she was under the impression the group “was already organized, already had strong leadership” but that she would quickly see that wasn’t the case and that “there was no real leadership.” She explained how being around people who “don’t have their shit together, and it’s at the beginning formation of a venture, which is basically what this was...And everybody has different ideas about how to go about this...” She trailed off and said “emotions really ran high in this group!” Christina told me there was only one “non-crazy person,” and counted herself amongst the crazies; she also noted they “didn’t need paid agents [infiltrators] because we destroy[ed] ourselves.” Patricia shared her sense that there “were a lot of cooks in that kitchen.” Rebecca described it similarly, saying there were “bold personalities, and it was like making a meal with too many flavors.”

2.4 THE SPLIT BETWEEN LOCAL ACTIVISTS AND CLIMATE ACTIVISTS

There was much discussion over an interpersonal butting of heads in the early days of SGPP. However, the roots of this conflict are better understood through a field position lens. There were two different camps: climate activists with some experience in the CAF and non-climate activists with none. This split played out in two main ways. First, there was great discord over how to frame the pipeline, around a local safety frame on the one hand or around climate change. Framing related directly to strategy. Climate activists took a Not In Anyone's Backyard (NIABY) approach calling for a complete pipeline moratorium while non-climate activists pursued a NIMBY strategy calling for relocation or at least safer construction.

Second, there was disagreement over appropriate tactics. Non-climate activists focused on spreading the word locally. They vigiled, knocked on doors, held information sessions, and made signs and shirts that most commonly focused on the dangers of the project for local residents. Non-climate activists also engaged with FERC and encouraged others to do the same. They pursued local politicians with a moderate set of requests, like a health study or any acknowledgement of the dangers of the project. Climate activists targeted politicians too but more forcefully by demanding a complete moratorium on new pipelines. Though climate activists participated to some extent in the information sessions and vigils, they also reached out to other climate activists and began working with them.

2.4.1 Climate Activists' Framing

The climate activists involved in early SGPP were oriented toward a broader climate frame than the narrower safety frame that dominated non-climate activists. Sonia worked with a well-established large environmental organization, was experienced fighting pipelines, and had a deep understanding of how difficult it was to stop them. She felt there was a strong NIMBY perspective that she connected to a lack of understanding. She told me that “the people who understand the entire scope of the environmental issues”—as a climate activist like she would—“were few and far between.” Sonia said there “was a lot of” NIMBY sentiment. There were people saying, “‘we’re not opposed to gas but we just don’t want it here, we just don’t want it in our neighborhood, we just don’t want it next to the quarry... Put it somewhere else!’” Not only did she disagree with the NIMBY frame, but she also phoned into the meeting instead of being present in person, which could have made it more difficult to connect with the local activists.

Brian was a longtime activist on economic justice issues, and very recently had started to move into the CAF after the People’s Climate March (PCM) on September 21, just a few weeks earlier. Before that, he thought climate change “was a distraction from the real issue, which is economic justice.” But after the PCM, the CAF excited him because he said, “holy shit, we’ve got a movement here!” And so he had been looking for a way to become involved locally. He saw the GPP, a fracked gas pipeline that “seriously threatened people in Geneva” and felt “that’s my local issue. That’s how I get involved.” Starting right when he initially spoke up at the October 8th meeting, he “right away” struck “this note of urgency.” Since Danie organized the meeting, Brian thought she

would be organizing the resistance. Afterward he said to Danie, “Look, look at the potential here, what are you gonna do?” She said, ‘Nothing.’” I’m not sure Danie would have said “nothing”—I would imagine she described how she’d play the role of information provider—but that is how Brian took it. This speaks to his position.

Brian told me how he was influenced by Frances Fox Piven’s ideas about direct action (see, e.g., Piven 2006; Piven and Cloward 1979). If one is not organizing with people to take action, as he saw Danie, it was equivalent to doing “nothing” in his eyes. The potential resistance that Brian had in mind involved collaboration with others in the CAF beyond this one pipeline project. His goal was “achieving the larger objective of working with Enbridge opponents and MA environmental organizations toward an alliance to get legislators to oppose Enterprise and Enbridge fracked gas infrastructure and develop true energy alternatives.” He wanted to forge alliances, especially with others in the CAF, to not only stop the GPP but all pipelines in the region. This work would be instrumental to building the kind of energy future he and others in the CAF want. In these ways, his thinking corresponded to his position.

Brian said there were all kinds of disagreements leading to people talking over each other, editing and re-editing anything they wrote down, and so on. When I pressed for clarification about where these disagreements were rooted, he explained how the group “couldn’t talk about the environment.” Instead, “it had to be about safety.” For Brian, the fight had to be much bigger, not just about the safety of the GPP. He told me that the non-climate activists in SGPP “felt that they needed to observe the local conservatism in order to maintain the organization’s growth,” and this meant “only

embracing local safety [vis-à-vis] the blasting quarry in all of our talking points.” I asked what was wrong with the safety frame. He went to the heart of the problem as he saw it: the non-climate activists, “wanted to re-route it, [that] is what they wanted to do. Put it somewhere else, that's all they were trying to do, not stop it—[it was] Not In My Backyard.” To Brian, this was disgraceful and something he could not support.

Christina was positioned similarly to Brian. She had also started operating in the CAF recently and had some history of participation in other activist fields, including the 1983 feminist peace camp at Seneca, New York (see Krasniewicz 1992). She described herself as “earth-centered” and started off our interview with a mantra prayer. Brian told me that she “really got [the framing] right.” He noted that “from the very beginning” Christina “started screaming [chuckle]: ‘What are you doing? Not in my backyard, is all you're doing!’” Back in September, Christina was sharing information with Danie about the People’s Climate March, describing what an important event it would be. Indeed, for those in the CAF, it was an important event in large part because it brought together such a large number of sometimes isolated activists and organizers (see, e.g., Falzon et al. 2018).

In October, Christina wrote that “given what seems to be some lethargy, we now must go [to] the next level to do what Brian suggests.” Coming from her experience in feminist activist circles as well as her recent involvement in the CAF, Christina was at pains to show the group they were “up against something SO huge.” Like Brian, she was interested in connecting with others in the CAF. For instance, she mentioned there was a statewide summit coming up for people fighting pipelines, and that they could go and

coordinate with others. She noted her feeling that “we are just too far along in this process to be able to have a real impact” in the sense that FERC and public officials have let them down. For Christina, part of their “rallying cry” should be “democracy has not been served.” Christina also mentioned safety but in a much broader, climate oriented, and people-powered movement way: “a zillion mice can bring down an elephant! Especially if we are really talking about the safety of our neighborhood and the future of the planet for our great-grandchildren.” Christina’s posing safety as “if” and saying “really talking” indicated she thought the immediate safety concerns were narrow.

Christina’s position and her approach—wanting to make connections to others in the CAF and take action around the intersecting climate and democracy frames—also were clear when one considers how a non-climate activist heard them. According to Rebecca, “Christina was quick to say that this is happening all over the place and that we needed to get together with other groups from other states, and make this really big.” Christina was noting the fact that the GPP was merely a six-mile segment of the much larger 1,300 mile Sauk and Fox Pipeline (SFP) project that would expand existing capacity. In other words, she was bringing her climate activist knowledge from operating within the CAF to the fore. Unfortunately, to Rebecca, Christina “was a conspiracy theorist” and “paranoid” and had started to “undermine the unity of the group.” Rebecca “was very vocal that [expanding the scope of the fight by working with other climate activists] was a bad idea.” Patricia knew Christina well from education circles and was somewhat involved in SGPP’s early days. She said Christina was trying to push back against the NIMBY concerns by telling the non-climate activists that this wasn’t just

about local residents, it was affecting other communities, and they should organize with them.

Christina's position also influenced how she operated at meetings. At one early meeting, Christina was trying to facilitate the discussion by using materials familiar to those with experience in activist fields. But to Rebecca, Christina treated everyone "like school children" with magic markers, sticky notes, and big pieces of paper. From Christina's position, these were helpful tools for expanding the conversation to a broad climate justice frame that synced up with other climate activists. However, she was bringing some experience in the CAF to a group that didn't want to have sweeping conversations about what other groups were doing or how climate change could weave together seemingly distinct problems. As Rebecca saw it, Christina "pissed off" people who just wanted to divvy up action items and get them done. Christina admits that she bumped heads with a lot of people.

Christina's position as a long time feminist also encouraged her to take exception to the white patriarchal machismo of some in the group. Christina felt that at early SGPP meetings, a couple of guys were repeatedly talking over people. It was "super white male dominated with women raising hands all politely." This led to her leaving one meeting early that she was supposed to take notes at; she admits she "fucked it up." Christina's storming off due to the patriarchy reflects her experience in feminist activist circles. Additionally, her guilty admission over disregarding her note taking role reflects its importance in the activist circles as notes provide a record and thus an opportunity for those who could not be present to see what they missed. Christina and Edward were

positioned diametrically in that she was a feminist, activist, and teacher, while he was a born-again Christian, IT consultant. She was concerned about climate justice in a broad sense while he was concerned about local safety especially regarding terrorist attack of the gas infrastructure. Their juxtaposition led to what Christina described as their “clear and direct opposition about a lot of choices.” Christina talked of Edward’s “attitude,” causing “dissension” and his “huge impact, including asking for a police presence” at an early SGPP event. She couldn’t recall what event but that didn’t matter to her. Similarly to the way she understood the NIMBY frame, inviting the police was a kind of blasphemy for Christina given her position.

Sharon was in the climate activist camp as well. She founded and ran a non-profit called Organization for Tomorrow’s Environment that runs Green Fest, a large annual environmental event that increasingly incorporates climate frames. Like the other climate activists Sharon was highly antagonistic to the NIMBY frame and wanted to broaden the fight. “From the start,” Sharon described how she “didn’t want it to just stay with Geneva.” She explained how some of the non-climate activists wanted to propose an alternative site, to which she retorted: “don’t give anyone an alternative!” She asked “why the heck do they want to put it somewhere else?” And answered that then it won’t be next to the quarry. “Give me a break” Sharon told the non-climate activists. She did not want the pipeline to go anywhere. Furthermore, Sharon described how she was “really annoyed” that non-climate activists were discussing “their property values as a problem” because she didn’t think that was an important issue for them to be using. More important from her perspective than “plummeting property values” were issues connected

to people's health. For instance, she was concerned about radioactivity in fracked gas and said that "not if, but when there's an explosion, that's toxic fall out in a six-mile radius with radiation and the toxic chemicals that would be in that explosion." She also was concerned over the 50-foot right of way granted to the Enterprise and the noise pollution from the M&R station, which would be "worse than an airport—SHHHH, all the time, it doesn't stop." While a potential reduction in property was a better frame for some people, Sharon was steered by her position, like her extensive work on issues related to urban air and noise pollution and was fond of green roofs.

The climate activists involved in early SGPP were not situated deeply within the CAF. However, they all had some experience operating as climate activists. Furthermore, they had a history in other areas of activism as well as positions that had bearing on their orientation in the fight against the GPP. They demonstrated their position with their knowledge and orientation toward a broader fight. As Rebecca put it, they "enlightened" the non-climate activists. For example, they explained "that this is to sell all that extra fracked frickin' gas overseas. And that the big plan isn't energy independence, it's 'let's make some big oil companies rich selling and getting into the world market.'" Patricia told me that Christina "was in a different place than [the non-climate activists] were—political awareness, environmental awareness, research ability—everything."

2.4.2 Non-climate Activists' Framing

Rebecca was very active for the first few months but eventually halted participation when she felt her NIMBY concerns were no longer welcomed and it was a busier time at work.

Rebecca described herself as “not politically active” though she “never missed a vote on anything.” It was really just that she did not “tend to organize gatherings of people” because she didn’t have time due to “working all the time to pay my mortgage.” She described going to the Women’s March because she “had to do that” and she had also met with former Majorville Mayors Deval Patrick and says former Mayor Menino knew her by name. So she was politically active relative to most Americans. Rebecca was remarkably conscious of her own position in the fight. She described how she “was VERY vocal for the first 3 months” but then “dropped way back.” She said she “was not fighting climate change. I was NIMBY 100% and was fighting for the safety and welfare for me and my neighbors and the fear of lower property values.” Other non-climate activists shared similar concerns. Their eventual withdrawal as more climate activists became involved was at least in part because they did not relate to a climate change frame.

The safety frame was shared by virtually all non-climate activists including Geneva resident Edward, though he had a particular take on it. He thought the M&R station would be “‘vulnerable to a terrorist attack with one turn of a wrench’ in which case much of the neighborhood would be destroyed.” This resulted in ridicule from Brian who recalled Edward being “dead set against” talking about “environmental issues.” Brian laughed aloud as Edward repeatedly brought a terrorist frame that he thought was ridiculous and “going *way out* on a limb.” Sonia told me she thought the only possible effect the terrorism frame would have been to increase the secrecy of an already enigmatic FERC process.

Edward had been working with Luke. Luke used to work as a pipefitter but had taken his experience there and started a natural gas consulting firm that works with individuals to provide investigation, advice, and expert testimonial in cases often involving natural gas explosions. He was also the president of the Regional Gas Workers Union (RGWU), which works with former and current gas workers to promote public safety. Luke was a Geneva resident, a leather-skinned guy from a working class background that Rebecca felt was her “kind of people.” He was not actually that adamant about the terrorist vulnerability, though he did think it could be an effective argument in motivating politicians to act. Luke’s main focus was like other non-climate activists: the safety of the GPP and its location next to a quarry in a densely populated neighborhood. He had one of the deepest understandings of the safety issue, especially from a non-climate activist perspective. For instance, he understood that the pipeline would be operating at 800 PSI, orders of magnitude more pressure than the pipelines that transmit gas to residential and commercial buildings for heating and cooking.

Luke represented someone who may have been more useful in the fight but felt alienated and attacked by those operating in the CAF who accurately felt he had a NIMBY perspective. He wanted to relocate the pipeline or at the very least improve its safety features. Though he told me that “FERC, you can't touch, in my opinion,” he wrote to the agency requesting that Enterprise “find another way that [was] less invasive.” He felt his family’s safety was in jeopardy. Luke did have insight into the industry. He knew gas production had increased dramatically and that larger energy users were transitioning to the fuel source. This increased revenue for Local Distribution Companies (LDC’s), but

required more supply to keep pace with demand. Luke thought it was significant that State had more liquefied natural gas (LNG) storage tanks than almost all other states in the US. He argued that LDCs were using them as a “hedging tool to increase profits” by filling tanks in the spring when gas demand was lowest and selling it back to ratepayers in the winter when the price was highest. Luke also thought the gas was ultimately intended for export where it would command a much higher price than domestically and that would also reduce the supply glut to help increase domestic prices.³⁶ He explained how adding more pressure to the distribution system would be “the same thing” as running a pipeline right up to a nearby state to connect to LNG export terminals, which “they would if they could.” He told me that he “tried to get involved,” but found little space for these concerns. He also felt his background fitting pipes was seen not as a resource that could provide insight but as a liability, especially to those operating in the CAF like Christina and Brian.

Local resident and non-climate activist Scott was struck early by the “shock factor” of a high pressure gas line next to a quarry and thought this should garner media attention. He worked the media angle throughout the fight, including after climate activists largely took over. So even though Scott would eventually come into the CAF in a small way, and thus see things more like climate activists than where he started, he also had an interest coming from his own position working in communications. Building

³⁶ Climate activists would later consider targeting the LDC, and even put a very small amount of effort into a phone call campaign, but they never effectively pursued this angle. This is despite many activists suspecting the gas was not for local purposes as claimed by the LDC as well as the LDC’s claims to be “going green” and their resistance to addressing gas leaks in the aged local distribution system.

relationships with reporters and radio producers mattered to Scott outside of the GPP. Scott repeatedly tried to get Bruce Gellerman and the popular environmental radio show *Living On Earth* to do a segment on the GPP fight.

Peter and Diana were two non-climate activists with strong NIMBY perspectives. The group Climate Justice @ Boston College had organized a rally where two prominent individuals—Bill McKibben and Bob Massie—were going to speak and that ultimately had almost 200 in attendance. Speaking from my position in the CAF, I thought it would be a nice opportunity to spread the word about the GPP as an instance of fossil fuel infrastructure that Boston College was supporting through their endowment investments. My position in the CAF led me to believe the activists fighting a pipeline would appreciate connecting to climate activists, maybe they would even want to send a speaker. However, I learned there was antagonism to associating SGPP with climate activism at all, which Diana characterized as hypocritical and Peter suggested was not only a distraction but also a way to alienate local residents.

Diana: I did not join SGPP because I am anti-fossil fuel and fracked gas. While I agree we all need to do more to rely less on those things and more on renewable energy, it seems hypocritical for me to say that is why I got involved. (We have 3 internal combustion engine cars, heat our home with Oil, and soon gas, buy plastics (although we try to buy eco-friendly plastics and cleaning supplies not made of petroleum). My #1 concern wrt [with regard to] SGPP is ensuring that the pipeline does not end up in this neighborhood given the nature of the neighborhood and the quarry.

Peter: We've had this debate for months now about mixing in other messages/agenda's and getting away from the primary focus which is to stop the GPP. I don't mean any disrespect to the BC cause, but it's not directly related to the purpose we came together for. When I look at the numbers that initially turned out for meetings and actions and what those numbers have been recently, I can't help think that we've alienated some [of]

the Geneva residents that initially supported us. I also don't feel it's worth the risk of alienating Luke or Sean, because their support and activity are the most practical avenues to get us where we can legitimately fight Enterprise. I have said it before, we risk alienating the base when we go off on big picture regarding climate change, etc.

Diana's sole focus was on safety, on relocating the pipeline away from the quarry. For her, climate activism was inherently hypocritical given her use of fossil fuels.³⁷ Ultimately, she stopped participating because of the increasing involvement of climate activists and their climate change frame that was antagonistic to the NIMBY perspective. Peter's was not antagonistic to climate activism per se, but he but he felt it distracted from the primary purpose of stopping the pipeline. Furthermore, he associated relatively low attendance numbers with this distraction and linked it to alienating SGPP members that had the most practical ideas for stopping the pipeline. He referenced Luke, who wanted to press politicians to make Enterprise enhance the pipeline's safety or relocate it, as well as Sean, who wanted to pursue a legal strategy.

Non-climate activist Kathleen was most concerned with local impacts. Her house, which she bought from her father who purchased it through GI Bill funding, was directly adjacent to the M&R station. So her concerns about safety made sense. However, she did not hold a NIMBY perspective because she didn't think the M&R station should be adjacent to anyone's house. Kathleen was fighting the pipeline before nearly anyone because she received a mailer from Enterprise back in 2013. At the time, she wrote and

³⁷ The position that it's hypocritical to be against fossil fuels when one uses fossil fuel energy, as virtually all rich people do, is a classic non-climate activist reason for not moving into the CAF that I think relates to the decades of US environmental organizations pushing for individual and consumption based solutions (Kysar and Vandenberg 2008).

called virtually all of her politicians. The Mayor's office responded that they had given their blessing because, as Kathleen told me they said, "This was a federal project and there was nothing they could do." She was "appalled" at the response and began a Facebook page that was a useful way for people to learn more information and make connections. She attended events and would check the Facebook page "first thing in the morning," but never considered herself part of SGPP and would not self-describe as an activist. This was due largely to her work as a private investigator and her husband's work for the utility company. Though she stayed out of the spotlight, she continued to show up at protests throughout the fight, including after climate activists fully took over.

There were several other local activists involved who played relatively minor roles and were oriented toward safety with a typically NIMBY perspective. Patty researched pipelines online and talked about the "dangerous chemicals" in fracked gas and "leaks" that "could happen" at the M&R station. Rose and Christina both recalled neighbors who were "in SGPP" but only in limited ways. They held a "we don't want it here" attitude due in large part to its location by the quarry. These local activists weren't so much against the pipeline as they were opposed to its location: "Put it out where it's not gonna blow up people" as Rose described them.

According to Rebecca, another one of these local activists left the group early on though "he wanted to get involved." He "was another NIMBY" and a "local, family man, probably about 37 to 40 years old, couple of kids, nice house, professional guy... probably had a degree from a fancy business school." Rebecca explained that "he got out quickly" largely because climate activist Christina was talking about climate change and

focusing on connecting with other climate activists fighting the larger pipeline. Rebecca said the initial group “went from fifteen people to eight really quickly.” The group being cut in half in just three or so meetings matched estimates from Brian, Christina, and Scott. The contrasting frames between climate activists and non-climate activists from the neighborhood sat uneasily together.

2.4.3 Non-climate Activists’ Tactics

Led by non-climate activists, SGPP members spread the word about the dangers of the GPP in a variety of ways. They distributed informational fliers, made signs, wrote letters to both the neighborhood Patch newspaper where they saw some success and to the larger regional paper where they received sparse coverage. They talked about it with their personal social networks, held vigils, collected signatures for a petition, and conducted several smaller meetings and a couple of larger ones. These efforts were oriented largely toward local residents and geared toward informing them of their safety concerns. The largest early effort was a December 3rd informational meeting that consumed a great deal of activist energy, both in planning the meeting and in spreading the word by distributing fliers.

Everyone in SGPP was not on board with the idea of another educational meeting. After all, Danie and GGG had already held one, as had Enterprise and FERC. This approach was what had brought these activists together so they had experienced it as effective. Climate activists wanted more of an action-oriented gathering where local residents could become involved in ways they saw fit, like a petition drive, canvassing,

legal avenues, contacting officials, art work, media publicity, vigils, and non-violent demonstrations. The meeting went ahead as something of a compromise that would include information about safety and then move into action-oriented break-out groups. Part of what excited local activists in SGPP about educating their neighbors was that they had someone with expertise. Luke, the pipefitter turned gas safety expert provided an overview on safety risks and shared his experience with the gas pipeline explosions elsewhere, like San Bruno California.

SGPP created a packet to distribute at the meeting that highlights the compromises between climate and non-climate activists. It noted that they welcomed “creative brainstorming and community input” and encouraged folks to “make some noise!” It contained a very detailed summary of the timeline with regard to the pipeline.

Among other entries, it included:

- Enterprise’s June 2013 initial notification to those within 50 feet: “only **ONE resident** lives within 50 feet of the proposed site of the M&R station.”
- The September 2013 agreement between Sauk and Fox (the LLC created by Enterprise for the Sauk and Fox project) and Central Utility (the local utility), the State Department of Public Utilities, the Attorney General, and the State Department of Energy Resources.
- September and October 2013 FERC notice of request for comments and input on their Draft Environmental Impact Statement “placed with local newspapers (again, with people’s busy lives, how often do people pick up newspapers anymore?)”
- Enterprise’s July 2014 meeting with Majorville officials.
- Enterprise’s September 2014 “Open House” for the community at large...There was no presentation, no meeting, and no agenda.

The information packet thus explained that the wellbeing of Geneva residents was not being respected: elected officials and state agencies knew what was happening yet they colluded with Enterprise to keep the residents unaware. The packet showed a local map

of the GPP that effectively highlighted how the quarry was right next to the proposed M&R station and how the pipeline went next to two schools. Then, the information packet directed people to contact elected officials from the State US senators down through state and local officials as well as representatives from agencies like the Department of Environmental Protection. It concluded with a letter from the Majorville Mayor to FERC chair La Fleur where he noted how he understood “the need to supply natural gas to this area” but that the current route “across the quarry [was] troubling.” In this way, SGPP conveyed issues surrounding safety, especially the route. They also encouraged readers to contact FERC and their elected officials.

The non-climate activists were pleased with the meeting while the climate activists were not. Between 40 and 100 people attended depending on whom I asked. This pleased Edward and Scott because with the information provided those attendees could now take action. Edward wrote about the meeting in the neighborhood paper sharing safety concerns, for instance that the high pressure line would have unodorized gas that residents would not be able to smell unless it was too late (Edward 2014). On the other hand, Christina was upset. She told me that Luke’s presentation and the questions and answers went alright, but it took too long because “Scott wouldn’t allow for break out groups.” By the time they eventually broke into smaller groups, it was “way too late” as Christina put it, which reduced the effectiveness of recruitment.

SGPP also created a petition to show the extent of concern around the project.³⁸ This was an important tool to engage local residents, the main population with whom non-climate activists were concerned. While potentially very useful, the petition was never utilized as a tool for organizing, a way to recruit people, which is how more experienced activists understand petitions. Instead, it asked individuals to sign if they were opposed to the GPP and the M&R station. The petition asked for the names and addresses that would be distributed to elected officials at all levels as well as FERC officials. As far as I've been able to tell, nothing at all happened with the petition. It was neither used as an organizing tool nor delivered to officials.

Non-climate activists also used a weekly vigil as another important outreach effort to local residents. Beginning on December 1st, Monday evening vigils happened during rush hour at the site where Enterprise would build the M&R station. This heavily trafficked corner was right where the pipeline would feed into the M&R station, across the street from the quarry, and thus it called attention to this dangerous combination. Local resident Rose, a septuagenarian who became involved in January and was often credited with the idea of the vigil (likely because of her constant presence there), told me that she vigiled as a way “just to express [her] own anger.” She described how “as a standing out there person” she could “activate people” to do the same. She elaborated about what she liked about the vigil:

³⁸ Earlier, Danie had sent some emails about a different petition created on the CREDO website in late 2013/early 2014. This covered the entire SFP expansion and seems to have been organized by activists in a nearby state.

I think standing out can draw people from the neighborhood who never stood out for anything. They probably vote, but they're not people who engage in protests or write letters to senators, or call in to the radio show and express their opinion. They're just homey kinds of people who know that there's something wrong happening in their neighborhood, and this is one safe way to express their opposition to it, is to stand out. The vigil had the added benefit of building camaraderie and providing a regularly occurring meeting point each Monday.

While Rose was often credited with the idea for the vigil, it was really Kylon's idea. He lived just a few houses down the street from the M&R station. He told me how the pipeline threatened the area he felt "was a paradise." He was especially worried about the health effects because he worked in medicine and two of his three children had asthma, which he thought might have been associated with the particulates from the quarry, which would only be exacerbated by the M&R station. Over some delicious masala he made, he told me the vigil was intended to highlight how the community had "been abandoned" by politicians and FERC. Because these were "people, like you and me" and "not alien," maybe they could be encouraged to take action. In this way, the vigil was a visual alerting passersby that the community needed help and could get it if those in power acted. Kylon did not have a sense of how they could use the vigil as an organizing tool; rather, for this local activist it was an action from the heart of a father concerned for his family's wellbeing.

As I spoke with those involved during the early stages of this fight, I came to see that local activists were much more concerned with the M&R station than were the

climate activists who would later devote virtually all their energy on the pipeline itself. Over the duration of the resistance, both the pipeline and the M&R station were targeted by residents and climate activists, but to different degrees. Rebecca explained that it was “a big part of why I was a NIMBY and how “at the beginning for me, it was the only thing that mattered.” She pointed to safety concerns vis-à-vis the quarry but also to local air and noise pollution, the same issues that troubled Kylon. Additionally, local non-climate activists were concerned that the M&R station was being built in a former wetland and would probably lead to increased problems with flooding.

The M&R station could have been a source of unity between non-climate and climate activists. For example, climate activist Christina was proud of locals showing up every week, “not giving up” and “bearing witness” by physically showing their opposition. Because it was a public protest, it also spoke to other climate activists who would eventually emblazon “stand with Rose” on their shirts in reference to her regular presence at the vigil. Thus it was especially sad for Christina when she couldn’t convince other climate activists to resist tree cutting in preparation for the M&R’s construction. This happened over the 2015-16 winter when climate activists had taken over the resistance. That fall climate activists had targeted pipeline construction, which provided a regularly occurring opportunity for civil disobedience. Moreover, pipelines are more easily recognized than M&R stations, so in talking about the work and spreading images, and gaining capital for themselves, it would make sense that climate activists targeted the pipeline. By the time the tree clearing happened, climate activists were recuperating from

the intense civil disobedience campaign they had waged. Additionally, some were traveling out of the state.

By February 2015, SGPP had accomplished a fair amount. They had about ten active members and a list of over a hundred people to try and engage. They had sent a Valpak distribution to 2,000 people that included large text that said “NOT HERE!” on a map with “high pressure gas line” written right next to a “Caution Blasting Area” sign. SGPP mentioned “health and safety,” “the environment,” and “property values” and included testimonials from residents on each of these points. They had held more public meetings to share information with neighbors. They had reached Enterprise, at least to the point that, as Scott described, one of their publicists had to respond with some “bland, condescending corporate statement” (Bill 2015). They held a couple of rallies and had received media coverage, including from a television station and a major newspaper (for a media coverage overview, see K. 2017). They had built a website and organized several canvassing sessions, going door-to-door as well as tabling at area grocery stores.

A significant part of the ground game spreading the word was due to Patrick, a nurse in the 23,000-member State Nurses Association (SNA). He was able to garner an endorsement from the MNA on health grounds, and bring some of their resources to the cause, especially in terms of printing materials. They purchased shirts and lawn signs that provided some revenue and spread awareness. The lawn signs displayed a large stop sign next to the words “the Geneva Pipeline” and underneath “protect our health and safety.” On SGPP’s website, they displayed a dramatic image of a house in flames.

Besides reaching out to neighbors and sharing safety concerns, the other major focus for non-climate activists was engaging elected officials and FERC. Local activists thought that elected officials would have considerably more power to influence FERC. So they pushed them to write and engage with FERC. These efforts initially targeted virtually every elected official representing Geneva in some capacity—city councilors, the mayor, state representatives and senators, and US representative and senators. From fall 2014 into spring 2015, efforts increasingly moved toward the US Senators. Not only were they more important because they had oversight over FERC, they were also the most reluctant to support the activists. Though she continued to stay out of SGPP, Danie played a central role in these efforts. As she told me, “we worked very hard to actually stay quite separate from them [SGPP]. My main role was dealing with the politicians. You know, forging relationships with them, letting them know that I’m calm and thoughtful about asking them whatever I’m going to ask them to do because there were various points along the way where we needed them.”

For virtually everyone who becomes familiar with or tries to stop a pipeline, they begin by learning about FERC. Climate activists would say this is unfortunate—though probably necessary because it is the agency tasked with approving such pipeline projects—because of the complexity and futility of that angle. Indeed, many of those first taking action eventually come to see this as well, though it is often only after spending a great deal of effort engaging with the FERC process. For Rebecca, the FERC process “was just mind-boggling.” She sums up the feeling many have after and sometimes during engagement with FERC: “the whole process with FERC was so disheartening.”

Kathleen described learning what FERC was as a David vs. Goliath story and “disillusioning.” FERC allows for public input, at meetings, through comments, and by becoming what FERC calls an “intervenor.” Because the process involves lots of research and paperwork, and because it was the legal way to engage the pipeline, it was almost perfectly suited to Danie. Furthermore, Danie received praise from SGPP members for her expertise on dealing with FERC. Non-climate and climate activists alike, like Christina, Sharon, Brian, Scott, Kathleen, and Rebecca all commended her efforts, saying she was “intelligent,” “had the bandwidth,” and “helped a lot of people figure it [the FERC process] out.” There was widespread agreement that Danie had done exceptional work educating them on the matter, engaging politicians, and pushing the FERC angle.

Danie pursued FERC on her own and she also encouraged and assisted others in engaging FERC. She did this through speaking about FERC at GGG meetings and elsewhere. For example, she detailed how to engage with FERC at a January Geneva Civics Association meeting. Starting when Danie found out about the project, in September 2014, she pushed toward FERC engagement. Since much of her efforts engaging with elected representatives were also geared toward FERC, she effectively continued this work through the time the pipeline was turned on in early January 2017. In fact, as of July 2018 Danie was still following the FERC process and sharing this information directly with SGPP members. In an early directive to the GGG email list, which included increasing numbers interested in the pipeline, Danie said the GPP called for “closer scrutiny” than the rest of the SFP because this would be new pipeline. “Consequently,” she said “if you have not already done so, please post your comments

and requests regarding this pipeline to the ferc.gov website (I have repeated the instructions below) or write them on the attached form and mail it to the address on the form. Our docket number is #CP14-96.” Danie repeatedly distributed information like this and encouraged others to engage with FERC.

I’ve noted that Danie remained outside of SGPP but was deeply involved in the local resistance. On the survey, she gave herself the highest mark, a ten, on level of involvement in the fight but low marks for attending meetings, protests, trainings, and so on. Though Danie remained outside of SGPP, they used her updates and the information she provided in their own efforts. So Danie spread guidance in person, over email, through the GGG and SGPP websites, and on Kathleen’s Facebook page dedicated to the fight against the GPP. As people continued to learn about the GPP through Danie, she continued to push toward FERC. For example, very early in the fight Rebecca was looking for ways to become more involved. She said to Danie “besides voicing my concern on FERC, there has to be more we can all do.” Danie suggested Rebecca work with “Sonia et al.”—climate activists— if she wanted to fight “in the larger arena of pipelines in general.” So Danie had the effect of dichotomizing local resistance as engaging with FERC and lobbying elected officials (often pushing them toward FERC as well), while efforts outside of this were deemed to be in the CAF as a distinct social field, separate from the former.

Non-climate activists in SGPP engaged with FERC directly as individuals and through lobbying politicians to do the same. They also encouraged others to follow their lead. For example, they produced a flier in late 2014 that was a “what you can do to help”

kind of document. The flier provided information regarding “why we say NO!”—deadly explosions, loss of property and property values, constant noise and traffic disturbance, and environmentally damaging fracked gas with PCBs, radon, and methane, but no mention of climate change. It then directed people on the actions they could take. Besides lobbying FERC, these also included coming to meetings, distributing fliers and lawn signs, donating, and lobbying elected officials including the federal delegation and the mayor. They emphasized the latter by providing phone numbers and emails for contacting officials.

Since engaging FERC was an important tactic, FERC deadlines imposed a timeline on action. For instance, FERC had deadlines for public comments on drafts and final documents and for officially becoming an intervenor. A SGPP flier produced in early 2015 began by saying that FERC will make a decision about the project as early as January 23, 2015 and encouraged people to 1) contact elected officials, 2) comment to FERC, and 3) ask that neighbors do the same. The document gave detailed instructions for how to carry out these activities including a phone script and sample FERC comments. In SGPP meetings and at vigils, non-climate activists shared what they had done with FERC and provided guidance to do more. In these ways FERC and its timeline played a large role in determining how and when activists engaged.

Led by non-climate activists, SGPP members and Danie had considerable success pushing politicians to engage with FERC, though it had little impact on the pipeline. The US Senators along with the Congressperson wrote to FERC in January requesting better community input especially with regard to safety. For instance, led by Danie, ten of

thirteen City Councilors sent a letter to FERC requesting a Supplemental Draft Environmental Impact Statement that would examine health and safety issues of the GPP next to the quarry and in a densely populated area. In fact, Danie helped draft the materials the City Councilors used, and she also assisted the Mayor's office in this regard. As she told me, "I'm writing the documents for them half the time." While politicians raised objections through FERC, it does not appear they had much of an impact. As a testament to Enterprise's disregard for affected communities, they sought to stop the City of Majorville from intervening. Sonia relayed their attorney's dismay: "They're [Enterprise's legal team] questioning the standing of the City of Majorville? Are you kidding?"

At one point, Danie thought the pipeline would be moved. The US Representative called Enterprise and told them to move the pipeline away from the quarry. As Danie told me, with the congressperson and mayor in the room, "Enterprise says 'we looked around, [and] we couldn't find anywhere.'" I asked Danie the reason Enterprise couldn't or wouldn't find an alternative. "Money. They had their acre-and-a-half here for the M&R station—it's very hard to find land, and I forget what they paid for it, a drop in the bucket for them—but they had bought their land for the M&R station and they were gonna be damned before they moved it. And no one could make them. And they knew it!" In the end, local activists took pride in that by the time the pipeline was operational, every single politician that represented Geneva, plus others, had written to FERC. Even the Mayor, who activists were displeased with, ended up paying for the Federal Appeal of the FERC ruling that was still underway at the time of this writing.

Danie and other non-climate activists pressed politicians in two other areas: pursuing a health and safety study from the Majorville Public Health Commission and working with the Mayor's Office to delay construction by withholding necessary permits. A health study would focus on the effects of the M&R station located in a residential neighborhood where air quality was already burdened by regular blasting at the quarry. The study would take time and delay the project, while it also might provide further data to be used against the project. Efforts to move a health commission study started in late 2014 and continued well after construction had begun. Unfortunately, these efforts were unsuccessful. Activists tended to blame the Majorville Mayor who they saw as generally supportive of gas infrastructure.

Non-climate activists saw some success in getting the City of Majorville to try and delay Enterprise's starting of construction for the GPP based on permitting grounds. However, when a pipeline company obtains a FERC approval—not a full approval, but a certificate authorizing construction—individuals, municipalities, and even states are virtually helpless to stop the process. The City of Majorville attempted to force Enterprise to use the same process for permitting construction that everyone must use (going through the Public Improvement Commission, part of Majorville Public Works, which owns and controls Majorville's public spaces, like streets). In other words, the City did not simply refuse to provide the permits necessary for Enterprise to begin construction, it merely asked the company to follow the same process that everyone uses. While the Majorville Delegation as it became known—with eight elected officials including the Mayor—had an active appeal to FERC asking for reconsideration of the route. FERC had

already issued what it calls a “tolling order.” These orders allow companies to proceed, including using eminent domain and not complying with basic demands like the City’s request to use the normal permitting process, even while there are open matters, like those from the Majorville Delegation.

It is instructive to examine the court case granting Enterprise eminent domain to begin construction on Majorville property without following the normal permitting process. It shows why so many activists spend much of their energies engaging FERC, because even when local politicians side with you, the FERC’s oversight supersedes. Judge Young understood this: “At the end of the day they’re putting pipeline in. The federal authorities say so, and they’re not estopped from going there” (Young 2015:6). Judge Young added, “Federal policy is designed to keep gas flowing and keep costs down. Congress has authorized FERC to run pipelines across our lands—that’s the federal policy. So my job is to make that happen.” Mr. Fitzpatrick, the lawyer arguing for the City, said that while that’s true, Enterprise “must establish good faith negotiation, which they have not” (ibid: 18). Enterprise’s “good faith” had been to give the City what effectively amounted to an ultimatum. As the City’s attorney put it: “‘It’s like a ransom, we’ll pay you \$600,000 and you have a week or else we’ll sue you.’” However, because Enterprise had refused to follow the normal permitting process, the City did not understand what they wanted. For instance, it wasn’t clear to Majorville where exactly pipeline construction would be as Enterprise left their “temporary workspace” undefined. Enterprise had given the City an ultimatum that referred to drawings Majorville did not possess.

The Judge understood that Enterprise wanted to begin construction immediately because that would bolster their standing in front of the FERC appeal and that because of the way FERC has oversight, it is their prerogative to disregard the normal permitting process. As the Judge put it, “naturally you want to start digging because it will be less likely that they'll [FERC] reconsider [the route] if you have the pipeline in or halfway in, and you're saying, as a business matter, 'That's exactly what we want to do, we want to bolster our position, but that's okay because we have this certificate [FERC order] and that's the way the law reads'” (ibid: 29). The Enterprise attorney also made it clear that FERC would not rescind its authorization of the pipeline, in the appeal: “the likelihood of FERC changing its mind after three years is zero.” The Judge was not pleased with the way Enterprise handled the construction process and though “the matter [was] ripe for appeal” he granted eminent domain on the basis of the FERC certificate (ibid: 60) and construction began the next day.

Rose summarized the lessons she and others took through all of their work engaging FERC. They had thought “you file your comments, you do what you're supposed to do, you follow the rules,” become an intervenor, get some legal help if you can, and SGPP members did all that. She laughed aloud, kind of self-mocking at their naivety, and said “it made not a bit of difference.” The whole FERC process, “it's all an illusion, is what you find out.”

2.4.4 Climate Activists' Tactics

Climate activists targeted politicians more forcefully, with more direct action and bigger demands. They also worked with other climate activists outside of Geneva. This would increasingly be the case as time went on, especially after summer 2015, which symbolically marked the changeover from non-climate activists to climate activists leading efforts.

Climate activist Brian led the more forceful targeting of politicians. His pipeline moratorium campaign called for an end to all pipeline projects, and thus it was framed in a way that spoke to other climate activists with whom he collaborated. In an initial “open letter” sent to the two federal senators, climate activists struck an urgent tone and noted how they had joined with others fighting pipelines: “with a unified voice around our common concerns, and, at this critical moment, are now seeking your support for a moratorium on all new pipeline construction—not only on the SFP project but throughout the state.” As a testament to Brian’s work, a number of groups operating in the CAF endorsed the campaign, including Majorville Climate Action Network (MCAN), State Pipeline Awareness Coalition (SPAC), Food & Water Watch, Clean Water Action, the entire 350State network and their local nodes, Livable Planet Center, Stop Expanding Pipelines, Safe Energy Group, No Fracked Gas in State, Stop Regional Pipeline, Organization for Tomorrow’s Environment, Students for Climate Justice (SCJ), a college Climate Justice group, Flood Majorville, and the Energy Efficiency Collaboration.

There was a meeting with staffers from both US Senators in September 2014 that climate activist Sonia helped arrange. After this meeting, Sonia said that though the

senators had come out against the Enbridge Western State pipeline, they remained reluctant to oppose the GPP (and broader SFP project of which it was a part). Activists told me that one senator was of the view “the pipeline has to go somewhere” and so while he possibly could have supported an alternative route, he was not against the pipeline *per se*. There were two views on the other senator. While she was more popular and probably more sympathetic to activists’ concerns, she had less seniority, so some activists thought she would not get out in front of her colleague on the issue. Danie thought the female senator was going to write to FERC until a speaking event in Somerville where climate activists “ran after her and were screaming at her.” Danie said she “pulled back because she decided we were all crazy.” This led Danie to reach out and repeatedly explain that “the person asking you to sign this letter is not crazy, *not* one of those screaming people.” Danie told me that “the long and the short of it is it wasn’t gonna help us to engage with them, with the protest group.” Brian was leading that “protest group.”

Brian had chased down the female senator. He was intending to disrupt the presentation but missed the opportunity. After she was done speaking, he followed her out saying “Look, you’re getting a horrible reputation in this community. You’re stonewalling people. You’re not meeting with us, when you know what the story is, and people are starting to say ‘she is phony.’” Brian continued to follow her out to the car where she got in and locked the doors. Brian told me “I’m a real threat to her. I’m telling her the truth, how she’s getting perceived by progressive circles. And so I’m really pissed, and she’s fucking running away from me.” Brian chasing down the senator was not a one-

off action but was part of a campaign to pressure every politician representing Geneva to endorse a pipeline moratorium.

Brian was the climate activist who originally helped get SGPP going. From the beginning however, he was upset with the safety frame that he felt limited action the group could take, especially more forceful action. He recalled telling early SRWL “come on, we gotta do more, we gotta demonstrate, we gotta occupy their [politician’s] offices.” He told the group that he wanted large-scale demonstrations because he thought state agencies were reluctant to respond appropriately and would continue to do so “until sufficient popular opposition is demonstrated to enable their greater involvement in challenging Enterprise.” Brian thought similarly about FERC—the only way they would be moved to come out against the pipeline was intense and sustained public opposition. Brian mentioned the following as a way to increase pressure: “picket signs, protestors with gas masks and fire extinguishers and civil disobedience.” With enough publicity and building pressure, they could stop the pipeline.

Sharon and other climate activists thought it a wise tactic to incorporate other climate activists. She wanted to “get all the college students.” She also tapped into her position and used her connections from Green Fest work to contact Dave, who co-founded the Livable Planet Center, the climate organization that facilitates far and away the largest network of climate activists in State.³⁹ However, unlike Christina and Brian

³⁹ Sharon said Dave came to an early SGPP meeting, and Whitney, another activist with the Liveable Planet Center, came to several. Sharon said they tried to help but did not move the group forward. I was never able to interview Whitney, but gathered that she tried to help the group understand climate change. Non-climate activists saw her as overly concerned about broader

though somewhat similar to Danie, Sharon was cautious around direct action because of her “position with the city and everything.” She depended on relationships to City Hall and felt she couldn’t “be seen as, as too progressive.” Instead she preferred “to have everybody speaking their voice at Majorville Green Fest,” which she felt could be an effective platform to raise awareness, including about the pipeline. Furthermore, whenever she shared information about the Green Fest, she “would give [SGPP] part of the table to get the word out.” Like Danie, her position in a not quite environmental social space influenced how she participated. This position also led to symbolic gain for Sharon. Sharon’s non-profit was the fiscal agent for SGPP so that they could receive tax-deductible contributions. This aided SGPP. However, it also provided some increased status to Sharon, who advertised this fact on the Foundation’s website: “The Foundation is proud to inform all who follow us and take part in our activities that we are the Fiscal Agent for SGPP. Sharon also had a background studying law and society and so “tried to think of legal strategies” and worked with a lawyer. She also had connections to politicians and green businesses. As Rebecca said, “Sharon knew people.”

Brian tried to work with non-climate activists but saw little success. Brian told me that he had a hard time getting local activists to participate. He told me he was “way over [his] head working on media, taking all the roles that others were reluctant to take.” He said he “pulled back a couple of times but jumped right back in again feeling the urgency of the moment.” Brian’s sense of urgency is typical for someone fairly new to the CAF. It

issues and moving the group away from a local orientation. As a young, female, outsider who works with a climate change group, this is not hard to see. Furthermore, she was going through personal issues, and I don’t think she was in a place to help the group.

can be a powerful motivator, but also can challenge collaboration with non-climate activists. To a non-climate activist like Rebecca, Brian seemed like he “really just wanted to make this about a 1960s or early '70s march.” Rebecca said he wanted “protest style, the style where we're going to fight the big man, fight government, have long hair and daisies in our hair, and bare feet, and patchouli.”

Brian had more success collaborating with other climate activists. He said the pipeline was no different from the one activists in Western State were fighting. They would both be terrible for the climate and hurt working people because they were ultimately about setting up gas for export. This thinking birthed what he called the “pipeline moratorium” campaign. The idea was to bring increasingly large numbers of people to politicians’ offices, especially the US Senators, to force them to act. Reflective of Brian’s increasing orientation to the CAF and working with others in that space, the demands were larger than just the GPP. Activists would “insist” that the senators oppose the whole SFP project and pressure FERC to stop it. In an effort to maintain some fidelity with non-climate activists in SGPP, the moratorium was to last only until a health safety analysis could be conducted. Brian said climate activists would “insist this [was] just a first step” and Charles, a climate activist with Flood Majorville, said they were “preparing to escalate their tactics” if elected officials did not take adequate steps. Brian was thinking of “several collective actions; possibly several press conferences in the lobbies of some of the agencies we would like to see more involved, while some of us meet with officials of those agencies in their offices.” Unfortunately, the moratorium meetings with public officials never approached critical mass, the “hundreds” and even

“thousands” that Brian had hoped for. Lisa recalled that Brian “would get really angry and yell at people for not helping him make that happen.”

The effort began with what Brian called an “information meeting” with staffers from both Senator’s offices. Brian said SGPP was “totally dysfunctional” and “couldn’t relate to the task at hand that we had to do,” which was the moratorium campaign, a direct action that would bring large numbers of people to politicians’ offices forcing them to act. Since Brian struggled to relate to non-climate activists, most of the support came from elsewhere. Brian said he emailed, called, and talked with “pretty much everyone who was working on pipelines.” This included 350State, Majorville Climate Action Network, a couple of groups in Western State, Stop Expanding Pipelines (SEP), and a short-lived climate activist network called Flood Majorville. Brian laughed in embarrassment admitting he was “kind of crazy” with the stuff he was writing and saying about the dire urgency of the situation in Geneva.

After the initial information meeting, there were three more meetings with aides to both senators. They happened in January and March of 2015 (as Rose said, “the terrible snow” stopped most everyone from doing anything in February). These meetings were overwhelmingly with climate activists, with Patrick and Rose being the only two non-climate activists. Patrick had activist experience outside the CAF and Rose was starting to enter into the CAF. Rose recalled one of these meetings she was at where the senators allowed only six people and had police escort them up to the meeting. She remembered that “it was really crazy.” Rose was mostly quiet at these meetings and explained to me that she “was a little put off by how Brian responded to a couple of the

questions because he was very aggressive” and Rose “wasn't in that mode.” Brian and others repeatedly told the staffers for the senators that the GPP cannot happen and that the senators would simply have to stop it. Activists felt the staffers did a lot of listening but were not responsive, especially the female senator’s representative.

Brian recalled how from the beginning of the pipeline moratorium campaign, he stressed that there would be growth. He told the Senator’s aides that ‘if we don't grow by the next meeting, we lose.’” This was in order to “maintain credibility” with the Senators and because he was trying to force himself to believe the pipeline moratorium campaign would grow: “we're gonna grow goddamn it.” He understood that “if we don’t grow, I don’t expect that you’re gonna do anything.” Brian recalled a “decent turnout” from climate activists but it didn’t grow anything like he desired. It was the same for similar efforts with the Mayor’s office and the Attorney General’s office. He admitted he was offending some people, which he thought was at least partially because of his “militancy.” Brian cancelled another planned meeting when it became clear the numbers were not picking up, which effectively ended the moratorium campaign. Brian recalled this moment in spring 2015 “when we lost, until it was picked up by Jack’s group.” From Brian’s position, after his attempts at direct action protest did not work, the effort was doomed until another group picked up a similar direct action style mentality.

While the moratorium campaign was not a success and Brian stepped back from fighting the GPP, others continued throughout the spring. There was one rally in January that a broader network of climate activists strongly supported, including Mothers For Climate, Livable Planet Center, and Majorville Climate Action Network. Almost 100

people attended and it received coverage in the Majorville Globe (McCabe 2015). The three people who remained most active until climate activists fully took over the fight were Christina, Patrick, and Danie. Christina was sometimes operating under the auspices of another group that was meant to be local residents organizing from a climate angle. She called this group “Geneva Quarry Neighbors for a Fossil Free Future,” but it never amounted to much. It did provide Christina a position as a local resident explicitly interested in climate change and it allowed her to distance herself from the NIMBY perspective. This mattered when she spoke with other climate activists. It gave her some symbolic capital within the CAF to be a local person willing to speak against the NIMBY perspective. Patrick was operating as part of SGPP, but his long history of activism meant that he was hostile to the NIMBY perspective just like a climate activist would be. In April, Patrick told SGPP that he was “amazed to constantly hear about these never seen possible supporters we are alienating when we don’t limit our message to just the pathway safety issues and we actually connect the dots.” Danie had her position as the head and founder of GGG, as well as relationships to politicians that she was interested in strengthening. Danie continued to lead the charge on taking a polite approach with politicians and doing it in a way that bolstered her and GGG’s resources. Much of this work was about engaging FERC and going through knowledge-burdensome activities like becoming intervenors in the FERC process.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter covered the first phase of the resistance from summer 2012 until late spring 2015. I have focused on the actors involved and how their field positions either within or outside the CAF explained their framing and tactical preferences. Table 2-1 below provides an overview.

Table 2-1: Summary of Differences between Non-climate and Climate Activists

	Non-climate activists	Climate activists
Social field	Field of power; other	Climate activist field
Geographic location	Geneva	Outside of Geneva (other parts of Majorville Metro and as far as nearby states)
Frames	Safety, property values, lack of democratic participation	Climate
Tactics	Engage FERC process, lobby politicians, direct outreach to neighbors	More aggressive lobbying of politicians, outreach to other climate activists
Strategy	Stop GPP in planned location and design	Strengthen climate movement and weaken fossil fuel industry

For non-climate activists, their understanding was informed by their position as local residents and led to strong concerns over safety and to a somewhat lesser extent, property values, traffic, air and noise pollution, and democratic community input. These non-climate activists were confronted with a gas project proposed to be built next to their

homes next to their homes. Furthermore, the project was within a stone's throw of an actively blasting quarry. Their concerns over safety were understandable. They were coming out of self-interest in that they framed the fight in terms of what mattered most to them. Some of these local activists held other positions of significance. For instance, two had roles in non-profits and another was a socialist and unionist. However, it was their local orientation and lack of CAF experience that dominated their thinking.

For climate activists, a broader climate frame dominated. This pipeline and M&R station, and even the larger SFP pipeline project of which it was a part, were all slices of the larger fossil fuel infrastructure build-out in the US, itself part of the expansive global climate crisis. For the climate activists in this study, climate change was most fundamentally a problem of inequality. These activists celebrated climate justice and were highly cognizant of the way poor people, people of color, women, young people, and those in non-rich countries face disproportionate harm even though they have contributed relatively little to the problem. Like their non-climate activist counterparts, these climate activists also acted from self-interest. It was more of a symbolic self-interest, but it also had material impacts. They cared about their position in the CAF—they have inhabited such thinking whether consciously or not—where local safety concerns could matter, but not at the expense of the broader climate frame.

Non-climate activists' concerns came to be understood as a Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBY) perspective among climate activists (for a review of NIMBY literature, see Schively 2007). The NIMBY frame was sacrilege among climate activists because relocating the pipeline or M&R station would not help address the climate crisis. In fact,

it could make matters worse in terms of inequality if it went to a more disadvantaged area (like a lower income area or an African-American or immigrant community). Therefore, the status of a climate activist could be jeopardized from any association with a NIMBY position. This was unfortunate given that scholars have documented the important role of local groups with such a position for grassroots mobilization (Freudenberg and Steinsapir 1991). Similarly, for non-climate activists focused on stopping the pipeline as it was planned, a broader climate concern was peripheral. For instance, though non-climate activists did not entirely discount the health concerns related to fracking (the source of gas in the proposed pipeline), it was difficult for them to see how such an issue could play a serious role in the local fight. In this way, position within or outside the CAF led to a distinct way of framing the fight.

Positionality and framing also informed preferred strategies and tactics. Non-climate activists who framed the pipeline as a safety issue mainly utilized the regulatory framework provided to them. They engaged the FERC and lobbied their elected representatives to do the same. They worked to educate FERC and their officials about the dangers of the project and thought once they were made aware, something would be done. Local activists also educated their neighbors through community meetings, and they drew support from neighbors through a petition meant to show their elected representatives the scale of concern in the neighborhood. In contrast, climate activists took a more aggressive stance thinking that the politicians knew full-well about the pipeline. Furthermore, even if politicians were against it, they would have limited power to stop it. They threatened politicians with ultimatums that had little strength behind

them. So while both locals and climate activists lobbied politicians, the latter did so more aggressively, and there was little cooperation between the two groups. Climate activists also questioned intervening through the FERC process, especially around narrow concerns like the safety of a given route. Indeed, for climate activists, there was no such thing as a “safe route” for this or any other pipeline.

The strategy for non-climate activists was never settled and it wasn't until summer 2015 when climate activists showed up in force and settled firmly on a civil disobedience campaign. The critical disagreement among non-climate activists was on whether to stop the pipeline period or to advocate for a number of other options: delay it, move it, make it safer, compensate residents. For climate activists, stopping this pipeline was just one part of a much larger strategic goal: build the movement and weaken the fossil fuel industry to fight climate change. Recruitment then was a place where both groups could have seen eye-to-eye. Local activists needed numbers to persuade politicians to come on their side and climate activists need numbers to strengthen the movement. However, climate activists' fears of being associated with anything NIMBY and their aggressive posture limited convergence regarding recruitment. Local activists tended to target local residents, though in very low commitment ways like asking them to sign the petition and then not working with them further. Climate activists tended to target and engage those already in the CAF. Because of their position in the CAF, they were more likely to spend time with other climate activists and to be concerned with how they were judged. To have status within the CAF, climate activists need their peers to think highly of them. So it was in climate activists' interest to be critical of those who

were “just” concerned with safety or property values. This was unfortunate and leads to an important conclusion: climate activists will be better served with a longer time horizon. Yes, it would be polluting of their immediate status within the CAF to publicly collaborate with NIMBY-oriented local activists. But long-time organizers hold that education and agitation works best through relationships, which require meeting people where they are at, sincerely hearing their concerns, and seeking frames and tactics that accommodate divergent interests (Bobo, Kendall, and Max 2001).

This analysis also demonstrates the power of the fossil fuel industry to achieve its goals, even in the face of mobilization among residents in a relatively powerful neighborhood (c.f. McAdam and Boudet 2012). It is well known that lower income areas and communities where more people of color reside face a disproportionate amount of toxic or otherwise hazardous facilities like waste dumps, so called Locally Unwanted Land Uses (LULUs) (e.g., Bullard 1990, 1996; Pellow 2002). While this environmental justice scholarship finds cases of whiter, more prosperous communities using a NIMBY approach that pushes LULUs into minority and low-income communities, the GPP project went where it was originally planned. This is similar to the way “reluctant activists” saw little success in stopping fracking or reducing its health harms in upper-middle class suburban Dallas (Gullion 2015). Without the presence of climate activists who were antagonistic to the NIMBY approach, perhaps the GPP would have been built in a relatively less powerful community. However, before activists mobilized, Enterprise had already purchased land necessary for their M&R station. This sunk cost was likely a factor in the company’s decision not to relocate, probably an important one given not

only the costs but also the difficulties in locating a large enough parcel of land for such an industrial facility.

There was another group of climate activists who were starting to think—and become excited—about the GPP as a locally based strategic opportunity in the climate movement. They thought efforts to engage politicians and the FERC were not going to amount to any success and that the GPP opened the door to direct action against pipeline construction through civil disobedience. In the next chapter, I discuss their “sustained campaign of non-violent civil disobedience” as they put it, and how their position and orientation within the CAF explained their preferences.

3 CHAPTER 3: THE MATERIAL ECONOMY OF CLIMATE ACTIVIST CAPITAL

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shows how strategic choices are orchestrated from climate activists' positions within the CAF, which is comprised of their Climate Activist Capital (CAC) and their orientation. Activists accumulate more CAC as they engage in activist work. Thus they enhance their status in the field by operating in the field. The more CAC an activist possesses, the more power they have in the field. The CAF is also structured by two poles: one internal and one external. The more an activist is oriented toward one or the other pole, the more their practices will be too. As climate activists took the reins, the GPP resistance became increasingly internally oriented and myopically focused on civil disobedience (CD). Though nearly 200 CD arrests occurred, disagreement among divergently oriented climate activists weakened the resistance, and they misrecognized conflict as they failed to acknowledge how their orientation and interests steer their thinking. More internally as well as more externally oriented climate activists shared culpability: the former struggled to create a groundswell among already converted climate activists while the latter saw limited effectiveness in reaching beyond climate activists. The case study suggests that climate activists in dissimilar positions could benefit from more consciously identifying how their strategic outlooks are tied to their position. This could lead to what Polletta (2002) described as a complex equality where

activists respect one another's varied quantity and quality of experiences and come to see that everyone has strategic insight even as they are structured by position.

This chapter begins with Jack. He represented a more externally oriented climate activist who saw some success in bridging climate and non-climate activist concerns. He also engaged in CD in ways attuned to local non-climate activists. Next I introduce Lisa and the Climate Direct Action Project (CDAP) Strategy, which was about shifting civil disobedience toward a more externally validated form of action through the courts using the necessity defense. CDAP strategy proponents hope this will have the effect of opening up more space for climate activists to engage in bold actions that are also unabashedly conspicuous. Subsequently, I analyze two actions that took place during the peak of the resistance. They show how power operates within the CAF as activists seek to legitimate their orientation. Powerful and more externally oriented Lisa was pursuing the CDAP Strategy and violated rules sacred to the internally oriented: autonomy, shared decision-making, distance from the police, and no favoritism among activists.⁴⁰ Activists with a strong internal orientation saw the Butterfly Coalition Action as a strategic blunder. Lisa tried to defend her actions on grounds that fit the more internally oriented social space that Fight had become. This was unsatisfying to those more internally oriented, including Lisa's three mentees, Juliana, Tommy, and Trevor. It contributed to a rift that never healed and that weakened the resistance.

⁴⁰ Especially when actions involve actors with reputations outside the CAF, activists with a very strong internal orientation see them as selling out. Like the academic who publishes in the popular press or the cultural producer whose material is used in corporate advertisements, externally oriented activists draw strong criticism from internally oriented ones, especially the purists.

3.2 THE CLIMATE ACTIVIST RESISTANCE BEGINS: CHUCK'S STORY

In both style and substance, Jack presented a more externally oriented alternative to the climate activist CD campaign that would move in an internally oriented direction. He collaborated with climate and non-climate activists alike, which helped bridge these two groups.⁴¹ His story demonstrates how a skilled activist who possessed a large quantity of activist capital—that is, the symbolic form of power within activist fields, the more general form of CAC within the CAF—drew on his resources, accumulated more CAC, and sparked wider interest among climate activists. Jack's involvement led to the formation of Fight and, eventually, climate activists taking full control of the GPP resistance.

3.2.1 Jack's Background

At the age of 26, Jack gave away the trust fund he had inherited to support progressive organizing, especially around economic justice. His wealth would have grown to nearly \$8 million by the end of 2015 had it been invested in the S&P 500 (Jack 2016:243). Jack converted his economic capital into symbolic activist capital, status-enhancing recognition of his commitment to activist aims. He gained credibility in the activist field because of his willingness to forgo an easier life and his efforts to decrease inequality. It provided him social capital within the activist field because it connected him to other

⁴¹ For discussions of the role of "bridge leaders" see (Goldstone 2001; A. Morris and Staggenborg 2004; Robnett 2000).

activists and their organizations, as well as progressive thinkers. Due to his privileged background and work on the estate tax, he was connected to individuals with a large amount of economic capital. He has written about economic inequality with prominent and wealthy people (Jack 2012; Jack and Brooke 2017; Jack and Colleague 2011; Wealthy Person and Jack 2004). Published material, including some read by activists, provided further symbolic and social activist capitals. Jack also possessed an institutionalized form of activist capital through his paid work. He directed an economic justice program at a progressive think tank in Washington, DC. The think tank had an office in Prairie Point (PP) near Geneva where we spoke, and it was filled with activist memorabilia from past campaigns showcasing his activist experience.

Jack entered the CAF through his broader social activist capital. He did so early in the CAF's formation in 2005. Early entry provides Symbolic CAC in itself because one is "ahead of the curve," but it also enables accumulation of more Symbolic CAC because there is more time to practice and accumulate experience, building Embodied, Social, and Symbolic forms of CAC. Jack told me that climate was in his "peripheral vision" until 2005 when Jo, one of his colleagues at the progressive think tank at the time, took his hand and said, "okay, come here, you have to look at this." What Jo meant was, "climate change is a very serious problem, and while I understand that your focus is economic inequality, you need to see this growing tidal wave that is climate change." Jack's introduction so early would not have happened without his relationship to another activist and the fact that both of them were already active in the broader activist social space.

His work in the economic justice field guided his orientation in the CAF and helped him build capital within the CAF. He had two basic responses to his guiding question, namely, what it meant to “build a[n] equitable and resilient local economy” in the context of climate change?⁴² One was organizing the PP Forum for “educational events on climate change and sustainability and things that people can do.” Here, he mentioned Bill McKibben, a well-known star within the CAF, so it indicated Jack’s high position by association. The other response was intervening in the CAF around the fossil fuel divestment campaign. He co-chaired a coalition that focused on the reinvestment side of fossil fuel divestment. This response was a critique in that it pointed to inadequacies of divestment per se, but it was also a solution because it called for reinvestment in sustainable, cooperative, and local initiatives and enterprises. It was another case of using his experience in the economic justice realm to bolster his position in the CAF.

⁴² Jack described how efforts under the Transition Town label appeared interesting, but it “was all very old white guys on recumbent bikes.” The way Jack compliments but also criticizes this work is characteristic of highly positioned activists. He also named the founder of the Transition Town work, Rob Hopkins, which worked to signal his knowledge. Those in the Transition Town movement are in a social space that is actually quite close to Jack, probably more than even many in the broader progressive activist space, but it’s necessary for positioning to show that Jack understood issues central to US progressive activism, like the race and class privileges. I think Jack’s criticism intended to identify a problem he saw in the Transition Town work, especially its roots and issues related to translation into the US context. Nevertheless, it worked to effectively show his position by demonstrating his Embodied CAC.

3.2.2 Jack's Entry into the GPP Resistance

Jack's entry into the local fight came as a studied means to better address climate change, and it would also increase his Symbolic CAC. He formed an affinity group (AG) with other climate activists in 2014.⁴³ Around this time, Jack said he was aware of the GPP and "watching the Geneva situation," which signaled that he was a thoughtful and analytic activist. I asked Jack for his lay of the land and why the GPP was on his radar. Like other well-positioned climate activists who became involved, he saw it as expensive, unnecessary, and dangerous infrastructure that was especially alarming given Majorville's wealth and thus obligatory responsibilities to addressing climate change. However, the GPP also presented a perfect opportunity for the kind of locally oriented direct action against fossil fuel infrastructure that the CAF had increasingly turned toward. Participating in such in vogue action provides Symbolic CAC. Such action would include civil disobedience, a highly valorized form of action for the internally oriented areas of CAF. More externally oriented actors like Jack are more restrained in their assessment. They see what's out there—the characterizing and charging of non-violent activists as "eco-terrorist" and "extremists" (Pellow 2014; Potter 2011)—so they work to guard against that. For instance, Jack tried to show that legal and political means were being exhausted without slowing much less stopping the pipeline. So in this way, CD could be framed not as extreme but as the only remaining option. He also tried to tap into

⁴³ The term affinity group is activist parlance rooted in anarchist and direct action circles, most especially the anti-nuclear movement and alter the Direct Action Network (Epstein 1991; Graeber 2009), and thus signaled Embodied CAC.

conservative values. More externally oriented activists are alert to the ways CD can be more alienating or more inviting so they frame CD as something that common, non-activist people would do. Thus the fight against the GPP provided a useful opportunity for Jack to intervene in the CAF and gain Symbolic CAC.

There were two issues on Jack's mind when he approached the GPP resistance. First, he was concerned with being labeled an outsider. He "knew that the industry would love to just have us be seen as a bunch of PP radicals coming to wholesome Geneva to contaminate... whatever." This reflected his Embodied CAC, relying on past experience and knowledge to help him analyze his intervention. His sense was to be careful because "this is an indigenous local environmental group." Jack understood that even though he lived right next door to Geneva, it would be easy for those not in the CAF to say that he was not directly affected by the GPP and thus should not be involved. (Climate activists would celebrate his involvement). He told me the politics of Geneva were such that "the worst thing you can be called politically is an outsider." Second, he understood Geneva as "like the 200 pound dead weight around our [Majorville progressive activists'] necks. [It's] conservative, Catholic—did I say conservative—culturally conservative, politically conservative in a kinda Majorville kind of way." He related it to Little Dublin, the colloquial term for another historically Irish Catholic neighborhood. Jack thus demonstrated his Embodied activist capital through his knowledge of the area and perceptions of communities and their insiders and outsiders. The area is known for its largely Irish-descended, white population—99.2% in 1970, 97% in 1980, 94% in 1990, and 84% in 2000 (Majorville Redevelopment Authority 2015)—as well as connections to

political power in the Democratic political field of Majorville, what the City of Majorville (2016) calls Geneva's "civic activism" (Majorville Landmarks 1995).

Jack also drew on his Social CAC to inform what his work would look like. He learned more about the timeline of the GPP and about the SGPP resistance. In addition to many relationships with other climate activists who might have provided information to Jack about what has happening regarding the GPP, Jack had a relationship with Margaret. Margaret works for an environmental justice organization, an organization that predates the CAF and works with local communities to fight polluting or otherwise harmful facilities. Like many organizations in the broader environmental activist space, Margaret's organization has incorporated fighting fossil fuel infrastructure into their work. Jack heard from Margaret and others about "the calculus" of the situation: that it was late in the timeline, especially the FERC process and that there were challenges within SGPP. So he used his previously accumulated social capital in the activist field to improve his knowledge as he entered the local space.

With much background knowledge and understanding of the GPP, Jack fell back on his Embodied CAC and carried out classic organizer practices.⁴⁴ He went to a SGPP meeting and did some one-on-ones with local people. One-on-ones are a trusted tool to build relationships, which is understood to be fundamental in organizing (Bobo et al.

⁴⁴ After describing his early work around the GPP to me, Jack kind of turned and smiled to say that he "actually did become a full-time organizer on this for a while." Jack also remembered going to a rally out in the snow which "actually had a [Majorville] Globe story and picture" (see McCabe 2015). He said this in a surprised kind of way that pointed to a common activist lament of the general dearth of coverage of activism in mass media. Scholarship has found that activists who cause disruption, as CD typically does, tend to receive more coverage, though these activist also tend to be relatively vocal about the lack of coverage (Amenta et al. 2009; Smith et al. 2001).

2001). They also build one's Social CAC. For instance, Jack met with Danie and Patrick. Drawing on his own Unitarian Universalist (UU) background, he met with Joyce, the minister at the local UU congregation. This organizing work, however, was in the service of his intention to use CD to escalate the fight. For instance, the relationships he developed were critical in order to guard against that outsider image: "we gotta get some Geneva people to be visible, and we gotta get permission from that local group to come into that space since none of us lived there." Joyce, the minister, was very helpful in this regard and Jack remembers working hard to recruit her. As he summed up his thinking, the "pipeline [was] on track to being built," "the community [was] still asleep," and so it was "time to prepare for the direct action arm of this work."

3.2.3 Bridging of Climate Activists and Local Non-climate Activists

Importantly, Jack played a bridging role in connecting more climate activists to the GPP struggle while also maintaining appeal for local non-climate activists. The most striking example of this was a May 2015 teach-in where he was the main organizer. Jack brought together different groups and used the event to conspicuously target the various frames of both climate activists and local non-climate activists.

I asked Jack what was motivating local people at this time. He said they all thought the GPP was a bad idea, but that was about as far as it went. They were concerned about "the health and safety issues and the permitting and maybe [how they could] find a better route away from the quarry." He summed it up as not "like 'stop,' it was like 'protect us.'" Jack added that there were people in SGPP who were of the mind

“it’ll be alright if it went to Mattapan [a majority African American community with many Caribbean, especially Haitian immigrants]. That would be okay.” Thus he told me SGPP “was truly a NIMBY group,” which he contrasted to his PP affinity group, “a climate change group that was open to tactics of direct action.” Still, Jack’s ability to collaborate with people of a different view and bridge differences, at least to the extent of aggregation for one event, was remarkable. Jack agreed, thinking they “tactically maneuvered that well.”

He repositioned his PP Forum as a “teach-in” on the GPP. Instead of in PP, he used his Social CAC in the form of his developing relationship with Pastor Joyce to hold it at her UU church in Geneva. Jack told me that his work developing relationships with Danie and SGPP folks like Patrick, helped make this “really successful.” He felt it “helped raise the profile of the issue [GPP].” Jack and others spent a lot of energy spreading the word, including reaching out to climate activists and leafletting locally. Indeed, I was struck by the large audience that I estimated at 110 people.

In addition to the outreach work and leafletting, the messages at the teach-in spoke to the concerns of both climate and non-climate activists. Patricia spoke for GGG, provided background details, and said they were trying to get the mayor to intervene at FERC as well as deny permits Enterprise would need to dig up the road. GGG was also lobbying for a health study that might jeopardize the GPP. Patrick spoke for SGPP. He began by noting that he was stepping in at the last minute for someone who couldn’t be there and then described himself as a “longtime activist on social justice issues, minimum wage and so on,” and how he ran as a Socialist Alternative candidate in a recent election.

He mentioned how some in the group focused on safety and others on environment. He covered a lot of ground, but I think tried to drive home that the local community is trying and needs help. He described how the political representatives had been pathetic, especially given that they knew about it two years earlier, though he praised the local City Councilor Shanahan who spoke next. Shanahan spent most of his time praising people and organizations. Jerry, a public health expert from Majorville University spoke about dangers of methane and fracking. Fran Cummings, the Vice President of an energy consulting company spoke about natural gas and the alternatives of efficiency and renewables from a policy and more technical standpoint. The last speaker was Molly, a young climate activist who participated in Climate Youth Camp, spoke from a climate justice framework. She spoke about starving people, especially poor people of color, and the necessity to “build a movement out of humanity, out of love.” The speakers then all took questions together for nearly an hour. By the end of it when individuals were invited to come up, speak directly with one another, and possibly connect to the work in meaningful ways, I estimated that more than two-thirds of the audience had already left.

The teach-in performed well in terms of incorporating issues local non-climate activists were concerned with (safety and health impacts) as well as both internally oriented climate activists (justice and connections to other movements) and externally oriented ones (politicians and government policies). One could also think of this in terms of what some scholars think of as a bridging exercise (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986). For example, Ghaziani and Baldassarri (2011) describe how “cultural anchors”—community building in their case of LGBT national marches—helped to

bridge differences and aid collaboration. Braunstein and colleagues (2014) found prayer to be a useful “bridging cultural practice” within their analysis of racially and socioeconomically diverse faith-based community organizing groups. In bringing together different parties—the local non-activist group (GGG), local activist group (SGPP), a politician, energy expert, health expert, and a climate justice activist—the main frames were provided so there was something for everyone. Bringing these different parties together drew upon Jack’s past activist experience. Next, I turn to his group’s direct action, the first CD in Geneva.

3.2.4 Civil Disobedience

Jack’s action was the first CD in Geneva against the GPP. It was externally oriented as far as CD within the CAF goes, and Jack made a special effort to appeal to the local neighborhood. Additionally, Jack’s direct action was another testament to his Embodied CAC and broader activist capital in ways that defended against potential criticisms while setting the stage for the sustained campaign of CD that would follow.

Jack’s action was choreographed to “dramatize” and draw attention to the pipeline. Jack said they were “very, very consciously focus[ing] on the fact that this is Geneva,” “a conservative Catholic neighborhood where you don’t buck authority” and where “police live.” They used red paint to mark the path of the pipeline in order to relate it to the Freedom Trail and draw on patriotism that might have conservative appeal. They further sought to appeal to the neighborhood by demonstrating they were not law-breaking criminals by turning themselves in to the police after the action even though

they could have gotten away with it. Jack thought it was “really an awesome story” and noted that even the police were sympathetic. He contrasted it to a Black Lives Matter action (I think referring to a major highway shutdown involving activists with their arms locked into heavy barrels). Jack continued, “This was really townie police saying ‘well, this seems reasonable.’” In other words, they appealed to people outside of the CAF, and deliberately tried to tie into the community’s cultural identity. Due to his relatively external orientation, Jack felt earning “townie” police sympathy was evidence of an appropriate action for the community.

One could see further indication of Jack’s orientation through his public explanation of the action. He focused on connecting to the community by explaining the rationale for his action in a way that might appeal to them. It was basically an elaborate justification for his CD action pitched in an externally oriented fashion. He did this on his personal website that signaled his high status (Jack 2015). The post that begins with Jack and Jo posing during the CD dressed in hard hats and safety vests that screamed “safety.” These weren’t eco-extremists; they were patriots merely identifying the safety concern that was the GPP. He echoed Paul Revere’s Midnight Ride but with “pipeline” swapped in for “British”: “The Pipeline is Coming! The Pipeline is Coming!” Jack’s appeals to patriotism were targeted at non-climate activists. Indeed, they unnerved highly internally oriented climate activists who associated flag-waving with their understanding of the US as the center of white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal power rooted in settler colonialism (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; hooks 2006; Martinez 1998). For instance, one highly

internally oriented activist told me they engaged with activists fighting the GPP in order to “decolonize that shit.”

Jack continued the post and thus his framing of the CD action by referencing a Johnny Cash song about love and fidelity (“RISKING ARREST: I PAINT THE LINE, BECAUSE YOU’RE MINE”). He said he “engaged in an act of reluctant civil disobedience.” While reluctant was accurate in one sense—if democracy was functioning, then the pipeline wouldn’t have been built, at least not without much more deliberation and input from the community—it was inaccurate in another. Jack had been planning for direct action since he learned about the situation. The language of reluctance thus spoke to his external orientation. It built a defense against criticism that CD is inappropriate in that it spoke to the exhaustion of other options. Jack explained that elected officials had tried to delay the GPP, and went so far as calling the Congressperson “heroic,” but helpless given the FERC’s power over the matter. He then identified Enterprise as the outsider (not him) who was doing something dangerous: building a high pressure pipeline through a residential neighborhood right next to an actively blasting quarry. He led with safety, not climate change. He sought to show this as a populist cause by noting that “thousands of other neighborhood residents” opposed the GPP. He mentioned that this was fracked gas that contaminates water supplies and is ultimately intended for export. When he finally arrived at climate change, he spoke about conservation, renewables, and “plugging up the over 3,500 gas leaks” that “cost ratepayers an estimated \$80-90 million each year.” Conservation and saving money

reflect Jack's more external orientation and contrasted with the justice focus of more internally oriented climate activist.

Jack continued in this externally oriented framing of his CD action. He connected the “mega-high pressure pipeline” not to a local need for gas, but to other pipelines intended for export and profit. He talked of “our community” and said he accepted full responsibility for breaking the law. In order to explain the role of the FERC, an “unaccountable federal agency,” he told a story about a recent “business” trip to Washington, D.C., which evoked the opposite of activist. He cited Robert Kennedy Jr.'s criticism of FERC as a “rogue agency, a captive agency,” that used eminent domain to strip away landowners' rights. He mentioned that FERC commissioners had ties to the gas industry and quoted Sandra Steingraber, the biologist who was well-known in the CAF for her activism against fracking (Moyers 2013; Seneca Lake Defenders et al. 2014; Steingraber 2014). He concluded in this way: “We have exhausted almost all of our local recourses. We have petitioned our elected officials, conducted educational forums, [and] knocked on doors. Civil disobedience is an appropriate response to an unjust and anti-democratic process.” In sum, Jack wrote (and spoke) about the CD action from an external orientation—as a business person interested in saving money and standing up for the local community.

3.2.5 Climate Activists Take Over the Resistance, or, Fight cannibalizes SGPP

Jack and his AG carried out their CD action in May 2015. At this time, Lisa was looking for work. She and Jack knew one another. Their Social CAC enabled future accumulation

of Symbolic CAC. Lisa emailed him saying, “I would love to be useful in this fight against this pipeline. It could be behind the scenes. I’ll do whatever needs doing, but I wanna fight a pipeline right now.” Climate activists deeply invested in the CAF like Lisa feel a call into the field, especially if they have been away from movement work for any period of time. For instance, Lisa went so far as to say she felt “way better in the world” when she was active and useful in the climate movement. Lisa took over as the lead organizer at this point. She was someone Jack “greatly admired” and saw as a really “talented person.” As one last sign of Jack’s high position in the activist field, he was able to ask a few people for money to pay Lisa for her work, “not a lot of money but enough to keep her on the job.” Jack’s Social CAC made the connections. His Embodied CAC told him that some wealthier people were able to donate significant amounts of money when there was a clear pitch and when one could route donations through a non-profit to make them tax-deductible as Jack could.

When Jack and Lisa met over lunch, Jack asked what she knew about SGPP and the non-climate activist resistance. Lisa said the only thing she knew “is that they’re really resistant to being organized.” To which Jack replied, “Yeah, I think that you could help them.” There was truth here. Lisa told me she tried to help SGPP and some individuals in the group. For instance, she mentioned helping Scott more effectively engage media. However, there was also an elision in this transition to Lisa. Lisa would do what she thought strategic and effective, which would be informed via her position in the CAF. Lisa had a lot of power in the CAF and was working to build her Climate Direct Action Project, an organization that I describe later, which was focused on what I call the

CDAP Strategy that involved collaborating with those engaging in CD around climate change to help them work through the courts and strategically utilize what's called the necessity defense. In short, her position oriented her toward CD, as opposed to community organizing with people who were mostly outside the CAF.

One of the first things Lisa did when she became involved was organize a rally. She was far and away the lead organizer, but she collaborated with climate activists from Jack's AG, other climate activists who hadn't been involved yet, and non-climate activists. This September 27th rally included speakers, music, and a march to the quarry. It was a success in that some 150 people attended. It also seemed to me to be an important marker in the transition to climate activists running the show. I received an invitation to the rally from three climate groups and recognized many people in attendance. I saw climate activists decked out in climate activist related attire, heard climate activists speak about climate justice, and helped carry the large United States of Fracking banner that I had seen at climate protests in Washington D.C. Indeed, I was struck by what overwhelmingly seemed to me to be a climate activist protest.

As the CD campaign kicked off in the fall, energy increasingly transitioned to Fight and SGPP effectively fell apart. Fight was the new group that Lisa had formed, which included climate activists from Jack's AG, some new climate activists, but also the most active people within SGPP. Multiple people in this group told me that the idea was for Fight and SGPP to each continue being their own groups, the former would handle direct action while the latter would focus on community organizing. However, energy dwindled in SGPP because their core activists were now working as Fight. With skilled

climate activist Lisa increasingly tapping into climate activists, they launched a pledge of resistance for activists to sign vowing to engage in CD or to support others doing so. They also started weekly CD arrests. This excited climate activists because it was not a one-off action but regularly occurring CD that directly challenged pipeline construction. It also showed some efficacy in that construction stopped for an hour or so each time people were arrested. Besides this, Fight took credit for two Saturdays where Enterprise did not show up for construction after they had threatened mass CD. Moreover, activists pointed to Enterprise stopping construction for the season two-and-a-half weeks before the city's winter moratorium. However, gains in Fight were mirrored by a dwindling SGPP. Lisa told me that Fight "kind of cannibalized them and nobody filled in behind the people that we took out of there." Speaking off the record, another activist corroborated this view when he told me that his "one objection" was that as more climate activists became involved "they gave up on community resistance."

As climate activists organized under Fight, their orientation increasingly turned toward the internal pole of the CAF. Internally oriented climate activists generally focus their efforts on collaboration with other climate activists who also serve as their main audience, and this was the case with Fight. There were some attempts to maintain connections to non-climate activists. The best examples here were the multiple occasions that CD actions included those from faith traditions. The first CD in the fall, for example, had Jack and two Unitarian Universalist ministers, including Joyce who was the minister at Geneva's Unitarian Universalist congregation. However, CD was generally located

near the internal pole of the CAF and thus the CD campaign increasingly drew internally oriented climate activists.

Eventually, Jack had to pull “*way back* entirely for work reasons” because he had been spending all his time fighting the GPP and his paid work desperately needed his attention. However, he also criticized the more aggressive actions that happened the next summer when police officers tried to obstruct activists from entering the construction site. He said that “for tactical reasons, I was like ‘I think my work is done.’” Michael knew Jack well and described the changing tactics this way: the police “were gonna blockade, they were more serious. So we were kinda escalating our tactics and thinking of more technical acts of nonviolent CD. His [Jack’s] feeling was that that risked alienating the neighborhood, the people. It’s one thing to have these people sort of walk in silent protests and say, ‘Stop bulldozer.’ It’s another to lock yourself to the bulldozer.” Locking to a bulldozer was more appealing to inwardly oriented climate activists while friendliness toward the police and relating to the community appealed more to externally oriented activists like Jack.

Climate activists marked their position by contrasting it to others. In describing his work on the fight, Jack said that he and the people he worked with “could have been ARG” but instead “chose to have a broader net.” ARG referred to the climate “collective”— evoking a non-hierarchical group—Attacking Ridiculous Gas, which sought to “escalate resistance against fracked gas and provide solidarity to other justice movements” (ARG n.d.). ARG’s mission statement’s call to “escalate resistance” signaled their inward orientation where intensified direct action tactics that appeal to

other climate activists are valorized. Furthermore, providing “solidarity to other justice movements” signaled that ARG activists supported other progressive activist causes, a necessary claim for climate activists with a very strong inward orientation.⁴⁵

3.3 THE CAF ORIENTATION BATTLE

This section moves in time to the last week of June, 2016. This was an intense period of CD actions called “Escalation Summer.” Juliana described it as an attempt to “just hit them really fucking hard,” to see how much pipeline construction climate activists could stop. I focus on two actions in particular, the Butterfly Coalition Action (BCA) and the Many Deaths Action (MDA) because they dramatically revealed a rift among activists along the internal/external orientation. The rift spoke to the way that strategy follows from orientation and position.

⁴⁵ For further characterization of what Jack is contrasting himself to, consider briefly a direct action against Enterprise organized by ARG and other climate activists on April 27th, 2015 in which I participated. The action came out of interventions by activists at the Regional Climate Justice Organizers Summit, which was dominated by highly inwardly oriented climate activists (including ARG members). The interventions heavily criticized many of the white college aged climate activists for not being radical enough, for not connecting climate change to structural issues like white supremacy, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and settler colonial mentality (there’s a history of this in the most inwardly oriented climate activist circles, see (Building Bridges Collective 2010; Climate Justice Now! 2010; Mobilization for Climate Justice WEST n.d.) Some of us at the Summit joined ARG members with banners and signs in a direct action against Enterprise. We marched into Enterprise’s Elburn office and delivered a “final notice” to employees while an activist said the following: “This is your final notice. You should be grateful that we are giving you this last chance before you’re taken up for crimes against humanity. Do you understand that?” (ARG Collective 2015). This language reflected the internal orientation of this activist: justice oriented and identifying the activist as the one with all the power. A sign at the action read was a call to other climate activists: “Please take notice that Enterprise Energy has failed to comply with our demands to stop the SFP Expansion. As a result, escalated community resistance will commence within 40 days of this final notice.”

While Lisa recruited many activists and used her considerable activist prowess to organize a remarkable CD campaign, she violated norms sacred to inward oriented activists—activist autonomy, decentralized power and decision-making, and distance from the police—which alienated her from other more internally oriented core activists in Fight and hampered efforts. Power was concentrated in Lisa as was the associated knowledge, relationships, and ability to make decisions. One decision was a deal with the police that violated the autonomy of some activists in part because of the mediagenic potential of high-profile actors. However, this was in the service of a longer-term strategy. This CDAP Strategy was designed to remake CD by validating it through the courts via the necessity defense, which would allow activists to take more action, and by combining the way CD can be principled, effective, mediagenic, and moving. If successful, this might open up opportunities for more CD and actions with potential to significantly halt the flow of fossil fuels and thus considerably aid efforts to reduce climate change. It would also increase Lisa’s own position in the CAF, adding to her and her colleagues’ CAC riches. Unfortunately, in the short term, conflicts rooted in the divergent orientations of climate activists weakened resistance against the GPP.

I begin by describing the CDAP Strategy, which opens with some background on Lisa. Next I detail the BCA itself, activists’ debrief of the BCA, and a perspective from the main group involved in the BCA. Finally, I discuss the MDA and compare and contrast its external orientation to the BCA.

3.3.1 Lisa and the CDAP Strategy

Lisa's class background and age diverge from most in the Majorville climate activist scene. In her 40s, Lisa was surrounded by the young and old who populate the CAF. More important though was her lower class background—I've heard her describe it as "working class" and "poor"—relative to those in the CAF and especially in Majorville with its many colleges (including elite ones). Her mother had some college education and worked for a regional healthcare provider doing community education while her father's highest education was high school and he worked as a salesman (selling "snake oil" she joked). She grew up in the Ozarks in Missouri and always "was the one that wanted to fix every problem." When something was wrong it made her angry. She recalled how a middle school teacher assigned her a lesson on industrial labor unions and she read about other movements, which "were fascinating." Lisa went to Sewanee and then studied theology at a fairly elite university. She took a social change course with an organizer and social movement's scholar a course on the Civil Rights Movement with an activist who had been a leader in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. In sum, her class background led her to feel somewhat estranged from the climate movement she would participate in, but she was also steeped in literature on organizing (and had some associated cultural capital) and had the "fire in the belly" hot cognition so important to activists (Gamson 1992, 2011b; Zajonc 1980).

Lisa entered the CAF in 2009 when Lee, a Quaker and classmate in the class with the organizer and movement scholar, asked for help on Climate Youth Camp, a program designed to help young people put their ideals into practice, as Lisa explained it to me.

This invitation was “perfect” because she “knew” she “needed to help build a movement.” She described as a moment of clarity and intoned the old Negro Spiritual to say how “dungeon shook”—and I finished it for her—“and the chains fell off.” That summer changed her life because she found churches and members that were so excited by “the idealism of young people who decided to live their values.” She appreciated that these were “unlikely allies” because “when unlikely allies start working together, we have this thing that can really take hold and change things.” Speaking to the way the climate movement at this point in the US was still largely focused on an insider strategy, Lisa found it frustrating that there wasn’t a grassroots movement for Climate Youth Camp participants to plug into. Dave, another student in the organizer and movement scholar’s class, was developing The Responsibility Campaign—where students camped outside their colleges and at the Majorville Common demanding 100% renewable electricity by 2020, regularly visited the Statehouse, and mobilized attention and action leading up to the 2009 Copenhagen climate conference—as part of State Power Forward, which would rebrand as Students for Climate Justice. Together Lisa, Dave, and Tiffany co-founded the climate non-profit Livable Planet Center in 2011 and Climate Youth Camp became one of their projects.

However, Lisa told me that besides a group she worked with that organized around LGBT issues in the United Methodist Church, she felt she never had a core group of people until she started organizing with other climate activists who would together launch the Climate Direct Action Project (CDAP) in 2015. She founded the organization along with Ray, Lee, and Ben, all of whom possessed much Symbolic CAC and thus

status in the CAF. Ray had a long history of activism including as chief operating officer within Greenpeace; he also co-founded U.S. PIRG, Environment America, and the Fund for Public Interest Research. Lee founded Climate Youth Camp and two Quaker groups focused on climate. Ben was a climate activist who served twenty-one months in prison for bidding on land at a Bureau of Land Management drilling rights auction in Utah in 2008. He appeared in Rolling Stone as “America’s most creative climate criminal” where he described himself as “someone that pushes a little farther than other folks have and engages in that sacrifice” (Goodell 2011). Converting into economic capital the Symbolic CAC due to his action and media surrounding it, Ben raised money not through a non-profit but directly to him so that, as he put it, he could have “greatest impact possible as an independent voice, from mentoring activists and advocacy work, to engaging with the media” (DeChristopher 2015). As with other well-positioned activists in the CAF, this was a great example of the way “capital breeds capital” (Bourdieu 1988:85).

Lee, Ray, and Lisa had all participated in high profile CD actions as well, which endowed them with Symbolic CAC. Perhaps the most memorable was the so-called “lobster boat blockade” where Lee and Ray (with Lisa playing a supporting role) anchored their vessel (the “Henry David T.”) and their bodies in front of a coal barge. Not a group that downplayed how important they thought their work, they described how they “faced with an imperative like none confronted by any previous generation” so they decided to “take direct, non-violent action” as an effort “to achieve the outcome necessary for planetary survival, the immediate closure of Brayton Point Power Station” (Lee and Ray 2014). The action successfully delayed a shipment of coal to Brayton Point,

the largest single source of CO₂ on the East Coast at the time of the action in 2013. The prosecuting attorney ended up dismissing charges and attended the People's Climate March with the activists. Lisa liked this story and often drew on it as an example of the way principled, creative actions can lead to the “unlikely allies” she prized so much. Through actions like this and their climate activist history, Lisa and company had accumulated a great deal of Symbolic CAC and were well-positioned in the CAF. While Ben had the widest following—there's a documentary about him (G. and B. 2012) and he was even on The Late Show with Dave Letterman (Pierce 2013)—Lisa, Lee, and especially Ray held very strong views on what was necessary for the climate movement. This came to be institutionalized in the CDAP Strategy to increase the utility of CD in the CAF. This is where I turn next.

3.3.1.1 CDAP Principles and Orientation

The CDAP worked with individuals and groups as they engage in civil disobedience. It helped prepare them for their action, especially the legal consequences. It facilitated activists' use of the necessity defense, where a defendant basically says to the courts “I've tried all my other options and they've proven ineffective, so I had to stop construction with my body” (or whatever CD action the case may be). The necessity defense was core to the CDAP Strategy that followed from their position and their orientation: they were trying to remake CD by combining its qualities that positioned it in the internal area of the CAF (principled and morally clear) with more externally oriented elements (mediagenic and defensible in court). They spoke to larger climate justice concerns regarding democratic principles by describing how the CDAP Strategy could

“put the government on trial” and represented “democracy in action.” Central to this was the belief that if there was a successful necessity defense it would “become powerful precedent for future defendants to justify their moral lawbreaking.” In other words, the CDAP Strategy was designed to open opportunities for increasingly escalated actions with potential to repeat them again and again. The necessity defense would allow activists to take bold action repeatedly while also reaching a wider audience through the courts. For Lisa and others, the CDAP Strategy done well would create “the power to move the needle a little bit” in terms of the climate movement’s power and, relatedly, public sympathy for their cause. They understood it as the cutting edge of the CAF that would open up new spaces and new forms of resistance. (CDAP n.d.).

I remember in 2014 when I met with Ray, Lee, and Lisa to discuss a possible direct action in New Hampshire. The CDAP was still in development, and Lisa and company presented their current iteration of principles that would be foundational to the CDAP. Lisa shared them with such joy, I think because they spoke to what she felt called to do and represented morally inspired ideas. Carrie—an activist with decades of experience in lesbian, feminist, and peace activist spaces including Movement for a New Society and the original Pledge of Resistance that organized affinity groups to engage in CD if the US invaded Nicaragua—usefully observed that Lisa, others at the CDAP, and those who worked with them were the “Berrigan Brothers” of our time. She continued, “They are the Dorothy Days, they really are motivated by *deep, deep* horror at what’s happening.”

The first CDAP principle—“use creative, nonviolent conflict at the point of injury that invokes moral clarity and unmask the violence of the status quo”—sought to reposition CD back to its Gandhian roots as a truth-telling force. Lisa regularly spoke this way about CD. For instance, she told me that building power through opening space for a lot of people to get arrested and really “be vulnerable” helped “unmask the violence that we’re allowing to go on right under our nose all the time” or what Rebecca Solnit (2014a) calls “industrial violence.” The second CDAP principle was about creating a community of “climate dissidents” who developed relationships that carried them through this “risky work.” Such work could lead to great returns in terms of movement effectiveness, but it also would lead to the accumulation of CAC. Lisa took these principles very seriously. She told me that community was essential for her because “we will lose certain things irrevocably, and if we can build relationships of love and trust and mutuality that you ideally build when you’re really building a movement, then it’s easier to get through that together.” Lisa wished to tell the full truth about the climate crisis, and like Jesus, engage “enemies and opponents with openness, tolerance, and humor.” The CDAP principles spoke to the ills of “racism, patriarchy, classism, parochialism, and nationalism” and the “dehumanizing systems of our world” and instead called for dignity and respect for other people and “the very web of life itself.” Finally, their closing principle called for grappling with fairness “with a focus on moral imagination rather than policy and political feasibility.” (CDAP 2017).

I asked Lisa about the role of CD in the CAF. Though not the only tool, it was “necessary” given “the way power is aligned.” CD represented “the only kind of power

we have, at the end of all of the other legal alternatives available to us, which, mostly, are set up for us to fail anyway.”⁴⁶ This power was centered on “the moral witness of regular people, who didn't change their clothes and all of their language so they could be [a better positioned climate activist]. They didn't turn themselves into a proletarian cadet in order to try to save the world.” Again here, Lisa attempted to split the internal/external view of CD. On the one hand, internally oriented activists saw CD (and direct action more generally) as the most useful approach to address climate change. On the other hand, if CD was only available to “proletarian cadets” who were trying to be holier than thou within the CAF, then the very power of CD itself that internally oriented activists intone was cut from underneath. Her response provided status because it worked to not only defend the CD to which she has devoted herself, but also to ward off criticisms from externally oriented climate spaces that such action is more about an ego project with hardcore activists.

Lisa elaborated on her assessment of the climate movement, which she referred to as “the movement,” a practice carried out by activists deeply embedded in their own activist fields from the Civil Rights Movement and the Chicano Movement, particularly the niche she was carving around the CDAP strategy:

Part of the problem in the movement right now, I feel like on the radical edge that I work in is that it's like the Oppression Olympics or the Anti-Oppression Olympics, right? And so everybody has to prove that they're more anti-oppressive than everybody else and what that ends up doing is it ends up creating this really... It's like this dystopian nightmare where suddenly there is all of this sameness and conformity and these rigid strict rules that everybody has to follow, which is exactly the opposite

⁴⁶ Piven and Cloward (1979) would support Lisa's thinking here.

of what those people are supposed to stand for, right? But now you all have to look the same, you have to use the same words, you have to eat the same food, you have to take the same number of showers as everybody else, and completely transform who you were when you walked into the situation in order to be legitimate. And that is not building movement power.

Lisa was positioning herself by noting the dangers within the internal pole of the CAF. It was problematic that some activists tried to out-compete each other and follow strict rules about what they say, how they dress, and everything about their lifestyle that has climate implications (most everything, like shower frequency that Lisa mentioned). This was a key part of the CDAP Strategy, to overcome the culture of the internal pole that can end up exclusionary. At the same time, however, “proletarian cadets” playing the radical activist game also have utility in the CAF. The internal culture can motivate individuals to become more embedded in the field and to spend more of their time and energy working to address climate change. So there must also be a role for highly internally oriented activists. The way that Lisa repeatedly spoke about organizing “regular people” to engage in CD was a way of claiming power within the internal pole by seizing the tactic. She then can operate in the same domain as the proletarian cadets but do so with an embedded critique that worked to distinguish her from others who are actually positioned quite closely to her.

Though Lisa talked about engaging regular folks in CD, she was ultimately geared toward collaborating among a smaller righteously indignant group of activists. She said the most useful climate activism focused on “building movement power.” This

consisted of working with regular folks who were not the stereotypical “ragtag group of hippies.” As evidence, she pointed to her collaborations with faith-inspired activists:

Building movement power is when Brown Pulliam, who's 86 years old from Bedford, who's from one of the most important Unitarian Universalist Congregations in the country, and he's one of their leaders, and he's very wealthy, and he's retired—I don't know how wealthy, compared to anything I know about, he's very wealthy. And all of the people, the circles he runs in, they're all very respectable, they're established, historically important families, even. And when that guy decides that he's gonna get in the trench, I don't want him to change anything about who he is. I want him to be exactly who he was before he got in the trench, and be able to go back home and tell the story, to get the mission minute at the beginning of church where he gets to talk for two minutes about what he did and why he did it. In front of some really respectable, powerful, important people in terms of how this world works.

There's no doubt that Brown was a “respectable” climate activist without the stereotypical countercultural dress or demeanor, but he was a committed long-time climate activist nonetheless, and he represented the tiny portion of the population willing to be arrested to address climate change. By Lisa's own admittance, her main role fighting the GPP was “organizing and building capacity to organize with a small core of activists to create strategic opportunities for nonviolent direct action at the site of construction (with the goal of empowering many more to take disruptive action when legal alternatives are exhausted).” Thus a small core engaging in CD was at the core of the CDAP Strategy and the way that Lisa and colleagues criticized the exclusionary nature of internally oriented CD was much more about positioning.

As another example, Lisa preferred songs over chants. Songs were “invitational” whereas “chanting easily sounds angry” and was not something one would want to join “if you're not used to doing it.” Of course, few people walk up to a CD action and become involved based on whether there's singing or chanting. But the larger point about

Lisa positioning herself regarding CD by extolling the virtues of reaching a broader audience remains. She spoke of the way CD helps activists “step outside the system when it's just not working.” Through the CDAP Strategy, activists can experience “some moments when they feel powerful and in control of the situation in ways that are not available to us when we're working inside the business-as-usual system and following those rules.” However, the CDAP’s track record of support consisted almost exclusively of high-profile cases of CD that included climate activists with status within the CAF.

3.3.1.2 CDAP’s Role in the GPP Fight

As Lisa became involved in the GPP resistance, the CDAP came with her. On the positive side, Lisa received payment through the CDAP that enabled her to spend more time working with Fight. Fight was also able to tap into Lisa and the CDAP’s relationships, for instance, an email list, lawyers, and CDAP fellows like climate activist Elena who played a role in the resistance. But there were also negatives, or at least potentially problematic aspects. The main one was the tension between Lisa working for Fight versus working for the CDAP, which some saw as self-serving. While all climate activist engagement in the CAF was interested, activists were more concerned when that engagement looked like it was intended to benefit one’s institutional home. Lisa was highly aware of and interested in preventing the optics of self-service.⁴⁷ This concern would climax during the BCA when Lisa made a deal with the police to try and better

⁴⁷ In rather colorful language, one highly inward oriented activist described the People’s Climate March as a “spectacle” of “masturbation.” This was the kind of attack Lisa wished to avoid while at the same time organizing mediagenic actions.

prepare for the MDA the next day that she and other CDAP colleagues (Ben, Lee, and Elena) had been planning. The MDA was organized under the banner of Fight, but for all intents and purposes it was a CDAP action with the purpose of drawing on high-status actors and pursuing the necessity defense in court.

One could argue that it doesn't matter if the work that Lisa and others connected to the CDAP were doing "counted" as CDAP or Fight work. On the other hand, Lisa was the only one officially on the Fight Steering Team with any relationship to the CDAP, and hers was a very strong relationship. Credit for organizing work was at the heart of Symbolic CAC. It mattered all the more the deeper one was in CAF, and Lisa and others with the CDAP were very deep indeed. If all of the actions carried out by Fight could be claimed as CDAP work, this would directly benefit Lisa and her CDAP colleagues. Such benefits would include, for instance, new contacts, donors, potential clients, and media recognition.

I asked Lisa how she understood this tension between Fight and the CDAP. She said she "I wasn't worried because I was really careful to keep those things separate and CDAP didn't do... We would re-tweet from CDAP when there were actions happening but I wasn't sending email blasts that talked about [it]... To CDAP people... to our lists. We weren't claiming that work as CDAP work." Of course, for an organization to retweet something that your cofounder was involved in would very much suggest that the organization had a hand in it and, therefore, deserved credit. Lisa continued: "And it was interesting, it got to be the middle of the summer, and Ben was coming, and we were doing that Many Deaths Action, and I was poking and I was asking people, one-on-one,

is it okay if we message this one as CDAP work?” Lisa was asking people these questions because, whether consciously or not, she knew that the MDA would be important and thus accrue Symbolic CAC for the individuals involved and for the CDAP as an institution. This was because it would garner media attention and contribute to the CDAP Strategy through a potential necessity defense court case.

Lisa told me that in response to her question—would it be okay to brand the MDA as CDAP work—she heard a lot of affirmative responses from “Judy and Rose for sure, and Michael, like: ‘the whole thing is CDAP work!’ [I also heard Michael say as much] And they didn't see what the big deal was with me, like, ‘we [Lisa and her CDAP colleagues] don't wanna take credit [for Fight work],’ like, ‘yes, I am working on this and...’ And I was using staff time, in a sense. Of course, only for things that it's legal for a 501C3 staff person to use their staff time for—training, communications, media work—stuff like that.” In a short amount of time then, Lisa moved from saying Fight work was not CDAP work into accepting that it was and that that was okay: “people seemed okay with it, I was there in part on CDAP work time, two other CDAP co-founders were involved [Ben and Lee], and we're just going to share credit with Fight.” In other words, Fight was effectively a project of the CDAP, and the CAC created through Fight should be credited, at least in part, to the CDAP and those involved therein. In my assessment, Lisa's work was far from some surreptitious plan designed to increase her and her colleagues' statuses. Instead, rooted in her CAF position, she was carrying out the CDAP Strategy designed to reposition CD as a more externally oriented form of resistance that also would happen to enhance her Symbolic CAC.

During one of our last meetings as Fight, Michael encouraged Lisa to appeal on behalf of the CDAP to the Fight email list for donations. She eventually did and noted the CDAP's "commitment to building communities of resistance for the long haul" and thanked potential donors for supporting "climate dissidents." I hasten to add, by the time she sent this email in July 2018, the court cases from the MDA were active and the CDAP and Lisa were very much organizing those individuals and their cases totally outside of Fight. One can visit the CDAP website, scroll over "our work" and see a drop down tab called "Geneva." The website catalogues the entire series of CD in Geneva complete with a virtual timeline, media hits, videos, and so on. Any arrestee who was part of the MDA also is mentioned in later actions as "trial defendants" in order to draw attention to the court case. As if to bring the point home, at one point in my interview with deeply involved climate activist Juliana, she called "Fight" "the CDAP."

Finally, I think it was always clear that Lisa and the CDAP would be credited with the Fight work, at least to the better positioned activists who had more knowledge and information. Reflecting on the moment when Lisa came into the work, Jack told me that he and others had no interest in "building an institution" through their engagement with the GPP and that's not what they were doing. At the same time, however, he recognized that the CDAP "was sorta in the works." He recalled how he "explicitly said to Lisa, 'I'm happy if this builds that [the CDAP]. I'm happy to give you everything we got at the other end.' Here are the web domains, here's the list of donors. At this moment, right now all that is handed over basically." In short, it was clear to well-positioned

climate activists that Lisa and her CDAP colleagues would benefit from activism done under the Fight header.

3.3.1.3 Lisa's CAC

Despite statements about the cooperative and non-hierarchical nature of Fight, power was heavily concentrated in Lisa from the moment she became involved. She brought her Embodied and Social CAC to the fight and also committed a great deal of energy to the resistance. However, one could ask why she didn't intentionally share more power. To some extent, she did. However, she shared it with people that she brought into the group that were effectively under her tutelage. Importantly, this meant that the overall strategic direction of the resistance would closely approximate Lisa and the CDAP Strategy. Three younger activists who also did a great deal of work—Juliana, Tommy, and Trevor—all had strong connections to Lisa. All three of them had worked with Lisa in the 350State Millville node. Juliana explained how the decision to bring in Tommy and Trevor was “very bilateral, nobody was part of that decision except for [Lisa and Juliana].”⁴⁸ Michael put it well when he described how Juliana, Tommy, and Trevor were the “Marlettes.” Tommy and Trevor were officially CDAP fellows too, which was a big part of what enabled them to spend so much of their time doing the work. Juliana and Lisa were especially close. As Carrie put it, Lisa was “sort of Juliana’s complete mentor.” Michael said Juliana “was kind of an extension of Lisa, really, Lisa’s kind of protégé.” Juliana

⁴⁸ Juliana relayed how Carrie said “bringing in two white dudes from out of town was probably not the best choice,” but she knew Tommy and Trevor and had worked with both of them. Thus, they were the people she “knew who could do the thing [effectively collaborate on the CD campaign].”

herself felt Lisa “was pretty rad, she seemed cool 'cause the [a previous high profile CD action]. I was like, that's cool, she's pretty into direct action.” When Juliana found out Lisa was working on the GPP that “definitely made [her] wanna work on it more.” Over the course of the resistance, Juliana went from someone without any experience doing this work to someone highly skilled in it. She greatly expanded her Embodied CAC with Lisa helping her “understand what is involved in preparing people physically, emotionally, and mentally, and every other kinda way, to take a risk like this, and then to support them all the way through it.” So even though other climate activists were highly involved in Fight, power was always centered in and around Lisa.

Furthermore, it was clear to activists Lisa had a lot of power. Outside of the GPP, there was a group of climate activists who had worked with Lisa and found her to be controlling and power hungry. Some of this was due simply to the amount of activist work Lisa performed, which was related to the high bar she established for her collaborators. For instance, I heard several activists in the GPP resistance say something like “without Lisa, there is not resistance.” John told me that he “always” understood “Lisa was like the central figure, overseeing it all, just trying to keep it all together and keep it all in sync.” Carrie, the longtime activist outside of the CAF, told me that Lisa’s “presence was the difference between a campaign and no campaign.” I put it bluntly to Carrie, and said it looked like Lisa had “pretty much complete control” and asked if that was too strong at all. “No, I don’t think it is too strong” she said. Carrie described how she would be at a meeting, “and it would sort of be like ‘Carrie, we’ve already made

these decisions.’ ‘Yeah, well where was I?’ And then I was made to feel like I was out of it. Decisions were made that were not made at the table.”

Before Tommy and Trevor became involved in Fight in the summer of 2016, it was often Lisa and Juliana making decisions. These decisions would be posed as choices to Fight but they had already been decided. Juliana was very clear: “so much of the work was just literally decided by Lisa and [me], just straight up. And we would have meetings, but it was like the thing was already decided, the thing was already happening, the thing was already getting done, and it was like the pace was so fast and we were kinda working on a faster pace than everybody else was.” I asked Lisa if it was really just her and Juliana organizing the actions. Yes, admitted Lisa, “at that point.” She pointed to the period early on where Jack, who wielded a lot of activist capital, was still involved when this was less the case. However, Lisa ultimately had full control over Fight. This dominant position led her to steer the strategy, gain more CAC, and enhance her status within the CAF.

To be fair, even after Lisa took over, lots of people contributed in important ways and provided input on decisions. Local activist Rose continued to lead the vigiling effort—“thank God” said Michael, “she grew it and she became the symbol.” Judy and John were both involved in actions and other work and provided their homes as well. Pastor Joyce was involved, which helped symbolically to demonstrate a connection to the local community as well as providing a space climate activists used heavily. Lisa told me how at one point, they “tried her [Joyce] out as police liaison.” But Lisa nixed that idea when Joyce responded to the police by trying to convince activists to get up and leave

and “was doing the police's work for them.” She thought maybe because as the pastor in that community, Joyce felt pressure from police in a way outsiders might not.

Furthermore, everyone who participated in Fight engaged in a remarkable campaign where 196 arrests for climate CD happened from 2015 until construction was complete in late 2016. Hundreds more besides those arrested participated in this work. However, the vast majority of them were already active in the CAF, few were brought into the leadership team, and the Fight steering team was in some ways a façade. Power and the ability to make things happen were concentrated in Lisa and the Marlettes, as Michael had evocatively put it. To be clear, this was not necessarily a problem—those who do the work should probably make the decisions, or least have a prominent say in them. Rather, my point is that they also received the credit, the Symbolic CAC bestowed upon them by other activists for their work. Fight then could be seen as an attempt to stop the pipeline, but it could also been seen as an attempt to pursue the CDAP strategy and enhance the CAC of those involved.

3.3.2 Butterfly Coalition Action

The Butterfly Coalition Action (BCA) was a collaboration among Fight and activists from the Butterfly Coalition, a Western State based climate group oriented sharply toward the internal pole of the CAF. The Butterfly Coalition was steeped in non-violent CD and organized in an affinity group structure meant to prioritize small group autonomy while providing for coordination to fight pipelines through a spokescouncil. My objective is to document the ways in which power via CAC and orientation in the CAF informed

activist practices. More internally oriented climate activists in both the Butterfly Coalition and Fight were frustrated by Lisa's decision to prevent climate activists from crossing the police line in a deal she struck. She was coming from her position oriented more externally so her focus on the next day's MDA that was arranged in order to pursue the CDAP Strategy. Lisa's ability to make the decision was suggestive of her power within the CAF, but the disagreement ultimately led to a rift that weakened the resistance against the GPP.

3.3.2.1 Civil Disobedience Training for Butterfly Coalition Action

The CD training took place at the Unitarian Universalist Church where the vast majority of the trainings were held. Most trainings felt internally oriented, but this one with the Butterfly Coalition was even more so. The entrance to the training had a sign that presented a sleek looking Rose holding a "fight the pipeline" sign next to the phrase "stand with Rose" that announced the "CD" training (there was no need to spell out "civil disobedience" for this crowd). This resistance was often female dominated—and it was certainly women-led—but this training had just three men compared eighteen women, an indication that the BCA would be even more gendered than other actions. Women also carried out the artwork labor.

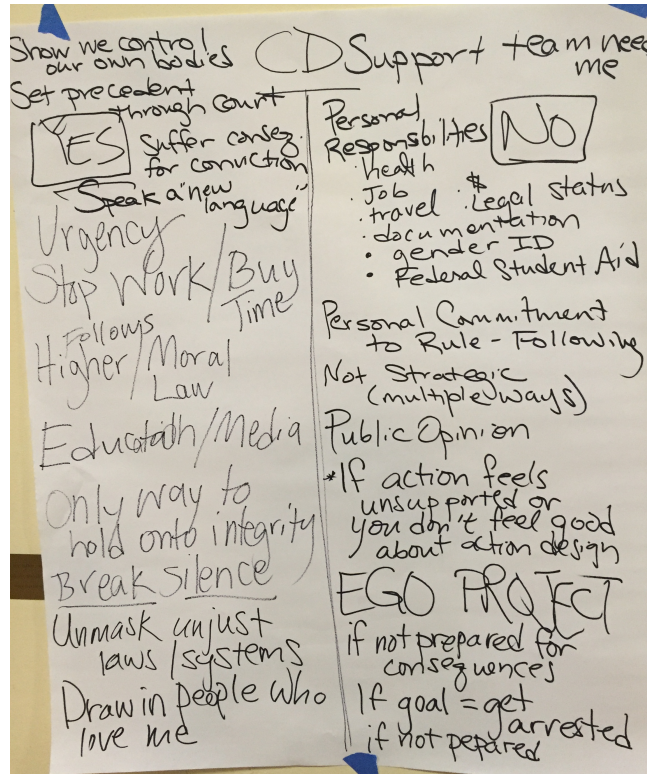
Like other Fight trainings, Carrie facilitated and Rose provided background on the GPP, as well as the critical symbolic connection to the local neighborhood. The training began around 7:30 and conversation among some activists went until past 10:30pm. The training was notable in its internal orientation with frequent mentions of other movements and displays of Embodied CAC via the obvious ease among participants. One of the

Butterfly Coalition activists quipped to me that Della, a long-time activist now working with the Butterfly Coalition, “had been arrested so many times it was like brushing her teeth.” In this way, engaging in CD for some of these activists was a habituated and frequent practice. Carrie, the facilitator, knew some of the activists from previous organizing work. Indeed, it had a feeling almost like a reunion of long-time activist friends. Called into the discursive space just in the fifteen minutes during the initial go-around were several other pipelines, Howard Zinn, racism, gender, the idiocy of lobbying (contrasted to grassroots efforts), yoga, gardening, knitting, an earth festival, and living in the now while also having an eye to the future. Over the course of the meeting, no less than half of the participants took notes in little notebooks. Most were in sandals and several took off their footwear while about half were dressed in clothing indicative of past movement experience. The space had an aura that felt very much like the internally oriented pole of the CAF.

Every Resist training had a session where participants discussed reasons one might or might not participate in CD. Carrie shared that unlike most CD in which she’s engaged—at the Federal Building in Majorville against US interventions abroad, for instance—this campaign was not symbolic, or at least not merely symbolic. CD against the pipeline was positioned along with the lunch counter sit-ins of the Civil Rights Movement where the reason for being arrested (fighting segregation or pipeline construction) was what the CD challenged. Carrie said that a really good reason to not participate was if you think doing so “will make you like a hot person, [laughter as she continued] like someone wants to go out with you because it’s *really* the coolest thing to

do.” She intoned Lisa’s notion that CD as part of an “ego project” was problematic and such a person should only play a support role until it’s not part of an ego project (see “EGO PROJECT” on the “NO” side of CD support in Figure 3-1 below). This was an instance where what was said concealed a truth. It’s true that some people actively and consciously seek attention and use CD as a means to that end. However, there’s a much larger pool of people who are not actively and consciously seeking attention but who will receive that attention anyway. While Fight’s CD actions were said to be highly principled in that they target the actual problem instead of a proxy, they were also symbolic. Any thoughtful activist will admit that one of the reasons why CD can be effective is because it can draw attention, which makes it rather difficult to fully divorce from ego. Furthermore, internally oriented activists were more likely to police the ego-enhancing elements of CD. So as the social spaces of the resistance increasingly became dominated by internally oriented activists, Lisa and company emphasized how they were not engaging in an ego project in order to subdue this internal critique.

Figure 3-1: BCA CD Training Brainstorm Notes on Why CD (Source: Author)



3.3.2.2 The Day of the BCA: Business Owners' Action

Before the BCA, there was a business owners' action. It shows how much power was concentrated in Fight. It's important because it shows a rare case of internally oriented climate activists trying to put a more externally oriented spin on their CD. Third it highlights the relationship between climate activists and the police, which was increasingly fraught.

I hitched a ride with Carrie and learned that she did not know about the business owners' action. Even though Carrie was a highly positioned activist in general (outside of the CAF) and played the principle role in terms of facilitating trainings, she was

sometimes not aware of what was planned. This was like most GPP activists, most of the time, regarding most of what was happening. If one was not Lisa, Juliana, or Tommy, then odds were one did not know a fair amount of what was happening. This was more the case as time went on and there were increasing levels of what activists call “security culture,” which are practices designed to reduce the risk of state surveillance and infiltration (see Pellow 2014). Such practices are also an indication that one is near the internally oriented CAF pole. However, concerns over surveillance or infiltration and secretive practices to counteract them were low relative to most CD in which I had participated, organized, or been familiar. Nevertheless, power was concentrated such that important players left out of the loop. As another example, there was some confusion about where to meet people this morning as Carrie, John, Rose and I gathered.

The business owners’ action began around 8:30 in the morning. It was oriented more externally than recent actions and framed as “local business owners against the pipeline.” Their sign read “business owners for responsible energy choices.” The language of responsibility evoked a more conservative posture in line with the relatively externally oriented nature of this action. The business owners were Anthony and Sumana, a couple whom I had met in the context of a climate workshop in the fall of 2014. They led a session at a Friends Meeting House on The Work That Reconnects, which was based in large part on the work of author and practitioner Joanna Macy, a deep ecologist and scholar of Buddhism. As I later read over email, Sumana wrote about her time in police custody where she sang meditative Kirtan chants and utilized practices she had taught recently at a retreat on “Powerful Faith-Based Organizing for Climate Justice.” So

the business owners' action—while nominally true, they own an organ restoration business—was led by some pretty “hip to the activist scene” people fairly enmeshed in internal activist culture.

The business owners' action was unpublicized, as opposed to almost all the preceding actions that had been publicly discussed and advertised over email, websites, and social media. This action was unpublicized in large part due to the increasing challenges of entering into the work-site, which was necessary for construction to stop. At the beginning of the CD campaign, the authorities allowed activists onto the construction site and let them stay there for what activists felt was a generous amount of time—around an hour in the earliest actions—before arrest. Over time, arrests and work stoppage moved more quickly. By this point in the fight, in the heat of Escalation Summer's ten day period of frequent actions, the police had started to physically block activists from entering the site. Michael explained it this way: “the police basically changed their tactics. It went from more of a gentleman's agreement type thing...They sort of give us a while. There's negotiations... [The police] say you're gonna be arrested... they put the cuffs on... It took an hour; maybe it slowed them [Enterprise] down an hour.” Not alone in his thinking, Michael felt that “Enterprise obviously must've put pressure back on the [City of Majorville] Administration.”⁴⁹ In addition to the increased difficulty

⁴⁹ Enterprise, like other wealthy corporations, donates and lobbies heavily, but I saw no evidence they had “paid off” politicians in order to allow construction to continue even when activists entered the work-site. However, there may have been an indirect path of influence. Activists noted that Enterprise paid for the extra police labor time, including highly compensated overtime, especially on weekends. In my own estimation, the rising amount of actions, especially during Escalation Summer, resulted in added pressure and frustration among police officers and thus the heavier hand. There was one officer in particular who tackled a couple of activists to the

in entering the work-site, there had been several occasions where activists entered into the work-site and construction continued.

Dressed according to the frame of the action with Sumana in a pantsuit and Anthony in a blazer and tie, they jumped out of an alley. A police officer yelled “stop them, stop them!” Lisa phoned the police “downtown” and reported back to us that they were not supposed to be blocking activists. This demonstrated Lisa’s Embodied and Social CAC—the knowledge and relationships to gather useful information and intervene. Though she may have been trying to influence the police there in that moment, her reporting this back to us demonstrated her CAC. Furthermore, Lisa’s phoning the police was suggestive of her external orientation and interest in the CDAP Strategy. She was very concerned that the Many Deaths Action the next day went well, which meant that they needed to enter the worksite. So she was willing to do something more inwardly oriented activists distanced themselves from—directly and honestly communicating with the police.

The police immediately arrested Anthony. They were fairly rough with him, placing a knee to his back. Sumana sat by the trench where Enterprise workers stopped laying pipeline for a very short time, perhaps two minutes, before police cuffed and removed her. Throughout the process, construction hardly stopped besides the distraction arrestees provided to the construction workers. It alarmed activists that sitting down in

ground. Perhaps Enterprise bribed individual cops like this aggressive one. But I took it as evidence that some police officers were angered by protesters and the resulting increased workload.

the construction site and being placed under arrest had not halted construction. People were shouting “stop the truck,” “this isn’t safe,” “get pictures of them still working,” and so on. After the arrest, activists applauded and said “thank you, Sumana” and “thank you, Anthony.” Praising those committing civil disobedience was a common practice. Some activists were relieved that police had not obstructed Sumana and Anthony from entering the site. They had missed the surprise entry out of the alley. Their lack of awareness in this moment connected directly to their lower position. Tommy brought them up to speed.

After this action, we walked back to the normal gathering spot across from the M&R Station to prepare for the Butterfly Coalition Action. Two things stood out. First, Tommy was talking to me about the business owners’ action through the Marxian concept of the petite bourgeoisie. In a sarcastic tone, he loudly sang out “trying to get more bourgie down here.” Tommy was a highly internally oriented activist who may have felt some criticism of his position due to the more externally oriented framing of this CD action. Thus his singing perhaps atoned for this by signaling his position to his peers. Second, I noticed Della, the internally oriented activist for whom getting arrested was like brushing her teeth. Indeed, Della had been arrested scores of times for CD, most of them as part of the peace movement, but like an increasing number of other lifelong activists, she spent most of her time these days with climate activists. Della displayed an internal orientation with her tie-dyed “no Frack” t-shirt, Birkenstocks, and bike-rack equipped Prius littered with bumper stickers critical of pipelines and nuclear power plants and supportive of peace, Bernie, and Mother Nature. Della was in good company among

her Butterfly Coalition colleagues. For instance, a BC activist wore the shirt in Figure 3-2, which evoked a naturalist, back to the earth ethos. This kind of countercultural attire provided distance from the field of power—for example, it contrasted sharply with the business attire from the morning's earlier action—and thus was a symbolic representation of a more internally oriented position.

Figure 3-2: A Butterfly Coalition Activist's Shirt at the BCA (Source: Author)



3.3.2.3 Preparation for the Butterfly Coalition Action

As an indication of their power in the space, Tommy and Juliana both brought out jail arrest forms and markers while others milled about. These forms are useful to organizers in order to have information from all those risking arrest (medical conditions, things that would make them more vulnerable like citizenship status, and so on). It's a common practice to write phone numbers with big markers on one's person for those risking

arrest.⁵⁰ Someone shared that they already had “the Lawyers Guild” number. Here was a relatively well-positioned climate activist taking initiative on their own in the way that climate activists like Lisa rhetorically celebrate. However, in a very direct way Lisa said “don’t call the National Lawyers Guild number” because the Fight team already had an NLG affiliated lawyer with whom they were working. In this 30-second interaction Lisa clearly demonstrated her position of power over someone who was quite familiar with CD, and who thus had a higher position relative to the vast majority of activists who turned up at marches, signed petitions, or donated money. “Okay so what number should I call?” asked the activist. “That number on the hand out” she said. But here, I think knowing how it might sound to effectively tell the activist to do the exact thing she already had told him to do, Lisa smiled to soothe over the symbolic violence that had just occurred.

Spirits were high with activists chatting and joking, especially given the rain and lack of work stoppage from the business owners’ action. Someone asked about the arrest process, so I shared my experience with it. Trevor pointed out that two other activists and I had stayed in jail the longest (until about 10:00 PM after a morning arrest). He said this as if arrest for CD and time in jail were badges of honor. Indeed, within the CAF, and more so the more internally oriented it is, arrests and the whole bevy of practices surrounding arrests produce Symbolic CAC. The retelling of them works like a citation, a

⁵⁰ It was usually not the case that every person makes their “one call” from police stations for actions like those at Fight because organizers typically already knew about everyone arrested before they were even booked by police much less given an opportunity for a phone call. Calls became more relevant though when there was more than a handful arrested since they would be taken to multiple jail precincts.

reminder of what was done. These include time in jail, support for those in jail, organizing CD actions, related attorney and fundraising work, and so on. Besides Symbolic CAC, such experiences also enrich Embodied CAC through experience. They also take time and resources, so some are better positioned to accomplish them, though they can also provide resources through their fundraising potential. Finally, they can also produce memorabilia, for instance, activists took photos outside of police stations and the courthouse with other CD arrestees and spread those images on social media and to friends.

Tommy provided a lens into his internal orientation when a car stopped nearby. He said it was illegal in State for any fossil fuel vehicle to rest with their engine on. “Does that include emergency vehicles” asked someone. “Yes, yes it does” Tommy said emphatically, as if to make clear that he thought it a wise move to tell emergency personnel, including police officers, what the law was. I shared a story of asking a police officer to turn off a car that was on every time I bicycled past it over the course of several weeks. Tommy said that he’d heard cops say they need the car on for the computer to run, “which is actually not true.” I said the cop told me he needed the car on for his own safety. Tommy: “Yeah, he needs the car on, he needs a taser, handcuffs, a baton, he *definitely* needs a gun, probably another gun in the backseat, and he needs his car to be running all the time.” Trevor pointed to the shotgun cops often had in the front asking if Tommy had noticed that. Tommy: “I mean it’s kind of hard not to when you’re walking to your house and a pig drives by with the shotgun sitting right up there, you know. It’s kind of like, ‘well okay, you be the boss man now.’” “Boss man” added a worker/owner

dimension to the police officer, so as to emphasize his disdain for the police, which he saw as the violent unjust authority of the state. Tommy frequently talked about how the police brutalize people of color and low-income people, and how they function as a drain on society.

Tommy's thinking about the police related to part of what he appreciated about participating in Fight: the ability to experiment. He felt that actions against the GPP were "unusually safe" due to the whiteness and middle class status of the activists. The community was "pretty wealthy, pretty white [and] Majorville cops are trained in dealing with protesters anyways, so it was a 'safe, experimenting environment [that] felt really valuable.'" There may have been some slight discomfort among activists regarding the whiteness of both the people organizing—of the organizers on the coordinating team, only one identified as a person of color, and she passed as white—and the local area. This would have been more strongly felt early in the fight when there was a NIMBY strategy among some, and later when the Standing Rock fight reached a climax. My sense was that the mostly highly positioned climate activists held Tommy's position. They saw this as an opportunity to experiment—and thus accumulate Symbolic and Embodied CAC—and sought to "use their privilege" as Lisa liked to put it. The local activists of course didn't feel any shame for fighting for their own safety.

Juliana gathered activists to prepare for the action. Michael took advantage of the silenced crowd and shouted "shirts for sale" as though he was hawking peanuts at the ballpark. This received a good laugh. It was also indicative of Michael's more external orientation. He had been involved early on through Jack's AG and acted as treasurer

within Fight, so he was interested in adding to Fight funds through shirt sales. Juliana grabbed back control by starting a song (without the megaphone) she was familiar with from previous climate activism and that people readily joined as song sheets had been passed around earlier: “The people gonna rise like the water, we’re gonna calm this crisis down. I hear the voice of my great-granddaughter, saying stop this pipeline now.” I first heard this song late at night before the “Flood Wall Street” action that was part of the People’s Climate March in September 2014. It was impressive how songs moved through activists, often with some modification to fit a purpose. For instance, instead of “stop this pipeline now,” the words we sung at the Flood Wall Street action were “shut down Wall Street now.”

After the song, Juliana spoke to the activists without amplification because it seemed less artificial and more grounded. She shared her sentiment about the righteousness of CD, an internally oriented view as opposed to the externally oriented view that CD can garner media attention. For instance, Juliana described how CD wasn’t “just about risking arrest.” Those using CD “adhere to some higher law... more important than civil laws. So I want y’all to take a minute to think about what is that higher law that compelled you to be here.” Juliana thus set a somber internally oriented tone that spoke to the Butterfly Coalition activists present. She also presented Embodied CAC as she spoke from experience: “when I’m taking action, and things don’t go totally smooth, I find it helpful to just go back to that place—that thing, that higher reason why you are here—because it can be very grounding.”

Juliana, Lisa, and Tommy were the central organizers for the BCA, like virtually all the CD actions.⁵¹ Together, they carried out what Juliana described as “housekeeping.” For example, Lisa explained two jail support numbers were important because the police would divide arrestees based on “the gender they perceive, and the police only perceive two genders.” Lisa had prefaced this with “as we talked about in training,” which was probably a criticism of the activists who had not attended a Fight training. A more internal orientation seeks to celebrate all who come to participate, especially like the Butterfly Coalition activists who conduct their own CD trainings and so were highly familiar with its theory and practice. However, Lisa had carefully established rules for action takers and Fight trainings provided those guidelines. The commentary about police identifying people based on two genders was telling about the social space at the micro-level. Due to the influx of Butterfly Coalition activists, the site had become more internally oriented than was previously the case. A progressive understanding regarding gender was always present, but gender oppression became more visible and prominent due to the influx of politicized feminist activists as well as at least two people who did not identify their gender as they would be perceived based upon presentation.⁵²

⁵¹ Tommy didn’t become involved until spring 2016, so the fall 2015 CD actions saw a broader range of Fight activists supporting and organizing CD actions and other work.

⁵² It’s unfortunate that West and Zimmerman’s (1987) “sex category” never became part of the vernacular because it draws attention to the way the gender binary does not just happen on its own, it is socially enforced.

3.3.2.4 Lisa's Deal with the Police

In an update “everyone need[ed] to pay attention to” about the “action design,” Lisa provided background about the police obstructing entry to the construction site. It was a situation that had “been spiraling” and now the police were telling Lisa they were “very concerned” someone would get hurt because the edge of the trench was apparently undercut and prone to collapse. Furthermore, the police had relayed their concern to Lisa that protesters had no discipline and were veering toward violence. Speaking more slowly than usual, Lisa then shared the deal she had struck with the police: “in order to be able to do what we’re here to do, uhuh, we have an agreement today that I would like for you all to abide by—and if you don’t feel good about this, then I would invite you to come back another day, for an action. [The police] will allow us to block construction, but we need to go to the spot on the site that they want us to go to.” Doing so would counteract the safety and violence rhetoric, shut down construction, and allow access to the site going forward.

Four important issues arose as Lisa detailed the action plan. First, due to the concentration of power within Fight, Lisa was in the role of both police liaison and main action planner. More internally oriented activists saw this as confusing her thinking when she made the deal with the police. Furthermore, it seemed clear to me that the already small number of organizers—basically Lisa, Juliana, and Tommy—was further weakened in that Tommy and Juliana were not happy with the deal struck with the police or the way

it happened.⁵³ Second, a key part of Lisa's thinking was increasing the chances activists would have access to the site going forward, most especially for the action the next day, the Many Deaths Action that was part of the CDAP Strategy. Third, those activists who upset were given two options. They could take it up with Lisa individually or come back another day, which was complicated by the fact that most of the activists present had come from Western State on this particular day for this particular action, which had been planned at least a month. Fourth, Lisa pleaded with activists to understand her decision as principled according to the rules of the internal pole of the CAF. She said her decision was intended to halt construction, which was the point of engaging in CD in the first place, so they would be doing what they came to do. I'll return to these during the action debrief when one can more clearly see the way internal and external orientations played into these matters.

There was more housekeeping work. People risking arrest "without buddies" were isolated so they could be paired up with a body. Juliana introduced Nigel, "your street medic for the day." After he discussed safety, Lisa introduced Tiffany who would join Juliana and Lisa as a police liaison.⁵⁴ Tiffany told the activists that she would be their

⁵³ For internally oriented activists, there are few, if any, times when it is acceptable to make such a deal with the police, especially in the face of the classic police trope about the violence of protesters (e.g., Boykoff 2006; Solnit 2012b). This was especially the case with Tommy who seemed like he was playing a more passive role than was typical. Furthermore, it seemed that Lisa unilaterally made the decision, and I knew both Juliana and Tommy were unhappy with the extent to which power was concentrated in Lisa. I later learned that she asked what Michael thought in the moment of the decision, but it was not clear to me he would have had any real decision-making input in that moment.

⁵⁴ Lisa had mentioned that she and Tiffany were old friends and how Tiffany's father was a cop, "so she's good at dealing with them." Lisa later told the crowd that she invited Tiffany, clearly conveying Lisa's power at the site, because she was Lisa's pastor and a trusted, dear friend. I got

pastor for the day and would take care of them. I snuck off to relieve myself because even while it wasn't clear why there was a rush, it felt that way. I counted the full crowd at 79 people. Relative to past actions with arrests, this was a very large number. Furthermore, it was almost certainly the highest number of people planning on engaging in CD.

Mary, a key player in the Butterfly Coalition spoke, which was the first time a Butterfly Coalition activist was given the stage. She rallied Butterfly Coalition activists around the plan for the day noting this was Fight's action and "what they've asked us to do is what we need to do, they're our leaders here." She called her fellow activists to cooperate with the police and listen to the Fight police liaisons.⁵⁵ If they couldn't do that, she said they needed to talk to Lisa and Juliana. As Mary was speaking, Sonny⁵⁶ came up

the impression that Lisa didn't like to ask Tiffany to come out very often, and had been "saving" her for a day she thought she might need some extra help from someone she trusted.

⁵⁵ Non-cooperation for Mary meant activists would make it more difficult for the police to take them away after arrest. They might link arms or lie down to be dragged away. Non-cooperation can anger police but also further delay construction.

⁵⁶ Sonny was born in Korea and adopted and raised in Nebraska. He graduated from Iowa State and was skilled in martial arts and the fiddle. He was one of a small number of activists who did the whole Great March for Climate Action from California to Washington, D.C. Sonny basically traveled the country supporting frontline and grassroots resistance efforts, including many indigenous, people of color, and poor led efforts. I had recently gone with him to a FERC commissioner's home in posh Wellesley as part of an effort led by Beyond Extreme Energy, to rein in what they saw as a rubberstamping federal agency that regularly used eminent domain power to approve pipelines, compressor stations, power plants, export terminals, and other fossil fuel industry facilities. Such an action had an external flair. However, what drew Sonny to such an action was his attention to local communities directly hurt and imperiled by FERC decisions that enabled fossil fuel companies. While he was internally oriented, it's not as sharp as some. For instance, an action I supported put me in a room with some action planners describing the steps for the next day's march and CD against a planned compressor station and pipeline. One of the coordinators asked for everyone who wasn't going to be arrested to leave, an exclusionary move based out of concern for secrecy but that also makes clear who has power. A couple people walked out in an awkward fashion. I wasn't sure what I was doing the next day and wanted to find out what the CD plan was in order to inform my own plan, but I now felt awkward myself. I asked the action organizer if they meant that if we weren't 100% sure on risking arrest that we

and asked Tommy and me if activists had been made aware that two videographers were recording the action. However, Juliana led activists off to the action before Sonny could address this with the larger group.⁵⁷ Our departure felt rushed too. Part of this may have been the clash between Juliana's song leading and Sister Claire's (a Buddhist) monotonic drumming and chanting. There were two separate chants going at times, and then a kind of echo, all with the Gregorian style chant in the background. One of the chants—"One, we are the people. Two, we are united. Three, we will not let you build this pipeline"—was said in barely seven seconds, a further indication of the heightened tempo. Moreover, activists were spread out as they marched on the sidewalk and some appeared disgruntled, likely because of the deal with the police, but maybe also related to the rushed feeling.

Juliana led a call and response that showed her internally oriented position. "If we don't get it"—"shut it down" was repeated until the same call and response was done with a slight pause after each word. Juliana liked that song because "anyone who's honest with themselves knows that it is *very very* late in the climate change game." Juliana was positioning herself by implicitly criticizing more externally oriented climate activists

should leave. Before they could answer, Sonny intervened, vouching for me by saying something along the lines of "what you don't know Bobby? He's definitely fine."

⁵⁷ Sonny smiled, as though saying "apparently not." I joked sarcastically that "we were only there for an hour, so there was no time for the announcement." There was plenty of time for milling around before the megaphone came out and the official organizing of necessary housekeeping work got underway. However, once they did, the preparation felt rushed. I wondered if it was out of concern that more time at this point might provide activists opportunity to talk amongst themselves in small groups or with close comrades and share their dissatisfaction with the negotiated agreement with the police. In hindsight, it may have been part of the agreement with the police that the action begin fairly quickly. In any case, Sonny joked back sardonically "it's okay, history records itself; it has a way of doing that."

engaging with politicians or businesses that, on balance, could have a much larger effect on emissions, but that are constructed in the internal pole of the CAF as dishonest and self-serving. She said today was a day for escalating resistance because there was no time to wait. It felt to me like Juliana was lying to herself about this being an escalation. I could hear it in her tone. I also knew she had misgivings about the deal with the police and the way power was centralized within Fight. Additionally, Juliana didn't want to be leading chants as she had tried to give me (and maybe others) that task.

3.3.2.5 Butterfly Coalition Action

As activists approached the construction site, they met sixteen officers, a relatively large police presence. Juliana and Tommy, and behind them Lisa and Tiffany, were speaking together on the right of the image. Lisa brought Tiffany because as someone she trusted "more than just about anybody," Tiffany would have her back. Lisa's high level of Embodied CAC helped her sense where things were going: she was concerned the action might go poorly, increase hostility between police and activists, and importantly, jeopardize the Many Deaths Action and the larger CDAP Strategy.

While activists were moving into the police taped zone, Juliana led a chant about Rose, the local hero climate activists celebrated. Trevor invited activists to take the streets saying "that's where Occupy got it right." By simultaneously celebrating while also criticizing Occupy (if taking to the streets was "right" then, implicitly, Occupy was wrong in some other way(s)), Trevor positioned himself as an internally oriented activist who celebrated direct action and also had a critique of other activists, which is important in positioning work.

At 11:28, the police blew a loud horn and construction stopped. Trevor said “Did you hear that horn? That is construction stopping!” Cheers went up. “Shut it down, shut it down.” People sang and chanted and talked and danced, but for the most part, the next thirty minutes or so was filled with a speak-out. Some of the speakers were more useful than others. James spoke as a former member of operating engineers local 94 to “all of my union brothers and—if there are any here—sisters, about why we’re here today.” James highlighted the job opportunities for renewables and how the pipeline was in the interests of a corporation, “not working people.” This speech was externally oriented in that James was relating to workers outside the CAF, but it was also internally oriented in describing corporate interests as antagonistic to working people. “I knew what it meant to be an organizer—we gotta pull people over to our side,” James told me. He was trying to do this back in high school when he organized a local chapter of the Student Peace Union and in that moment when he felt it necessary to speak to the interests of the workers. The climate movement is regularly criticized by those with sympathies to other movements, typically coming from an internal orientation, for its whiteness and maleness. James brought a class perspective that was a correction of sorts to the gender and especially race focus in internal criticisms of the climate movement. A teacher brought these issues together. She spoke about the “deadly floods in West Virginia, one of the poorest states in our nation.” In calling attention to “the justice aspect,” she shared how two young people of color “were fired because they couldn’t show up to work when we had the snow in Majorville. So it’s already the most vulnerable paying the price of climate change.”

On the other hand, some in the impromptu speak-out missed the mark. One spoke about the Solutions Project based in large part around research showing it is possible for 100% of energy to come from wind, water, and solar (Delucchi and Jacobson 2011; Jacobson et al. 2018; Jacobson and Delucchi 2009, 2011): “We can do it, you can go to the Stanford Solutions Project, and look it up.” Telling workers to go look up research about the technical ability to provide energy from renewable sources suggested this speaker thought disbelief that renewables could provide all of our energy was the problem. Climate activists with a higher position in the CAF overwhelmingly point to the lack of political will, which they connect to a) the well-resourced and effective organizing work of conservative activists and b) the limited effectiveness (thus far) of climate activists. Another activist mentioned a James Hansen study saying the Majorville Commons would be underwater and told them to “look it up.” He then used Bill McKibben to try and make a connection to conservatives: the radical thing is to keep doing what we’re doing, “so we’re not crazy radicals, we believe in science, and we love the planet, we love State, we’re conservatives.” This was a false narrative because climate activists are overwhelmingly liberal in orientation.⁵⁸ Another activist quizzed people: “how many of you are aware that last year five millions acres burned?”

⁵⁸ Climate activists with more Embodied CAC might use this as a teaching opportunity. The “orange wedge” or “spectrum of allies” (Lahey n.d.) is the idea that instead of targeting those who are passively or actively opposed to one’s position (like those creating legislation that stifles renewables (Dickinson 2016), or those whose jobs rely on building gas pipelines), it would be more useful to focus on those in a neutral or even passively supportive position (progressives, environmentalists, and so on) who may just need an invitation and some effective organizing work to “pull them in.” Activist trainers often use SNCC’s (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) Freedom Summer campaign where organizers targeted passive allies—students in the north—and recruited them with an invitation to join the Civil Rights Movement. These students

Throughout this speak out time, construction remained halted, even though no one was being placed under arrest. It was clear to me that organizers opened as much space as possible for those who wanted to speak. Trevor was doing everything he could to keep up energy. But some felt exhausted, demoralized, and unsure about the course of action. A group of climate “Raging Grannies” led a number of songs, which helped to maintain spirits.

The horn went off again at 11:51 and construction equipment fired up. Boos went up quickly followed by chants of “shut it down!” Construction had stopped for less than 30 minutes. I saw Juliana and Tommy talking to activists who, it seemed, were thinking about crossing the police line in violation of the rules. I asked Lisa how she was going to deal with the frustration among activists who had come out to support Fight but felt they were being held back from engaging in CD while construction was there to be stopped. Lisa was blunt: “I’m not fucking with my plan for tomorrow.” I asked what the Butterfly Coalition activists were to do, thinking about the collective energy that went into so many people coming from a distance in an organized and concentrated way like they had done. Lisa suggested they’d be able to come back and get arrested another time “like next week or whenever.”

Tension increased as Fight organizers said activists’ work was done for now and that construction would continue. This was despite thirty or so activists experienced in

became radicalized active allies when they witnessed and in many cases experienced violence and abuse. Many of those who had connections to these students—their parents, classmates, a whole social universe of untapped support that was mostly in the neutral category—shifted toward allies as a result (McAdam 1986, 1990).

CD and eager to cross the police line. What would have happened if activists crossed the police line *en masse* is unclear. I suspect construction would have stopped but the police presence would be stronger for the next action. However, this would have constituted “fucking with” the Many Deaths Action according to Lisa’s thinking. Two activists questioned Lisa. John quietly asked if activists could come back later in the day. They could but Lisa added it would be difficult to shut down construction.

Trevor more publicly challenged Lisa, at least he started to. Over the megaphone, he encouraged everyone to “move up to the police tape.” An alarmed Lisa asked “what is he doing? He’s just being dramatic right?” And then she asked the question directly to Trevor and repeated it when he didn’t answer. He said “yeah,” he was being dramatic, but it was unclear whether he wanted activists to cross the police line, and I suspected he did just like Lisa thought. Such an action would have violated Lisa’s action rules, and it would have been a public assault on her power from a lower positioned climate activist essentially under her supervision. I later learned that Trevor had intended to encourage activists to cross the police line. Away from Lisa and with a smile on my face to signal that he could be honest, I told Trevor my suspicion. He quickly replied in a serious tone: “I thought I was too. I was ready to.” I probed: “until you heard Lisa saying ‘what are you doing?’” Trevor responded frustratingly: “Yeah. I mean, everyone was ready to go shut it down.” “I know” I said encouragingly, and suggested Lisa was thinking about the MDA, which could be an important action. Trevor agreed.

At this time, people started circling up for an action debrief. Typically, such debriefs took place neither immediately following an action nor at the site of the action,

but activists were upset and something needed to be done. Though one could imagine climate activists being thrilled to have halted construction without arrests, CD arrests provide Symbolic CAC that these climate activists would not receive from merely showing up. Furthermore, the deal led activists to believe they would be arrested, plus they felt shortchanged in how long they were able to stop construction.

Lisa led the debrief due to her powerful role in general, prominent position as the decision-maker for this action, as well as her interest in defending her choice. She thought the deal strategic and a good use of activist time and energy. Due to the wall of police, stopping construction was not “physically possible without doing things that all of you today were not prepared to do (tactically [or] physically) because we hadn’t trained for it, right.” Furthermore, crossing the police line may not have even stopped construction. Lisa came to her central point: activists were there to stop construction, not “to just vent our frustrations” and receive “catharsis.” Lisa was going into a critique of flashy CD actions that only served a mediagenic purpose, as opposed to the combined mediagenic and principled CDAP Strategy she supported. In an interview, Lisa said that CD in isolation was “like radical selfishness without those things [policy work or community organizing, for instance]. It’s just screaming into the wind and catharsis for the sake of the person doing it. It’s an ego move.” “Move” fits the model of my analysis: climate activists fight the fossil fuel industry, but at the same time they are playing a game of sorts by battling for status in the CAF and making moves that bolster their position. Lisa’s move in the debrief worked like her statement in the interview with me (the interview, like everything for the deeply embedded climate activist, is itself a move).

That is, she criticized the strongly internally oriented climate activist who does something radical or high-risk but not in a strategic way. The corollary of the internally oriented activist's ego move for externally orientated climate activists is "participating in the incrementalist dialogue." "There's no integrity" in such work, like the Environmental Defense Fund partnering with fossil fuel corporations or mega-polluters to preserve land or fisheries or those fighting to reduce—not stop—the harms of fracking, which can add to the challenges of the more challenging task.

Lisa admitted the deal was "not the best thing in the world" especially given that Butterfly Coalition activists had come from a distance. Someone asked if there was an action tomorrow in which they could participate. Lisa responded affirmatively and noted the MDA was "one of the reasons that we felt like it was necessary—first of all not just for tomorrow but in an ongoing way" to make the deal with the police. Tacking on "in an ongoing way" worked to reduce the significance of the MDA when it was actually central to her thinking. However, someone later said they didn't understand why they couldn't "cross the line today" and a Butterfly Coalition activist cut to the heart of it: "Because there's a big action planned tomorrow."⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Lisa answered another activist's question about why they couldn't have crossed the police line while construction was stopped or immediately after it started again. Lisa deflected and talked about the total amount of time construction was stopped. 45 minutes she thought. This was an overestimate, though due to the excitement and the biochemical response within activists during an action, the 25 minute duration construction actually halted could easily have felt like double that (it's similar to the feeling of time extension during an accident, and it probably relates to memory). This was more than Lisa thought possible if activists had tried to physically enter the site, though she was not calculating the possibility of making this deal with the police and then crossing the line after construction restarted. Lisa later said she and others were "working hard to shut down as much construction every given day that we can, on that day."

There was some resistance in the informal debrief. Beginning with a drawn out “sooo,” a Butterfly Coalition activist asked how stopping construction for half an hour, even if done every day, “is supposed to stop it?” Lisa admitted it was a difficult task and invited the activist to bring more people. The activist responded quickly: “but they get here for what, to shut it down for a half hour, what’s that going to do?” If 2,000 people came, then more would be possible, said Lisa, but the other activist came back swiftly saying that 2,000 people would not show up and that Lisa knew that. This escalated. Lisa pointed to the numbers at Seabrook during the anti-nuclear movement. But this “took a *long time*” came the retort.⁶⁰ Another activist said the short duration of work stoppage given the large activist presence meant the pipeline would be finished in just a few months. Lisa: “That’s why I want you to go home and bring back more people.” These calls to organize others against the GPP fell on deaf ears because activists were frustrated and couldn’t see bringing others for this kind of action. Invoking Seabrook was ineffective because they understood the deep ground game involved in that work (at least one had participated). Clearly, some were upset about the choices made today. A couple activists stepped into diffuse the situation and the debrief eventually ended with some cheering and back-patting.

My overall sense was that the vast majority of people respected Lisa’s choice even if they disagreed with it. Demonstrating her Embodied CAC, Lisa was cool and collected throughout the debrief. For instance, an activist asked a question and started by

⁶⁰ Indeed, though the Clamshell Alliance is probably most remembered for their 1977 occupation of Seabrook when over 1,400 activists were arrested, early work that contributed to this effort began in 1974 (Epstein 1991; Graeber 2011).

calling out “Juliana.” Without hesitation but with a smile, Lisa corrected him.⁶¹ Furthermore, Lisa was not dishonest, though she was careful in what she emphasized. For example, she downplayed the importance of the Many Deaths Action the following day with respect to the decision she had made. She also played up the significance of lack of training and activists’ ability to get past the police line. After all, with just two people, one was able to get into the construction site earlier in the morning.⁶² Finally, she played up the seriousness of the police’s safety concerns and their sincerity.⁶³

Though this small debrief was revealing, the formal debrief with Fight organizers to which I turn next provided a space where activists could be more forthcoming. This was because Butterfly Coalition activists came to support Fight, which worked against any serious challenge to the strategic utility of the police deal. Furthermore, the formal

⁶¹ It was kind of funny because Mike was the one who did this. He was a long-time activist with MCAN and was no doubt familiar with Lisa. Perhaps he was angry with her and subconsciously erased her. One could also chalk it up to the patriarchy. (The preponderance of evidence suggests that girls and women are better at facial recognition and also experience an own-gender effect wherein they recognize female faces better than male faces, and this does not seem to be the case for boys and men (Herlitz and Lovén 2013; Jalbert and Getting 1992; Lovén, Herlitz, and Rehnman 2011; Wright and Sladden 2003); this is the corollary to the “other-race effect” or “own race bias” or “cross-race effect” where whites are more likely to confuse folks of color (Meissner and Brigham 2001)). But whatever the case Lisa handled it well. It was a clear indication of the balance of power in that there wasn’t the slightest hesitation in Lisa’s quick correction.

⁶² There were fewer police present earlier in the morning and activists had an element of surprise. However, on the surprise factor, it seemed abundantly clear that the police thought they had an honest negotiator in Lisa, and one with full control of her people. So if they had done something she said they wouldn’t do, it could have caught the police off-guard. Furthermore, some Butterfly Coalition activists had specialized training and they were prepared to operate independently in their own affinity groups.

⁶³ Construction sites are dangerous places, and this is especially true in the fossil fuel industry. For example, the on-the-job fatality rate for those building pipelines is 4.3 times the national average; this seems to be higher when pipeline companies attempt to build pipelines faster, which was the case with the GPP (Juhasz 2018). However, one could easily argue that an appropriate response to safety concerns would be for police to immediately halt construction whenever activists come close to the site. After all, this was construction on publicly owned roads.

debrief would take place away from the police and someone activists were concerned was a potential spy.

3.3.3 Debrief of the Butterfly Coalition Action

Before we gathered at Judy's for the formal debrief, I had the opportunity to talk with Trevor, Sonny, and Lisa to gather their real-time understanding about what had happened. None of these three activists were happy. Both Trevor and Sonny had wanted to cross the police line. This reflected their relatively internal orientation. Neither Trevor nor Sonny had told Lisa they disagreed with her deal with the police that held back activists earlier. This is what Lisa was upset about—she surmised that others disagreed with her thinking earlier, but was bothered that none of them had communicated with her, most especially Juliana and Tommy. After I cover these conversations, I move to a brief discussion with Carmelina in order to show the mindset of someone with a strong internal orientation. The section closes with a detailed analysis of the formal debrief.

3.3.3.1 Impromptu Conversations Before the Formal Debrief

After the BCA, Trevor and I noticed the sign shown in Figure 3-3 below that read “CAUTION RADIATION AREA, UNAUTHORIZED PERSONNEL KEEP OUT.” It turned out that industrial radiography is used to test the structural integrity of pipelines, especially at welded joints. Sonny had wandered over to Trevor and me after some goodbyes (I was dumbfounded by the sheer number of people Sonny knew in locations spread across the country, including Majorville). Radiation warnings, the construction of

gas pipelines, and dozens of climate activists willing to be arrested seemed like a golden opportunity for action. Additionally, most of the police had cleared out by this point. “We should just get everyone to walk across the tape,” said Sonny. “You think they’ll toot the horn again” asked Trevor. I joked that we should get one of those horns and blow it. It was telling that none of us seriously considered trying to go back, recruit others, and take action. We were frustrated, though that was no excuse for missing an opportunity. Trevor’s frustration was palpable. Later, he told me he felt like he and the other activists were “placeholders” for the more important MDA participants. He had to miss the debrief to prepare to teach the next day, but his sentiment would come out strongly through others who felt similarly.

Figure 3-3: Radiation Caution Sign (Source: Author)



Sonny felt “not good,” and then he cleared up his euphemism adding “really shitty actually.” He shared the internally oriented position that growing the movement meant

activists should organize in a decentralized way much like the Butterfly Coalition affinity groups had. This provided “freedom to be creative and explore” unlike the activists who “didn’t have a lot of freedom today.” “Basically no freedom,” I added, coming from my own internal orientation. Sonny nodded affirmatively and called attention to the MDA—“this glamorous thing that we’re planning tomorrow and we don’t want to fuck that up.” He thought the decision was “a bit of a betrayal of concept [in] talking about how we need to build the movement but we don’t build the movement right here, not with this top down, stay back thing. People are uninspired and drop out quickly that way.”

On the way to the debrief, I checked in with Lisa sharing my sense that there was frustration. Lisa said she was frustrated with her fellow organizers. She talked about the range of experience among activists and said she was “not organizing an action where old people do some shit that old people can’t do and which nobody’s prepared for.” When she said she was not organizing an action for which people were ill-prepared, she’s implicitly taking ownership of the action. This matched reality. As many told me and as I observed, virtually none of the CD, including the Butterfly Coalition Action, happened without Lisa playing the principal role. As we continued walking, I turned and asked Lisa encouragingly how she was doing. “Well I’m tired...” She choked up a little and went silent so I wrapped my arm around her lovingly. “Yeah, I’m frustrated” she said. Lisa felt that interpersonal frustrations were impairing “situational thinking” and taking Fight “away from what’s strategic” and that she shared in culpability. To the extent that organizers disagreed with her decision-making, they could have articulated it before it was too late. Furthermore, they could have done so in an evidence-based way, for

instance, by pointing to how Lisa's dual role as the main action decision-maker and effectively sole police liaison compromised her. Thus, if what happened in the day was a mistake or at least not strategically wise, then some blame was shared by all of the organizers.

Lisa's insistence that her decision earlier was strategic aligns with the field analysis. From her orientation and position within the CAF, it was a deliberate and calculated move. A better relationship with the police would logically seem to improve the chances for success at the MDA. She was concerned about the MDA because she was pursuing the CDAP Strategy that attempted to blend the internal and external distinction on CD. She appreciated mediagenic actions because they draw attention. More attention might help in areas like movement recruitment, public opinion, or even decision-makers' positions. There was, after all, good reason to suspect that the MDA—regardless of what happened with the police—would be important because a high profile climate activist (Ben) and a high status actor outside the CAF (Kirsten, a well-known politician's daughter) were both involved and planning on engaging in CD. Finding a way to help them succeed would undoubtedly draw more attention than the Butterfly Coalition activists. When Lisa offered that her decision was strategic in that it stopped construction for more time than would have otherwise been possible, she sought to tap into the internally oriented focus on principled CD that directly targeted the problem.

What seemed strategic to Lisa was also what would buoy her position. Her status in the CAF, most especially her role implementing the CDAP Strategy, meant that her stature would rise to the degree that actions like the MDA and their subsequent court

cases were successful. Meanwhile, Butterfly Coalition activists had their own interested position in stopping construction in ways they felt appropriate. Notably, this did not include making a deal with police such that it didn't matter who was their or their numbers. Thus they received less Symbolic CAC than they could have otherwise. Similarly, Lisa's Social CAC meant she was much closer to those participating in the MDA than to those participating in the Butterfly Coalition action. For instance, the MDA would have a strong faith component. This was right in Lisa's more external but still internally oriented take on CD because the faith angle helped combine morally principled action with potential newsworthiness. For their part, more internally oriented activists antagonistic to Lisa's deal were closer. Juliana, for instance, had been collaborating with Butterfly Coalition activists in preparation for a tree sit to defend the forest threatened by another pipeline project.

We made it to Judy's where we would have the formal debrief in a comfortable shaded location outside. Judy became involved through Scott who she taught yoga and had been involved since the early days of SGPP. She launched the petition and was helpful in lots of ways, though I always felt she couldn't devote the time she wanted to because of a new job that was taking a lot of her time and a family issue that needed her attention. This weakened the organizational skills she could have brought to the fight more forcefully and that would have been helpful. Both Judy and John had really opened up their homes to climate activists, especially during Escalation Summer. For instance, Tommy and Juliana slept at Judy's from time to time and many action details were hammered out at John's.

Before we began, I chatted with Carmelina, a strongly internally oriented climate activist. She grew up in the area and was coming from Oregon to visit her mom. She was a friend of Ray's who had put her in touch with Lisa. Carmelina told me about her work with Rising Tide, an inwardly oriented climate activist group formed largely out of Earth First! activists and known for direct action and their anti-capitalist position (for instance, see how they frame a criticism of the efforts against the Keystone XL (Klagsbrun et al. 2013)). Speaking quickly, she excitedly shared "this feeling of like life behind" a recent mass action she hadn't sensed since "the Occupy camps." Activists were "creating community" out of unacquainted people. Though there were some existing affinity groups that arrived together, they tried to form affinity groups "and it fuckin' worked," "it was like 'holy shit'" because activists took "ownership." New affinity groups gelled: they were excited to take early morning "security shifts," "one made this fuckin' bag with their name on it, and one of them like burned wooden coasters and shit with their emblem on it."⁶⁴ Organizers "opened space for autonomy" so that each group helped "determine what happened." Pointing back to one's knowledge and experience in previous CAF work, not for self-praise per se but to make a point, worked to provide Symbolic CAC while the whole story was an indication of Carmelina's Embodied CAC.

⁶⁴ Maralayna mentioned an affinity group that had been together since the World Trade Organization in Seattle. I gave that a "wow" saying their experience must have been helpful. "Yeah, yeah, totally" said Maralayna. The Battle in Seattle remains a hallmark of successful organizing where more internally and more externally oriented activists successfully shut down the WTO and effectively launch the Global Justice Movement (J. Smith 2001; Solnit and Solnit 2009).

3.3.3.2 Formal Debrief of the BCA

Power dynamics were apparent from the moment the formal debrief began. Lisa asked who wanted to facilitate—standard practice in that she often controlled the social space. She was also regularly juggling lots of balls, especially now with the upcoming MDA, so she wanted to get moving. Michael offered and suggested a go-around check-in.⁶⁵ He also offered that we should hold ourselves to an hour. Those gathered nodded, with Sonny adding “or less,” which was well-received. Suggesting the meeting could be wrapped up in less time could have been understood as belittling the importance of the debrief—but no one would think that of Sonny because of his status as a highly respected activist, especially within the internally pole of the CAF. Additionally, Michael set the agenda: debriefing the Butterfly Coalition action and possibly some forward thinking about the MDA the next day. Lisa said it was important to process the BCA “instead of rushing to tomorrow.” Michael had just expressed the same sentiment, but Lisa’s move demonstrated her power through the habituated way she made her presence felt in these spaces. Indeed, Michael said the debrief was “definitely the priority,” as if to say of course Lisa was right, even though he had just shared the same thing.

Michael suggested introductions before the check-in since everyone in the meeting didn’t know each other. This was met by a chorus of “and gender pronouns” led

⁶⁵ Though Michael was more externally oriented relative to the average of this group, facilitation was something he liked to do for three reasons. First, it was somewhat related to his history in consulting work (organizational management), so he was familiar with it. Second, Michael had a lot of experience in small groups, including facilitating them, due to his virtual full-time efforts in climate work (through multiple venues, but he spent a great deal of time pushing Majorville to divest its fossil fuel holdings). Third, Michael’s desire to be a peacekeeper may have played into his offer to be facilitator. He probably had a sense that some people were unhappy.

by Kelsey, Sonny, and Tommy. All three were strongly oriented toward the internal pole where gender oppression was more important than the external pole, plus Kelsey was not cisgendered. Michael agreed and said he'd start, which worked in a way to show he understood the importance of gender pronouns. He also spelled provided a little flourish when he said his name, which suggested he was reclaiming any slight done to his position within this social space. However, Lisa then said which direction around the circle we should go, which led to a kind of exaggerated "alright" by Michael. After the go-around Michael gave a hearty "welcome," again reclaiming some of his authority, as facilitator, but more importantly as someone with social standing in the group.

Michael turned to Lisa—"madam" he said—which made power more explicit than was typical. Discomforted by this, Lisa said she wanted to hear from others. It was characteristic of a well-positioned climate activist, especially one aware that some people were upset with her, to step back from center stage. Tommy asked about process, if we were "just throwing stuff out?" This was normal for his position: a strongly internally oriented activist with a fairly high position, especially relative to his age (24). Such individuals keenly sensed rules structured by the internal pole of the CAF, so as a young, white, straight guy raised middle class, he didn't want to take up too much social space, especially early on. Tommy began with an unsubstantial preface—"people can agree or disagree, I mean that's what this [the debrief] is for"—that showed he knew how debriefs work. Confidently, Tommy said the cops "played" Fight "like a fiddle—they kicked our asses. That's what I saw. They fucking won. They beat us down." The climate activists versus cops framing was comfortable internally oriented terrain, and Tommy had done

some past activism on non-climate specific issues that included police brutality. He concluded with a genuflection toward the centrality of principled CD when he said he understood the point wasn't about people getting arrested, but about stopping construction.

Juliana, positioned closely to Tommy, eagerly shared a similar, if more restrained, sentiment. She wanted “recognition that if we’re fighting the fossil fuel industry—and this is more like a long-term thing—then like we’re not fighting the cops, but we’re not making deals with them either...how do we make deals with people that are like armed to protect the industry we are trying to take out. I don’t see how that can be effective.” Activists strike deals with police regularly. For instance, virtually any march of scale will engage police in some capacity as part of the planning. Whether or not such deals could be effective is better explained by orientation. Juliana’s inward orientation led to her forceful articulation that a deal with the cops was like a deal with the devil and could not possibly be effective.

Michael asked for other thoughts on police-activist relationships. After a couple seconds, he provided a “countering argument” that had clearly been on his mind. It was a full two-and-a-half minute soliloquy, lengthy relative to the combined 57 seconds from Tommy and Juliana. The highlight of Michael’s day was speaking with a police officer “absolutely appalled by Trump” and who sympathized with climate activists. Michael made clear that he understood the deal was fundamentally about the MDA: “it was my understanding pretty much from the start that the deal that was made was really with an eye towards tomorrow.” Michael was oriented similarly to Lisa, more externally than

Juliana and Tommy. The end justified the means in that it was okay to reduce Butterfly Coalition activists' autonomy and make a deal with the police in the service of the CDAP Strategy and the MDA's role therein.⁶⁶

When Michael closed, Tommy had his hand up to speak. He disagreed with the police deal, though he first added an unnecessary caveat about not violating the group's rules. Everyone in the group already knew it, but it helped open space for his strong position. Tommy's "organizing tradition" said "the police go on home foreclosures no matter what they think...The police aren't here to protect us or to help us. The police are here to protect property; they're here to protect class. They're here to protect everything that we do not want here." And to accentuate his point: "the arm of the state that responds to dissent is the police. And they respond violently almost everywhere across this country and the world and now we are part of that equation too." This received an "mmmhm" from Sonny and an approving nod from Juliana. Coming back from a more external position, Michael said the police were human beings too, but soon more internally oriented activists piled on top of him. For instance, Kelsey said that regardless who police were "in normal life, when they put on their uniform, they're job, they're part of a racist police force. It's not that as individuals they're bad but when they're operating in that system, they're upholding property and profit." Rose and Judy shared Michael's

⁶⁶ While Michael was getting going, a phone call drew Juliana's and Tommy's attention. Sumana and Anthony were not going to receive a summons as was typical and instead would be arraigned at court in front of a judge. Thus jail support needed an attorney present on short notice. As the debrief continued, Fight's "in-house lawyers" were unresponsive leading one to wonder why they hadn't just called the State National Lawyers Guild number. Calling that number may have been beneath these activists. Alternatively, calling the main number may have taken more time from more people without a lawyer in court any sooner. Whatever the case, responsibilities like jail support indicate status even as they provide experience and develop Embodied CAC.

sentiment, and to a slightly lesser extent, John. Carrie was not necessarily antagonistic toward the police, but she was definitely concerned with the lack of autonomy the deal had provided. Eventually, Michael lightened the mood when he offered that he wasn't advocating cuddling with police officers.

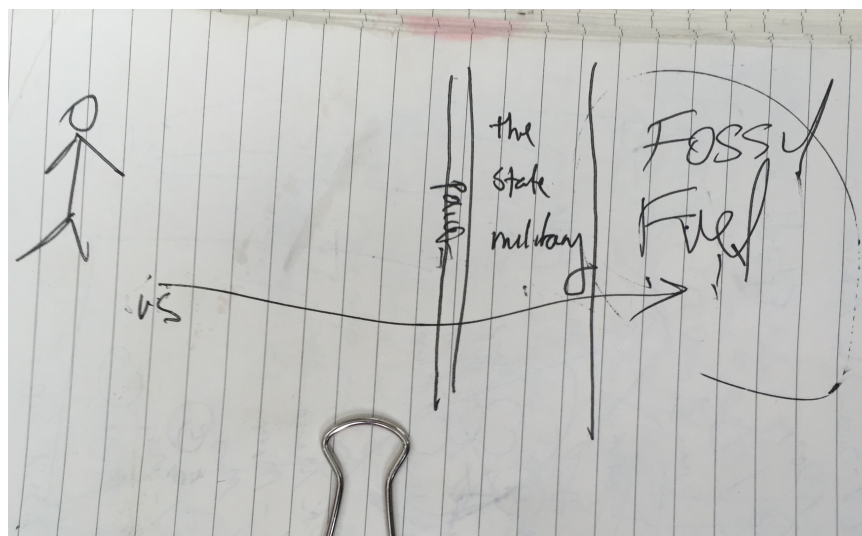
Lisa had been inside trying to speak with a lawyer, but when she came out, activists genuflected and turned their attention toward her.⁶⁷ Despite being on the phone, Lisa organized the conversation into two related threads. This was evidence of her Embodied CAC. It also helped defend her decision. On the one hand, she recognized the role of the police and the range of activist sentiment around them. On the other hand, there were “strategic decisions in the moment.” These two were naturally but dangerously tied together. For instance, she felt “*really pissed*” at the police, but was trying to separate those feelings from action decisions. Lisa tried to show that a strong internally oriented view of the police where deal-making was blasphemous missed out on the deal's effectiveness in stopping construction. After all, the police had held up to their end of the deal. Tommy said yes, that was correct but then the police let construction resume while activists did nothing. She closed by saying that she would like the group to be better at communicating around strategic efficacy despite personal feelings regarding the police.

⁶⁷ Lisa's Social CAC meant that she had the strongest relationships with NLG lawyers. When Juliana couldn't get in touch with a lawyer, Lisa took over the process. She said she left a message for a lawyer, which prompted Juliana to ask if she had called the main lawyer. “No, because he said he was unavailable today.” She hadn't because he was unavailable, but Lisa was the only one who knew that, indicative of her knowledge and power within the group.

“Tommy, are you good,” asked Michael. Juliana had had her hand up so Tommy said “let Juliana go first.” It wasn’t clear to me if Michael had seen Juliana. However, it was clear that Tommy’s move bolstered his internally oriented position by stepping back from the conversation to play a facilitative role. He showed awareness of the social space, its rules, and the internal emphasis on equanimity: someone who had spoken more recently and frequently than another should defer. This was even more the case when there were privilege differentials: man (Tommy)/woman (Juliana), white (Tommy)/PoC (Juliana—though she easily passed as white, Juliana identified as a person of color with Puerto Rican ancestry when asked). This is not to say Michael was in the wrong—there were valid facilitation-based reasons for Tommy having another go—but the key thing was that Tommy’s move positioned himself.

Juliana said she “totally respect[ed]” the deal with the police “as like a one-day kind of thing because tomorrow’s action.” However, making decisions based on hoped-for plans was misguided because actions had not been going to plan anyways. For a moment she removed the shroud of shared decision-making by saying “you wanted to” directly to Lisa before moving back to what was supposed to be the case “the way *we* did it.” Juliana said she could not imagine how deals with the police who were on the side of the fossil fuel industry could be a winning strategy. She mentioned something she had drawn. Tommy whipped out his notebook and pen. As shown in Figure 3-4 below, Juliana sketched out how the state, military, and police were in between climate activists and their target, the fossil fuel industry. Thus it was “obvious” that collaborating with the police would be ineffective. Juliana said she wanted to know if Lisa saw it differently.

Figure 3-4: Juliana's Drawing (Source: Author)



There was now an open rebellion against Lisa, and the CDAP strategy she represented.⁶⁸ More internally oriented activists were challenging the decision itself and the logic behind it. Furthermore, Lisa had taken over defending her decision from Michael, which brought meant underlying the conversation was criticism of how the decision was unilaterally made. Lisa could not justify the decision based on the MDA because she was trying to appeal to internally oriented activists and had to play according to their rules where high-profile actors should not be given priority, especially not relative to horizontally organized, deeply engaged climate activists who had come to support Fight. Thus, Lisa returned to the total time construction had stopped and emphasized how the decision “was about today” as opposed to longer-term strategy,

⁶⁸ The debrief had become a political situation in Howard Becker's (1967) sense where the hierarchy of credibility was open.

which was precisely what it was about. The conversation was now squarely between Juliana and Lisa as the former had interjected to re-emphasize her respect for the decision. In a bold move, Lisa said she didn't believe Juliana, though she added that her disbelief was her own problem. "I'm not like lying," said Juliana, what I said was "true." To admit that she didn't respect Lisa's decision—though that was precisely the case—would have been to admit that she neither participated fully in the action nor spoke her mind in a way that could have helped the group make a better decision. Admitting that now would mean she was lying repeatedly. Earlier, at least in the minds of those of us who understood what was really happening, Juliana's "total respect" for the decision had been working more as a genuflection to Lisa's power and a reluctance to openly disagree in the real time of the action. Now, Juliana had doubled down on the literal meaning of it. In an uncomfortable spot, she stood up announcing she needed water.

John claimed his own space in the CAF. Drawing on his past activism, though noting that was a long time ago, he said the way the police had been treating climate activists was "astounding." For instance, earlier in the campaign when Enterprise workers tried to stop activists from entering the construction site, the police intervened. Lisa gave John a "right" when he said "that was weird, but that was what we got used to." His comments provided Symbolic CAC because he usefully reflected on past activism. John added that Fight organizers had not had a conversation since the police had started obstructing activists, but that this would be important. However, Tommy shared that the group had such a conversation and reached consensus they should attempt to reach the

construction site even if the police restricted access.⁶⁹ He was firm on this, though Lisa looked a little surprised.⁷⁰ This was easily explained by their difference in orientation. For very internally oriented Tommy, it would take little to achieve the consensus he felt. Instead, he would feel “empowered”—in contrast to the way Butterfly Coalition activists had been stripped of their autonomy in Tommy’s mind—by some affirmation that the group wanted to get those committing CD beyond the police line. Lisa would have endorsed that aim, but getting beyond the police line meant something different for her. Due to her more external position, breaking through a police line was a serious escalation and would have required explicit endorsement, and she likely would have only agreed if there was specific training for such action. Furthermore, Lisa would have been especially reluctant to endorse such an escalation the day before the MDA.

Tommy continued speaking for what would amount to nearly three minutes. However, he brought in the voice of someone who couldn’t be there (the person was Trevor⁷¹). Uplifting someone less than silent because they weren’t present guarded Tommy against the internally oriented fixation on shared air time. Furthermore, this worked to strengthen the charges he and other more internally oriented activists were

⁶⁹ Like John, I was not aware of this conversation, though I would have missed it because according to what Tommy said, it would have been during the debrief of an action where I had been arrested.

⁷⁰ I think Tommy saw Lisa’s questioning look and so softened his claim, but stuck to it: “at least to some extent” there had been “discussion on these tactics,” but it was enough that he “felt empowered to make those on the fly decisions to try to get people onto the worksite.”

⁷¹ I was there when Trevor was sharing disappointment, so I knew this was the voice. Tommy may have kept it anonymous because he would receive less credit for bringing in the voice of another white guy. Perhaps he intended to protect Trevor from Lisa’s criticism, though I don’t think Trevor asked for that, and it’s not clear Lisa would have been upset, much less done anything.

making of Lisa. Tommy said this person felt “sad for the people who weren’t able to take the kind of principled action they wanted to take.” Moreover, they were “worried that one group of action-takers [MDA participants]” were being “prioritized.” Transitioning back into his own perspective, Tommy brought up something Juliana had said earlier: there was “*no way*” the MDA would go to plan. Tommy also thought activists “coulda shut it down for a lot longer.” Lisa cut in to ask how that could have happened, so Tommy eased back saying “maybe not a *lot* longer.” Returning to his core criticism, Tommy was disgusted that the deal disempowered activists “who wanted to risk arrest, *wanted* to do more.” “Talking people *down* from crossing that line all afternoon” troubled him—Juliana jumped in with “yah” and kind of huffed—“because these people came to shut that shit down.” Tommy said the last few words in a higher pitched voice so as to say, “obviously, they should have been allowed to shut it down.” Tommy concluded by emphasizing how difficult the BCA must have been for participants.

Later, the debrief turned directly toward decision-making. Tommy and Juliana said the plan before Lisa changed it included entering the M&R site and spreading out activists across multiple work-site entry points.⁷² Juliana said the deal was meant to build trust between Lisa and the police, to demonstrate she had control of activists. Lisa seized on Juliana’s last line in order to save face: “And I don’t, I don’t want to have control of the situation.” Juliana was calling attention to the dangers of the police liaison making

⁷² The gate was wide open for most of the time during the action with only one police officer present. John asked “don’t you think the cops would have gone down there?” This lead Tommy to symbolically lower him with a strong “well, no, they [the cops] definitely would have, but not before we got in and shut it down.” Sophia also noted that the gate remained open when activists marched back after construction began again.

action decisions and implicitly, the concentrated power in Lisa. Lisa ignored this criticism for the moment and described how she thought the deal with the police rendered their concerns over safety and lack of activist restraint moot. But Lisa having control meant shared decision-making was non-existent. She said that she wasn't "supposed to have any control." Here Juliana jumped in: "But you do, so we should just recognize that."

Internally oriented activists position themselves against hierarchy and concentrated power (the way power is organized in the field of power, which internally oriented activists diametrically oppose). The more internally oriented one is, the stronger their preference for decentralized authority tends to be. Since this social space was oriented strongly toward the internal pole, Lisa defended herself on internally oriented grounds. She drew attention to shared power by describing a recent mishap where she and Juliana were both highly involved in decision-making. She elaborated how the miscommunication had led her to say "what the fuck is going on" within earshot of the police. Lisa saw this as the moment the police decided "there was no discipline" because a police line blocked entry into the construction site at the following action. Lisa felt that if activists were ever to return to being able to walk directly onto the site without obstruction, they needed to give the police "the sense that they could have a little bit of what they felt they wanted." Thus Lisa said the deal aimed to potentially ease activist entry to the worksite—not MDA activists specifically, but any climate activist. She felt the only alternative would be to "have our people drop everything and prepare," which

she didn't think they were ready to do, and which would have taken the campaign into a more exclusive, secretive style of CD.

Lisa expressed the externally oriented move regarding CD that was part of the CDAP Strategy when she said the choice to try and assuage the cops' stated concerns was to help open up space for the kind of public, anyone-can-do-it style CD she said she preferred. The move came out of Lisa's position and her preference for the CDAP Strategy while it also worked to valorize it, which in turn raised Lisa's stature. The more externally oriented CD strategy was to amass as many people as possible willing to be arrested. Therefore, externally oriented climate activists try to take people already involved in the movement—to go directly from apathy on climate change directly to CD would seem challenging—and bring them to a willingness to engage and support CD. Lowering the commitment bar such that activists did not face a wall of police was thought to make CD more appealing to more people. The more internally oriented CD strategy was to move people as far as possible in their personal commitment and willingness to take action. So internally oriented activists were interested in moving people already very involved in the CAF to an even deeper level. Lowering the bar would be less helpful in this case, though hardly irrelevant.

The climate activists in the BCA were already deeply committed, so helping them take action was less important for the more externally oriented activists than creating space for a lower hurdle CD (where activists were not required to get past a police line)⁷³

⁷³ For instance, in a brief discussion about how to get past the police, John suggested they should just keep actions secret. Lisa said then the issue became activists not hearing about opportunities

or CD like the MDA that was designed to reach beyond the CAF, potentially pulling hundreds or thousands from barely any commitment to some level of involvement. Thus, given the tradeoff between more internally oriented Butterfly Coalition activists “earning” one more arrest—another Symbolic CAC notch on their belt⁷⁴—and higher profile MDA participants drawing mass media attention, Lisa chose the latter. She would rather lower the bar for CD and increase its mass appeal as part of the larger CDAP strategy. Furthermore, Butterfly Coalition activists may have jeopardized the polite framing—John one time called it “civil, civil disobedience”—Lisa and Fight had worked hard to cultivate and that fit well for the CDAP Strategy. Similarly oriented Michael again explicitly endorsed Lisa’s “really smart” decision.⁷⁵

Tommy made another intervention on the facilitation front, this time to “empower” those present who hadn’t spoken to share (but “no pressure” Michael added, as if to try again to reclaim facilitation authority). Like some of Tommy’s other moves—and notwithstanding the utility of it—this bolstered his own internally oriented position as the internal pole valorizes the sharing of social space. Furthermore, Tommy knew

to fight the pipeline. This could have been addressed with a stronger mid-level of activists involved with Fight who could have directly communicated with activists at the lowest level through phone trees or something similar. There was some agreement that public mass actions and private smaller actions were not mutually exclusive.

⁷⁴ Butterfly Coalition activists supported fellow climate activists, publicly demonstrated together, and halted construction. They would earn Symbolic CAC for this, but it would have been more remunerative near the internal pole if they had used affinity groups to get past the police line. Butterfly Coalition activists draw their group name out of their affinity for Sugar Maples, which are endangered by climate change and already produce less sap on average in its southern growing range, including State (Oswald et al. 2018; Stinson 2018).

⁷⁵ There had been some silence, and instead of playing a more facilitative role, Michael engaged as a participant in the debrief. While acceptable in almost all settings, the facilitator frequently departing that role is more problematic near the internal pole, in part because then they might use their facilitation role for self-promotion.

several quiet individuals—Sonny, Kelsey, Carmelina—would support his position, in turn increasing his status.

Sonny contributed critical observations in a clear yet compassionate way that kept eliciting affirmations from Lisa who was more externally oriented than him. It was skillfully accomplished reflecting Sonny's status in the CAF and how his orientation aligned with the internal lean of this social space. He commanded respect because activists knew him and his work—extensive, principled, and done with marginalized and grassroots groups. Sonny demonstrated his Social CAC by noting he talked with a range of people, which also increased his validity. Though it wasn't "a judgment at all," Sonny thought the "compliance measure with cops" "seemed like a disempowering cut." Lisa gave an "mmhm" as Sonny added this was merely something he noticed. The lack of autonomy for Butterfly Coalition groups meant they could not target multiple construction sites even though they were organized in affinity groups that would have allowed them to do this well. It was "like the rug got pulled out" from underneath them. Empowering groups with a decentralized decision-making model would be more effective. He said he had seen this work in practice, which provided evidence for the claim and Symbolic CAC for himself. He added how encouraging people to step up and recruit within their own community would require spreading the "locus of empowerment," which would counter the "harsh" though not incorrect comments in the informal debrief about the challenges of getting thousands to the site. His overarching point about spreading out power was rooted in his internal orientation where decentralized decision-making, autonomy, and anti-hierarchy were highly valorized.

Later, Lisa brought up the post-action informal debrief. This worked to defend her decision because those who participated in the informal debrief generally seemed alright with what happened, though hardly happy. Lisa was frustrated more Fight people did not participate—John, Jim, and I participated (plus Sophia who was not typically part of Fight)—which spoke to her larger criticism of the more internally oriented activists not sharing their concerns in real time when they could have influenced the action. Lisa thought “almost everybody in that group felt good about the decision and felt positive and energized to come back.” She recognized this might seem like her being defensive, but that was her sense of how those in the informal debrief took it. Lisa went through what she said in the informal debrief, but her main point was that “cutting a deal with the police seemed like the best way to stop construction for the most time.” Lisa asked others to share their recollections. Sophia said it took people time “be okay with it, but they moved on” and following-up would help. Michael agreed. Tommy asked about the clapping he heard at the end, a “really beautiful moment” that gave him “a really big sigh of relief.”⁷⁶ Lisa asked me to share my recollection. I said she was good at handling people in that kind of space and given what had happened people felt “really good.” However, it was a tough space in which to challenge Lisa (“mmmhm” she agreed) and Butterfly Coalition activists were by no means thrilled.

⁷⁶ Juliana had been on the phone and decided at this point she was going to court. Though a lawyer was coming, the arrestees could face the judge before he arrived, so she wanted to make sure they knew a lawyer was coming. I’m not sure how conscious Juliana’s desire to withdraw from the group was at this moment, but her dissatisfaction may have also been part of why she left. As she left, Lisa thanked her and Tommy asked if she needed help (she didn’t). It was another clear snapshot that those doing the work in Fight also had the power.

3.3.3.3 Carmelina's Perspective

Carmelina, the Rising Tide North America activist who presented as very internally oriented in our short conversation in the kitchen before the meeting, waited until she was about to leave to participate substantively. Carmelina created Symbolic CAC for herself and bolstered her own position. She took three actions reflective of her Embodied CAC. These conveyed her position as someone experienced in activist debriefs, not just aware of the rules but habituated to them. First, she grabbed the space when it wasn't quite clear that a previous thread was over by raising her hand. In an instant, all eyes turned to her and she started to speak just a split second before Michael called on her. Thus, she didn't quite fully wait her turn, but that wasn't necessary and was just a waste of time because it was clear that she had the mic, to borrow terminology from the Occupy Movement used by some climate activists (Costanza-Chock 2012; Falzon et al. 2018).

Second, she used "y'all" repeatedly, the preferred nomenclature of internally oriented actors in the CAF. This is related to its gender neutrality—a replacement of the ubiquitous and gendered "you guys" (for a fun take, see Hofstadter 1985). But it seems also to relate to class and race. Internally oriented activists genuflect to the oppressed, marginalized, and disadvantage (arguably reproducing a kind of essentialism and vanguardism). Poor, black, and without formal education all fit this association. Combine these undertones, its Southern association, and its gender neutrality, and "y'all" makes sense as the preferred term in activist spaces, especially those that lean internal. As a matter of fact, Carmelina's only other voiced input was during introductions when she said she felt sympathetic to "y'all's" fight." (Parker 2006).

Carmelina's third practice suggestive of her position was the way she began. Starting loudly and trailing off as she approached the end, she asked, "do y'all feel like you're done with that part of the..." As she was speaking, Carmelina looked directly at the two people who had previously spoken, which indicated she was attuned to the conversation. Coupled with the raised hand, this worked to avoid stepping on toes, a violation for internally oriented activists. Next, she noted she wanted to eat lunch with her mom "in a second." This brought more attention to what she was going to say because it would be the only opportunity to hear her. The "in a second" struck me similarly to how activists and others say "it's been a minute" to mean a much longer period of time. As it turned out, a second in this case meant almost four minutes of rapid speech:

I just wanna say I think there was a potential missed opportunity for when they started work again. I don't think it would have been super hard to...be like, 'hey this is the, for like strategic reasons organizers umm are pushing for like this agreement plan today,' right? Like 'is there anyone who's like "fuck no!"' And I think you could have gotten active consent from everybody like—I think you did—but you could have gotten it in more of a participatory way [Lisa: "mmm"]. And then I think it could have transitioned immediately to a collective planning process, right? And with the questions like: what do we do if we get there and they actually haven't shut down construction or they start it in like ten minutes, like what timeframe are we collectively going for in this agreement and what are we, how are we gonna engage with it once they start again. And I think those are, those would have shifted the energy a lot because I think what I saw happening was a real conflict between what I presume are your two goals, or two of your goals. One of which is stopping construction and the other, which is like engaging in building a direct action campaign. And those can often be in conflict with each other. And so it was like, you're like, well we're stopping it, but the result is that the energy is deflating people and they're feeling like they don't have power in this situation and they're feeling like the police can assert all the power in this situation and they have none, right. I think there could have been a way where like, 'Oh, the police are breaking their agreement, this is how we're gonna respond' that is a powerful whatever-it-is-response, you know? And I think y'all tried to do that in the moment, but I honestly think if there had been like twenty minutes of collective planning with everyone ahead of time...Like I was sitting there and people were like 'oh wait, it's starting?'

I *totally* have so much sympathy for being in the position of like ‘Fuck, I have a long-term strategic vision! Fuck, I promised people something! Fuck that doesn’t make sense anymore! Shit they’re mad at me!’ you know? And always I find that people are actually like really responsive when I’m like, ‘okay, here’s what it is, what are *we* gonna do now?’ So I think that’s the only thing I would have done differently. Ummm. Yeah. [These two utterances worked to hold the space until the next point came out.] And exit strategy—I mean I know it *suuuucks* thinking about an exit strategy ahead of time because you never know how shit’s gonna actually play out, but it can be so helpful to just put like four options on the table and then, ‘okay let’s do this.’ You know, everyone already talked about it, you know. *And*, I think, that thing that you said Lisa about like ‘our people aren’t ready for this,’ is something I hear a lot of the time. And I find myself like, I really like to use moments like today to try to test how real that is, right. Like so I think in that debrief you could have been like, ‘how many of you—we’re not gonna do it now—but like how many of you would have just charged today?’ Right? Because it might have been 80% of those people. That would be my guess. So I think I really understand sitting in trainings and watching people on hassle lines and be like ‘you can’t even hassle each other [laughing] like how the fuck you gonna like’—but you know in the moment people are totally fueled by adrenaline and shit, and so I would have like at least asked them [Lisa “yeah”]. Yeah because people might, yeah people might—even if they haven’t been trained to cross a police line—they might be like ‘Ooo, fuck no’ [as in ‘you police are not gonna stop us’] you know? Like those were not actually like hard physical barriers for the majority of people there to cross, you know.

Michael interjected to complete her sentence, the police line, and add that it softened as time went on. Carmelina was actually referring to crossing the orange plastic pipes that connected the orange cones, which formed the line. So as to support her estimate about 80% of activists willing to charge, she said it would have been straightforward and “you don’t need training to do that.” Lisa gave a “right” as Michael cut in again “but we promised, or Lisa had promised [Carmelina gave a firm “right”]. So we were keeping her credibility intact.” Michael’s unambiguous language and his shift from “we” to “Lisa” made the group’s decision-making structure overt again. There was a slight pause, pregnant with criticisms—for stomping on collective decision-making, restricting activist freedom, deal-making with the police qua police, or placing some activists and some actions above others—but Lisa defused the bomb. She smiled and said

proudly they were going to “burn” her credibility with the police. Sophia laughed as Michael immediately came to her side with approbation: “well, I know, but today was not the day to do it, so—and that’s a reasonable decision.”

Carmelina was strongly oriented toward the internal pole as seen by her vulgar language. She said “fuck” six times, sometimes emphasizing it, and “shit” a number of times as well. Swear words were common among climate activists. Earlier in the day Lisa, Tommy, Juliana, and Sonny had all said “fuck” and/or “(bull)shit.” Betsy Leondar-Wright, in her examination of class cultures among activist groups, found that professional middle class activists were more likely to say the F-word, working class activists were more likely to say “shit” and “hell,” and class-mobile activists combined the scatological preferences of both groups (Leondar-Wright 2014). She also found that voluntarily downwardly mobile activists and those with anarchist tendencies tended toward vulgar language. Carmelina, Tommy, and Sonny all lean toward anarchism and a downwardly mobile class position. However, Lisa had an upward trajectory while Juliana was stable professional middle class (though it seemed increasingly likely that she might give up teaching to do full-time activist work and that if she did, she would not be a professional in a non-profit organization).

Carmelina also indicated her orientation when she casually referenced personal experience as an organizer of other activists. For example, she emphasized her sympathy and shared experience of situations that challenged her “long-term strategic vision.” The comment about “exit strategy” spoke to experience while also marking orientation. Exiting was typically not a challenge for activists—an action ends, a rally concludes,

people are arrested, the art is complete, or time is up unless it was a high-risk action with lots of contingency. More internally oriented activists would be more likely to organize such actions. More externally oriented activists prefer to leave less to chance, like Lisa's negotiation with the police that worked in that direction (for the BCA and, she hoped, the MDA). Moreover, Carmelina also used the exit strategy point to highlight her horizontal and participatory preference.

Before Michael's interruption, Carmelina had spoken 738 words. This was striking in absolute terms and indicative of her high status (and likely her academic higher education too). 738 words was well above the median length of the longest speaking turn for both professional or upper middle class activists (139 words) and poor, working-class, or lower middle class activists (51 words) in Leondar-Wright's (2014:185) analysis. Furthermore, Carmelina's almost four minute string of 738 words put her well above the 540 word mark that Leondar-Wright provided as the cutoff for her four most "extreme long-talkers" (all founders or longtime important members of their activist group).

Carmelina ultimately provided an internally oriented and carefully accomplished dismantling of Lisa's decision. The "missed opportunity" with which Carmelina began was the same point that Tommy, Juliana, and Sonny had all made: it was wrong to make a deal with the police, foremost because it diminished activists' agency. This had a high cost for these internally oriented activists who felt it stymied movement building. When Carmelina spoke of "active consent" and engaging people in "collective planning" (twice), it was the same idea as using moments to question the veracity of the activists'

unpreparedness—i.e., the internal pole’s prescription to have faith in people and share power in order to build power.

Carmelina’s analysis took Lisa’s decision to task but in an invitational way that created space for Lisa to agree. She conveyed this with an invitational what-if that cohered around individual agency and decentralized power (all sanctified and understood as effective within the internal pole of the CAF). Carmelina suggested Lisa could have asked how many would have charged the police line during the post-action debrief. This meant it would not have interfered with stopping construction (Lisa’s main stated reason for the deal). Carmelina added “we’re not gonna do it now” to the hypothetical in order to increase the invitational aspect because, implicitly, if 80% of people wanted to charge, then it may have made sense to do so. She didn’t say the activists should have charged because that would have assumed too much. Carmelina may have known that setting up the MDA fit into Lisa’s CDAP Strategy, but even if she didn’t, she wouldn’t want to step on Lisa’s autonomy. Telling Lisa what to do would have been a criticism that did more harm than good. Instead, the hypothetical provided space to join Carmelina’s thinking. She was critical but in a respect-for-activist-agency kind of way. Furthermore, the frame of missed opportunity due to lack of confidence in activists and shared decision-making framed it well according to the rules of the internal pole of the CAF.

Carmelina’s statement also increased her own Symbolic CAC. The way she joined the space showed that Social CAC matters in the creation of the symbolic form. Social CAC also related to her Embodied CAC because her past experience in the CAF had developed relationships while also developing her activist skills and knowledge. Her

Embodied CAC were on display in a number of ways: her confidence in a group she's never been in, ability to speak from experience to present useful insights and relate to the organizer role, and facility with rules such that she can bend them. Carmelina's strengthened position via increased Symbolic CAC became conspicuous when Michael and Lisa each verbally bestowed praise. As Carmelina got up to walk out, Michael said "*really good*" and "you've done this once or twice before huh?" Lisa shared how excited she was upon learning Carmelina was coming: "I was like 'wait a minute, where is she?!'" As Carmelina left, she nodded again to her orientation by cussing about the illegality of picnics at the Arboretum: "that shit's fucked up. "It's like an Orwellian tree park." She also gave another nod to her Symbolic and Embodied CAC. One of the activists central in the MDA texted to see if she would come. Through her Embodied CAC she was familiar with the whole gamut of action roles—"if there's a role, feel free to assign it to me" she said. As more people thanked her, she thanked the group for the most righteous of acts for internally oriented climate activist: "holding down direct action in Majorville!"

3.3.4 Butterfly Coalition Perspective

I wanted to gather a detailed perspective from an insightful Butterfly Coalition activist about their experience working with Fight. Claudia knew Geneva well because she had lived in Prairie Point, right next to Geneva, and her sister lived in Geneva. The pipeline "horrificed" Claudia "on a deep, personal, in [her] gut" kind of way. So she was sympathetic and wanted to help. She was a longtime activist in her 60s with experience

fighting to end the Vietnam War and a great deal of work in environmental circles going back to 2000 when she started working with Green Peace. She identified as an “engaged Buddhist lefty.” Claudia was closely situated with other Butterfly Coalition activists who were “mostly women activists, who were lifelong activists, who were retired, who were just a *force* to be contended with.” Evocative of their lengthy activist experience, which signaled Symbolic CAC, Claudia distanced Butterfly Coalition activists from inexperienced ones: this was “not a group of college students.” Moreover, these were strong feminists, which Claudia conveyed by mentioning a sign at a parking lot in Hipton in Western State that gave a sense of the culture of the community. It read: “Our coffee is strong, our women are stronger, and the first fifteen minutes of parking is free.”

Claudia helped arrange the collaboration with Fight as she had originally invited Lisa to share information about the GPP with the Butterfly Coalition spokescouncil. Lisa stayed at her house during the trip out to recruit Butterfly Coalition activists, so the two became acquainted. Claudia told me they talked not so “much about Geneva, but more about the bigger picture,” which Lisa knew “a lot about” since she was “very plugged into that scene.” Claudia said what she really learned a lot about was the CDAP and how it fit into the climate movement, including the necessity defense and how “pipeline movements were connected.” What Claudia heard matched Lisa’s position and her orientation. She had her pulse on the CAF, most especially areas where people engage in CD, like pipeline fights. Furthermore, while Fight had been consuming much of Lisa’s energy, for her it was part of the CDAP Strategy.

Like Fight, activists formed the Butterfly Coalition mainly to organize CD against a pipeline. Since CD leaned internally per se, both of these groups did as well. But Fight had Lisa and her CDAP Strategy at its center, in addition to some local activists less familiar with the CAF, which pushed it more externally than it otherwise would have been. Additionally, the Butterfly Coalition's affinity group structure suggested a more internal orientation. Affinity group members knew each other well, and the groups had some autonomy even while they coordinated their work through a spokescouncil (see Epstein 1991; Juris 2008). This structure evoked familiarity with past movements and participatory democracy's benefits, like strategic and tactical innovation (Staggenborg 1989) and the many that Francesca Polletta (2002) grouped into solidary, innovatory, and developmental varieties. So when Lisa came pitched the idea of supporting CD efforts in Geneva, she was welcomed by their spokescouncil. Claudia recalled how Lisa gave a history of the fight and spoke "in terms of building a culture of resistance." This reflected Lisa's CDAP Strategy and the CDAP principle about building a "community of climate dissidents." After this, affinity groups discussed independently and then the decision came back to the spokescouncil where they agreed to support Fight. Claudia felt Butterfly Coalition support was "pretty amazing" because activists came out the night before while others left well before sunrise to arrive in time for the action.

I asked Claudia for her thoughts about the action and why things happened the way they did. "It didn't go well" she began. While it wasn't fully clear, "Lisa and Juliana and I don't know whoever else was part of that decision-making, they did not want to have a run-in with the police." She had surmised the BCA took place the day before the

MDA in which Kirsten (a well-known politician's daughter) and Ben were going to participate. The presence of these "safe space people" led to the "decision to not really get entangled with the police before that." The "safe space people" comment made me laugh a little. Kirsten and Ben were the centerpiece to the action, so the deal with the police was oriented toward getting them into the trench, but people like Kirsten with status outside of the CAF least need a safe space in the sense of a no danger zone. "Safe space" also connotes action participants taking less risk of arrest (or harm), and most MDA participants had a long history with this and other styles of direct action. Dave had been arrested in New York fighting the larger SFP pipeline, for instance, while Morgan had a long record of activism going back to boycotting Coca-Cola in the 7th grade because of Apartheid.

Claudia continued, more emphatically than before. "So 45 or so of us—not like a group of kindergarteners, but lifelong activists—who are just simply gonna walk on there, get arrested, and go home, just like, get business done." She recalled a Butterfly Coalition activist "in her 90s" who was "just going to barge right through the police line." The way Claudia described CD and even pushing through a police line as run of the mill was common internally oriented climate activist practice. CD's normalcy for these activists contrasted sharply with those who had never engaged in CD and for whom it was often a moving, if nerve-racking, experience. When the Butterfly Coalition activists were held back from crossing the police line, especially after construction began again, they were frustrated, confused, and "getting angry."

The lack of clear explanations as to why the plan was changed was a key aspect of Claudia and company's frustration: "Lisa and Juliana had a really difficult time just being really straight with us about what was going on." Claudia thought Lisa and Juliana were "really concerned" they were "losing control over this event because this [was] not a group of women who went there to be controlled. They went there to just like..." In an exasperated tone, she said Butterfly Coalition activists "knew what they needed to do and they were going to get it done." Claudia said she felt betrayed by their "comrades in arms." Claudia criticized the informal debrief where support people were excluded and because "nothing was really clarified." To Claudia, the action "was a big failing" and so they "finally just went home." Construction had been stopped, but that was a very limited success in Claudia's eyes, completely overshadowed by the lack of transparency and autonomy. Furthermore, Claudia was bothered that Lisa was supposed to visit Butterfly Coalition activists for a more formal debrief, but she hadn't, plus she had failed to return calls, which increased the "bad feeling." Claudia and others kept calling, saying that they wanted to work it out, until finally Lisa relayed that she thought Juliana took care of it, but she hadn't, and so there was never any closure or discussion of lessons to be drawn. Claudia also shared how she came to Fight's end of year potluck—a celebration of all that had been accomplished despite the pipeline's completion—where Butterfly Coalition were never mentioned. This increased Claudia's negative feelings. Furthermore, she felt it was a missed opportunity to highlight important work done by activists using CD to successfully stop a pipeline.⁷⁷ The divergence between the more internally oriented

⁷⁷ Claudia explained how Butterfly Coalition activists and their allies stopped another pipeline.

Butterfly Coalition activists and the less internally oriented Fight activists helped explain why there hadn't been more effort to tap this energy and experience to fight against the GPP.

Finally, I also checked in with Juliana because she increasingly withdrew from Fight after the Butterfly Coalition Action. Lisa had told Juliana it wasn't like Fight was "sacrificing" Butterfly Coalition activists. "Well, it kind of is" Juliana had said, elaborating that climate activists' work was to defend against the way climate change sacrificed people like those in island nations. While it's not difficult to see how Butterfly Coalition activists' freedom was restricted as they were held back and that this was connected to the higher status of MDA participants, the relation to actual life and death climate sacrifice only makes sense through the lens of Juliana's internal orientation where restricting freedom (especially through centralized hierarchical power like was the case with Fight) necessarily results in an ineffective climate movement. Juliana and other highly internally oriented climate activists believe in prefigurative politics, that movement practices should be unpolluted by hierarchy, oppression, and all the ills of contemporary society, or at least that should be a priority.

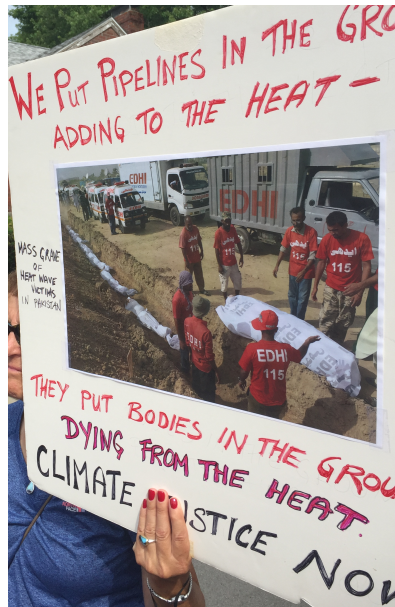
The company building that pipeline said they cancelled it due to insufficient demand, which would seem to add considerable strength to activists' long held views that this and other interstate pipeline projects in the regional were less about local demand than connecting to liquefied natural gas export terminals to send it off to the lucrative international market (Serreze 2016). However, Claudia saw a clear turning point when company representatives were alarmed during a community meeting where a lawyer had asked how many of those present were willing and ready to get arrested to stop this pipeline? Claudia said "500 people stood up and they *meant* it." As further evidence, she pointed to shareholder notes of some kind that explained how the pipeline company "had no idea this level of resistance existed. Like we've never seen anything like this before. [The pipeline] just doesn't make any sense anymore...this isn't worth it. Let's just go someplace else."

3.3.5 Many Deaths Action

3.3.5.1 The MDA's Roots

The Many Deaths Action (MDA) took place on June 29, 2016, the day after the Butterfly Coalition Action. The MDA was meant to vividly draw attention to the way emissions in rich countries, enabled by pipelines like the GPP, were increasingly making heat waves more common and more extreme. It was named for many expected deaths and mass graves dug by Pakistanis in anticipation of a potential heat wave like the previous summer's that killed 1,300 and had challenged their ability to dig graves fast enough (Jorgic and Hassan 2016). A Pakistani digging these anticipatory graves told a Reuter's journalist, "thanks to God, we are better prepared this year" (ibid). MDA participants planned on entering the pipeline worksite to stop construction. Then they would eulogize climate victims and be arrested. The MDA would also be an escalation because some individuals engaging in CD were not going to leave on their own accord; they'd have to be pulled out of the eight feet deep pipeline trench. The MDA was meant to be mediagenic with its vivid display of climate violence. Moreover, Kirsten would boost coverage outside the CAF due to her star power while Ben's participation ensured activists would pay attention. Finally, action participants planned to plead not guilty to their charges on necessity defense grounds and they were hoping for a trial, so it fit well in the CDAP Strategy. The sign in Figure 3-5 below nicely encapsulated the central theme of the action with the words: "We put pipelines in the ground adding to the heat—they put bodies in the ground dying from the heat. Climate Justice Now!"

Figure 3-5: Sign at the MDA (Source: Author)



I first heard about the MDA when Lisa excitedly shared that Ben was planning his first CD action after probation had ended for his protest against a Bureau of Land Management leasing auction that landed him in prison for 21 months. That action—outbidding oil and gas companies for drilling rights to public lands—catapulted Ben’s status within the CAF. He was a hero for internally oriented activists because he served time in prison for his principled action. To a lesser extent, more externally oriented activists appreciated him as well because there was a fair amount of media coverage about his action.

As Lisa and Ben started to organize the action, they paid special attention to optics. Because it would be mostly white climate activists calling attention to Pakistanis dying from heat, they thought it would be important to “do it in ways that will present a powerful message without unintentionally doing something really thoughtless and

insensitive,” as Lisa put it. She was concerned about using those in a marginalized category for one’s own purposes. Sanjay, who had a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and another from MIT, provided a connection to the South Asian Organization. This enabled buy-in and some participation from people who could help Fight defend against this criticism. Lisa also “recognized that the practice of praying over and making meaning from a situation involving mass graves is deeply powerful and tied to some deep trauma” for Jewish people. Thus Rabbi Elena and other Jewish faith leaders needed to be involved. Like the connection with the South Asian Organization, this would shield against criticism of the action as self-serving.

The faith dimension of the MDA was important for several reasons. Due to the previous actions involving clergy and other faith-identified people, there was a ready pool of faith-oriented individuals to draw upon for the MDA. Additionally, faith was understood as a way to connect to broader audiences (which had a long tradition in social movements, like the Black church in the Civil Rights Movement (Morris 1984)). There was also organizing experience in the form of Rabbi Elena and her Clergy Climate Action (CCA). She had been trying to figure out ways to mobilize clergy toward CD, and when Fight sprang up, she told Lisa she wanted to help bring clergy and “interfaith witness,” and she also felt this would be an effective way to build the CCA. Rabbi Elena became a fellow of the CDAP—“just a title” said Lisa—which helps show how Fight and the CDAP were entangled. The faith component tied together the other MDA organizers including three of four CDAP founders: Lisa went to seminary in the United Methodist tradition, Lee was a long-time Quaker, and Ben was Unitarian Universalist studying in

Divinity School. These activists appreciated the faith component in part because its utility in the courts. A faithful person might present a stronger necessity defense more influential with judges and juries because of their calling to higher moral laws. Faith was also a way to make clear the principled nature of CD (not that religious people are necessarily principled, but activists do think it can appeal to others). Finally, clergy would dress in their religious collars, stoles, and other attire that might mean a more hands-off approach from the police.

3.3.5.2 The MDA

Elena and Lee took leading roles in the on-site organizing work that started around 8:00. In contrast to the BCA, the MDA seemed more organized. Indeed, a great deal of planning and energy had gone into the action. Additionally, some Butterfly Coalition activists stayed and bolstered already great numbers for a Fight CD action: I put it at 70 and later counted 79 in a group photo. I had spoken with Carrie earlier in the day, and she told me activists would go across the police line this morning, period. She was not happy with how the BCA had gone and was determined the MDA would play out differently. Carrie and Lisa were talking strategy as we marched toward the police line. When activists made it to the police line, Carrie had already demonstrated what to do—go right through the police tape—and was encouraging others to follow suit. John and someone else had signs they maneuvered under the tape in order to hold it up. However, activists didn't get very far, despite Carrie's efforts (though she made it beyond the police bicycles). An officer told Lisa that Carrie was "inciting. The police spaced out their bicycles and bodies to better form a wall to physically block activists who were unwilling

to get beyond them. Furthermore, officers stopped activists from walking on the sidewalk where they could have potentially gone around the line—Carrie insisted since it was a public sidewalk but they refused. After police had stopped activists, they pushed them back a number of feet, and kept it very tight. Several officers told activists it was unsafe to be anywhere near construction. I counted 14 officers. It was a tense situation, though song led by Rabbi Elena on a ukulele subdued that.

Meanwhile, there was a whole service planned with the intention to eulogize those lost—and who would be lost—to climate change. It would be difficult to hold the service during the police-activist melee. I asked Lisa if we'd push ahead, and she said it wasn't up to her. She was being very careful not to play a central role during the MDA in part because she didn't want to experience what she experienced yesterday. Furthermore, it seemed like Rabbi Elena and Reverend Morgan were the leaders, symbolized by their presence at the front of the line, and besides Carrie's initial efforts, it seemed no one was going to push past them. A few minutes later, Lisa, Ben, Lee, and Carrie grouped up to talk strategy. What I overheard and what I saw at the police-activist interface gave me a clear impression that there would be no pushing ahead, at least not until the service was finished. Activists would carry out the service at the police line instead of from within the trench. They delivered moving sermons eulogizing climate deaths and calling for other religious leaders to join the movement. However, construction continued throughout the service.

Later, Carrie, Ben, Tommy, Juliana, and I gathered to talk strategy. Ben wore a suit that reflected his role as a eulogist but also his more external orientation relative to

the rest of us. Carrie had Arabic on her shirt (connected to Palestinian liberation struggle I believe). As was his style, Tommy wore a bicyclist's cap with a flipped up visor with "one less car" written on the side. Tommy and Juliana both had backpacks too, useful for organizers to store their supplies. Tommy wanted to create a diversion to draw police away and open space for others. Carrie and Juliana were also very attracted to getting across the police line and stopping construction. Ben was against trying these things because MDA participants were not tactically prepared. Tommy offered that this was maybe the right time to stop worrying about that issue and start "actually stopping construction." Ben added that jumping around police would not match the somber, mourning spirit so activists also weren't "psychologically prepared." Instead, he suggested activists conclude the service and re-group at the church. Tommy and Juliana came on board quickly, but Carrie was reluctant. She had more experience in these spaces than the rest of us combined, so her view carried weight even though everyone else was in agreement; indeed, disagreeing in the face of seeming consensus marked her status. She thought leaving the site and returning would reduce the number of participants and would be greeted by a police presence, even if a smaller one. Wait until the service is over, and then change the tone right then and there, Carrie offered. Ben liked this, saying he or someone else could fire up activists and make clear the necessity of stopping construction, getting "in the hole" as he and other activists often put it. We also discussed how the respectability of this group, including clergy and a high-profile politician's daughter, was something that might help us, though it hadn't seemed to matter when we originally approached the police line. Jeff, a suspected infiltrator who had turned up at the

BCA as well, came to ask what we were “scheming.” Carrie turned the question back to him, and he suggested activists should bring balls to roll into the construction trench. It was peculiar. He may have sought to make it appear as though activists wanted to injure workers.

Four reverends representing American Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, Unitarian Universalist, and United Church of Christ all delivered eulogies. I don’t know if those from the Southeast Asian Center were invited to speak, but their absence was notable. Without amplification, Reverend Morgan talked about black folks like her who grew up in East Geneva did *not* come to Geneva. However, she sought to heal old wounds and face the climate crisis head-on. She saw the climate movement as well as people like her showing up at actions like this as a unifier that would help address climate change and engage white people on racial justice. Morgan noted that people of color had long been concerned with environmental issues and climate change because harms like rising waters threatened communities of color like her own in East Geneva. She also shared that it was her birthday, so we sang happy birthday!

Ben spoke loudly into the microphone so that his voice boomed. He recounted reading of Pakistanis digging graves ahead of a potential heat wave, thanking God that they would be better prepared this year than last, and how this broke his heart. He said this was the first time such a thing had happened—“we had entered the age of anticipatory mass graves.” Moreover, Ben skillfully connected the GPP with climate harms: they were both trenches, and the pipeline trench was creating the mass grave trench. Activists were moved, several brought to tears. Ben’s Embodied CAC was on

display through his oratory skills and how quickly he moved into this state following the strategy conversation just minutes earlier. During Ben's speech, I saw how important it was to have Jewish representation like Rabbi Elena playing an important role because there have been anticipatory graves in the past.⁷⁸

After the service, we marched away from the construction site. In the end, Ben was most influential regarding the decision to not push ahead in the moment but return later in the day. Carrie was visibly frustrated. She called the morning a "disaster" but her spirits rose when her partner came by. Juliana was also frustrated and looked like she had been crying earlier. She felt sidelined and wasn't going to participate unless invited she said. The day before had been difficult for her, and today wasn't helping because it was now clear the deal had been in vain. We stopped for a large group photo, useful for documenting the action, for sharing it with media and on social media, and for providing credit to those involved. Back at the gathering spot, Ben and Elena huddled everyone together closely for a quick conversation. There was no need to feel remorse that construction continued because most of the day remained. Activists would go back to the Unitarian Universalist Church, regroup, and return to the site better prepared. There was an effort to make activists leaving the site look like other days where people dribbled out,

⁷⁸ Jewish prisoners were forced to dig their own mass graves before bodies were later burned during the Holocaust, and mass graves were dug at other premeditated mass murders and atrocities, especially where the murderers sought to hide the victims, like the recent Burmese military's slaughter of Rohingya and Milosevic's murder of Albanians (Borger 2010; Taylor 2018; U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum n.d.). That's not to dilute Ben's point—the poorest around the world already dying from climate change is a tragedy—it's just that Jewish representation at the MDA worked to defend against criticism that such rhetoric overlooked the Holocaust.

but several people pretty loudly said where we were going and kept asking if others needed rides.

3.3.5.3 Regrouping at the Unitarian Universalist Church

Activists formed a great circle inside the Unitarian Universalist Church. It was warming up outside, especially on the asphalt and concrete, so the church felt comfortable, though it warmed up as activists plotted their return. There were 56 of us, 37 female looking and six who presented as a person of color; ten sat on the floor, including three barefoot, reflecting the “inessential weirdness” of class privileged activist practices (Leondar-Wright 2014:134). Carrie facilitated a go-around where everyone shared their name, neighborhood, something they were feeling, and something that gave them hope. Many people were frustrated and said so. Tommy shared that he came from Millville, “stolen indigenous land,” which conveyed his internally oriented position. We sang “on my way to freedom land,” which activists used in the Civil Rights Movement and that came out of an earlier more religious version (Sanger 1995). Some internally oriented activists are critical of this practice, which they see as appropriation that also works to discourage the creation of new music. However, the song went over well because this space was strongly religious, many joined in immediately, and this rendition was short.

Carrie shared some background on Fight and asked Geneva residents to stand. Activists applauded. This was an internally oriented space, and the increasing difficulties with the police were making it more so. The internal pole values the local more than the external pole, but the local in this case was marked by whiteness (besides NIMBY), which made the more internally oriented uneasy. Over time though, as the NIMBY folks

left and the remaining locals incorporated into Fight, there was more celebration of a handful of locals, most especially Rose, who one activist told me was used “to legitimize” Fight and the CD campaign. Indeed, as was typical, Carrie called special attention to Rose and the daily vigil she led. Carrie provided some background on the GPP fight and plugged her own role as a trainer where she tried to bring an intersectional framework, which added to her own Symbolic CAC. She turned the stage over to Ben who said he understood folks’ frustrations but that returning unexpectedly could stop construction for hours. He asked how many were willing to be arrested—I counted 24—and then activists applauded them, which was a reminder of the Symbolic CAC they would obtain. Ben also asked who was ready to get into the eight feet deep trench, “a more physical act” that would further delay construction. At this point, Morgan voiced her uncertainty over being arrested. She needed to know more about how she might be seen by the community as well as powerful people in Majorville—her husband was Majorville’s Chief of Education and both her parents were medical doctors and co-founded an African Methodist Episcopal congregation, besides other prominent roles (e.g., her mother founded a female empowerment organization and taught at an elite university while her father was chairman of philanthropic foundation (AME n.d.a., n.d.b.)). Speaking confidently, without invitation, and centering herself all worked to demonstrate Morgan’s standing, which she had from directly engaging race in the CAF, besides her years of activist work.

Carrie and Ben both made clear they thought activists could have stopped construction earlier in morning but that wasn’t the tone and some may have been unprepared. There were several questions that worked to increase the Symbolic CAC to

be awarded to those who climbed into the trench because they made clear the increased risk. Would they be charged with resisting arrest? Carrie displayed her Embodied activist capital by noting though unlikely in her experience, police officers and prosecutors subjectively make that choice. Would activists be safe in the trench? Lisa thought yes. Eventually Ashley, a young pastor with much CAF experience relative to her age, pushed back on celebrating those engaging in CD (in the trench or not) by saying it was “okay” to participate in whatever way activists felt appropriate. Carrie thanked her for that and then made an interesting move. She highlighted how Ben’s arrest would bring attention due to his star power, so it was important to ensure he made it into the trench to utilize that star power. However, she hastened to add this did not mean he was “more important” than others. Moreover, Ben added to Carrie’s sentiment, and they both discussed the importance of other non-arrest roles.

Lisa shared an update from Judy who had gone out to scout the site. There were only two officers, so entering the site would be straightforward, though she added that one of the officers had tackled activists and verbally abused others. This additional background added to her display of knowledge and thus power. Activists were excited by the small police presence and started to plan their return. They discussed the path cars could take, for instance. Tommy always had a marker in hand, which proved useful for drawing a map. Tommy also asked Lisa to call on Juliana who had her hand up. No matter what she said, Tommy knew Juliana needed to be pulled back into the fight as she was feeling left out, but the move fit the rules of the internally oriented social space and so was also self-promotional.

Lisa, Carrie, and Ben were going over details and taking up a lot of social space. For example, Carrie was standing and talking. She eventually faced in the direction of Michael who had his hand up patiently waiting, but then Ben who hadn't seen Michael just started talking. Reflecting her own orientation and the internal pole's valorization of inclusion, Juliana pointed to Michael to encourage Carrie to call on him. As was typical, notions of inclusion mostly rang hollow⁷⁹ in that the only activists who spoke (besides questions) were those with confidence and who could draw on their own experiences to share insight or pertinent information. In other words, Embodied CAC was necessary to receive the Symbolic CAC awarded to those who spoke and helped organize others.

For example, Dave stood up to argue that cars carrying activists should take the shorter of two paths being discussed. And he was a deeply experienced climate activist, well-practiced in CD, including against the larger SFP pipeline. Michael was shaking his head in disagreement. Carrie chided him to let Dave finish, which I read in two ways. It signaled Carrie's more internal orientation where shaking one's head while someone speaks is problematic, especially for a new speaker. Michael's more external orientation made him less concerned with how Dave might take it and instead reflected a straightforward, cut to the chase, immediately share what you know kind of practice. Second, Carrie's move worked to reclaim her facilitation role that Juliana implicitly suggested she neglected when she let Ben speak instead of calling on Michael. Juliana also disagreed with Dave (he didn't understand the poor condition of the route he

⁷⁹ "Mostly" because Carrie had started with the completely inclusive practice of going around the full circle.

preferred), but she started by praising his thinking. The way she disagreed explicitly but more respectfully than Michael spoke to their respective Social CAC. Michael did not have a relationship to Dave like Juliana who had worked with him in New York (and perhaps elsewhere). Her Social CAC resulted in a response that reflected better on her.

Fully in control of the space, Carrie displayed her more internal orientation relative to Ben. He shared that activists would outmaneuver Enterprise and the police like it was “a game of chess.” Chess landed poorly so he offered “football, rugby, or a military operation.” These duds led Carrie to offer a “female or pagan complement.” Activists immediately laughed, including a deep one from Carmelina. I looked for Ben’s reaction. It was non-existent because he was talking with someone else. This effectively detracted from his position because he occupied space in the full circle but disrespected others when they had the stage. Carrie suggested climate activists were like water, and she also drew on “the history of non-violence” encouraging activists to move beyond an activists versus police mindset, which would help them get past the police.

Ben called attention to Kirsten for the first time, saying that she was another person no important than anyone else, but who would garner attention. Kirsten joked that it was only because of her father. After some laughter, Carrie said explicitly that she was the daughter of a well-known politician, and the “ooo’s” and “aaa’s” demonstrated many were not following Ben or Kirsten and had not understood what was funny. While Carrie’s move may have been unnecessary (perhaps Kirsten would have cleared it up), it was the kind of clarity a facilitator can bring to help level a social space to make it more

inclusive. Regularly introduced as her father's daughter, Kirsten shared that she was actively fighting another pipeline and directed an ecological institute at a seminary.

Carrie identified those who were willing to be arrested and those willing to be arrested by going into the trench. Morgan said she was willing to enter the trench. This drew attention. Clearly demonstrating her own status, Morgan took the stage to explain that she wished those fighting the GPP had done far more to bring communities of color into the work. A handful of young people snapped in approval. She recognized this wasn't the right time because of heightened tension with the police, but said being the token black person was not her vision. She was willing to "put her body on the line" as part of an invitation to help shift the climate movement toward collaboration with communities of color. Furthermore, it was critical her CD be seen as respectful and could not show her or others being combative. She was Facebook friends with the Mayor, and Morgan later told me she personally knew the police commissioner, besides other high-powered friends. She was trying to "hold all this," including that it was the anniversary of someone she knew who was stabbed to death. Her input and call for change regarding the whiteness in climate spaces like this were welcomed in this internally oriented space.

Eventually activists wrapped up and prepared to head to the site. I went back to the site with Sonny and Juliana so had another chance to speak with them. While we waited for Juliana, Sonny described some of Carrie's practices as "elder-splaining," evoking Rebecca Solnit's "mansplaining" (2008, 2012a, 2014b). Carrie was too eager to reference her own experience in ways that showed she was "very, *very* down" as an

activist, but that added little substantively.⁸⁰ Sonny also pointed to how Carrie had interrupted Morgan at one point. When Juliana arrived, she immediately reported the same exact incident! Both Sonny and Juliana were highly internally oriented and this kind of criticism worked to demonstrate that position.

3.3.5.4 MDA Take Two

When we arrived at the site, there were two or three officers who saw they were outnumbered and did not try to stop anyone.⁸¹ Twelve people entered the trench, some with the aid of a ladder, while another eleven rested next to the trench. Construction workers shut down their equipment almost immediately, though at one point workers poured concrete at a nearby worksite, leading to chants for them to stop. Carrie and Morgan were cool and collected. Carrie checked on each individual participating while Morgan stood in the trench and led Amazing Grace. Lisa was playing the police liaison role, but officers were visibly upset with her including the sergeant with whom she had made the deal during the BCA. At one point, they pushed Lisa back and threatened arrest, which she took seriously enough that she handed me her phone for safekeeping (those arrested were calling her). Another officer shoved Kelsey from behind. The officers were angry. Workers mocked activists, for example, saying it would be a service to bury them in concrete.

⁸⁰ Carrie had been upset about the SSA and in her attempt to make the morning's action go differently, she may have tried to use her past experience to establish status and influence in ways she wouldn't have otherwise. I appreciated the way she regularly referenced past activism, but of course my position as a researcher explained this.

⁸¹ Since a police infiltrator would have almost certainly meant a strong presence when activists came back, this was evidence against infiltration, at least for this day.

All told, twenty-three were arrested and construction was halted for about three hours. There was singing (led again by Elena on the Ukulele), picture and video taking, and mic-check style speak-outs. We applauded and cheered as those arrested were taken away, those on the edge of the trench and then those in it beginning with Kirsten. I counted over a dozen vehicles and at least 40 personnel among the police, firefighters, and other first responders. Media came, like Majorville's ABC affiliate, and there was coverage in major media like this Associated Press story (2016a). At one point, two helicopters flew overhead. As the action came to a close, I hitched a ride with Rose.

In sum, the MDA was a success. Activists stopped construction, participants had a good experience that reinforced their commitment and affective solidarity, and there was more coverage than any other action, which helped draw attention to the pipeline. However, it was also clear that the police deal had not made them any more collaborative for the MDA. If anything, they were more hostile, both in the morning when they forcefully blocked activists from entering the site and in the afternoon when they yelled at and pushed a number of activists. The MDA probably would have gone similarly even if there had been no deal, and the BCA could have gone much better. Additionally, Butterfly Coalition activists may have been more supportive in future actions if they had had a better experience, though some participated in the MDA. Lisa's more external orientation led her to negotiate with the police in good faith in an effort to return to the civil police/activist relationship.

3.4 THE REST OF THE STORY

Resistance continued against the GPP until construction was complete late in the fall (gas flowed through the pipeline beginning in very early January 2017 according to Danie). As the campaign continued, some of the CD actions became more technical, secretive, and exclusive. As Carrie reflected to me, the CD shifted “to include sort of some lock-down actions, putting a car there [for example], which I think perhaps impacted the mass appeal for civil disobedience.” For instance, a group of young activists chained and glued themselves to one another inside the trench. Another activist used a U-lock to strap their head to a car parked in front of the M&R Station to block entry. This action also sought to make a connection to the Dakota Access Pipeline, and to appropriate some of the Symbolic CAC associated with that indigenous led resistance.

Lisa and others saw some success in implementing the CDAP Strategy. Thirteen of those arrested for CD against the GPP tried to use the necessity defense in court. Technically, the District Court Judge found the defendants not guilty “by reason of necessity.” The year plus discovery process resulted in Enterprise’s admission that they had no safety plan for the GPP. Moreover, the case received strong media coverage and activists used it as an opportunity to fundraise. However, the ruling mattered far less than what Lisa and company desired, especially given it was “a near-perfect opportunity for the strategy that the Climate Direct Action Project has been pursuing for years,” as Lisa described because they had a sympathetic judge, compelling arrestees, and strong evidence that activists had exhausted options besides CD (Yan 2018a). The prosecution

reduced criminal charges to civil infractions and it was a bench trial, so jurors neither heard defendants explain why they *needed* to take their action nor found them not guilty for criminal charges out of necessity. Furthermore, the trial saw no expert testimony from those who were prepared and willing to provide it, including James Hansen, Bill McKibben, and a Majorville City Councilor. Those pushing the CDAP Strategy await another day for the first climate case where jurors are instructed to consider necessity.

After construction was complete, Fight pretty quickly stopped meeting. Michael became involved in a new planned pipeline to provide gas to new development in Majorville's Back Bay. After Fight ended, John, Judy, and Rose put some effort into restarting SGPP. With others, they worked to pressure Majorville's Public Health Commission to intervene to stop gas from flowing through the GPP. Rose led a small group of letter writers that met weekly at least until after gas started to flow. However, with construction complete, activist energy against this pipeline dwindled.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter showed how activist practices were structured by CAF position and orientation such that they operated in the interest of the actor. I began with Jack. His action presented a more local, non-climate activist oriented kind of CD than the CD that eventually unfolded. There was some irony in that the attention Jack's action garnered was overwhelmingly from climate activists. Next I detailed Lisa and colleagues' CDAP Strategy, which was about shifting CD toward a more externally validated form of action

through the courts using the necessity defense. They hoped this would have the effect of opening up more space for climate activists to engage in bold actions that were also unabashedly conspicuous. Subsequently, I analyzed two actions where power dynamics unfolded. I showed how activists with a strong internal orientation saw the BCA as a strategic blunder, as was evident during the action, both the informal and formal debriefs, and through a Butterfly Coalition activist's perspective. They felt it was a betrayal of autonomy and shared decision-making that prioritized high status actors. Next I analyzed the MDA where the hoped for return to civility with the police failed to materialize, though activists were able to return later to stop construction. The MDA also served its purpose in moving the CDAP Strategy forward as the participants tried to defend their action on necessity grounds. Though activists continued to fight the pipeline until it was completed, they did so with a more internal orientation, and some of the energy had already been lost following the way Tommy and especially Juliana understood what happened at the BCA.

In the next chapter, I take a step back to theorize the economy of Climate Activist Capital.

4 CHAPTER 4: THEORIZING THE ECONOMY OF CLIMATE ACTIVIST CAPITAL

4.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of Climate Activist Capital (CAC), its forms, and the ways it is valorized in the internal and external poles of the Climate Activist Field (CAF). The CAF is structured such that there is a dual competition to accumulate CAC on the one hand and to legitimate the kind of CAC one possesses on the other. Therefore, climate activist practices within the CAF must be understood as interested: climate activists who acquire CAC and valorize the orientation associated with their CAC enhance their status and position within the CAF. They provide distinction and position while legitimating certain viewpoints and conceptions. Those richest in CAC are also most influential regarding the CAF's strategic direction, which means understanding their practices will be suggestive of the direction of the climate movement.

CAC consists of any resource useful in the appropriation of the profits available within the CAF while it is also the profits per se. There are three forms of CAC: Symbolic, Embodied, and Social. Symbolic CAC, a marker of status within the CAF, is the main reward. Symbolic CAC comes from activists favorably viewing another activist's practices and accomplishments. An activist's practices are rooted in a climate activist's Embodied CAC, which consists of their skills as an activist. Climate activists' ability to work with others to accomplish goals is partly dependent on their Social CAC,

the third form of capital specific to the CAF. Social CAC consists of social relationships that are useful within the CAF. Additionally, there are three factors that bear on activist CAC accumulation: total time in the field, the manner in which one enters the field, and the CAF's overall orientation structure.

I also situate CAC within CAF dynamics. No matter their orientation, climate activists seek to accumulate CAC. After all, being a “good” climate activist means carrying out work in the CAF, which results in increased CAC. However, climate activists valorize CAC differently according to their own CAC endowment and their orientation on the CAF's internal-external spectrum. In general, internally oriented activists consecrate CAC according to the CAF's own rules. They seek to position the CAF as an autonomous field with rules that are more or less opposite to those of the field of power. Externally oriented activists consecrate CAC in ways that position the CAF heteronomously, i.e., with rules that are more or less aligned with the field of power. Divergently oriented climate activists struggle to make the CAF in their own image. They seek to valorize the orientation that matches their own practice and, in doing so, enhance their own position. Moreover, the success of more internally or more externally oriented climate activists informs the efficacy of the climate movement. I argue that activists across the orientation spectrum have much to offer but in distinct ways. More externally oriented activists are better situated for recruitment, for instance, while internally oriented activists are more adept at collaborating with already deeply engaged activists. Ultimately, understanding the strengths and weaknesses of each orientation—and

activists themselves understanding their own position—offers a path to a more effective climate movement.

Climate activists do not tend to operate with conscious and rational self-interest, but it can appear so because their practices help them increase their position by accumulating and valorizing the kinds of CAC they possess. For example, a climate activist will not say “doing X would increase my position so I’ll do X.” They will say “doing X would help the cause, so I should do that.” The higher their position, the more likely climate activists are able to see and understand how doing X will increase their status within the field (“provide CAC” in my theorization). Of course, the higher up one is, the more CAC they possess and the more able they are to effectively do whatever it is they’re working on. In other words, the more likely it may be that one is seen as acting out of self-interest, the more what they are doing matches their skillset (their Embodied CAC) and their orientation. For example, a climate activist will say “this is what I can do well, so even if this is not the most important task within the CAF, this is my part of the work, this is what I’m called to do.” Some climate activists have an almost religious sense of being “called” to the work like a minister might be called to theirs; indeed, Morgan said in a debrief meeting “this is where I’m called to be” (particularly addressing white supremacy through the climate crisis (and vice versa) (see Blan. 2017)). Additionally, a climate activist’s work is also rooted in their analysis, which is heavily inflected by their structural location in the CAF. So it’s easy to rationalize any apparently rational self-interest as not the real objective. Finally, well-positioned climate activists are more likely to understand that one cannot work in the field—participating in actions,

building relationships, and so on—without accumulating CAC. Importantly though, the awareness of one's own accumulation of CAC is integrated into an actor's being where there's a seamless congruence between what seems right (effective, moral, etc.) and what is self-interested.

4.2 THREE FORMS OF CLIMATE ACTIVIST CAPITAL

4.2.1 Symbolic Climate Activist Capital

Within the CAF, Symbolic CAC is the most valuable prize. It provides distinction within the CAF via the recognition that climate activists receive from others in the CAF for their past and present practices. Symbolic CAC is distributed based on contextually appropriate practices as determined by other climate activists. Climate activists award Symbolic CAC directly when they speak about another climate activist. They also grant it indirectly through praise of an action that someone had a role in as well as through agreement or approval of a position one had taken (or with which one was otherwise associated). Climate activists with more Symbolic CAC are more influential in the awarding of Symbolic CAC because they are best able to imbue practices with distinction. Furthermore, activists closer in orientation to the recipient (the one being judged) tend to have more bearing in the social calculus of another's Symbolic CAC. This is akin to academics understanding the coin of their realm with the highest status academics being the most influential arbiters of what work and which scholar is valuable. In this way, the CAF functions like other fields: it's all relational. Indeed, social physics

are relational like the entire universe, at least as relational quantum mechanics proponents would have it (Rovelli 1996).

Symbolic CAC is valorized differently according to the CAF's structure with its internal and external poles. Both orientations (and those in the middle) share the goal of a more effective climate movement that reduces emissions and decreases climate harms. Thus every climate activist has an interest in growing the CAF and building the climate movement. However, what movement efficacy looks like and how to build the movement depend principally on position in the field—both a given activist's and the specific social space within the CAF.⁸² The clearest marker of external orientation is a general acceptance of the larger order—the dominance of the field of power—and strategy designed to work within that hierarchical system. They valorize a pragmatic, goal-oriented approach and prefer organizing models with explicit roles, hierarchy, and structures of accountability. Externally oriented activists tend to frame climate change pragmatically as a policy or regulatory issue. Their point of intervention is typically through institutionalized channels, for example, lobbying elected decision-makers (and their appointees) who need to hear rational arguments and objective information from their constituents that will convince them to take action. Externally oriented climate activists receive Symbolic CAC for this work because it is consecrated in externally oriented CAF space. This acceptance of the larger order is why elections and cooperation with power brokers are so important in externally oriented CAF space. James Hansen is

⁸² As well as the given state of the CAF, its accumulated history, and its relationship with other fields.

the patron saint of the external pole with his rational, scientific expertise and orientation toward policy, especially a carbon tax, which businesses and conservatives favor.⁸³

Those oriented inward, more toward other climate activists, do not accept this larger balance of power and instead prefer strategies and tactics that work outside of that system.⁸⁴ They valorize organizing practices like horizontal and bottom-up structures that reject the hierarchical model of the field of power, akin to what Juris (2008) calls a “horizontal networking logic.” They tend to frame climate change as an ethical issue, as a grave injustice, and call for a broad climate justice movement that is attentive to oppression in all its forms. Those on the edge of this space—those almost completely oriented toward other activists—see virtually no chance that lobbying politicians will matter, certainly not on important issues. Besides inherent antagonism to the basic structure of power, this is because internally oriented activists feel the fossil fuel industry remains a much more effective lobby than the climate movement. Internally oriented climate activists pursue action that displays their rejection of the field of power. Most notably, this includes civil disobedience and activists “putting their body on the line,” which they deem high status. Not only does CD work outside of institutional political channels, it conveys principled, moral action for internally oriented activists. Principled

⁸³ For example, see Americans for Carbon Dividends, <https://www.afcd.org/> accessed February 20, 2019

⁸⁴ This basic structure—those internally oriented distance themselves from the field of power while those externally oriented embrace it—likely works for other activist fields as well. One could substitute, for instance, the political power of correctional staff, private prison companies, and others benefiting from the status quo in the criminal (in)justice system for the fossil fuel industry, and prison abolitionists and reformers for internally and externally oriented climate activists. The more internally oriented prison activists are, the less faith they will tend to hold in working through institutional means.

action, contrasted to self-serving incrementalist action, is consecrated and those who carry it out are rewarded with Symbolic CAC. Naomi Klein is the patron saint for internally oriented climate activists, with her broad analysis that capitalism is the problem and that climate activists (following leadership from indigenous and other marginalized communities) should seize this progressive opportunity to address inequalities and social ills.

Symbolic CAC is bestowed relationally when activists favorably assess other activists as well as the practices, objects, and institutions associated with them. Objectified Symbolic CAC consists of material objects that mark an activist's participation. For instance, clothing, media, and arrest records can indicate one participated in a training or an action. Objectified Symbolic CAC consists of material objects that can be or have been useful in the field. A megaphone, for instance, serves a purpose in a range of actions while it also suggests its owner has some experience in such actions. Symbolic CAC also takes institutionalized forms as credentials, titles, and honors that mark one as an activist. A climate activist can be called "organizer" or "trainer," for example. Founding or co-founding a group or being a member of the "core team" (or whatever the term used to mark important participants, like "steering team member" or "coordinating team member") is an institutionalized kind of Symbolic CAC because it usefully encapsulates one's role in the work. An organization operating in the CAF, for example, could hire or otherwise grant an activist a title that institutionally symbolizes status. Participating in innovative, risky, effective, or otherwise special actions can also

provide institutionalized titles, like the Catonsville Nine who burned draft files with napalm in protest of the Vietnam War (Peters 2012).

Actions and campaigns are core to the development of CAC. They are strategic goals put into practice via a wide range of activities, from small group meetings to internationally coordinated marches. Technically, a climate activist could garner Symbolic CAC from individual work.⁸⁵ However, by virtue of the social exchange among CAF participants necessary to award Symbolic CAC, individual actions comprise a tiny fraction of accumulated Symbolic CAC. Besides orientation, there are two important elements in the way Symbolic CAC is awarded to climate activists: an action's connection to strategic goals and a climate activist's role in the action. This follows my observation that climate activists praised by others and rich in Symbolic CAC tended to have a keen sense of how actions and campaigns fit into strategic goals. Actions that are connected to a strategy as well as actions that clearly articulate strategy suggest forethought. Furthermore, such actions better display orientation, which is important to signal in order for other activists to offer praise or criticism. Though not a rule, campaigns of repeated and sustained actions more coherently articulate strategic goals than one-off actions and so tend to be more effective in providing Symbolic CAC. Besides the relationship between action and strategy, the other important factor in the distribution of Symbolic CAC is an activist's role. The deeper one's involvement,

⁸⁵ For instance, they could confront a politician to lobby them on a policy in an effort completely disconnected from others in the CAF. Miraculously, their pressuring of the politician could be the straw that breaks the camel's back. If other climate activists witnessed or otherwise heard about what this activist did and were impressed, they could bestow Symbolic CAC.

especially in terms of conceiving the idea and organizing others, the more Symbolic CAC they can capture. For instance, showing up at a rally provides a trivial amount of Symbolic CAC relative to organizing, speaking at, or publicizing the rally.

Symbolic CAC is closely related to other forms of CAC. As a rule, possessing CAC in any form accommodates further accumulation of CAC as “capital breeds capital” (Bourdieu 1988:85). In order to accumulate Symbolic CAC, a climate activist needs Embodied CAC they can put into circulation through practice in the CAF. Experience in the field, in turn, allows activists to accumulate Symbolic and Social CAC. Collaborative actions, especially sustained and intense campaigns, can result in institutionalized Social CAC and Symbolic CAC through the founding or expansion of a group or organization. In general, activists with more Social CAC see more opportunities for their peers to grant them Symbolic CAC.

4.2.2 Embodied Climate Activist Capital

Embodied CAC is one’s ability to organize people, to work with them to accomplish a task. It consists of organizer prowess, social skills useful in the CAF like interactional styles and linguistic ability, as well as movement knowledge (past and present), all of which can be used to accomplish goals and create advantages in the CAF. Embodied CAC is effectively knowledge of the game, how to play it, and the ability to play it well. Since perspectives of the game are structured by orientation, it is useful to examine each of the two poles. The goal at the external pole is emissions reductions, which means pragmatism and the ability to work effectively with extant structures of power. At the

internal pole, the goal is climate justice broadly—an almost idealist sense that injustice and oppression must be and can be undone—which means principled action that challenges structures of power. More externally oriented activists tend to be more adept at interacting with those outside the CAF while more internally oriented activists are more skilled at engaging those inside the CAF. In practice, this means more internally oriented activists are more proficient in the concepts and vernacular of the CAF.⁸⁶ For instance, they are more familiar with anti-oppression group norms. These activists are marked by a disposition more prone to righteous indignation, and they are better equipped to stir such sentiment among others. Internally oriented actors valorize a principled, confident, jump-right-in and do-it-yourself attitude. In contrast, externally oriented activists with much Embodied CAC present a cool and collected disposition that matches their interest in pragmatism. They valorize careful planning and detailed action choreography. They are more likely to dress in normal, non-activist clothing and steer away from activist culture that would mark them as different from other actors seeking to influence the field of power. While much of what encompasses Embodied CAC shows variation in terms of CAF orientation, some of the skills involved are useful and thus valuable wherever an activist is located on the CAF's internal to external spectrum. Listening and empathic ability, for example, are expedient whether one is talking to a deeply immersed activist or politician's aide; so too is the ability to not only plan and coordinate action, but to evaluate and draw insight from experience.

⁸⁶ The internal space of the CAF shows a stronger connection to other activist fields than does the external space, and so the Embodied CAC of internally oriented climate activists shows familiarity with the practices of progressive or Left activist fields.

Embodied CAC is in the vein of Ganz's (2004) "domain-relevant skills" and Fligstein's (1997, 2001) "social skill" (the "ability to induce cooperation among others") and relates to a long-standing symbolic interactionist concern with how people relate and how that contributes to one's sense of self. How social skill relates to sense of self is important because it provides an alternative to a self-interested rational thinking model. In Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) synthesis of field theory, this becomes the microfoundations for mesolevel action, what they call the "existential functions of the social" that have to do with meaning, identity, stress and anxiety. I generally agree with this, though these and related treatments are light on how social skill is distributed in society. There seems to be speculative agreement that everyone possesses some social skill, but it's less clear who has more of it and why. I argue here that while social skill may be widely distributed, some possess much more, and the reason they do is because of repeated practice and reflection upon that practice—as John told me, "there's nothing natural about the capacity to organize."⁸⁷ While reading about the CAF (and other social movements and analyses of social change) can provide some knowledge that can be usefully deployed by a climate activist, the hallmark route to develop Embodied CAC is through practice and reflection upon what happened, what worked well, what didn't, and how to improve. So, while climate activists with more social skill may tend to have more Embodied CAC, those most endowed owe it to their experiences within the CAF where they develop Embodied CAC.

⁸⁷ Like the reflexive practice cultivated in the Movement/Media Research Action Project (MRAP) (see <https://www.mrap.info/>, accessed February 18, 2019). Also see (Ryan and Jeffreys 2019) and the essays collected in (Croteau, Hoynes, and Ryan 2005).

Embodied CAC is closely related to Symbolic and Social CAC. A skilled climate activist will have experience collaborating with others where they developed Social CAC. These relationships can be put toward the service of more work in the CAF and more accumulation of CAC. Moreover, the more experience an activist has operating in the CAF, the more opportunity to praise one another or otherwise grant Symbolic CAC. The status granted to climate activists with a great deal of Embodied CAC means they are far more likely than less skilled actors to be able to earn a living from their participation in the CAF. Earning a livelihood within the CAF can allow for more time in the field and further accumulation of all three forms of CAC. The clearest route to accumulate Embodied CAC is through experience, and those with the most experience tend to possess the most Embodied CAC. In these ways, Embodied CAC breeds Embodied CAC.

4.2.3 Social Climate Activist Capital

Social CAC consists of social relationships that are or can be made useful in the CAF. Initiating, developing, maintaining, and utilizing social relationships are the heart of activist work in the CAF (and other activist fields). Besides individual actions or study of past activism, Social CAC is relevant to everything that happens in the CAF. Climate activists simply cannot accomplish much operating in isolation. Social CAC is about the quantity of relationships, the strengths of those ties, and the skills and status of the person or organization to which one is connected. More numerous and stronger relationships with more highly skilled or high-status activists provides the conditions for a more productive activist. A more productive activist has more opportunities for accumulating

Embodied and Symbolic CAC even while they further develop their Social CAC. For example, Social CAC in the form of a relationship to a highly positioned activist with much Embodied CAC provides opportunities to develop one's own Embodied CAC. Sustained relationships of direct collaboration increase opportunities to develop CAC by deepening the relationship, carrying out action, and reflecting together.

Orientation inflects the ways climate activists valorize Social CAC. Internally oriented activists situated against the field of power value connections to other climate activists, activists in other fields, and marginalized individuals and groups (e.g., indigenous, black, trans or queer, undocumented). Externally oriented activists value relationships to those with power and status outside the CAF, most especially those consecrated within the field of power itself like politicians and businesspeople, and the people familiar with them. Social CAC is more like Symbolic CAC than Embodied CAC in that possession of the former two, when marked by orientation, can be a liability in a differently oriented context. For example, being skilled at jail support (Embodied CAC) is useful in the internal space but not a liability in the external space. However, relationships to politicians (Social CAC) or status related to an externally marked action (Symbolic CAC) could be problematic in the internal space.

Social CAC spans a spectrum of formality. Working as a paid employee of a climate organization means a more formal relationship to one's colleagues while collaboration with acquaintances or friends is a less formal relationship. Internally oriented activists place more value on informal relationships that are based on a shared climate justice frame. Externally oriented activists place more value on formal

relationships based on shared goals. One can also be in both an informal and formal relationship at the same time. More ambiguity vis-à-vis relationship formality may be more likely to result in conflict that can jeopardize Social CAC, especially if there's a sizeable difference in orientation. It is also the case, however, that the more extreme the dissimilarity in orientation, the less likely two climate activists are to work together and be in a direct social relationship, especially for sustained periods of time. Table 4-1 below presents an overview of the three forms of CAC and how they are evaluated in the internal and external poles of the CAF.

Table 4-1: Three Forms of CAC Specified by Orientation and with Examples

	Internal orientation	External orientation
Symbolic CAC	Favorable views from other climate activists, especially highly positioned internally oriented activists	Favorable views from externally oriented climate activists and actors outside the CAF
Examples of Symbolic CAC	Recognition of horizontal, participatory organizing practices; principled civil disobedience; innovative direct action; broad justice oriented framing	Recognition of pragmatic, goal-oriented practices, non-protest actions like lobbying, mainstream media coverage, frame shifting to appeal to other fields like the field of power
Embodied CAC	Experienced and proficient in CAF practices, especially those valued at the internal pole	Calculated, non-activist-y practices in line with field of power
Examples of Embodied CAC	Effective engagement of other activists, conveys righteous indignation, skilled at participatory and horizontal	Effective engagement of politicians and powerful actors outside the CAF, familiarity with science and policy, conveys cool

	practices that gesture to inclusion	and rational thinking, goal-oriented practices accepting of hierarchy
Social CAC	Strong relationships with other activists (especially climate but also other progressive activist spaces), especially high status internally oriented ones	Strong relationships to externally oriented climate activists and actors outside the CAF, especially those with high status
Examples of Social CAC	Internally oriented climate activists, especially marginalized activists and groups (e.g., indigenous, black, trans) and with connections to other activist fields, Sonny for example; activist lawyers; less formal, based on shared justice orientation	Politicians and their staff (city councilors, mayor, state and federal legislators); actors in other dominant fields (e.g., business, media); more formal, based on shared goals
Underlying relationship to field of power	Rejection. Seek autonomous CAF with rules distinct from the field of power	Acceptance. Seek homologous CAF with rules similar to the field of power
Age	Very young and very old	Middle aged

4.3 THREE FACTORS RELEVANT TO CAC ACCRETION

Time practicing in the CAF, CAF entry, and the overall structure of the CAF are relevant to the orientation of climate activists and their CAC accumulation. One other factor is economic capital. Money can purchase useful things like materials for an action or advertisements for an event. Assets like homes and cars may also be mobilized within the CAF, for meetings, housing activists, transporting supplies, and so on. Activists who do not need to work for income outside the CAF because of wealth, partner's income, or

ability to earn income within the CAF are advantaged in that they can devote more time to climate. The ability to steer resources toward an activist or campaign is important, not only because resources are extremely useful, but also because a successful fundraising record facilitates further success via reputation and social contacts. Though it functions similarly, fundraising ability is not the same thing as personally held economic capital. It is more useful in that a climate activist's Embodied, Symbolic, and Social CAC, as well as capital from other fields, especially social, are all relevant in being able to drive financial resources to the CAF. In this way, fundraising ability marks all three forms of CAC.

4.3.1 Total Time in the Field

A climate activist's total time in the field is important because it has such a strong relationship to accumulated CAC. Earlier entry into the CAF provides more time to participate in the field, though one can enter and not spend much time practicing in CAF. Quantitatively this would be total time since entry into the field multiplied by the percentage of that time spent working in the social space and developing one's skills. Additionally, all else equal, activists accrue more Symbolic CAC for participating in earlier actions. For instance, participating in the CD against the Keystone XL pipeline during summer 2011 at the White House provides more Symbolic CAC than participating

in the similar 2014 CD.⁸⁸ Time may matter more in the CAF because it is young relative to most other (activist) fields, and thus it is less established. Therefore, earlier entry provides more opportunities for activists to shape the way it operates and valorizes CAC.

4.3.2 Method of Field Entry

The way in which one enters the CAF—the activist recruiter’s position, the related framing deployed, and the age and related position (past experience in other fields) of the new entrant—has some bearing on an activist’s position. The orientation of the recruiting activist, especially when there is an ongoing relationship, will inform and structure the recruited activist’s own perspective matter. If someone’s first encounter with the field was through a well-positioned activist with a lot of Embodied CAC, then they will be more likely to enter on solid ground and develop their own skills. Well-positioned climate activists (and this holds for other activist fields as well) talk about “meeting people where they’re at.” However, talk and deed do not necessarily match. Indeed, the framing that new entrants hear in terms of internal/external orientation typically matches the taken for granted orientation of the recruiting activist, as opposed to a frame customized to the recruit. Is climate change about influencing politicians to adjust energy policy, or is it a fight to save organized society and the billions of lives, especially those

⁸⁸ All else is not equal for very internally oriented activists who note the 2014 action (organized by young people, overwhelmingly college students) was more of a grassroots effort than the 2011 action (organized with the biggest names in US environmentalism (see Barlow et al. 2011)). Strongly internally oriented activists criticize “Big Green” and point out how, for instance, the invitational letter for the 2011 action tells people to dress as though it were a “business meeting” and later provides another “sartorial tip” urging activists to wear Obama campaign buttons (ibid.).

most vulnerable and least responsible? The answer depends much more on the recruiter than the recruited. Importantly, this means that activists operating in the middle, those who can deploy arguments from either pole (or both), tend to be the most effective recruiters because they can actually meet recruits where they're at.

Highly positioned climate activists with the most CAC tend to work with those already in the field (especially those oriented similarly). Thus new entrants are more likely to have their first direct relationship with someone in a lower position who does not fully understand the rules of the game (Bourdieu's "*doxa*") and what is at stake (Bourdieu's "*illusio*"). The middle or low positioned climate activist recruiting others will more likely be on a learning curve about these matters, including the past and present state of the CAF, the polity, and climate change; they might even be going through an existential crisis about what climate change means for humanity. Emotions can therefore run hot in this period, which is useful in some situations, but is more often problematic because such climate activists can appear hysterical or disheartened. This was how some non-climate activists perceived Brian and Christina, the two main climate activists involved in the early days before better positioned climate activists came on the scene. An important takeaway is that better positioned climate activists with more status and Embodied CAC should consider spending more energy on recruitment. Engaging new, low-status activists will not increase Symbolic CAC for highly positioned activists, at least not with the current valorization structure, but they can grow their Social CAC and further increase Symbolic CAC over a longer time horizon because of it.

Finally, the age and past experience of a new climate activist is relevant to their CAF position. Field entry at a young age, and old age to a slightly lesser extent, tends to encourage inward orientation. Young activists have had fewer opportunities to be influenced by the field of power and other non-activist fields, so their thinking better accommodates an acceptance of an autonomously structured CAF. Moreover, with fewer connections and capital in non-activist fields, in which capital accumulation can be more difficult, it's in their interest to specialize in the internal space of the CAF. Similarly, older activists, especially retirees, will be less dependent upon the field of power and perhaps more willing to reject its rules. Meanwhile, middle-aged recruits in the heart of their wage-earning years will be more likely to hold an external orientation that better matches their position outside the CAF. Experience in other fields also structures new climate activists' positions. Work in politics and business tends to increase external orientation while experience in other activist fields prior to entry tends to increase inward orientation.

4.3.3 Overall Structure of the Field

Another factor that influences activist orientation is the overall structure of the CAF. All values are relational so that the value of an activist's CAC rises or falls depending on swings in the CAF. This is akin to the way an artist's work can gain or lose status without any material alteration due to shifts in the cultural field. In the early years of the climate movement, the CAF as a whole was oriented more externally than internally. During this period, externally oriented activists received a bonus to their CAC in that it matched what

was popular at the time. The shift in the late 2000's and early 2010's led to a reversal where the internal pole became more popular to the benefit of internally oriented activists who then received more support, praise, and status. Since shifts in the balance of power within the CAF contribute to more or less status, activists who invest in strategies oriented toward shifting the overall structure or pushing out boundaries can be understood as speculating on the future value of the Symbolic CAC associated with their practices.

4.4 CAC EXAMPLES

Climate activists' fight against the GPP can be understood as a story of climate activists developing their Embodied CAC, expanding their Social CAC, and accumulating Symbolic CAC. Repeated meetings, regular CD training sessions, and plentiful actions provided opportunities to collaborate, develop skills, reflect, coordinate action, and accumulate CAC.

Two interactions between Carrie and Juliana displayed how Embodied and Symbolic CAC relate and how skills can be weaponized against other activists. In interviewing Carrie I learned that part of the reason Juliana stopped participating in Fight's CD trainings was because she felt Carrie was "eclipsing" her. Juliana wanted more responsibility and felt like Carrie "wasn't giving her the space." Carrie's greater endowments of both Embodied and Symbolic CAC meant that she had more power, which enabled her to continue receiving the Symbolic CAC associated with being the

trainer. I witnessed a similar dynamic when Juliana was giving an overview of CD to activists at a 350State organized march that went through Geneva. An internally oriented activist deeply experienced with CD pushed back against Juliana when she shared Fight's guidelines. This activist said she wanted to go limp and not give her name—practices that highly internally oriented activists see as principled and effective in causing further delay and straining law enforcement. Juliana had told this activist Fight was organizing CD differently, but she seemed stuck and unable to offer effective justification. At that point, Carrie jumped in and symbolically disappeared Juliana. "I took it over from Juliana," Carrie said, adding that it was conscious and felt it was a little harsh but also necessary in that Juliana needed help. Carrie had much more Embodied CAC, including direct experience with this type of CD and this type of activist (Social CAC). Thus Carrie was able to connect with the activist, pointing out how she had "a *lot* of principle" that Carrie "totally" understood. In a respectful way that left some room for autonomy, Carrie asked if the activist would "consider" making this helpful adjustment. Both instances showed how Carrie's larger amount of Embodied CAC helped her accumulate Symbolic CAC. The sidelining of Juliana meant she was less able to develop Embodied CAC in the form of the trainer skillset. Moreover, she would not receive Symbolic CAC from facilitating trainings and in the latter instance had her authority and competence challenged publicly, which lowered her Symbolic CAC.

Highly positioned climate activists with much Symbolic CAC were regularly held up as important and their skills and strategic preferences celebrated. For instance, Michael commented on Jack's high status by telling me that "when Jack talks, people

listen.” Juliana observed that high status Lisa “has a lot of pull in social spaces.” This is because of her Embodied CAC, how she “gets things done in a certain kind of way” with “a power behind” what she says that “moves people.” This Embodied CAC, Juliana noted, was rooted in how Lisa had “done it for a long time.” Lisa “just knows a lot of people” so her Social CAC also contributed. When I asked activists to reflect on Fight, several of them pointed to Lisa as an almost super human organizer, “like our holy grail” who brought “the fight to another level,” and she “was the difference” between a campaign and no campaign. Activists also praised Juliana herself. For instance, she won the “most work done with least sleep” award at the one year anniversary potluck in October 2016—by her own admission, Juliana “just did a fuck ton of work.” This work developed her Embodied CAC while contributing to her Symbolic CAC, which increased substantially through this fight. Trevor said he “really deeply respects” Juliana, especially her “powerful” orientation toward justice.

Climate activists tapped their Social CAC in many ways that facilitated action and increased their Symbolic CAC. They collaborated with several existing climate groups, like Mothers For Climate, Majorville Climate Action Network, 350State, Butterfly Coalition, groups of college students, and groups connected by faith. They also utilized endorsements from high-status activists for help with recruitment. This also had the effect of associating their Symbolic CAC with the CD campaign against the GPP. For instance, as the CD campaign kicked off, Bill McKibben recorded a video inviting activists to take

action against the GPP.⁸⁹ Thus his Symbolic CAC was lent to Fight activists. He also explicitly thanked his “old friend Lisa,” which worked to increase Lisa’s Symbolic CAC by demonstrating that it was her Social CAC that made McKibben’s endorsement possible. In the lead up to Escalation Summer, Josh Fox recorded a video celebrating activists fighting the GPP and using CD, “the most impactful” tactic.⁹⁰ This was an effort at recruitment, but it also worked to show that a high-status figure viewed CD favorably. Like they did with McKibben then, Fight drew on Fox’s Symbolic CAC to expand their own. They also recruited activists with experience in other fields to tap into their skillset. Lisa told me how they brought skilled trainer Carrie into the CAF to facilitate Fight’s CD trainings by tapping into Carrie’s decades of Embodied CAC, especially regarding training.

Earlier in the fight, externally oriented activists like Danie were able to increase their status and social capital by engaging directly with politicians over the issue. They were able to show their technical expertise and present rational, pragmatic, externally oriented analyses. Later in the resistance, it was internally oriented activists who accumulated CAC. The young people’s lockdown action that I mentioned near the end of the last chapter, for instance, gave these activists another notch on their CD-belt. The chains and locks cost many hundreds of dollars—so it required upfront resources—but the action was used to fundraise money to reimburse the activists. The main organizer of the action also drew on their extant Social CAC to put together the group as well as tap

⁸⁹ McKibben’s video is at REDACTED FOR ANONYMITY (accessed February 22, 2019).

⁹⁰ Josh Fox’s video is at REDACTED FOR ANONYMITY (accessed February 22, 2019).

other activists with skills to cut chains, contact media, carry out jail support, and so on, which resulted in increased Embodied and Symbolic CAC for those involved, but especially for the main organizer. Similarly, one activist was able to mobilize activists at Unitarian Universalist (UU) congregations by drawing on his relationships and past mobilization of a specific congregation. By building his Social CAC and developing the Embodied CAC of these activists, climate activists from UU congregations participated in many actions.

4.5 CLIMATE MOVEMENT EFFICACY

As climate activists operate in the CAF, their deployment and accumulation of CAC reflects their own orientation. For example, as an activist becomes more involved in the CAF (or any field), their Social CAC increasingly reflects their own orientation such that they more unquestioningly accept the rules and stakes of the game. In this way, activists and their colleagues—and more so the closer they are to either pole—act to reinforce one another's ways of thinking and strategic and tactical preferences. Therefore, the structure of the CAF tends to reproduce itself by activists who have adapted to this structure and contribute to its reproduction through their practices. Though difficult, conscious attention to these self-reinforcing field dynamics that activists create may be helpful. Activists already understand that some are better suited and more skilled for specific tasks and roles, however, they fail to associate this with orientation. Indeed, while activists across the orientation spectrum have much to offer, the divergent value system

for either pole results in distinct skills. Ultimately, understanding the strengths and weaknesses of each orientation—and activists themselves understanding their own position—offers a path to a more effective climate movement. In in order to highlight how the divergent value system can limit movement efficacy, I elaborate by taking up two core issues: the tactic of CD and the role of intersectionality.

4.5.1 Shifting Civil Disobedience

The CDAP Strategy was an effort to shift CD away from the internal pole where it is highly valorized and make it more amenable to more externally oriented activists. Notably, internally oriented activists criticized this. Though they recognized that a more civil kind of CD helpfully lowered the commitment bar, it may have been “so polite” as Carrie put it, that it failed to “capture the imagination or outrage of more people.” Internally oriented activists celebrate CD that allows for activists to take principled action that demonstrates their conviction and agency (and garners Symbolic CAC). With Fight, Carrie felt the actions were “very orchestrated.” They had a “sense of decorum” that wasn’t her framing. The action guidelines, for example, required that activists “be dignified in dress and demeanor.”⁹¹ Carrie contrasted this CD to “Standing Rock or the South”—thus connecting to the Symbolic CAC associated with indigenous and black led resistance—where part of the energy was the willingness “to suffer for greater good.” She wondered whether activists being “dragged off” would have “catalyzed support” via “a

⁹¹ This is reminiscent of “worthiness” in Tilly’s (1999) WUNC conceptualization (Worthiness, Unity, Numbers, and Commitment) of the elements essential to understanding a social movement’s power.

different image around the confrontation—good vs. evil.” (Carrie was most experienced with this kind of CD where activists “did not cooperate with self-evacuation.”) Others questioned Fight’s thinking around CD after the fact. For example, Trevor reflected that maybe he “should have” “questioned whether that level of respectability was effective.” Indeed, scholarship (e.g. Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Jasper 1999) has shown that at least to some extent, effective movements rely upon evocative moral claims that resonate emotionally.

However, the internally oriented critique of the CDAP Strategy largely missed the mark. Carrie, Trevor and other activists more internally oriented than Lisa sought CD that would be compelling and enable the creation of more Symbolic CAC for the righteous few—for other internally oriented activists. Trevor told me that he became involved when Juliana was arrested for entering the pipeline construction site. It “really shocked” him that he knew “somebody who’s willing to do that.” Moreover, he thought it was “a good way for people to take concrete action, something tangible as opposed to calling your politician and leaving a message.” But how much does CD build power and how effective is it? In this case, it was mostly already active climate activists that participated in CD, including about a quarter of the arrests being a given activist’s second CD against the GPP (to say nothing of CD from other fights). CD, especially sustained campaigns like this, can be a potent tactic that powerfully unites activists, but it seems ineffective in building power by recruiting more people into the CAF. Moreover, the CD against the GPP never seemed to have a chance of succeeding. As several activists reflected to me

and their peers, the only way CD would have had a chance of working was if there had been thousands engaging in it.

Lisa was onto something when she problematized “ego-driven” CD and offered a reduction in CD’s commitment bar so less “hardcore” activists can participate. However, the CDAP Strategy might not get the climate movement there.⁹² It placed a lot of emphasis on high status activists who could garner media attention. Additionally, efforts to take CD cases to trial and pursue the necessity defense have been more about increasing opportunities for already deeply committed activists to engage in more CD than about appealing to an external audience. No matter how low the commitment bar for CD, it would seem to leave little place for the not-already-committed to participate. A more effective antidote to the insular and Symbolic CAC producing nature of CD would be alternative tactics that fit into a strategy designed to build power. But climate activists

⁹² One positive of the CDAP Strategy worth mentioning, especially its attention to the courts via the necessity defense, is its potential defense against trumped up charges. There are already cases of charging non-violent protesters with terrorism or otherwise treating them as dangerous criminals, such as animal rights activists (Pellow 2014; Potter 2011), racial justice activists (or what the FBI has called “Black Identity Extremists (Winter and Weinberger 2017)), and the water protectors at Standing Rock. Moreover, section 1021(b)(2) of the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act allows for the indefinite detention of US citizens and permanent residents without charge or trial. The detentions could last as long as the US is fighting the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, or “associated forces,” which could mean interminably (Palazzolo 2012). A District Court granted the Chris Hedges and other plaintiffs a permanent injunction, but the Obama Administration appealed and a Circuit Court overturned the injunction on grounds that the plaintiffs didn’t have standing, which the Supreme Court effectively affirmed when they denied hearing the case (Denniston 2014). The plaintiffs repeatedly said they would drop the case if US citizens were excluded from the statute (Scahill 2018). The government’s refusal and the continued presence of this provision suggest that the courts might not ultimately provide relief to activists deemed terrorists or threats to national security. Additionally, the Trump Administration may be violating the Posse Comitatus Act with active duty troops deployed on the US southern border performing the task of law enforcement (Nevitt 2018a, 2018b). The CDAP Strategy may defend against an escalated response from law enforcement and prosecutors. At the very least, it increases activists’ Embodied CAC in the form of knowledge and ability to operate competently in the legal system.

fighting the GPP had an almost unthinking acceptance of the utility of CD—no doubt related to its Symbolic CAC producing nature—and thus it captured an overwhelming majority of their total energy. Moreover, they saw their CD as a necessary escalation, but it was unclear if this was an escalation in reality, which would have meant action that displayed grassroots power (necessitating building a mass base) and increased the costs for decision makers' inaction.

Organizer and sociologist Jonathan Smucker (2012, 2017) uses the term “political identity paradox” to describe how shared identity and orientation bonds activists and builds community, but it also isolates and differentiates activists from the public and potential recruits. The internally oriented climate activists who led the fight against the GPP shared an understanding that climate change is a crisis, climate justice is the solution, and CD is an effective route to get there. Their mutual orientation created solidarity that energized them to work long hours while their past activist experiences provided skills and know-how, the Embodied CAC so useful to work in the CAF. In this sense, they had what SGPP desperately needed. However, their insularity meant they lacked something SGPP had: messages framed with broad appeal (anyone can relate to safety); truly low-commitment tasks like signing a petition, calling a politician, or planting a yard sign; and reaching non-activists by canvassing the neighborhood and tabling at high traffic spots like grocery stores. When Fight waxed and SGPP waned there was the possibility of an amalgamation of the positives in each group. Unfortunately, Lisa was correct that Fight cannibalized SGPP, which effectively ceased to function when their most active members joined Fight (“where the action was” as John put it).

The solution to the political identity paradox and to the insularity of climate activists, especially highly internally oriented ones, is not to remove shared identity and orientation, nor is it to tweak CD (a core aspect of the internal pole's value system); rather, it is to increase the status of low-level work like canvassing and bring much more energy into creating opportunities for new activists to practice and develop their skills. High status activists are well-positioned to do this work because the hierarchical structure of the CAF means they have more power to influence what is celebrated. This is part of why I appreciate Lisa's critique of self-righteous activists devoted to purity and her (and others') efforts to engage already established religious networks. But Lisa also did not believe that she should be doing low-level work and the whole gamut of approaches outside of CD—which she admitted were not only useful but “necessary”—because she felt “called” to CD and her particular angle on it. This calling belies her already accumulated CAC built up around CD and the CDAP Strategy. It is like the academic or artist who says they could not imagine doing anything else, that theirs is the only path they could have followed, while failing to consider how their decades of accumulated field specific capital is at stake.

4.5.2 Flipped Hierarchies

In the internal social space of the CAF, power seems to operate with an inverse of the standard hierarchies within the field of power, at least discursively. There is no question that the dominant hierarchy positions wealthy, educated, white, heterosexual, documented, cisgendered men at the top. Positioned against the field of power, internally

oriented activists valorize dominated categories, which create a special challenge for those who would typically dominate. Their social space is constructed as such partially because of the nature of the work (e.g., dominated groups bear the heaviest burden regarding climate impacts even though they have contributed little to the problem) and partially because of the longer history of the broader progressive activist field, which also has this moralizing dimension. A black or indigenous woman, by virtue of their dominated position within the field of power, will be held in high esteem within this part of the field. It seems that the further one goes into the interlocking matrix of domination, the more discursively valorized one becomes. However, there seems to be an inverse relationship between this valorization and actual power held within the CAF. The dominance of white, well-resourced men remains at a macro-level across the environmental movement (Taylor 2014) and the CAF seems little different in this regard. For instance, while a queer African American will be discursively constructed as consecrated, they will likely not hold a position of power within the movement, if they are present at all. Instead, dominant actors gain Symbolic CAC by demonstrating their awareness of marginalization and oppression, even if largely lip-service.

In the fight against the GPP, activists in dominated positions were largely absent, which led to self-criticism, especially from the most internally oriented. Moreover, virtually all of the activists that held a dominated position in one way also had other dominant positions. For instance, Carrie was gay but had money, college education, and whiteness. Lisa came from a working class background but was white, educated, and had risen to the middle class. Despite their current lower class positions, Juliana and Tommy

both came from upper middle class backgrounds. Morgan, the one black person to play any kind of leadership role said that in her community, she's "about as privileged as you'll find." Nevertheless, because of the way oppressed people are valorized and because of their largely dominant identity positions, activists felt the need to spend time studying the oppression of marginalized groups.⁹³ It was not coincidental that this happened when more internally oriented activists joined Fight around the time of Escalation Summer in 2016. They have a feel for the game (Bourdieu 1984) in that they understand the inverse hierarchy within the internal pole of the CAF and the way that speaking to these issues can deliver them Symbolic CAC. For example, during the first Fight organizing meeting that Morgan facilitated, Juliana called attention to these issues by noting that "race and class have not been part of the conversation." Kelsey was frustrated by the celebratory attitude of those engaging in CD as well as "a lack of court etiquette and understanding of privilege," for instance in the smiling faces and picture taking outside of court.

Activists dedicated time in several Fight organizing meetings to discuss issues of marginalization and oppression. For example, they read and discussed Coates' (2014) Case for Reparations and also thought about ways to better incorporate an intersectional framework into their work. As Carrie pointed out, the core activist team was in flux in the summer of 2016, "there were a lot kind of random people who were saying we need to talk about racism." Being internally oriented, Carrie necessarily had no problem with

⁹³ For discussion of the discourses and practices surrounding exclusion in the context of the US Social Forum, see (Smith, Juris, and Social Forum Research Collective 2008).

this, but noted that it took the group “in a different direction.” For instance, Fight held a number of actions that sought to directly connect to the indigenous resistance at Standing Rock. I read the move toward explicit conversation around oppressed groups as a Symbolic CAC producing act that became more important when a handful of activists with more visibly dominated positions entered. For these activists, there is an increased likelihood of direct experience with the problems of marginalization. For instance, someone like Kelsey who does not identify on the gender binary more regularly thinks about marginalized gender categories because they experience its effects viscerally. Identity does not directly lead to making interventions like the ones Kelsey made, but the repeated experience does make that more likely. Thus a marginalized identity can work to increase one’s position via effective moves that receive Symbolic CAC: more experience with a problem increases the likelihood of working to address it and thus Embodied CAC specific to these issues is developed.

This status enhancing production process is more common and more powerful in internally oriented spaces that are more interested in self-criticism and inherently more connected to other activist spaces than is the externally oriented space. Critically, the process only flows when the marginalized identity is made visible. Discussions around race are more likely to occur relative to class because the former is much more visible. Furthermore, there’s a long-standing awareness and problematization of the whiteness of some activist spaces (which is not to say it’s regularly brought to the fore or that action is taken to understand or remedy the situation). It is now common in activist spaces to provide gender pronouns, which spotlights those who do not identify as they are

categorized. If one thinks more attention to marginalized positions would be useful, then engendering norms like gender pronouns that bring them attention would be useful. The gender conscious pronoun practice could be replicated with racial and class identities, especially given that the latter is often hidden, embedded in practices that can weaken social movements (Leondar-Wright 2014). In the end, discursive attention to these issues generates Symbolic CAC but may be insignificant in practically addressing the underlying structural power imbalances vis-à-vis race, class, and gender. One long-time activist observed “an obsession with identity,” “particularly in young folks in the climate movement and JVP [Jewish Voices for Peace].” He contrasted that discursive obsession to campaigns that can unite people like Fight for \$15, which “speaks to the demands of black people far more than talking on white supremacy.” I tend to agree—talk is cheap, so to speak—though this hardly forecloses its utility for activists in generating Symbolic CAC.

Fight’s shift to discuss and, to a small extent, work on issues around white supremacy can be seen through a couple of actions. Before the shift, Trevor made an effort to connect to a campaign against a liquefied natural gas (LNG) facility that centered the environmental injustice of the project. Fight wanted to connect to this fight to “draw systematic attention to the interconnectedness of everything” and how the fossil fuel industry cares only about profit, which comes at the expense of communities. Trevor made a whole website, wrote up a detailed description of the issue and connections, and spent a fair amount of time working on it. However, the group Trevor was in touch with was highly internally oriented and, as he explained, “wanted nothing to do with us.”

Trevor said he “jumped into a hornet’s nest” and “completely got rejected, partly because I was white [and] partly because we’re from Geneva, which was an affluent community, which I wasn’t even from but they wouldn’t listen to it.” It was perhaps a missed opportunity that seemed to center around the white privilege of Fight. Trevor said it set him back and that he “was really upset about it.”

Later, after the shift, there was a CD action that explicitly connected to Standing Rock, proclaiming “water is life” and drawing attention to the way frontline communities bear the brunt of the climate harms. One of the activists, Cam, who locked their head to a car to halt pipeline construction, told me they had stopped participating in the environmental movement “because it was too white—it was all white.” Cam said their action in Geneva was the “first thing” they had done around climate change and they “just showed up one day to put [their] body on the line.” Cam thought that white people in activist circles were “starting to wake up” and so that was “another reason” they liked “being involved in this moment” and participating in action whenever they “can throw in.” They did not want to talk about any of the details of the action—this activist asked me if I was an agent, and they clearly understood security culture practices (Pellow 2014)—but it was clear to me that this was a Symbolic CAC producing CD action. Cam had previously been involved in much direct action, especially queer liberation and anti-nuclear action. They were highly internally oriented and identified as “solidarity activist” who felt “a sense of responsibility” to defend “frontline communities” because of their privilege. I asked Cam why they participated in this CD action as opposed to other work like lobbying politicians, canvassing, or anything outside of CD: “I don’t have that kind

of time to tell you the truth” and “that’s just not what I’m into doing these days.” On canvassing specifically, they said they’re “not that good” at it and “don’t like it that much.” Perhaps feeling my line of questioning that was targeting the status-enhancing aspect of their participation in this fight, they said they showed up at “things other than getting arrested.” This CD action that connected to Standing Rock shut down construction for about two hours, so it was effective in that sense, but crucially the Symbolic CAC producing nature of the action was central.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of CAC and how orientation shapes what is valued. I also discussed the factors relevant to CAC accumulation and showcased some examples of CAC in operation. Finally, I examined efforts to shift thinking around CD and the way that those in marginalized and oppressed positions are valorized discursively even though they hold little power within the CAF. In the conclusion, I review findings and highlight contributions. I also draw on activists’ reflections and recent developments in the CAF and suggest ways to enhance the climate movement’s efficacy.

5 CONCLUSION: LESSONS FROM A BATTLE LOST TO HELP WIN THE WAR

5.1 INTRODUCTION

About a year and a half after the Geneva Pipeline Project was in operation, and elite magazine ran a story on a court case involving climate activists who had blocked pipeline construction in the Many Deaths Action (MDA) (Kor. 2018). What made this case noteworthy and the activists “twenty-three of the boldest” as Kormann put it in *The New Yorker*? After all, 198 arrests occurred in the sustained campaign of non-violent civil disobedience against this pipeline. Moreover, the quality and quantity of the coverage the MDA received was orders of magnitude higher than the others.⁹⁴ Why was this so?

The MDA represented an attempt to shift CD away from the internal pole of the CAF toward the external pole and thus broaden its power, what I have called the CDAP Strategy. Those organizing the MDA sought to thread the needle, so to speak, between the internal and external view of CD by maintaining its principled nature among more internally oriented activists (thus the importance of targeting fossil fuel infrastructure as opposed to a merely symbolic target) while also aiming to draw media attention through

⁹⁴ The action was covered by the Associated Press, the *Majorville Globe*, the *Financial Times*, *Democracy Now!*, the *Guardian*, NBC News, Regional Cable News, the *Houston Chronicle* where Enterprise Energy is headquartered, *Majorville Magazine*, the *American Prospect*, and right wing outlets like the *Daily Caller* and *Breitbart* (Associated Press 2016a, 2016b; Capelouto 2016; Clauss 2016; Democracy Now! 2016a, 2016b, 2018; Fol. 2016; Fox News 2016; Guardian 2016; Gur. 2016; Houston Chronicle 2016; Hudson 2016; Meyer 2016; NBC News 2016; NECN 2016; Rosen 2016).

spectacle and star power. Furthermore, in using the courts to pursue the necessity defense, these climate activists sought to make CD a more widely utilized tool, for both internally oriented activists (who could more frequently engage in CD if necessity defenses win) and externally oriented activists (who might appreciate both the recognition from the legal field that is closer to the field of power than the CAF and the additional opportunities to draw media attention). Thus, the MDA and the CDAP Strategy were designed to make CD both more acceptable and more potent.

The outsized attention the MDA received clearly indicates some success in reaching outside the CAF. Moreover, it increased the Symbolic CAC for participants and especially organizers such as Lisa and other proponents of the CDAP Strategy. Unfortunately, climate activists have structured the CAF such that efforts to shift CD—the preferred tactic of internally oriented climate activists—externally toward the field of power elicit criticism of “selling out.” This was especially the case in the MDA due to the way the Butterfly Coalition Action the day prior was understood as constraining activist agency for the sake of the higher status MDA participants, plus it was a clear case of hierarchy in decision-making, which internally oriented activists position themselves against. Therefore, while the CDAP Strategy saw some success in increasing external appeal, internally oriented activists disapproved and criticized it.

In chapter 4, I proposed an alternative to the CDAP Strategy of tweaking CD. It draws on my analysis of the campaign against the GPP project where, on the one hand the more externally oriented SGPP disagreed over framing, tactics, and strategy. They lacked the shared identity and purpose that was so prevalent in the more internally

oriented Fight. However, they worked with people outside the CAF, and while their low-level activities could have been better organized, that they had them meant there was space for these not-yet-activists to ease into the CAF. On the other hand, Fight worked overwhelmingly with climate activists, those already operating in the CAF. They had more of a shared identity and strongly agreed in the efficacy of CD. While there's a place for focused work like this that engages those who are already active, Fight lacked the recruitment and base-building activities that increase the climate movement's power rather than merely demonstrate it. The main reason is because such activities are low status and contribute little to an activist's Symbolic CAC. Therefore, I proposed that activists—especially high status activists best positioned to do so—intentionally attempt to increase the status of low-level work like canvassing and recruitment. The beauty of such a strategy is that it would allow for more internally oriented climate activists to continue developing and drawing on their strengths—their shared beliefs and practices—while being forced to confront how those beliefs and practices are perceived by non-activists. In this way, internally oriented climate activists would decrease their insularity while taking on more of the critical recruitment and base-building work essential to strengthening the climate movement.

There's another lesson to draw from my analysis. Namely, activist campaigns (like the effort to stop the GPP project) and movements more broadly will be better served by drawing on the strengths of internally and externally oriented practices. In the fight against the GPP, climate activists focused overwhelmingly on an internally oriented CD campaign. They discounted externally oriented efforts that contest directly with the

field of power. More broadly, however, it is not the case that internally oriented activists' tactical preference for CD or their broad climate justice framing necessarily excludes attention to the field of power. The Sunrise Movement's campaign to catapult the Green New Deal into national policy debates in the US—in part through CD targeting Speaker of the House Pelosi—demonstrates this clearly.

5.2 BROAD OVERVIEW

In broad strokes, the fight against the GPP was a story of the strengths and weaknesses in focusing on an externally oriented strategy in the first phase of the resistance and concentrating on an internally oriented strategy in the second phase of the resistance. The external strategy in the first phase saw much success in targeting politicians and drawing attention to the dangerous pipeline project. However, these activists lacked unity and group cohesion. As internally oriented climate activists increasingly became involved, they developed strong bonds and unleashed a huge amount of activist energy in the CD campaign around which they coalesced. However, they became myopically focused on CD and gave very little attention to actors outside the CAF. As John said, Fight lost “sight that it's not just about stopping the [pipeline construction] work.”

I have argued that what happened in the resistance—what climate activists did—was structured through activists' positions within the CAF. The dominance of externally oriented activists in SGPP and, conversely, the dominance of internally oriented activists in Fight meant there was little space for multiple strategies designed to draw on the

strengths of each orientation. For example, the community engagement in the first phase would have been most welcomed as the CD campaign unfolded later. As Lisa recognized, the resistance “probably would have been more powerful and more successful—not probably, it would've been more powerful and more successful if somebody had been organizing the actual community that was right there.” However, the rewards of the CAF, most importantly Symbolic CAC, structured activists’ practices such that they were oriented toward one or the other pole in ways that cultivated antagonism from their divergently oriented peers. For instance, the early activists’ reluctance to move beyond a NIMBY approach framed in terms of safety clashed with internally oriented activists’ unwillingness to compromise their climate justice frame, which left little space to find common ground. There were some attempts to bridge these divisions. Unsurprisingly, they were led by activists *not* deeply embedded within the CAF and, therefore, whose status was not determined by the economy of CAC. For example, Carrie was the main force behind the advertisement in the local neighborhood paper that sought to explain why activists were engaging in CD. And Jack was the principal force behind the early collaboration among neighborhood and non-neighborhood based activists. In general though, the economy of Symbolic CAC with the CAF tended to work against collaboration across difference regarding orientation. A striking example of this was the way highly internally oriented activists criticized Lisa for the CDAP Strategy.

5.3 DRAWING ATTENTION AND BUILDING POWER

Research from the Yale Program in Climate Change Communication and the George Mason University Center for Climate Change Communication has found an increasing percentage of the public to be “alarmed” about climate change. In 2010, only ten percent of the US public were in the alarmed category, but as of December 2018, 29% fell into this category (Gustafson, Leiserowitz, and Maibach 2019; Leiserowitz et al. 2010). Leiserowitz and colleagues describe those in the alarmed category to be the most concerned about climate change as well as the most motivated to take action. Combining the alarmed segment with the “concerned”—the next most concerned and motivated category—shows that a majority (59%) of the population now sympathizes with climate activists’ concerns. While government and public priorities frequently diverge⁹⁵—e.g., a majority of the public consistently supports increased government spending on education (General Social Survey and NORC at the University of Chicago 2019) as well as a universal health care system (Blendon et al. 2006)—the fact that a majority of the public cares so much about climate change suggests there are opportunities to swell the size and power of the climate movement. Moreover, these high levels of concern in the face of a federal government stubbornly resistant to climate action should invite the climate movement to target actors and institutions in the field of power. With this in mind, I

⁹⁵ See Ferguson (1995) for analysis of the way funding requirements to run for election—and thus the necessity for potential candidates to attract support from businesses and wealthy individuals— influences candidates to align their positions with the powerful as opposed to average voters, though the Bernie Sanders 2016 campaign suggests average voters (and small donors) are gaining influence (Ferguson 2016).

consider two climate movement strategies: more internally oriented high-risk CD and more externally oriented targeting of lawmakers to support the Green New Deal.

In 2017, five activists shut down pipelines in four states that collectively carried two-thirds of the crude oil flowing from Canada to the US. The “Pipeline Stoppers” as they became known are what Ray—one of the Pipeline Stoppers himself and a co-founder of the Climate Direct Action Project—described as the “climate emergency people” (N. 2018). They have decided that the best use of their time and energy is to engage in CD to physically stop the flow of fossil fuels by placing their body at what they call the “point of injury,” a pipeline being built or transporting gas or oil, a barge delivering coal, or other sites that extract, process, or transport fossil fuels. High-profile and high-risk actions like the Pipeline Stoppers’—covered in the elite magazines and facing sentences of nearly 30 years—seem destined to remain the province of small and insular groups of activists for two reasons: the economy of CAC and the nature of extreme tactics.

Arwin, a climate activist who supported the Pipeline Stoppers, said that those involved in the action “collaborated for several years” (and she also dropped the names of a couple other climate actions she participated in with them, a Symbolic CAC producing move) (Goodman 2016). The Valve Turner Action was like the Many Deaths Action in this way, with a small number of deeply committed activists including several who have devoted themselves to CD in the CAF. Even in the case of Butterfly Coalition activists who engage in lower profile CD, they were very familiar with one another and many of them had been friends for decades. In her analysis of the White Power Movement in the

US after Vietnam that brought together Neo-Nazis, Klansmen, skinheads, white separatists, tax protesters, and others into armed conflict with the federal government, Kathleen Belew (2018) describes activists in concentric circles where those most deeply involved totally immerse themselves in the movement as they collaborate with other hardcore activists (there are less hardcore activists as one moves outward in the concentric circles). Approximating this relatively small group within the center of the CAF are the Pipeline Stoppers and to a slightly lesser extent both the Butterfly Coalition activists and the main Fight organizers. Their positions structure their practices such that their friends and colleagues (Social CAC), activist skills (Embodied CAC), and the rewards they seek (Symbolic CAC) all motivate and incentivize a continuation of their practices. For instance, due to the way Symbolic CAC is rewarded relationally, if larger numbers participated in actions similar to the Pipeline Stoppers, the most internally oriented activists would be rewarded by going even further in the high-risk direction. Moreover, given their experience, they would already possess the Embodied and Social CAC to enabling such actions.

Additionally, extreme tactics like shutting down a pipeline are inherently the purview of a small group of activists. Experimental research by Feinberg, Willer, and Kovacheff (2017) lends support to this notion. They find that more committed activists are more willing to engage in extreme protest and more likely to believe such protest will be effective in raising awareness and recruiting new activists (see also McAdam 1986). While Feinberg and colleagues find that extreme tactics can be useful in garnering attention, activists are incorrect in their belief that they increase public support and aid

recruitment (see also, Myers and Caniglia 2004; Sobieraj 2010). So while there is likely a place for such work because it can draw attention to the issue—fortunately for the climate movement as I’ve suggested extreme tactics will not only continue but become more extreme—there’s little reason to expect significant change from such action because of severely constrained participation. Moreover, Bashir and colleagues (2013) found that people generally hold somewhat negative stereotypes of environmentalists (and feminists) whom they viewed as “eccentric and militant.” These negative stereotypes reduce willingness to collaborate with activists. It stands to reason that the more extreme the activists, the more these negative stereotypes come to matter.

Furthermore, in the wake of the rise of CD against fossil fuel infrastructure, especially the indigenous-led resistance against the Dakota Access Pipeline, climate activists have seen so-called “critical infrastructure” bills introduced in thirty-five states and the federal government (Kusnetz 2018).⁹⁶ Such legislation means activists trespassing on pipeline company property or engaging in CD near a pipeline (though without anything doing anything destructive) could face criminal penalties for “critical infrastructure sabotage” including, for example, a twenty-five year prison term and \$100,000 fine for an Iowa law and a \$1 million fine for any organization facilitating pipeline protest and deemed a conspirator under an Oklahoma law (Boshart 2018;

⁹⁶ The International Center for Not-For-Profit Law tracks these bills and shows that nine states have enacted critical infrastructure laws (<http://www.icnl.org/usprotestlawtracker/> Accessed April 21, 2019).

Kusnetz 2018).⁹⁷ Ironically, the criminalization of direct action protest may encourage extreme protest from highly internally oriented climate activists because it will increase the Symbolic CAC awarded due to elevated risk. At the same time then, legislation like critical infrastructure bills works to decrease mass participation and strengthen the insularity of this deeply embedded hardcore group.

Alternatively, climate activists with the Sunrise Movement have taken a more externally oriented approach while they have also drawn on internally oriented framing and tactics. Their targeting of lawmakers to reject contributions from the fossil fuel industry and support the Green New Deal (GND) is highly externally oriented while their climate justice framing and their direct action tactics are from the internal repertoire, though being joined by Representative Ocasio-Cortez shifts the orientation in the external direction. Moreover, Sunrise climate activists worked to elect candidates in the 2018 midterm elections, very much an externally oriented strategy. At the same time, Sunrise activists tend to be young and frame the problem through the lens of climate justice, both of which suggest an internal position in the CAF. Indeed, the broad scope and massive scale of their preferred GND embodies climate justice with its demands for massive investments in renewable energy and climate friendly infrastructure that simultaneously decarbonizes the economy while making it fairer and more just, especially for marginalized groups. On their website, for example, Sunrise says the GND promotes “justice and equity by stopping current, preventing future, and repairing historic

⁹⁷ The highly successful American Legislative Exchange Council (O'Dell and Penzenstadler 2019) promotes a model critical infrastructure bill that includes such conspirator liability.

oppression of indigenous peoples, communities of color, migrant communities, de-industrialized communities, depopulated rural communities, the poor, low-income workers, women, the elderly, the unhoused, people with disabilities, and youth” (Sunrise Movement 2019a).

Sunrise activists combine externally oriented strategy with internally oriented framing of both climate problems and solutions. In doing so, they show there are opportunities not for a middle ground, moderate position that blends internal and external orientations, but rather for an aggregation of the strengths of both the internal and external space in the CAF. Their approach was not accidental. Some of the key figures in Sunrise participated in activist trainings that drew on the work of Mark and Paul Engler (2013, 2016) to contrast structured organizing in the tradition of labor and community organizing with mass protest in the direct action tradition (Adler-Bell 2019). As the Englers and students of movement history recognize, this insight is not novel (e.g., Morris 1984; Piven and Cloward 1979). Nevertheless, as Adler-Bell (2019) recounts the GND’s history based on interviews with Sunrise activists, the group explicitly drew upon both traditions where “theatrical encounters with politicians and public figures would polarize the public and mobilize new members, while more traditional organizing would build up a network at the local level.”

In summary, the climate movement seems better served by approaches that draw on the strengths of both the internal and external space of the CAF. It is not that the space of positions within the CAF must be occupied simultaneously by individual activists or individual activist groups or organizations. Instead, what is necessary is less antagonism

between divergent orientations, and more promising still, outright cooperation among internal and external orientations as demonstrated by Sunrise activists.⁹⁸ Sunrise proclaims their dual approach in their tagline: they are “building an army of young people to stop climate change and create millions of good jobs in the process” (Sunrise Movement 2019b). They draw attention to climate justice through the inequality of the economy (the need for millions of good jobs) and of climate change (young people are a marginalized group in that they have contributed few emissions but will face the worst consequences of climate change) while maintaining mass appeal and focusing squarely on the field of power through the legislative antidote that is the GND. Meanwhile, one of the Pipeline Stoppers nicely encapsulated their narrow focus on a highly internally oriented approach when he told a journalist the following: “In an unjust society, the only just place to be in is jail” (N. 2018).

5.4 CLIMATE ACTIVISTS REFLECT

Several Fight activists explicitly told me they felt there was little to no chance of stopping the pipeline—short of drawing several times more activists engaging in CD than they were able to marshal—and I suspect this sentiment was widespread. Lisa said she “knew it was a long shot.” Michael told me “the fact of the matter is we needed to have a 1,000

⁹⁸ Juris (2013) makes a similar both/and argument about the US Social Forum organizers’ practice of emphasizing one movement building strategy over another (a community organizing model over direct action or policy work) and one particular subjectivity over another (working class people of color over white middle class).

people there, not 100, 150. If we had 1,000 people there we could overwhelmed them, maybe.” Similarly, Carrie thought that while Fight had “the opportunity to actually stop the construction” permanently, they fell far short on the numbers necessary to do so. One question to answer then: why didn’t the campaign reach the critical mass Carrie and others envisioned as necessary to win? However, a broader and more profound question—one that follows naturally from the core argument of this dissertation that activist position structures activist practices—centers around how and why activists are located in their given position in the first place.

Carrie felt that Fight “did slow them down, we did cost them money, but we never were more than a little bit of an irritation, I would say. Why we couldn’t have really sort of had, you know, a thousand people show up and five-hundred get arrested, I don’t know. There’s no reason not to have that.”⁹⁹ Like other key organizers, Carrie felt that had they been able to reach those numbers, “the strategy to stop the actual construction was a good one.” The question becomes more interesting given the extremely limited consequences of arrest throughout the campaign (a mere citation even if one was arrested

⁹⁹ This points to Carrie’s position as a very well-seasoned activist since organizing any number of people to engage in CD would be a large accomplishment for most activists. After all, Carrie had participated in many veritable left activist institutions, including Movement for a New Society, War Resister’s League, Women’s Pentagon Action, Mobilization for Survival, American Friends Service Committee. She was an important organizer for the Majorville area on the Central American Pledge of Resistance. That campaign, led to thousands of people engaging in civil disobedience due to US intervention and military aid to the Contras. In addition to much more activist work, Carrie took part in actions at the United Nations around disarmament where 1,200 people were arrested. During our interview, I was impressed that she had worked with Lisa Fithian, a well-known organizer in internally oriented activist spaces, only to find out that Carrie had trained Fithian in CD!

multiple times). There are several responses to the insufficient numbers Fight activists thought necessary to stop pipeline construction permanently.

Carrie suggested a couple of reasons. Drawing on the nominally high-status position of indigenous activists, she said “we certainly weren't Standing Rock. I appreciate that we weren't that.” The fact that overwhelmingly white, middle class activists were trying to stop a pipeline going through a neighborhood with the same demographics may have limited the campaign's appeal for some. Of course, it may have increased the appeal for others. In both conscious and subconscious ways, some were drawn to this fight and some avoided it or limited their participation because of the “not Standing Rock” element. Some activists intentionally avoided the campaign in the first phase, though I suspect a much larger number supported the campaign in the second phase because of less conscious shared practices inflected by class and race. As one activist reflected, “the truth of matter is this is a middle class grouping.” So while the thousands of activists who went to Standing Rock shows the strength of indigenous leadership, it inadequately answers why many hundreds failed to engage in CD to stop the GPP.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Lisa said she had received calls from people in a group fighting a different compressor station who told her that highly internally oriented activists “keep coming and talking to us like we're idiots and we're just racist. And we should just stand around and wait for people who don't look like us to show up and lead us.” The heavy dose of “check your white privilege” (it's usually racialized, far more often than class, which often comes behind sexual orientation and immigration status in the thinking of “woke” climate activists of the pure inward orientation) from the purely internally oriented activist is often not without substance, and, at the same time, the way these criticisms are made—whatever their intention—often results in more positioning and status signaling than inclusion or shifts toward more intersectional practices.

Another response was Fight's decision to hire Tommy and Trevor, two young white men who lived in Millville, outside of Geneva and Majorville proper. Lisa made the decision with some input from Juliana. In hindsight, Juliana thought this was a poor decision (Lisa may have as well). In the internal pole of the CAF and other activist fields, those most marginalized and those most affected are to be centered. Trevor and Tommy were neither of those, but Lisa and Juliana both knew them and trusted them so the decision was made perhaps more out of convenience than strategic thinking.¹⁰¹ Social CAC works this way, similar to social capital in other fields—unless one intentionally seeks alternatives, pre-existing relationships and networks strongly influence future networks. As Juliana put it, the decision to hire Tommy and Trevor was a case of “white people hooking up white people.” Some suggested that a better move would have been to direct resources toward Morgan or someone who could have brought people with them, potentially including those outside of the CAF.¹⁰²

Fight activists provided other answers to the apparent lack of enough activists engaging in CD. Lisa, for instance, thought that if Fight had started their campaign six months earlier, then the fight would have been winnable. She also pointed to “little things” that could have made the difference, like having earlier support from SEIU and earlier involvement from Emma who, late in the campaign, improved Fight's

¹⁰¹ During the first Fight meeting after Tommy joined the team, Lisa asked if he would chair the meeting. He did so by bringing in activist practices unfamiliar to non-activists. As Carrie put it, beginning immediately with Tommy saying “‘okay, let's take stack,’” he brought “a whole culture that some people were *completely* unfamiliar with.”

¹⁰² Of course, then the resistance would less reflect the community where the struggle happened. Instead of artificially increasing the diversity in this particular case, one alternative would have been networking with other local struggles in more diverse or marginalized communities—indeed, that's what Morgan would have said if activists had asked.

communications operation. Rose and other activists blamed the media. She said the CD campaign “was very emotional” for her, so she felt it would receive abundant media coverage, spread “like wildfire,” and stop the GPP. Rose mocked her previous thinking and told me how it was “so silly,” “fanciful,” and “fantastical” because all the activist work was “not even a bee sting” to Enterprise.

A more general response comes from economics. Timur Kuran (1987, 1997) argues that individual’s true preferences diverge from what they express in public due to “preference falsification.” Preference falsification happens when the sum of reputational utility (utility derived from voicing a majority opinion and thus increasing one’s status), expressive utility (it can feel good to be honest), and intrinsic utility (speaking to support what one truly prefers but as an effort to convince others) is highest for a choice *different* from what one holds privately. Kuran finds that reputational costs associated with voicing minority views are the key driver of preference falsification. If too few are willing to be arrested to stop a pipeline, it may be that reputational costs motivate reluctance among those who might otherwise consider such action appropriate. In fact, polling shows that if one is asked by someone they like and respect, twenty-four percent of Americans (and 55% of those most concerned with climate change) definitely or probably would “support an organization engaging in non-violent civil disobedience (e.g., sit-ins, blockades, or trespassing) against corporate or government activities that make global warming worse” (Leiserowitz et al. 2013). Furthermore, thirteen percent say they definitely or probably would be willing to “personally engage in non-violent civil disobedience (e.g., sit-ins, blockades, or trespassing) against corporate or government activities that make global

warming worse” (ibid.). These polling data suggest tens of millions would engage in CD and/or support an organization facilitating CD if asked by an acquaintance they liked. Even though these numbers are higher than what any activist I’ve spoken to imagined possible, they are well below a majority of the population and thus a great deal of preference falsification would be expected due to reputational costs.

On the other hand, one could ask why activists’ reflections on the campaign failed to question the overwhelming focus on CD. Quite simply, their positions within the CAF and the economy of CAC constrained their field of vision to limit apparent options. Not only were other options like changing targets or tactics off the table, Fight activists celebrated CD even as it became increasingly clear the strategy would not stop the pipeline.¹⁰³ Lisa, for example, spoke passionately of the grassroots power developed when people engage in CD, “when you are making yourself vulnerable voluntarily, and taking a risk voluntarily and being willing to suffer voluntarily... That's the kind of power that businesses, corporations, moneyed interests, they don't even understand it. And they can't fight it, they can't take it away.” She said non-CD work was necessary, like asking others to sign petitions or lobby politicians, but she contrasted it with the “hard work” of getting people to the place where they say “I'm willing to get arrested because this is so bad.” The easier work is “essential” but “meaningless without other people pushing for change in other ways”—implicitly, her and others coordinating CD. “Meaningless” is almost certainly too strong, but in any case, Lisa and others occupy space within the CAF

¹⁰³ Some direct action activists were also deeply attached to CD in Epstein’s (1991) work as well as Juris’s (2008).

where nothing matters more than CD, especially sustained CD campaigns targeting fossil fuel infrastructure. In this way, questioning the CD focus was unlikely. Moreover, the way that targeting fossil fuel infrastructure has been constructed within the CAF to be principled meant that other targets were not considered. For example, some activists lamented the “weak” action from politicians that were nominally against the GPP, but aside from the lackluster attempt to press politicians during the first phase of the campaign, politicians were treated as allies even though their support was mostly limited to appearances or statements where they could gain political capital by showing their support for the community (limited as it was practically).

A larger question is why were Fight activists situated in the internal space of the CAF where CD was basically the only option on the table? One answer is inertia. Given the way the main activists entered the fight, their predilection for CD, and their influence over the trajectory of the resistance, a focus on anything besides CD would have been surprising. Jack’s affinity group became involved in fighting the GPP because they saw an opportunity to escalate their climate action, in their own locality, through CD. Michael was involved in the affinity group and Fight. He recalled hearing about the pipeline, thinking “holy shit, my city is becoming a frontline community.” He said it was then obvious to everyone in the affinity group that they should respond and they “started talking civil disobedience right away.” Lisa was attracted to the fight after this affinity group engaged in CD because it excited her and matched her CAC, especially her Embodied CAC. After she became involved, the resistance was on a trajectory where CD’s prominence overshadowed everything else. It practically goes without saying by

this point, but these activists earned Symbolic CAC through their participation; they had self-interest in pursuing this path.

Further evidence of the inertial effect comes from other research. For example, McAdam's (1986) examination of those who participated in the 1964 Freedom Summer campaign versus those who applied to participate but withdrew shows that participants had more organizational affiliations, a richer history of civil rights activism participation, and deeper connections to other participants. In other words, those already on the path to high-risk activism and with institutional and individual connections that supported such activism were more likely to engage in such activism. Summers Effler's (2010) work on the emotional life an anti-death penalty organization and a Catholic Worker community over time also evidences the power of inertia. She finds that more internally oriented groups with exceedingly difficult long-term goals tend to focus on short-term objectives wherein the group's emotional life unfolds at a quick tempo. When such a group experiences a setback, they increase their inward focus and strengthen connections among already close activists in order to conceal the long-term failure's emotional harm. Summers Effler describes, for example, how Catholic Worker activists focused more closely on already existing relationships in response to failure. Fight showed similarities to these Catholic Workers in that it further developed relationships among the already initiated—difficulties notwithstanding—even while it became increasingly clear they had little chance of stopping the GPP. In contrast, as Summers Effler shows, more externally oriented groups increase their external focus and lose some of their activists when they

experience failure. The account approximates SGPP's experience shrinking to virtual non-existence as they unsuccessfully fought the GPP.

The more fundamental question is this: why are activists located in a given position in the first place? For that matter, why be an activist? An activist's background and resources outside of an activist field no doubt contribute to their position. This includes virtually their entire history: how they were raised (e.g., parenting style, religion), the schools they attended, the work their caretakers did, jobs they had, and so on. Two of the most relevant factors seem to me to be upbringing and work in other fields. The material and cultural environment one is raised in will matter because early life sees the development of the habitus and has a special influence on one's level of comfort and facility in various fields (Bourdieu 1984, 1990). Merelman and King (1986) found the chances of becoming an activist were vanishingly small if there was no history or intention of activism prior to age eighteen. Moreover, activists "rarely gave up specific orientations acquired early in life" (ibid: 488).

Drawing on a longitudinal national sample with information on parents and children, Sherkat and Blocker (1994:837) found that the strongest predictor of political activism was parents' political involvement where more active parents increased "the likelihood of their children becoming protesters by passing on participatory norms." Furthermore, since higher class position is related to more political activity, children from higher class backgrounds were more likely to be politically active themselves. Moreover, being raised by activists may even provide symbolic activist capital if the parents had a recognizable name due to their own history of activism. A family with a long line of

doctors works similarly to how a family with a long line of activists does: young people are brought up in an environment that teaches them the skills and the ways to act that set them up for entry and success into the given field (medicine or activism). Sherkat and Blocker also found that children raised with conservative religious beliefs were unlikely to engage in CD while those raised with religious inspired social justice concerns were more likely to participate in protest. Religion also worked to mediate class position as upper middle class parents were far less likely to raise their children with a belief system that features submission to authority, though later research by Lareau (2011) shows that this happens outside of religion as well.

Leondar-Wright's (2013, 2014) analysis of activist groups and class patterns suggests that class background (and trajectory) informs activist's practices. More specifically, she found that divergent cultural practices associated with class can make it difficult for activists to collaborate across difference. Leondar-Wright describes three movement traditions and the class path of the activists most prevalent in them: poor and working class activists dominate labor and community organizing, middle class activists dominate nonprofits and protest groups, while voluntarily downwardly mobile activists dominate anarchist groups. In terms of strategic preferences, which speak to orientation position, Leondar-Wright found anarchist groups most deficient as they tended to have few intermediate goals.

Husu (2010, 2013b, 2013a) examined the Nation of Islam and found class position to be related to the strategies and tactics available for a movement to pursue. Not only did resource constraints close off options, class position and habitus constrained the

kinds of options considered. Individuals in the Nation of Islam, for example, were typically from marginalized communities. They contrasted themselves to more moderate civil rights leaders thereby taking positions within the activist field that, in part, stemmed from their lack of economic capital, and that also may have been associated with a field specific capital that prized more radical positions.

For the CAF in particular, work in other fields can provide or detract from CAC. Spending one's time within the broader activist field is often a great boon to one's ability to accumulate CAC. The earlier the entry into activism, the more opportunity one has to hone their activist skills. Some of the climate activists who fought against the GPP had experience in peace, feminist, and other progressive activist fields, which contributed to their CAC endowment and facilitated further CAC accumulation. In terms of detractions, there was one activist who worked in the fossil fuel industry who fought against the GPP. His role was minor, which may have been related to this past experience, though that is speculation. Some people with experience in business did not seem aided or harmed by that experience. Whatever the other field(s) in which one has experience, being required to work many hours in paid labor or in the social reproduction that is child-rearing can leave little time for other activities, which may delay entry into the CAF or limit participation.

I've suggested that the structure of the CAF itself increases explanatory power regarding activists' initial orientation. In chapter 1, I argued that around 2009, the internal pole of the CAF rose to prominence. This made it more likely that those entering the CAF would be drawn toward the internal space because it became higher status.

Ultimately, where an activist begins involves a great deal of contingency. Future research, especially large N analyses, would be better suited to locate patterns between activist practices and initial starting point (or an activist's history before they entered an activist field).¹⁰⁴

5.5 CONCLUSION: TOWARD MORE REFLEXIVE ACTIVISTS AND A MORE EFFECTIVE CLIMATE MOVEMENT

Like relational approaches more generally (Crossley 2015), my research helps address the ostensible deadlock within social movement studies between structuralist and culturalist approaches, and its inadequate attention to interactional processes (Jasper and Duyvendak 2015; Stekelenburg et al. 2013). In analyzing and theorizing how movement spaces are fraught with power, I locate interests in the practices of activists, especially supposedly analytically or rationally chosen strategic choices. Recognizing the interests that determine practices can show they work to create the structure of the field. Minkoff (1993) has shown that a group's strategy is the most important aspect regarding institutional acceptance where more confrontational tactics place a group at increased risk of failure. She also finds that more extremist goals are correlated with a decreased life expectancy for social change groups. Therefore, understanding the roots of activist's and

¹⁰⁴ Research on the life trajectories of climate activists suggests the importance of early connections to nature, influences from friends and family, and connections to other social and environmental concerns, especially through the lens of (in)justice, though this scholarship provides little insight into activist orientation and strategic preferences (Fisher 2016; Pearse, Goodman, and Rosewarne 2010).

their groups' strategies and tactical choices sheds light on their ability to create social change.

One might wonder if an internal or external orientation is strategically more useful. Drawing on Sunrise activists as an example, I suggested that at the broad level, the climate movement will be served best by drawing on the distinct advantages of the internal and external space in the CAF. Practically, however, the answer depends critically on context. There are important roles in the CAF for both strongly internally oriented and strongly externally oriented activists. For example, internally oriented activists are well-positioned for the important work that is collaboration with climate activists already deeply engaged in the CAF while externally oriented climate activists are best suited to recruit and inform those outside the CAF. A key stumbling block for the climate movement (and movements more broadly) is that climate activists generally have poor understanding of how their own position informs what they think is appropriate in self-interested ways. A more reflexive and introspective climate activist would not only seek to understand how their position informs their practices, they would also attempt to more consciously mediate the position-to-practices process and bend them for a given context. Individuals have agency, they make choices, but not under conditions of their own choosing (Marx 1852); their choices are made under pressure (Williams 1976). Recognizing one's own position and interests and the broader structure of the field

requires activists practice reflexivity in order to step outside of their world to the extent possible, in order to make the most effective choices given existing conditions.¹⁰⁵

I have emphasized the clash of frames, tactics, and strategies between the external and internal pole of the CAF. However, this case study also demonstrates the power of the fossil fuel industry to achieve its aims because the GPP was completed and operational despite mobilization among residents in a relatively powerful neighborhood and a passionate and sustained CD campaign. It is well known that lower income areas and communities where more people of color reside face a disproportionate amount of toxic or otherwise hazardous facilities like waste dumps, so called Locally Unwanted Land Uses (LULUs) (e.g., Bullard 1990, 1996; Pellow 2002). While this environmental justice scholarship finds cases of whiter, more prosperous communities using a NIMBY approach that pushes LULUs into minority and low-income communities, the GPP went where it was originally planned. This is similar to the way “reluctant activists” saw little success in stopping fracking or reducing its health harms in upper-middle class suburban Dallas (Gullion 2015). Without the presence of climate activists who were antagonistic to the NIMBY approach, perhaps the GPP would have been built in a relatively less powerful community. However, before activists mobilized, Enterprise had already purchased land necessary for their M&R station. This sunk cost was likely a factor in the

¹⁰⁵ This is different from what Pearse, Goodman, and Rosewarne (2010:93) describe as “strategic climate action,” which is deliberately hopeful and celebrates any form of climate action “from changing a light bulb to carbon trading, as a positive step no matter how inadequate.” Instead, I am arguing for activist reflexivity that interrogates the relationship between one’s own position and preferred forms of climate action, for example, why changing light bulbs or promoting carbon trading might appeal to a given individual.

company's decision not to relocate, probably an important one given not only the costs but also the difficulties in locating a large enough parcel of land for such an industrial facility.

6 APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This appendix outlines my methodological approach. While I outlined the reasons for selecting the GPP resistance in the Introduction, I begin with some brief comments about my decision. I discuss my mixed methods strategy and tools for data collection, as well as my analytical approach. Finally, my own position as both climate activist and researcher was important in a number of ways, so I describe how it was useful as well as related challenges.

6.2 THE FIELD SITE

I had originally hoped to analyze the Climate Activist Field as a whole. Quickly finding this overwhelming, I turned to climate activism in Majorville in its entirety, which was also too vast to handle. I was active in several climate spaces in Majorville and as the GPP fight began and especially as more climate activists became involved, I realized that the site could be narrow enough for a manageable research project that still provided the prospect of addressing important issues in the broader CAF. The GPP resistance included activists who ranged in experience from high-status deeply embedded climate activists through to those with little to no experience in the CAF. This also meant I might provide some insight into recruitment into the CAF. Furthermore, it seemed to me that place-

based activism, especially involving direct action and civil disobedience was becoming more prominent in the broader CAF. Drawing on my experience as a climate activist in the CAF beginning in 2011 with protests against the Keystone XL Pipeline, I felt drawn to understand the pull of CD that I and many other activists were increasingly feeling. At the same time, it appeared as though the GPP would be built, but I had my hopes and knew that if activists stopped the project, it would be a campaign to be replicated. The GPP resistance, then, worked as a microcosm of some of the issues in the CAF while also being manageable. Additionally, because the case involved many with whom I was acquainted, I could have insider access while also drawing on the knowledge I already possessed about these activists. Conversations with activists and academic advisors cemented the site as my focus, and I began developing my strategy and collecting data.

6.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

At its core, Bourdieusian field analysis is a relational approach centered on analyzing power relations within social spaces. In order to capture as much of the social dynamics as possible, I deployed a mixed methods strategy (Morse 2003; Patton 2002) that combined three forms of data: participant observation (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Desmond 2014; Lichterman 2002), purposive reflexive interviews (Blee 2013; Denzin 2001; Gray 2014), and a survey (De Vaus 2014). While each tool has its limits, I join Bourdieu and related scholars in methodological pluralism to help overcome them (Lamont and Swidler 2014). These three sources of data provided a useful way to

understand climate activists as they interacted with one another. Because my main focus was to understand patterns between an activist's position and their practices and strategies, I gathered data on a wide range of different activists. The Fight leadership team was central to this effort. When individuals and groups decided to somehow support the GPP resistance, they contacted the leadership team. Through this group, I had access to virtually every individual and group that participated in some way. Without this buy-in, the project would have been exceedingly difficult if not impossible. Here, I detail my approach in terms of the each of my three sources of data.

6.3.1 Survey

I developed a survey as one element of my three-part mixed methods strategy. The survey (instrument in Appendix 3) consisted of 62 questions answered by 146 respondents. The survey provided data on activist preferences, experiences, and cultural indicators of virtually the entire population taking part in the GPP resistance efforts. This was helpful since the activists who were less involved in the resistance were less conspicuous during participant observations. Moreover, the survey was useful in targeting and informing my interviews—I had survey data on every interviewee before the interview, which I used to develop questions specific to interviewees.

The information I obtained from the survey fit into three main areas. First, drawing upon Bourdieusian analyses (Bourdieu 1984:512–18; Holt 1997; Leondar-Wright 2014), the survey focused on indicators of economic and cultural capital (e.g., education, occupation). Second, the survey assessed activist capital through questions on

experience within the CAF and activist background more broadly. Here, I also asked about social capital within the field. Third, I queried preferences around a number of cultural indicators specific to the activist field. For example, I was interested in how activists view different kinds of tactics and strategies. Do they prefer hearing a politician at a rally or an activist, and if the latter, is their preference for a climate activist or someone in a related activist field? Do they prefer a scientific framing or an ethical one? These and other questions provided useful indicators of preferences that I analyzed for patterns in terms of activists' positions.

I distributed the survey to email lists run by Fight (N= approximately 700) and SGPP (N= approximately 1,100). The lists included nearly everyone who had been involved in efforts targeting the GPP. The blessing from these groups likely increased my response rate, making it clear that the organizers supported the research and saw value in it. In order to further increase response rate, I raffled off cash prizes and donations in winner's names (they selected the organization to donate to on their behalf, which provided another data point). My sampling strategy addressed a number of recurring issues with this technique, such as unknown populations and data coming from individuals in a single organization (Klandermans and Smith 2002).

6.3.2 Participant Observation

Ethnographic participant observations were most useful as they provided opportunities to examine activist practices, including power relations, in situ where their critical relational component can be observed (my general observation protocol is in Appendix 5). Activist

practices showed how actors positioned themselves and, when an activist's background was known, suggested how that positioning revealed interests. Observation of practices revealed the rules of the field—the doxa—even while those practices were part of the struggle for legitimating a more external or more internal orientation. I sought to understand how the practices of dominant actors—who command more of the social space at events, are listened to, and are known—were different from lower-status actors. Observations were essential to shed light on these issues, to understand what “being a climate activist” looked like and meant in practice. In total, I undertook approximately 200 hours of participant observation in a range of GPP resistance social spaces. I observed and participated in meetings (critical decision-making spaces), actions (public facing spaces), and trainings (and other private facing spaces like art-builds). Through all of these participant observations, I sought to draw out how practices were patterned (or not) among variously positioned activists.

Meetings were a useful social space to observe activist practices as well as power dynamics. Meetings were the space where activists most often made decisions large and small (though some were over email and phone) (Maney, Andrews, et al. 2012). It was here where they discussed different tactics and the best ways to frame their fight. Meetings were also spaces where activist practices could be closely observed. Activists shared their thinking and sentiments in these spaces. Before and after meetings, activists caught up on recent events (related to this fight and otherwise), shared information, and generally talked as activists among their peers. Meetings often took place in the intimacy of private spaces (e.g., homes) where material objects and shared food and drink could

also be observed and analyzed. I observed and participated in Fight and SGPP meetings, including their regularly scheduled meetings, special planning meetings, and debrief meetings. These meetings not only allowed me to observe practices of the core organizers in the GPP resistance, they also give me insight into the direction of the resistance, such as upcoming events, activists' thinking about them, and their reasoning for such thinking. I also observed and participated in the meetings of other groups to the extent possible. For example, I became deeply embedded in two groups that engaged in CD against the GPP: a religiously oriented group and a young people's climate action group. With the religious group, for instance, I joined other activists who were planning, preparing, and practicing an action by spending the night at a minister's house the evening before the action.

I also observed and participated in actions. These included a variety of CD actions, rallies, marches, vigils, and other public actions. For example, I observed a forum that SGPP held at the Majorville Green Fest, several vigils outside the M&R Station, and many CD actions that became the heart of the campaign. Typically ending in arrest, these direct actions were the main form of protest at the site and consisted largely of attempting to halt construction. In all of these actions, activists participated in different ways. Activists commanded more or less of the social space, visible in relational interactions, as they played various roles—onlooker, action organizer, jail support, police liaison, media spokesperson, and so on—that I sought to connect with their orientation and status. As spaces where activists with a range of experience interact, they provided ample opportunity to compare and contrast. At the same time, much of the power

dynamics will have already been established. For example, the speakers, themes, timeline, and overall purpose of a rally will all have been chosen before the actual event. Unless last minute changes were necessary or plans otherwise went awry, activists will already have chosen roles (or have a role chosen for them). Especially when there were changes, though also more generally as contingency is always part and parcel of protest, I had the opportunity to observe how activists operated in “the heat of the moment.” Thus actions provided insight into activists’ “feel for the game,” and how their position and orientation structured their moves.

I also observed non-violent civil disobedience trainings. These trainings generally occurred weekly. Fight explicitly required all activists who planned on engaging in CD to participate in trainings, though not all who went to a training engaged in CD. There was a general outline for trainings, but each training was different in some ways due to changing participants and the important role they played in them. For example, participants shared some of their own background and their thinking around CD at every training. Some participants had a great deal of experience in the CAF while others had little to none, some came together with friends or colleagues while others came alone, some had much experience with CD while others had little to none, and some had experience in other activists fields while others did not. Since trainings were oriented toward activist learning and understanding, they provided an excellent way to understand what was valued in the field. For instance, one could observe the importance of showing a connection to the neighborhood through the way local resident Rose provided an overview of the GPP, resistance to it, and why she cared from her perspective.

My participant observations had two main goals. First, I needed to observe practices as they happened in order to understand their relational component and map out power among activists. At the surface level, those who plan a meeting, conduct or facilitate it, or speak frequently at it will tend to have more power and thus more influence over the group's orientation. Conversely, those who are quiet and passive will tend to be the dominated. At the same time, one can be instrumental in the course of action or group decision-making without explicitly or overtly appearing to have such influence. Even still, such power, status, and influence can be observed in other ways, for example, through the social space one occupied, which can be seen through the casualness or uneasiness with which a person enters a room, finds a seat, and takes a given physical position. Here, I mean both the actual location and the bodily disposition. For example, leaning in when someone speaks and a wide-eyed facial expression indicates interest, agreement, a "we're on the same page" practice while leaning back, crossing legs, and looking away might indicate superiority or disinterestedness. Bourdieu (1984:474) writes that an agent's "relationship to the social world and to one's proper place in it is never more clearly expressed than in the space and time one feels entitled to take from others; more precisely, in the space one claims with one's body in physical space, through a bearing and gestures that are self-assured or reserved, expansive or constricted ('presence' or 'insignificance') and with one's speech in time, though the interaction time one appropriates and the self-assured or aggressive, careless or unconscious way one appropriates it." These kinds of observations indicate demeanor and status. Participant observations also provided data on activist capital, as well as economic

and cultural capital, which I was interested in analyzing in relation to activist orientation. An activist's language and clothing, their mannerisms and style, their material objects (e.g., notebook, phone, computer), and their food and transportation preferences were all observable indicators of different forms of capital. Second, participant observations, like the survey, informed my purposive interview strategy and how I conducted interviews themselves.

In terms of documenting my observations, past experience with movement research led me to a five-part approach that included 1) recording audio so that I would have verbatim quotations to draw upon in the analysis and write-up, 2) photographing¹⁰⁶ and less frequently recording video, 3) jotting down short time-stamped notes so that I could match up audio and photographs with my observations in the moment, 4) asking participants questions in situ (why were they doing what they were doing, what was their level of experience, what did they think about what another activist did, their observations of how things were going, and other questions aimed at understanding their own activist position and related preferences), and 5) writing my own reflections after my participant observation and making note of questions on which to follow-up.

¹⁰⁶ Wacquant (2004:399–402) articulates three functions of photography in Bourdieu's fieldwork: 1) an efficient technique for collection and storage of data including tense and temporally short situations, 2) an intensification of the sociologist's gaze (this one seems vague to me), and 3) a means to provide distance from an emotional situation while maintaining a certain respect and intimacy with the subjects.

6.3.3 Interviews

My third form of data consisted of 51 interviews with activists who participated in efforts targeting the GPP (protocol in Appendix 4). My interviews were semi-structured and guided by literature specifically on interviewing activists (Blee 2013; Blee and Taylor 2002). For example, informed consent was carried out verbally so that activists might avoid the pressure of formally signing something. I employed a participatory and reflexive approach, which allowed for insight into why and how certain phenomena happen, not just that they happened (Blee and Taylor 2002; Denzin 2001). Following Morris (1984), I developed interviewee specific information prior to the interview. To do so, I drew on their survey, my observations, and in some cases what I knew about the person from interactions prior to the GPP resistance. For example, I regularly drew on activist's stated judgments of the value (or lack thereof) of different strategic approaches in the survey by asking them to walk me through their thinking.

Interviews were superb for understanding an activist's experiences and their own understanding of those experiences. Drawing on previous observations, I was able to connect a given activist's practices and their thinking around them, for instance, the way they participated in an action or a specific decision they had made. I also selected events that seemed significant in shaping the path of the GPP resistance to ask every interviewee. This allowed me to compare and contrast different activist understandings of the same event, which helped locate activist position and orientation. Such positioning came out clearly in interviews when activists articulated their understanding of their own role in the GPP resistance and when they provided their judgments of other activists and

their tendencies. How one judges different actions and activists and these activists' preferences provided crucial insight into their own position and orientation—as Bourdieu (1984) makes clear, one's taste is intimately bound to the distaste of the taste of others.

Following previous research on Occupy Boston and Occupy Providence (Juris et al. 2012; Wengronowitz 2013), I took an approach built around an earnest interest in interviewees' background, their experiences, and their ways of thinking. This was especially important because—in line with similar analyses (e.g., Bourdieu 1984; Holt 1997, 1998; Lamont 1992)—I conducted interviews in the interviewee's home whenever possible as this provided further indicators of their quantity and composition of different forms of capital. Interviews took place in a context in which both the interviewer and interviewee presented a version of self in a Goffmanian (1959) sense. Because of my position simultaneously as a researcher and climate activist, interviewee self-presentation provided another lens into activist position. In these ways, interviews helped me understand activist judgments and preferences, their sense of their own position and that of others, and how they made sense of their practices.

I made use of purposive sampling (Gray 2014) in order to interview a range of activists in terms of orientation and status, as well as all of the most important activists. Though I was not interested in interviewing a representative sample of the population, either in this particular fight or in the CAF more broadly, it was telling that approximately halfway through my 51 interviews, interviewees' recommendations for future interviewees had typically already been conducted or were planned. Understanding field dynamics required interviewing not just across different positions in the field, but

also actors with different activist and class backgrounds. In order to obtain a complete picture of the field, I interviewed activists in groups that participated but were far from central to the resistance. I also sought to interview the dominant, dominated, and those in between, as well as disaffected activists who were, after all, dissatisfied with someone or something that could provide insight into the social dynamics of the GPP resistance (Fantasia 1989; Klandermans 1992, 1997; Taylor and Whittier 1995). In the Fight leadership team, for instance, I knew that some individuals had been critical of the organizing efforts and at least one formerly involved activist had been explicitly excluded from the organizing leadership. By interviewing such a wide range of activists this research goes further than scholarship focusing on one group of activists.

I recruited interviewees in two ways. My main route was by asking the activist directly, more often than not in person, if they would be willing to be interviewed. I also used the survey for interviewee recruitment with one question asking if they would be willing to be interviewed. Recruitment was relatively straightforward for two reasons. First, recruitment was aided by the fact that many of the activists in this fight already knew me. I had good rapport with many in the field because activists knew me as a fellow activist. Their eagerness not only eased recruitment with interviewees with whom I was acquainted, but it was also helpful encouragement to other activists that I could be trusted and that the research might be useful. Second, I knew from previous research that activists tended to be attracted to interviews because they provide an opportunity to discuss their thinking and experiences. While activists discuss activist-related issues

regularly, opportunities are far rarer for activists to reflect on their experience for an hour or more without intervention from others.

6.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Social fields are constructed via relations, among actors and their practices, and between different fields. Therefore, to think with fields and to analyze their structure one must think relationally.¹⁰⁷ I attempted to utilize correspondence analysis (CA). The technique shows the relationship between row and column data as points on a multidimensional space so that similarities and differences are highlighted. CA works by transforming the data in a table into factor scores that can show observations or counts in single vectors and allows for analysis of their relation. In short, CA allows one to examine the relative frequency of different combinations of properties—exactly what will be called for by my data. (Abdi and Williams 2010; Beh and Lombardo 2014; Greenacre 2007). CA “‘thinks’ in terms of relations” making it an excellent tool with an epistemology that “corresponds exactly” to “the reality of the social world” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:96). There is nothing intrinsic to any social group (e.g., class) but rather, they become significant when contrasted to another group. In this way, the analysis matches a core aspect of the Bourdieusian perspective I apply here: the relations of social life are filled with

¹⁰⁷ Drawing on the work of Ernst Cassirer (1923) and Gaston Bachelard, Bourdieu argues that relational thinking is the foundation not only of sound sociological research but science more broadly, from structural linguistics and anthropology to mathematics and physics (Bourdieu et al. 1991; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:95–97; Rovelli 1996). Wacquant further locates relational thinking in the works of Durkheim and Marx (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:16).

competition and domination.¹⁰⁸ This is also why a movement oriented toward social change is such a rich space to apply Bourdieu's approach.

Unfortunately, I struggled to construct a series of binary oppositions and map these onto the CAF with the data I possessed. Composition and quantity of economic and cultural capital—dimensions I thought might somehow structure the CAF—failed to demonstrate significance in the CA. Using regression analysis, I did find weak support for the hypothesis that more internally oriented climate activists had more cultural capital than economic capital and more externally oriented climate activists had more economic capital than cultural capital. Ultimately though, it was an iterative process involving field notes of my observations, interview transcripts, and survey data that proved most useful. I used survey data to provide a sketch of a given activist's background and participation, and combined my observations, field notes, and interview data in order to flesh out their position and associate it with practices.

I sought to make visible the objective relations among the space of positions that activists occupy. Activist practices only become significant when seen in motion in the field, i.e., when they are analyzed relationally. Moreover, despite the inherent need for activists to cooperate, at least to some extent, in order to make collective action happen, I understood the climate activist field and my local site as a space filled with competition. In order to understand this competition, I carried out the iterative process described above

¹⁰⁸ Some have challenged this construction on the grounds that cultural practices, especially in highly differentiated societies, are not always in a relationship to one another; however, relative autonomy for a field or a social group does not mean pure autonomy and it seems likely that there is always some relationship (see, e.g., Hebdige 1979; Lamont and Lareau 1988:158).

so as to locate and understand patterns among activist practice on the one hand and, on the other, their background, experience in the CAF (and to a lesser extent, other fields, activist and otherwise), and possession of capitals.

Despite the abundance of data obtained through the survey, participant observation and interview data proved to be far more useful in the interpretive analysis. Regarding participant observation data, I employed a fairly tedious iterative process. I originally combined all field notes, partial transcripts of relevant audio recordings, and media from observations into a document. As I focused on a specific set of events or even a specific action, I moved these materials into a new document and reviewed my data to ensure everything of use was organized into the document. For example, I had separate files for key activists that I drew on when analyzing events, actions, meetings, and trainings. I also drew interview and survey data into this iterative process. For an important action for instance, I moved back and forth among my field notes from the action (including planning and debriefing), activist reflection on the action obtained through interviews, and transcription of my audio of the action. Sometimes I also incorporated media online as well as survey data if they were relevant to understanding said important action. As I moved through this iterative process and developed an understanding of the structure of the field, I went back to the same data with the lens of internal/external orientation. Activist practices became increasingly legible, and I knew I had an analysis that represented some of the dynamics operating in the CAF.

6.5 POSITIONALITY

My approach was influenced by ideas of “militant anthropology” (Scheper-Hughes 1995), militant research (Russell 2015), and militant ethnography (Juris 2007). I understand my research as politically engaged work and explicitly reject the observer/participant duality and the inherent hierarchy embedded therein (see also Dixon 2014; Graeber 2009; Juris and Khasnabish 2013; Pinto 2001; Smith 2012). Reflexivity requires understanding one’s position in the field because one’s position matters (see Martin 2003). While the GPP activists knew I was “researching them,” they also understood I was a climate activist and supported them. For example, I participated in the full range of GPP resistance spaces, from meetings to marches and rallies to CD actions. I believe my approach ultimately shows that activist research can be done in ways that are ethical and reciprocal while rigorous and innovative (Ryan 2005; Ryan and Jeffreys 2019; Ryan et al. 2012).

Scholarly rigor has long been aligned with a general orientation toward politically disengaged, abstract, simplified, and often quantitative work (Mills 1959). I attempted to take seriously the notion that one cannot be neutral on a moving train (Zinn 2002), that “the question is not whether we should take sides, since we inevitably will, but rather whose side we are on” (Becker 1967:239). I was and am squarely with the climate movement. This does not mean, however, that I simply celebrate the movement; to the contrary, my position necessitates criticism. After all, emissions continue to climb, so by one important measure, the movement has a very long way to go.

This dissertation project began informally in the summer of 2011 when I participated in a Keystone XL protest at the White House. It was my first experience with civil disobedience. I felt moved to take action for two main reasons. First, it was increasingly clear to me that climate change was a problem I could not in good conscious ignore. I had been aware of climate change since Hurricane Katrina, which killed over 1,800 people, mostly poor black residents, and displaced hundreds of thousands including many vulnerable and marginalized people who have been far less likely to return to their homes (Bullard and Wright 2009). However, like many I had followed the “plant a tree, ride a bike, save the world” individualization approach and had become enamored with agricultural solutions like Community Supported Agriculture (Maniates 2001). The week before my arrest, my partner and I drove a rental truck from Chicago to Majorville to begin our PhD programs. On the way, we passed through Hurricane Irene. The interstate was closed due to flooding for about 40 miles, which ended up taking about seven hours to drive the detour. That gave us some time to think about the effects of climate change, which brings me to my second reason. For me, climate change as embodied in Hurricane Irene was an inconvenience. But what of the 48 people who died from Irene (NASA 2011)? Though I should have known it earlier, my direct experience with Irene helped me understand my privileged position. So I decided to support the protests against the Keystone XL.

What happened next led to my first thinking about Climate Activist Capital, though I hadn’t yet read Bourdieu and those were not the words I would have used at the time. When I returned to Boston College, a great many people celebrated my action. It

gave me a kind of status that I would soon see again and again even though most of the groups espoused some kind of horizontal or egalitarian structure. I saw it during Occupy Majorville, for example when those familiar with the rules of the General Assembly wielded power and authority. I saw it in virtually all of the Keystone XL organizing spaces and protests, which continued in a number of ways, including a pledge of resistance and training model like the one Fight used. Status and power were present in the many divestment groups with whom I engaged, including the one I co-founded, which forced me to think critically about my own position and reflect and practice ways to use my power, which did not go away merely because we espoused a participatory model. While I did not have adequate answers, I was developing questions informed by my own experiences. As my graduate training progressed, I developed a relational understanding of power that helped me understand those experiences.

I came across the GPP resistance when it was just beginning when I was working with a group called Flood Majorville that was trying to link various climate and related groups so that they might better support one another. I remember well when an activist who had talked with someone in SGPP reported back to me that “they were hopeless” because of the prominence of the NIMBY frame. Here was a pipeline project threatening residents and representing the gas infrastructure that locks in future emissions, but at least one person in the Flood Majorville group looked on with disdain. We had the knowledge, the Embodied CAC to understand the dangers of the NIMBY approach, especially given the relative power of Geneva in the larger political space of Majorville.

Goffman writes that those “who combat false consciousness and awaken people to their true interests has much to do, because the sleep is very deep” (Goffman 1974:14).¹⁰⁹ Goffman was talking about class false consciousness, and it’s not difficult to see the false promise embedded in the NIMBY perspective (if one doesn’t want something in their backyard, then why would someone else be okay with it?), but a similar activist false consciousness was at play in the Flood Majorville group. We were activists in the know, but we struggled to cooperate with SGPP. While I did not yet have the internal/external theorization that helps understand these dynamics, it was clear even then that associating with SGPP was somehow polluting, something to avoid out of our semiconscious understanding of what was “good” or “right” within the social space in which we operated.

Nevertheless, some of us in Flood Majorville did make efforts toward collaboration. I worked with a handful of people in SGPP when I tried to give them the stage at a climate rally I was helping to organize. There would be some big climate names there, and thinking from my position, I thought they would naturally appreciate extra attention. However, they were concerned with associating SGPP with such a climate specific rally, fearing it would alienate local residents they were trying to recruit. One of the speakers at the rally spoke about the GPP resistance anyways, and while I have no way of knowing if this scared away local residents (I doubt it as these potential recruits would only have heard of the rally if they operated in climate spaces, which

¹⁰⁹ To my earlier point about the need for engaged scholarship, Goffman continues by saying he does “not intend here to provide a lullaby, but merely to sneak in and watch the way the people snore.”

would imply support for climate activism), I know it made me more interested in understanding the GPP resistance. How could area climate activists support efforts to fight the GPP? Could they do it in ways that respected local residents' concerns while also desacralizing climate activist's NIMBY fears? My engaged research answers the first question affirmatively, but the second one was more difficult.

While there is no doubt that some local residents became climate activists, I'm left with concerns over the sometimes vast distance between (climate) activists and non-activists. I hope my research has spoken to some of the issues climate activists face in their work within the CAF, but I do not have adequate answers to that important question about removing barriers between activist and non-activist. While I am tempted to say that, like so many questions, the answer might be something in between—as in activists becoming less “activist-y” and non-activists becoming more “activist-y,” or perhaps just more political—my own experiences, research, and reflections lead me to a response not unlike the way more externally and more internally oriented approaches should be aggregated. Namely, there might be nothing “wrong” with a NIMBY approach, or negotiating with power (as internally oriented activists fear) or small numbers of climate activists presenting “extreme” depictions of climate change and the responsibilities for humans to take “radical” action (as externally oriented activists fear). In the end, for all the climate activist concerns over NIMBY (or for not understanding intersectionality and so on)—and though I am well aware of the symbolic harm my statement entails—I would argue that real consciousness raising and real opportunities for significant change happen when we get outside our own positions, at least partially. It could have been amazing if

the pipeline was re-routed. For one, it would have delayed construction—giving activists more time to build power—and cost the pipeline company resources. If the re-route had gone through a largely black community or a predominantly immigrant community, it could have been *the* perfect opportunity for privileged activists to take a stand. Moreover, such a re-route would have brought climate activists together with activists from other activist fields. I'm not arguing this is always the case (for example, the re-routing of the Keystone XL from near Bismarck to indigenous people's territory did not unleash a wave of white middle class Bismarckians to stand together with indigenous folks), but given the context in Majorville, I think climate activists let status and positioning foreclose opportunities, and my research backs up this claim. If there is a way to positively spin climate change and the way it will be with us indefinitely, it's that the movement can learn—we must learn—because billions of lives hang in the balance. Though I hasten to add that every missed opportunity literally means more death and destruction, we must arise from our slumber, and I am confident we will because many already are walking the path.

7 APPENDIX 2: SURVEY ANALYSIS

The survey results indicate some support for the hypothesis that the CAF is more strongly influenced by cultural capital (CC) than economic capital (EC), but they also offer some evidence against the hypothesis. The evidence against the hypothesis is rooted most strongly in the data from those active in the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project (GPP) who were not previously climate activists. Many of them eventually came into the CAF (a higher proportion in my survey will have been recruited to the Climate Activist Field (CAF) because the survey was conducted late in the GPP resistance), but to a lesser extent than the climate activists who live and breathe within the CAF. Ultimately, respondents who more recently entered the CAF are still learning and internalizing the rules of the field. They are very much in the data though, because they were a key part of this fight. The evidence supporting the hypothesis is generally quite strong. As I show below and elaborate in the conclusion, the survey data tend to support that relative to EC, CC is more closely related to the CAF and climate activists—especially among the highest positioned climate activists—and that this has import for tactics and strategy. The highest status climate activists are not without EC, and some possess as much EC as CC, but in general they have more CC than EC. While there is more evidence for the hypothesis than against it, I ultimately conclude that EC and CC are a small part of the internal/external division in the CAF. The best simple evidence for this claim is that a lot of internally oriented activists have a lot of money. This chapter discusses findings and interpretations of survey data. I begin with a general description of the survey and its

utility. Then I discuss findings, first pairwise correlations and then T-tests, followed by my interpretations.

7.1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY AND ITS UTILITY

Surveys provide one element of my three-part mixed method strategy. The survey (protocol in Appendix 3) consisted of 62 questions covering basic demographic information, measurements of different forms of capital, experiences related to the CAF, and preferences and judgments of views and different stakes within the field. Survey data served multiple purposes. Most importantly, they allowed for analysis of my original question: what are the relationships among different forms of capital (activist, economic, and cultural) and activists' thinking and preferences of issues within the CAF, such as tactics and strategy. Additionally, the survey data provided basic information about the participants. Lastly, survey data were also helpful regarding interviews. Possessing survey data for every interviewee enabled me to skip some questions and focus on others. For example, I asked many interviewees to elaborate on their responses and walk me through their thinking. This not only improved my understanding of the interviewee's position, but also helped make sense of survey responses for those I did not interview since it added more meaning to survey responses. Survey data were also helpful in targeting interviews because I could seek out individuals less involved in the resistance and thus less within my participant observation data. The data also helped securing interviews since the survey queried respondents' willingness to be interviewed.

The survey was distributed online through Qualtrics beginning March 3, 2017 and ending with the last response given May 9, 2017 (100 were completed by March 22). It was distributed through four email lists: Fight's main email list (n=700, 71 responses), the Geneva group's main email list (n=900, 54 responses), a climate group's newsletter (n=3,000, 20 responses), and an environmental group's newsletter (n=150, 1 response). These lists combined result in a population of 4,750. Given a sample size of 146, the response rate was 3.1%. However, the total population figure was heavily influenced by the climate group's newsletter that received a response rate of only .7%. The response rate for Fight (10.1%) and the Geneva group (6.0%) were much higher. Furthermore, there was overlap in the membership of these groups. My estimate for the total number of people involved in the protest was 1,500, which comes from my observations as well as an estimate of membership overlap in the two main groups. In the end, the population is unknown but distribution to the two main groups and two more peripheral groups improved accuracy than from a single organization (Klandermans and Smith 2002). Since the survey was distributed online and took 33 minutes to complete (median time of completion), I entered participants into a raffle for cash or a donation in the winner's name to a group or organization of their choice.

7.2 BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS

7.2.1 Age

The median, mean, and modal birth years of the sample are, respectively, 1954, 1960, and 1954. The standard deviation is 16.97. The sample skews toward the aged with the majority of the sample born in 1954 or earlier. The age distribution of respondents shows two ranges that make up more than three-quarters of the sample. 86 respondents (59%) were born between 1942 through 1958 and 27 respondents (18%) were born between 1984 and 1996. One activist noted this bimodal distribution: “it’s tough being middle-aged and working on climate. There aren’t enough of us, and I can see why.” The age distribution of the sample is older than Fisher’s (2008) average age of 38. This may have to do with the way Step It Up, the protest Fisher analyzed) was largely organized through the Internet.

7.2.2 Gender and sexuality

97 (66%) respondents identify as female, 44 (30%) identify as male, three identify as gender queer, one identified as questioning, and one refused to answer (female sounding name). The predominance of women in the sample is interesting in that research on environmental activists tends to find women to be more concerned than men but less likely to be activists (Mohai 1992; Tindall, Davies, and Mauboulès 2003). This can be explained by two findings: on the one hand, women have higher perceptions of risk and higher valuations of egalitarianism (Roser-Renouf et al. 2014); on the other, women are

biographically less available than men because of the “second shift” (Hochschild 2003; Xiao and McCright 2014). Another finding might help explain the predominance of women in the sample: the environmental justice movement has long been led by women (Kaplan 1997; Rome 2006). Bell and Braun (2010), for instance, found that women’s mothering identity was crucial in their role fighting against coal mining in Appalachia while hegemonic masculinity, tied to the coal industry in the region, deterred men’s involvement. The Geneva fight was framed as dangerous and the efforts to stop the pipeline included support from a group specifically organized around mothers, which may have been a factor in the gendered participation. Finally, it is worth noting that while a very small number, three respondents did identify as gender queer and one as questioning for a total of nearly three percent of respondents, which suggests providing options beyond the gender binary can be useful.

110 (75%) respondents identify as heterosexual/straight, 15 (10%) as bisexual, 11 (7.5%) as homosexual/gay/lesbian, 3 (2%) non-responses, and 7 as other (“mostly hetero”, “objet to being pegged”, “heteroflexible”, “I find this offensive”, and three “queer”). That roughly a quarter of the sample identifies their sexuality as something besides heterosexual suggests the sample is extremely liberal in their orientation relative to the US population as a whole (perhaps 4% as LGBTQ) and even the city of San Francisco (roughly 15% LGBTQ) (Gates 2006, 2017). Indeed, even a national survey organized by GLAAD (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) and conducted by Harris found only 12% of the US adult population is LGBTQ (GLAAD 2017).

7.2.3 Race

136 (93%) respondents identify as white and nine (6%) as people of color (“Asian-Korean,” “Hispanic,” “Indian (from India)”, “Black”, two “Mixed,” and two white passing individuals: a “white Puerto Rican” and an “Ashkenazi/white”). The whiteness of the climate activism in the U.S. is rooted in the history of the mainstream environmental movement as discussed in Chapter 1. Another relevant factor is that the area where the pipeline was planned is also overwhelmingly white.

7.2.4 Income and Wealth

Respondents answered a query that places their income on a range. 18 (12%) respondents refused to answer. Using the halfway point of the provided ranges (e.g., \$17,500 for the \$10,000-\$24,999 range, \$450,000 for the above \$300,000 responses), the average income for those with responses is \$102,480 and the median is \$100,000. This is a high-income group of individuals. The largest group (38, 29.9%) was in the \$80,000-\$119,999 range. 26 (20.5%) earned \$50,000-\$79,999 and 24 (18.9%) earned \$25,000-\$49,999. Rounding out the lower income ranges were 8 (6%) respondents earning \$10,000-\$24,999 and one (.8%) earning less than \$10,000. Rounding out the higher income ranges were 15 (11.8%) earning \$120,000-\$179,999, 12 (9.5%) earning \$180,000-\$299,999, and three (2.4%) earning over \$300,000. These data are provided in Table 7-1 below.

Table 7-1: Respondents' Income Ranges

Respondents	Percent (excluding no response)	Income range
1	.8%	Less than \$10,000
8	6.3%	\$10,000-24,999
24	18.9%	\$25,000-49,999
26	20.5%	\$50,000-79,999
38	29.9%	\$80,000-119,999
15	11.8%	\$120,000-179,999
12	9.5%	\$180,000-299,999
3	2.4%	\$300,000 or more

Respondents also answered a question about wealth, explained as their wealth/debt situation, again by providing a range. 29 (20%) refused to answer, higher than the refusal rate for income, but still low considering the taboo nature of income and wealth in the United States. Using the halfway point of the ranges (and 150% of the extreme high and low ranges), respondents had a median wealth of \$425,000 and an average of \$757,133. This is a high wealth group of individuals. The largest group, 31 (27%), was in the second highest range of \$600,000-\$1,499,000 in wealth. 19 (16%) respondents fell into the highest range, above \$1.5 million in wealth. 26 (22%) possessed wealth in the \$250,000-\$599,999 range. Rounding out the rest of the positive net worth respondents, we have 5 (4.3%) possessing \$140,000-\$249,999; 8 (6.9%) possessing \$80,000-\$139,000; 3 (2.6%) possessing \$15,000-39,999; and 4 (3.4%) possessing \$1,000-14,999. 5 (5.2%) had no wealth or debt and a combined 11 (9.5%) had negative wealth. These data are provided in Table 7-2 below.

Table 7-2: Respondents' Wealth Ranges

Respondents	Percent (excluding no response)	Wealth range
2	1.7%	More than \$125,000 in debt
1	.9%	\$60,000-124,999 in debt
3	2.6%	\$25,000-59,999 in debt
4	3.4%	\$10,000-24,999 in debt
1	.9%	\$1,000-9,999 in debt
6	5.2%	No wealth or debt
4	3.4%	\$1,000-14,999
3	2.6%	\$15,000-39,999
8	6.9%	\$80,000-139,999
5	4.3%	\$140,000-249,999
26	22.4%	\$250,000-599,999
31	26.7%	\$600,000-1,499,999
19	16.4%	\$1.5M or more

7.2.5 Education

Respondents answered questions about their own education as well as the education of their spouses and parents. This is a highly educated group of individuals. The median education level for parents was an Associate's degree. For mothers, the average education is 3.22 where 3 is some college but no degree and 4 is an Associate's degree. The average for fathers is 3.78. Spouses had the highest level of education with the median a Bachelor's degree and the average 4.85 where 5 is a Bachelor's. Respondents had a median education of a Bachelor's degree and an average of 4.78. Table 7-3 below shows the total number for each level of education for the four different groups.

Table 7-3: Educational Attainment of Respondents and their Parents and Spouses

Level of Education	Mother	Father	Spouse	Respondent
Less than high school	9	13	0	0
High school or equivalent	25	22	2	0
Some college (no degree)	21	12	8	8
Associate's or technical degree	7	4	4	3
Bachelor's degree	46	33	40	44
Master's degree	25	22	52	60
Professional school degree	7	19	18	16
Doctorate	3	18	20	13
No response	3	3	2	2

7.2.6 Political persuasion

I asked respondents what comes closest to describing their political identity among ten choices and a fill in the blank. All respondents answered the question and none selected Conservative or Republican. The number selecting the choices and their percentage of the total are provided in Table 7-4 below.

Table 7-4: Respondents' Political Identities

Political Identity	Number	Percent
Progressive	68	46.58%
Socialist	20	13.70%
Other	15	10.27%

Democrat	12	8.22%
Liberal	11	7.53%
Independent	9	6.16%
Green	6	4.11%
Anarchist	5	3.42%
Total	146	100.00%

Research has shown that global warming is a highly politicized issue (e.g., McCright et al. 2016; McCright and Dunlap 2011b). For instance, the latest survey research from the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication finds that 95% of registered liberal Democrats think global warming is happening and 88% of them are worried while the respective figures for conservative Republicans are 40% and 30% (Leiserowitz et al. 2018). Since the sample is not only concerned about global warming but taking action on the issue, it is unsurprising that the sample skews very much toward the left. One could interpret almost half of the sample identifying as Progressive and almost another quarter identifying as Socialist or Other, as dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party. The Other category breaks down into generally leftist identities: a kind of leftist or revolutionary (9), a kind of anarchist or socialist (3), liberal or progressive (2), “concerned mother” (1).

7.3 FINDINGS

I was interested in the relationship between field specific capital, EC, and CC. To analyze these relationships, I created three composite measures of activist capital based on quantity and quality of experiences in the field: one more closely related to the general activist field, one more closely related to the CAF, and one more closely related to the protest field in Geneva. These three composite measures of activist capital were themselves combined into a total measure as well as a ranking of that total measure. In addition, I created rankings of respondents based on composite measures of EC and CC. These variables are as follows:

- Activist capital (AC)
- “General AC” is a ranking of composite measure of general activist capital.
- “Climate AC” is a ranking of composite measure of activist capital related to climate change.
- “Geneva AC” is a ranking of composite measure of activist capital related to this specific fight.
- “Combined AC” is the average score across the three activist capital rankings.
- “Combined AC rank” is “Combined AC” rank ordered.
- Economic Capital (EC)
- “QEC-ranking” is the rank on a composite measure of EC (mostly income and wealth).
- Cultural Capital (CC)
- “QCC-rank” is the rank on a composite of measures of CC (mostly education and occupation).

In the table below, there is a significant (.001) and positive correlation for each variable except for EC and CC. I expected the different activist capital measures to be significantly and positively related to each other—as was the case—because activist experience (e.g., duration of activist participation, number of protests organized, and

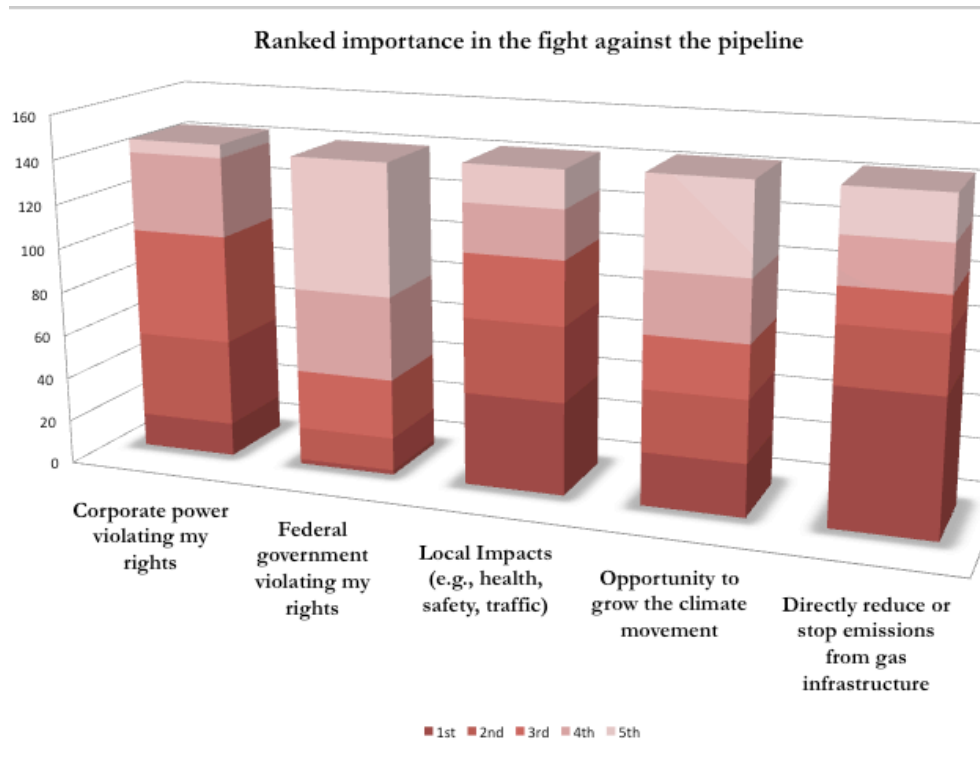
percentage of friends who are activists versus non-activists) is the central component of these composite measures. Also as expected, EC and CC are significantly (.05) and positively related to one another. However, counter to the hypothesis that those with high scores on the measures of activist capital would also possess a higher quantity of CC, the results show no significant relationship.

	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w	QCCran~w
General AC	1.0000						
	146						
Climate AC	0.4581	1.0000					
	0.0000						
	146	146					
Geneva AC	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000				
	0.0000	0.0000					
	146	146	146				
Combined AC	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000			
	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000				
	146	146	146	146			
Combined AC rank	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000		
	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	146	146	146	146	146		
EC rank	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000	
	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677		
	146	146	146	146	146	146	
CC rank	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735	1.0000
	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363	
	146	146	146	146	146	146	146

The figure below provides a general sense of how survey respondents ranked five different measures in terms of importance to them with regard to the Geneva pipeline protest. Four factors stand out. First, the issue ranked as most important by the largest number of respondents was directly reducing emissions. Combining those who ranked directly reducing emissions their first (62) and second (26) most important factor shows that 60.7% (88/145) thought reducing emissions was critical to their participation.

Second, local impacts like health and safety were ranked first by 42 respondents and second by 34 respondents. Combined, this means just over half (52.8%, 76/144) of respondents thought local impacts were very important to their participation. Third, the chart shows that the federal government violating people's rights was ranked lowest. 60 respondents ranked it last while another 38 respondents ranked it second to last revealing a combined 69.0% (98/142) of respondents ranked this factor as relatively unimportant in their participation. Furthermore, only two respondents ranked this as the most important and only 15 ranked it as second most important. Fourth, there is a roughly equal spread of survey respondents for the one through five ranking of the choice, opportunity to grow the climate movement. Those most involved in the CAF should place a higher importance on this option, which I explore further below in the bivariate examination of this question.

Figure 7-1: Ranked Importance in the GPP Fight



The table below correlates the predictor variables (the measures of capital) to the first response to Q20, which asked respondents to rank the importance of several options in their importance to the respondent regarding the efforts in Geneva to fight the pipeline. The statistically significant (.014) relationship shows that those high CC rank corporate power violating their rights as lower in importance. Alternatively, respondents low in CC rank corporate power violating their rights as more important to them. Survey respondents are, at least in part, fighting a corporation, but they don't see that as important. Perhaps this is because many of their battles are related to corporations, so this aspect fades into the background.

	Q20_lnew	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q20_lnew	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	0.0674	1.0000					
	0.4208						
	145	146					
Climate AC	0.1471	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0774	0.0000					
	145	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.0893	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.2852	0.0000	0.0000				
	145	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.1255	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.1326	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	145	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.0804	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.3364	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	145	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.0327	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.6962	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	145	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank	0.2025	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
	0.0146	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
	145	146	146	146	146	146	146

The second option in Q20 had participants rank the importance of federal power violating their rights in terms of what is important to them in the Geneva protest. Every measure besides EC shows a significant and positive relationship to this option. This means that those with higher quantities of capital rank the importance of the federal government violating their rights as low. The composite measure of activist capital most closely related to the CAF (“Climate AC”) shows the strongest relationship to low importance of the federal government violating their rights, while the CC measure shows the second strongest relationship. Meanwhile, the composite measure of general activist capital shows no significant relationship. This can be interpreted as showing that those

with the most experience in the CAF activism do show some relationship to high CC since they rank this option closely, while those with high general activist capital do not. Furthermore, the activist capital measure for this specific fight also shows a relationship to a low ranking of the importance of the federal government violating their rights. This means that there is a closer relationship to activists' views on federal power violating their rights among climate change activists and those active in this specific fight relative to activists in general. In a very limited way, this might suggest that CC has more influence than EC in the CAF relative to other activist fields.

	Q20_2new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q20_2new	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	0.0740	1.0000					
	0.3762						
	145	146					
Climate AC	0.2316	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0051	0.0000					
	145	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.1670	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0447	0.0000	0.0000				
	145	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.1977	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.0171	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	145	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.1802	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.0301	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	145	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	0.0242	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.7730	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	145	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank	0.2120	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
	0.0105	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
	145	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCran~w						
CC rank	1.0000						
	146						

Two-sample t test with equal variances						
Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Intervall]	
0	51	3.686275	.1714762	1.224585	3.341854	4.030695
1	94	4.202128	.1032306	1.000858	3.997132	4.407123
combined	145	4.02069	.0920545	1.108483	3.838737	4.202642
diff		-.5158531	.188583		-.8886236	-.1430827
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = -2.7354		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 143		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.0035		Pr(T > t) = 0.0070		Pr(T > t) = 0.9965		

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Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	3.66	.1631576	1.153699	3.332122	3.987878
1	95	4.210526	.1067642	1.040609	3.998543	4.422509
combined	145	4.02069	.0920545	1.108483	3.838737	4.202642
diff		-.5505263	.1888164		-.9237582	-.1772944
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	-2.9157
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	143
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.0021		Pr(T > t) = 0.0041		Pr(T > t) = 0.9979		

The third option for Q20 asked respondents to rank the importance of local impacts like health, safety, and traffic. The results show highly significant relationships between high scores on all the measures of activist capital and ranking local impact as less important. The relationship is strongest with the measure of CAC, though this score is close to the measures of activist capital for this fight and for activism more generally. The stronger relationship does suggest that the CAF activism ranks local impacts as less important than the general activist field.

	Q20_3new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q20_3new	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	0.2424	1.0000					
	0.0033						
	145	146					
Climate AC	0.2960	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0003	0.0000					
	145	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.2637	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0014	0.0000	0.0000				
	145	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.3305	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	145	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.3553	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		

		145	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank		-0.0365	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
		0.6628	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
		145	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank		0.0480	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
		0.5666	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
		145	146	146	146	146	146	146
		QCCran~w						
-----+-----								
CC rank		1.0000						
		146						

To further assess Q20_3, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for general activist capital, the climate change specific measure, the Geneva fight specific measure, and the combined measure were significantly more likely to provide a low ranking on the importance of local impacts in their participation on the efforts to stop the pipeline. The combined measure and the climate specific measure were more significant (both at .0000 relative to .0152 and .0007) and showed a larger difference (.975 and .997 relative to .578 and .814) than the general activist capital and Geneva specific measure. This corresponds to the findings in the correlation analysis above and adds weight to the interpretation that climate activists are less concerned with local impacts than general activists.

```
-> ttest Q20_3new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	53	2.226415	.1779612	1.295577	1.86931	2.58352
1	92	2.804348	.1460085	1.400464	2.51432	3.094376
combined	145	2.593103	.1151779	1.386926	2.365446	2.820761

```

diff |          -.5779327    .2350877          -1.042629    -.1132366
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =  -2.4584
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =    143

Ha: diff < 0                                Ha: diff != 0                                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0076                    Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0152                    Pr(T > t) = 0.9924

```

```
-> ttest Q20_3new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
```

```
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```

-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      51    1.960784   .172549    1.232246    1.614209    2.307359
1 |      94    2.93617   .139293    1.350496    2.659562    3.212779
-----+-----
combined |    145    2.593103   .1151779    1.386926    2.365446    2.820761
-----+-----
diff |          -.9753859   .2278908          -1.425856   -.5249159
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =  -4.2801
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =    143

Ha: diff < 0                                Ha: diff != 0                                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0000                    Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000                    Pr(T > t) = 1.0000

```

```
-> ttest Q20_3new, by(DUMACGPPtotalranknew)
```

```
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```

-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      50      2.06   .1651468    1.167764    1.728125    2.391875
1 |      95    2.873684   .145282    1.416034    2.585223    3.162145
-----+-----
combined |    145    2.593103   .1151779    1.386926    2.365446    2.820761
-----+-----
diff |      -.8136842   .2334523          -1.275148   -.3522209
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =  -3.4854
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =    143

Ha: diff < 0                                Ha: diff != 0                                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0003                    Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0007                    Pr(T > t) = 0.9997

```

```
-> ttest Q20_3new, by(DUMACtotalranknew)
```

```
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```

-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      50      1.94   .1676001    1.185112    1.603195    2.276805
1 |      95    2.936842   .140237    1.366861    2.658398    3.215286
-----+-----
combined |    145    2.593103   .1151779    1.386926    2.365446    2.820761
-----+-----
diff |      -.9968421   .2284316          -1.448381   -.5453031
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =  -4.3639
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =    143

```


Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0000

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 1.0000

The fourth option on Q20 offered respondents the opportunity to rank the importance to them in this fight of an opportunity to grow the climate movement. Growing the movement is highly valued within all activist spaces. The results demonstrate a highly significant relationship to high scores on the activist capital measures and ranking growing the climate movement as important. In terms of the three connected spaces of activism, we see that those with higher scores on CAC and the capital most closely associated to the Geneva fight, rank growing the movement as slightly more important than those high in general activist capital. This is to be expected since the measure of general activist capital will include respondents who are less involved in climate change activism than those with higher scores on the climate and Geneva specific measures. The CC measure is far closer to statistical significance than the EC measure (.1051 relative to .8814), and it is also in the correct direction: more CC acts like more activist capital in that growing the climate movement is important. The results here explain chart 1 above that showed a roughly equal distribution of the ranked importance of growing the movement. Those with more activist capital are the ones who rank growing the climate movement as important to their participation.

	Q20_4new	QACGto~w	ACCcto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACtota~w	QECran~w
Q20_4new	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	-0.2417	1.0000					
	0.0034						
	145	146					

Climate AC	-0.2819 0.0006 145	0.4581 0.0000 146	1.0000 146				
Geneva AC	-0.2987 0.0003 145	0.3480 0.0000 146	0.6423 0.0000 146	1.0000 146			
Combined AC	-0.3405 0.0000 145	0.7122 0.0000 146	0.8672 0.0000 146	0.8458 0.0000 146	1.0000 146		
Combined AC rank	-0.3007 0.0002 145	0.6535 0.0000 146	0.8521 0.0000 146	0.8440 0.0000 146	0.9715 0.0000 146	1.0000 146	
EC rank	0.0125 0.8814 145	-0.0798 0.3381 146	0.0555 0.5061 146	0.0775 0.3523 146	0.0286 0.7317 146	0.0034 0.9677 146	1.0000 146
CC rank	-0.1351 0.1051 145	0.0510 0.5412 146	0.0783 0.3473 146	-0.0700 0.4012 146	0.0184 0.8259 146	-0.0006 0.9946 146	0.1735 0.0363 146
-----+ QCCran~w							
CC rank	1.0000						
	146						

To further assess Q20_4, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for general activist capital, the climate change specific measure, the Geneva fight specific measure, and the combined activist measure are all significantly more likely to rank growing the climate movement as more important than those in the low group.

```
-> ttest Q20_4new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	53	3.698113	.1896925	1.380982	3.317467	4.078759
1	92	2.967391	.1510048	1.448387	2.667439	3.267344
combined	145	3.234483	.121459	1.46256	2.99441	3.474556
diff		.7307219	.2456049		.2452366	1.216207
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 2.9752		

```

Ho: diff = 0                                degrees of freedom =      143

      Ha: diff < 0                        Ha: diff != 0                        Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9983                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0034                Pr(T > t) = 0.0017

```

```
-> ttest Q20_4new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	51	3.764706	.1739692	1.242389	3.415278	4.114133
1	94	2.946809	.1545223	1.49815	2.639958	3.253659
combined	145	3.234483	.121459	1.46256	2.99441	3.474556
diff		.8178974	.2459133		.3318025	1.303992

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      3.3260
Ho: diff = 0                                degrees of freedom =      143

      Ha: diff < 0                        Ha: diff != 0                        Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9994                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0011                Pr(T > t) = 0.0006

```

```
-> ttest Q20_4new, by(DUMACGPtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	3.74	.1733464	1.225744	3.391647	4.088353
1	95	2.968421	.1551307	1.512027	2.660405	3.276437
combined	145	3.234483	.121459	1.46256	2.99441	3.474556
diff		.7715789	.2481768		.2810099	1.262148

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      3.1090
Ho: diff = 0                                degrees of freedom =      143

      Ha: diff < 0                        Ha: diff != 0                        Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9989                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0023                Pr(T > t) = 0.0011

```

```
-> ttest Q20_4new, by(DUMACtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	3.9	.16721	1.182353	3.563979	4.236021
1	95	2.884211	.1517816	1.479384	2.582845	3.185576
combined	145	3.234483	.121459	1.46256	2.99441	3.474556
diff		1.015789	.241949		.5375309	1.494048

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      4.1984
Ho: diff = 0                                degrees of freedom =      143

      Ha: diff < 0                        Ha: diff != 0                        Ha: diff > 0

```

$$\Pr(T < t) = 1.0000$$

$$\Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000$$

$$\Pr(T > t) = 0.0000$$

The fifth option for Q20 asked respondents to rank the importance of directly reducing or stopping emissions from gas infrastructure. Respondents high in climate change specific activist capital ranked this as more important as did those high in CC. This provides some further evidence that CC is more central to the CAF activism than in the general activist space. Both those high in climate specific activist capital and CC think it is important to reduce emissions. This is unsurprising since reducing emissions is critical goal for climate activists, but that those high in Geneva specific capital and activist capital in general don't see this as important is perhaps an indication that those deeply embedded in the CAF activism and those with high CC have yet to convince other groups of the importance of reducing emissions. These results indicate that while climate change activists played a central role in the Geneva fight, they were unable to convince others of the importance of reducing emissions.

	Q20_5new	QACGto~w	ACCcto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	Actota~w	QECran~w
Q20_5new	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	-0.0662 0.4287 145	1.0000					
		146					
Climate AC	-0.2139 0.0098 145	0.4581 0.0000 146	1.0000				
			146				
Geneva AC	-0.0613 0.4642 145	0.3480 0.0000 146	0.6423 0.0000 146	1.0000			
				146			
Combined AC	-0.1392 0.0949 145	0.7122 0.0000 146	0.8672 0.0000 146	0.8458 0.0000 146	1.0000		
					146		
Combined AC rank	-0.1637	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	

		0.0491	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	
		145	146	146	146	146	146
EC rank		0.0793	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034
		0.3430	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677
		145	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank		-0.2055	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006
		0.0131	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946
		145	146	146	146	146	146

To further assess Q20_5, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for the climate change specific measure, and the combined activist measure are both significantly more likely to rank directly reducing emissions as more important than those in the “low” group. Interestingly, the results show an insignificant relationship to the CC measure (.1433), which was significant in the regression analysis above. These results add weight to the evidence that climate activists care about reducing emissions, but they do not support the contention that CC is dominant, though neither do they reduce that evidence. In fact, the lower level of insignificance (.1433) for the CC measure than the EC measure (.3292) can be interpreted as supporting the hypothesis.

```
-> ttest Q20_5new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	51	2.980392	.2231507	1.593615	2.532181	3.428604
1	94	2.06383	.1376408	1.334477	1.790503	2.337157
combined	145	2.386207	.1238689	1.491579	2.141371	2.631043
diff		.9165624	.2487724		.4248159	1.408309
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 3.6843		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 143		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9998		Pr(T > t) = 0.0003		Pr(T > t) = 0.0002		

```
-> ttest Q20_5new, by(DUMACTtotalranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	2.74	.2335354	1.651345	2.270693	3.209307
1	95	2.2	.140866	1.372992	1.920307	2.479693
combined	145	2.386207	.1238689	1.491579	2.141371	2.631043
diff		.54	.2575868		.0308301	1.04917
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	2.0964
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	143
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9811		Pr(T > t) = 0.0378		Pr(T > t) = 0.0189		

```
-> ttest Q20_5new, by(DUMQCCranknew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	67	2.58209	.191579	1.568142	2.19959	2.964589
1	78	2.217949	.1597611	1.410972	1.899824	2.536074
combined	145	2.386207	.1238689	1.491579	2.141371	2.631043
diff		.3641408	.2474544		-.1250004	.8532821
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	1.4715
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	143
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9283		Pr(T > t) = 0.1433		Pr(T > t) = 0.0717		

```
-> ttest Q20_5new, by(DUMQECrankingnew)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	53	2.226415	.2009439	1.462894	1.823192	2.629639
1	92	2.478261	.1572262	1.508061	2.16595	2.790571
combined	145	2.386207	.1238689	1.491579	2.141371	2.631043
diff		-.2518458	.2572534		-.7603567	.2566651
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.9790	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 143	
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.1646		Pr(T > t) = 0.3292		Pr(T > t) = 0.8354		

Q24 asked respondents to rank the effectiveness of different items in terms of fighting the Geneva gas project. The only statistically significant relationship for the first

option, direct outreach, was to general activist capital. Those with high scores on this measure think that direct outreach is important. That there is no significant relationship for this option for the CAF and for the Geneva specific field shows that these groups place less value in direct outreach than activists in general.

	Q24_1new	QACGto~w	ACCCTo~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q24_1new	1.0000						
	138						
General AC	-0.1739	1.0000					
	0.0414						
	138	146					
Climate AC	-0.0082	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.9243	0.0000					
	138	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.0774	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.3666	0.0000	0.0000				
	138	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.1051	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.2201	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	138	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.0857	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.3178	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	138	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	0.0695	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.4176	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank	0.1393	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
	0.1031	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146

To further assess Q24_1, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for the general activist capital measure were significantly more likely to rank direct outreach as more important than those in the “low” group. This verifies the finding in the

regression analysis that those with more general activist capital place a high importance on direct outreach. Interestingly, the paired T-test results show a significant relationship between the “high” and “low” group on the combined activist capital measure. To a statistically significant extent (.0358), those in the “high” group rated direct outreach as more important than those in the low group. In the regression analysis above, this measure did not show significance.

```
-> ttest Q24_1new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	52	3.538462	.2272226	1.638526	3.082293	3.99463
1	86	2.906977	.1699987	1.576503	2.568974	3.24498
combined	138	3.144928	.1382021	1.623508	2.871642	3.418213
diff		.6314848	.2810738		.0756442	1.187325
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	2.2467
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	136
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9869		Pr(T > t) = 0.0263		Pr(T > t) = 0.0131		

```
-> ttest Q24_1new, by(DUMAccombinedtotalnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	25	3.76	.3330666	1.665333	3.072584	4.447416
1	113	3.00885	.1495334	1.589562	2.712568	3.305131
combined	138	3.144928	.1382021	1.623508	2.871642	3.418213
diff		.7511504	.3543368		.0504279	1.451873
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	2.1199
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	136
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9821		Pr(T > t) = 0.0358		Pr(T > t) = 0.0179		

The second option on Q24 was fighting FERC (the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission) through courts and otherwise. The results show that those higher on every measure of capital, besides CC, rank fighting FERC as less effective. The group that feels this way most strongly consists of those high in Geneva specific capital. This is understandable since some within this group spent countless hours trying to intervene through FERC to stop the gas project. As they continued to see little result, they lost confidence in the effectiveness of this route to stopping the project. Similarly, those high in CAC who are more likely to have knowledge of and experience with FERC show a stronger relationship to a negative view of effectiveness of fighting FERC than those high in activist capital in general. Interestingly, those with high EC also feel fighting FERC is an ineffective route while those high in CC show no relationship. This might be related to those with high EC understanding that FERC is by and large controlled by the fossil fuel industry due to their experience in the business field. In counter to the all fields of activism being more closely related to CC, these results show that, at least on the question of effectiveness of fighting FERC, those with more EC are more closely related to the activist field.

	Q24_2new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q24_2new	1.0000						
	138						
General AC	0.1741	1.0000					
	0.0411						
	138	146					
Climate AC	0.2850	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0007	0.0000					
	138	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.3702	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			

		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
		138	146	146	146		
Combined AC		0.3496	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000	
		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
		138	146	146	146	146	
Combined AC rank		0.3204	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000
		0.0001	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	
		138	146	146	146	146	146
EC rank		0.2102	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034
		0.0133	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677
		138	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank		0.0974	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006
		0.2558	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946
		138	146	146	146	146	146
		QCCran~w					
CC rank		1.0000					
		146					

To further assess Q24_2, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for the general activist capital measure, the climate specific measure, the Geneva specific measure, and the combined measure were all significantly more likely to rank direct outreach as more important than those in the “low” group for each measure. As opposed to the regression analysis above, the EC measure did not show a significant relationship (.0947). In other words, while the regression analysis showed the EC measure to be patterned similarly to the activist capital measures on the question of the effectiveness of stopping the pipeline by fighting FERC, the T-test below does not. Like the regression analysis above, we see no significant relationship (.0976) on the CC measure.

```
-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]
0	52	3.076923	.2359892	1.701743	2.603155 3.550691

```

      1 |      86      3.906977      .188324      1.746445      3.532538      4.281415
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.594203      .1506844      1.77014      3.296235      3.892171
-----+-----
      diff |              -.8300537      .3038706              -1.430976      -.229131
-----+-----
      diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -2.7316
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

      Ha: diff < 0              Ha: diff != 0              Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0036      Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0071      Pr(T > t) = 0.9964

```

```

-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
      Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      0 |      47      2.957447      .2432387      1.667561      2.467833      3.447061
      1 |      91      3.923077      .182394      1.739928      3.560719      4.285435
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.594203      .1506844      1.77014      3.296235      3.892171
-----+-----
      diff |              -.9656301      .3082015              -1.575117      -.356143
-----+-----
      diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -3.1331
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

      Ha: diff < 0              Ha: diff != 0              Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0011      Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0021      Pr(T > t) = 0.9989

```

```

-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMACGPtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
      Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      0 |      46      2.913043      .2322461      1.57517      2.445276      3.380811
      1 |      92      3.934783      .1847018      1.771597      3.567895      4.30167
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.594203      .1506844      1.77014      3.296235      3.892171
-----+-----
      diff |              -1.021739      .3086279              -1.63207      -.4114087
-----+-----
      diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -3.3106
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

      Ha: diff < 0              Ha: diff != 0              Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0006      Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0012      Pr(T > t) = 0.9994

```

```

-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMACtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
      Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      0 |      46      2.76087      .2223823      1.50827      2.312969      3.208771
      1 |      92      4.01087      .1825488      1.750947      3.648259      4.37348
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.594203      .1506844      1.77014      3.296235      3.892171
-----+-----
      diff |              -1.25      .3023877              -1.84799      -.65201

```

```

-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -4.1338
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

```

```

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0000          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0001          Pr(T > t) = 1.0000

```

```

-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMQECrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      50      3.26   .263121   1.860546   2.731239   3.788761
1 |      88     3.784091 .1810287   1.6982    3.424277   4.143905
-----+-----
combined |    138     3.594203 .1506844   1.77014    3.296235   3.892171
-----+-----
diff |              -.5240909 .3114124              -1.139928   .091746
-----

```

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -1.6829
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

```

```

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0473          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0947          Pr(T > t) = 0.9527

```

```

-> ttest Q24_2new, by(DUMQCCrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      66     3.333333 .2085954   1.694637   2.91674    3.749927
1 |      72     3.833333 .2139501   1.815427   3.406729   4.259938
-----+-----
combined |    138     3.594203 .1506844   1.77014    3.296235   3.892171
-----+-----
diff |              -.5    .2997098              -1.092694   .0926943
-----

```

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -1.6683
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

```

```

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0488          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0976          Pr(T > t) = 0.9512

```

The third option on Q24 was about the effectiveness of indirect outreach. The only statistically significant relationship (and only at the .05 level) was to those high in CC ranking indirect outreach as less effective. One might imagine those high in CC to be savvy with media (e.g., letters to the editor) and social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) and see value in communicating through these platforms. However, the results

indicate the opposite. Perhaps this is because those high in CC have seen indirect outreach be ineffective in their experience.

	Q24_3new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q24_3new	1.0000						
	138						
General AC	-0.0123	1.0000					
	0.8858						
	138	146					
Climate AC	0.0522	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.5435	0.0000					
	138	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.0354	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.6800	0.0000	0.0000				
	138	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.0000	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.9997	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	138	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.0066	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.9386	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	138	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	0.0994	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.2459	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank	0.1833	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
	0.0314	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCran~w						
CC rank	1.0000						
	146						

The fourth option on Q24 asked about the effectiveness of lobbying. Those high in general activist capital most strongly view lobbying as ineffective. Those high in Geneva specific capital feel this way too, but less so and with a lower level of significance (.0010 relative to .0162). Interestingly, those high in CAC show no

significant relationship to their understanding of effectiveness of lobbying. Relative to activists in general then, climate activists can be understood to have a more positive view of lobbying. This may be related to the climate movement's long experience with lobbying governmental officials (at the state and federal level but also through the UNFCCC) and a kind of path dependence there.

	Q24_4new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q24_4new	1.0000						
	138						
General AC	0.2767 0.0010	1.0000					
	138	146					
Climate AC	0.1032 0.2282	0.4581 0.0000	1.0000				
	138	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.2044 0.0162	0.3480 0.0000	0.6423 0.0000	1.0000			
	138	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.2403 0.0045	0.7122 0.0000	0.8672 0.0000	0.8458 0.0000	1.0000		
	138	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.2452 0.0038	0.6535 0.0000	0.8521 0.0000	0.8440 0.0000	0.9715 0.0000	1.0000	
	138	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.1337 0.1181	-0.0798 0.3381	0.0555 0.5061	0.0775 0.3523	0.0286 0.7317	0.0034 0.9677	1.0000
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank	-0.1396 0.1026	0.0510 0.5412	0.0783 0.3473	-0.0700 0.4012	0.0184 0.8259	-0.0006 0.9946	0.1735 0.0363
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146

To further assess Q24_4, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for the general activist capital measure, the climate specific measure, the Geneva specific measure, and the combined measure were all significantly more likely to rank lobbying as

lower in effectiveness than those in the “low” group for each measure. Interestingly, unlike the regression analysis, those high on both the CC and EC measures were significantly associated with ranking lobbying as more effective. The “high” group on the CC measure was significantly (.0218) more likely to rank lobbying as higher in importance than those in the “low” group. The mean score for the “high” group was 3.125 compared to the “low” group at 3.757, which means neither group are ranking lobbying as first or second in importance, but the statistically significant difference in the groups does suggest those possessing higher CC think lobbying is more effective than those with lower CC. Similarly, the mean for those in the high group on EC had a score of 3.25 while those in the low group had a score of 3.74. This difference was significant (.0887) and suggests that those high in EC and CC are different from those high in the AC measures. This is evidence against the hypothesis.

```
-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	52	2.865385	.2180208	1.57217	2.42769	3.30308
1	86	3.767442	.1692297	1.569372	3.430968	4.103916
combined	138	3.427536	.138331	1.625022	3.153996	3.701076
diff		-.9020572	.2758703		-1.447608	-.356507

```
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = -3.2699
degrees of freedom = 136

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0007

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0014

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.9993
```

```
-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	47	3.021277	.228597	1.567182	2.561135	3.481418
1	91	3.637363	.1701228	1.622868	3.299384	3.975341

```

combined |      138      3.427536      .138331      1.625022      3.153996      3.701076
-----+-----
diff |      -.616086      .2881653      -1.185951      -.0462216
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -2.1380
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0172          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0343          Pr(T > t) = 0.9828

```

```

-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMACGPtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      46      2.956522      .2386689      1.618731      2.475818      3.437225
1 |      92      3.663043      .1652267      1.584798      3.334841      3.991246
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.427536      .138331      1.625022      3.153996      3.701076
-----+-----
diff |      -.7065217      .2882229      -1.2765      -.1365435
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -2.4513
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0078          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0155          Pr(T > t) = 0.9922

```

```

-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMACtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      46      2.847826      .217512      1.475238      2.409734      3.285918
1 |      92      3.717391      .1695432      1.626201      3.380615      4.054168
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.427536      .138331      1.625022      3.153996      3.701076
-----+-----
diff |      -.8695652      .2849262      -1.433024      -.3061064
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = -3.0519
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0014          Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0027          Pr(T > t) = 0.9986

```

```

-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMQECrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      50      3.74      .1996119      1.411469      3.338865      4.141135
1 |      88      3.25      .1830386      1.717054      2.886191      3.613809
-----+-----
combined |      138      3.427536      .138331      1.625022      3.153996      3.701076
-----+-----
diff |      .49      .2857715      -.0751306      1.055131
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t = 1.7147
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom = 136

Ha: diff < 0                Ha: diff != 0                Ha: diff > 0

```


Pr(T < t) = 0.9557 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0887 Pr(T > t) = 0.0443

```
-> ttest Q24_4new, by(DUMQCCranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	66	3.757576	.1991364	1.617792	3.359873	4.155279
1	72	3.125	.1865357	1.582808	2.753058	3.496942
combined	138	3.427536	.138331	1.625022	3.153996	3.701076
diff		.6325758	.2725958		.093501	1.17165
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t =	2.3206
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	136
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9891		Pr(T > t) = 0.0218		Pr(T > t) = 0.0109		

The fifth option on Q24 asked about the effectiveness of rallies. The Geneva specific measure shows the highest significance (.0045) and strongest correlation to this measure, meaning those most embedded in this specific fight view rallies as more effective than other groups. The EC measure, while less significant (.0122) and a lower score demonstrate the same positive view of effectiveness of rallies while the CC measure does not show the relationship. Like the question about FERC, there is a pattern where the Geneva specific capital and EC show similar score suggesting that EC was a stronger influence in this specific fight relative to EC within the CAF and the general activist field. This provides some evidence that CC had a stronger influence in the CAF than EC and, moreover, that while climate activists effectively came to dominate this specific fight, they did not win the hearts and minds of all of those participating in stopping this gas project.

```
-----+-----
| Q24_5new QACGto~w ACCCto~w ACGPPt~w Accomb~w Actota~w QECran~w
-----+-----
```

Q24_5new	1.0000							
	138							
General AC	-0.0591	1.0000						
	0.4908							
	138	146						
Climate AC	-0.1363	0.4581	1.0000					
	0.1110	0.0000						
	138	146	146					
Geneva AC	-0.2405	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000				
	0.0045	0.0000	0.0000					
	138	146	146	146				
Combined AC	-0.1870	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000			
	0.0281	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000				
	138	146	146	146	146			
Combined AC rank	-0.1700	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000		
	0.0462	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	138	146	146	146	146	146		
EC rank	-0.2127	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000	
	0.0122	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677		
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146	
CC rank	-0.0209	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735	
	0.8081	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363	
	138	146	146	146	146	146	146	
----- QCCran~w								
CC rank	1.0000							
	146							

To further assess Q24_5, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for the Geneva specific measure, the combined activist capital measure, and the EC measure were all significantly more likely to rank rallies as higher in effectiveness than those in the “low” group for each measure. This is the same pattern shown in the regression analysis above and adds weight counter to the hypothesis that CC is more important in the CAF than EC because the latter shows the same relationship on the

importance of rallies as does the Geneva specific measure and the combined activist capital measure.

```
-> ttest Q24_5new, by(DUMACGPtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	46	3.826087	.2204614	1.495242	3.382055	4.270119
1	92	3.054348	.1490534	1.42967	2.703924	3.296076
combined	138	3.275362	.1275406	1.498262	3.02316	3.527565
diff		.826087	.2621452		.3076789	1.344495
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	3.1513	
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom =	136	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0	Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9990			Pr(T > t) = 0.0020	Pr(T > t) = 0.0010		

```
-> ttest Q24_5new, by(DUMACtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	46	3.717391	.2145955	1.455458	3.285174	4.149609
1	92	3.054348	.154069	1.477778	2.748309	3.360387
combined	138	3.275362	.1275406	1.498262	3.02316	3.527565
diff		.6630435	.2655285		.1379448	1.188142
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	2.4971	
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom =	136	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0	Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9931			Pr(T > t) = 0.0137	Pr(T > t) = 0.0069		

```
-> ttest Q24_5new, by(DUMQECrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	3.74	.2115251	1.495708	3.314924	4.165076
1	88	3.011364	.1537534	1.442335	2.705762	3.316965
combined	138	3.275362	.1275406	1.498262	3.02316	3.527565
diff		.7286364	.2588797		.216686	1.240587
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	2.8146	
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom =	136	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0	Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9972			Pr(T > t) = 0.0056	Pr(T > t) = 0.0028		

The sixth option on Q24 asked about the effectiveness of stopping pipeline construction with arrests or Civil Disobedience (CD). The results provide strong evidence for the hypothesis that direct action has taken on more importance within the CAF and that this is related to possession of CC. The climate specific measure shows a higher level of significance and a higher Pearson R than the Geneva specific measure, which is followed by the general activist capital measure. A high ranking in CC also shows a positive view on the effectiveness of CD. This demonstrates that CC is stronger within the activist field (and even more so in the CAF) since all the measures of activist capital as well as the CC measure show statistically significant relationships to positive views on CD. Furthermore, there is no relationship to EC and effectiveness of CD.

```
. pwcorr Q24_6new QACGtotalranknew ACCCtotalranknew ACGPPtotalranknew Accombedtotalnew
ACtotalranknew QECrankingnew QCCrank
> new, obs sig
```

	Q24_6new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPPt~w	Accomb~w	ACtota~w	QECran~w
Q24_6new	1.0000						
	138						
General AC	-0.1955	1.0000					
	0.0215						
	138	146					
Climate AC	-0.2739	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0012	0.0000					
	138	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.2405	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0045	0.0000	0.0000				
	138	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.2941	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.0005	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	138	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.2966	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.0004	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	138	146	146	146	146	146	

EC rank		-0.0390	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
		0.6495	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
		138	146	146	146	146	146	146
CC rank		-0.1952	0.0510	0.0783	-0.0700	0.0184	-0.0006	0.1735
		0.0217	0.5412	0.3473	0.4012	0.8259	0.9946	0.0363
		138	146	146	146	146	146	146
		QCCran~w						
CC rank		1.0000						
		146						

To further assess Q24_6, I again divided respondents into “low” and “high” rankings on the capital measures. The results below show that those in the “high” group for general activist capital, CAC, the Geneva specific measure, and the combined activist capital measure were all significantly more likely to rank CD as higher in effectiveness than those in the “low” group for each measure. Unlike the regression analysis, there was no significant difference on the CC measure. It is worth noting that the level of insignificance for the CC measure is much lower than the EC measure (.0234 relative to .8340), and that the direction of the relationship between CC and the activist capital measures is the same, but the difference between the “high” and “low” groups for CC was not statistically significant.

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMQACGtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	52	3.423077	.2653239	1.913278	2.890417	3.955737
1	86	2.639535	.1984294	1.840159	2.245004	3.034066
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		.783542	.3281297		.1346457	1.432438

```
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
Ha: diff < 0
```

t = 2.3879
degrees of freedom = 136
Ha: diff != 0
Ha: diff > 0

Pr(T < t) = 0.9908 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0183 Pr(T > t) = 0.0092

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMACCCtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	47	3.787234	.2932105	2.01015	3.197032	4.377436
1	91	2.494505	.1770561	1.689008	2.142753	2.846258
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		1.292729	.3240528		.6518944	1.933563
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 3.9893		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 136		
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 0.9999			Pr(T > t) = 0.0001		Pr(T > t) = 0.0001	

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMACGPPtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	46	3.543478	.2927572	1.985576	2.953835	4.133122
1	92	2.630435	.1865761	1.789575	2.259824	3.001045
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		.9130435	.3352843		.2499984	1.576089
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 2.7232		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 136		
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 0.9963			Pr(T > t) = 0.0073		Pr(T > t) = 0.0037	

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMACTtotalranknew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	46	3.956522	.2931695	1.988372	3.366048	4.546995
1	92	2.423913	.1708818	1.639041	2.084477	2.763349
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		1.532609	.3182359		.9032779	2.16194
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 4.8160		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 136		
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 1.0000			Pr(T > t) = 0.0000		Pr(T > t) = 0.0000	

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMQECrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	50	2.98	.2835489	2.004994	2.410187	3.549813
1	88	2.909091	.1970501	1.848493	2.517433	3.300749
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		.0709091	.3376123		-.5967398	.738558
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 0.2100		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 136		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.5830		Pr(T > t) = 0.8340		Pr(T > t) = 0.4170		

```
-> ttest Q24_6new, by(DUMQCCrankingnew)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	66	3.136364	.2460754	1.999126	2.644917	3.62781
1	72	2.75	.2118829	1.797886	2.327517	3.172483
combined	138	2.934783	.1617131	1.899698	2.615006	3.254559
diff		.3863636	.3232268		-.252837	1.025564
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 1.1953		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 136		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.8830		Pr(T > t) = 0.2340		Pr(T > t) = 0.1170		

Q28 asked respondents to provide their level of agreement with a range of statements. A positive relationship means they agree with the statement. The first statement asked about a carbon tax being the most effective policy tool to reduce emissions. All the measures of activist capital show a statistically significant relationship to disagreeing with this statement. This is strongest for the Geneva specific capital, followed by general activist capital, followed by CAC. This shows that while those high in all measures of activist capital don't think a carbon tax is the single most effective tool to reduce emissions, those high in the climate specific measure are less likely to rate it negatively. In other words, while those with the highest position in the CAF don't view a

carbon tax as effective, they are more likely to think it is effective relative to those with higher position in the other two measures of activist capital.

	Q28_lnew	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_lnew	1.0000						
	125						
General AC	-0.2374 0.0077 125	1.0000 146					
Climate AC	-0.1767 0.0487 125	0.4581 0.0000 146	1.0000 146				
Geneva AC	-0.2883 0.0011 125	0.3480 0.0000 146	0.6423 0.0000 146	1.0000 146			
Combined AC	-0.2869 0.0012 125	0.7122 0.0000 146	0.8672 0.0000 146	0.8458 0.0000 146	1.0000 146		
Combined AC rank	-0.2579 0.0037 125	0.6535 0.0000 146	0.8521 0.0000 146	0.8440 0.0000 146	0.9715 0.0000 146	1.0000 146	
EC rank	0.0401 0.6571 125	-0.0798 0.3381 146	0.0555 0.5061 146	0.0775 0.3523 146	0.0286 0.7317 146	0.0034 0.9677 146	1.0000 146
QCCrank	0.1145 0.2034 125	0.0469 0.5736 146	0.0707 0.3966 146	-0.0776 0.3519 146	0.0103 0.9017 146	-0.0082 0.9215 146	0.1787 0.0309 146
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

The second option asked respondents their level of agreement that addressing climate change is an opportunity to reduce inequality both domestically and abroad. There are no significant relationships, though it's perhaps worth noting that the EC measure was the only negative score, but the lack of significance limits interpretation.

	Q28_2new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_2new	1.0000						
	135						
General AC	0.1087	1.0000					
	0.2095						
	135	146					
Climate AC	0.0789	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.3633	0.0000					
	135	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.0375	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.6658	0.0000	0.0000				
	135	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.0884	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.3077	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	135	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.1025	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.2369	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	135	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.0830	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.3385	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	135	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	0.0224	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
	0.7966	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
	135	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

The third option asked respondents for views on “Big Green” environmental groups (large, D.C. based) sometimes doing more harm than good. Those high in every measure of activist capital (general, climate, specific to this fight) agree with the statement. Interestingly, those high on the measure specific to the Geneva fight show the strongest agreement followed by the climate measure, which is slightly stronger than the general activist measure. That the Geneva specific measures shows the highest score means these relatively more locally interested individuals have had negative associations

with “Big Green.” That those high in every measure of activist capital agree with the statement though suggests a fairly negative view of people who are, on the face of it, climate activists themselves. This finding is remarkable on its own. One can make sense of it this way: activists tend to occupy a social space that valorizes a critical stance. Even though the individuals and groups that are in the imagination of what respondents think of when they think of “Big Green” are much closer to these activists than those outside the larger climate activist space, they take a critical view of their work. This finding corroborates one of Bourdieu’s claims that those close to one another in a field work diligently to provide space between each other—distinction. So while my respondents are actually likely similar to those within “Big Green,” they distinguish themselves by negatively assessing the work “Big Green” does.

There is no statistically significant relationship to EC or CC on this question, but CC does show a positive relationship and EC shows a negative relationship, which could be interpreted as providing very weak evidence that CC is more prominent in the activist space.

	Q28_3new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	Actota~w	QECran~w
Q28_3new	1.0000						
	126						
General AC	0.2654	1.0000					
	0.0027						
	126	146					
Climate AC	0.2903	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0010	0.0000					
	126	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.3899	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000				
	126	146	146	146			

Combined AC		0.3875	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000	
		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
		126	146	146	146	146	
Combined AC rank		0.3517	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000
		0.0001	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	
		126	146	146	146	146	146
EC rank		-0.0172	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034
		0.8486	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677
		126	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank		0.0556	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082
		0.5367	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215
		126	146	146	146	146	146
		QCCrank					
-----		-----					
QCCrank		1.0000					
		146					

The fifth question on Q28 asked for views of climate scientists and other experts needing to be central in efforts to reduce emissions. The only significant relationship (and low confidence at .0463) was to the climate specific measure where those high disagreed with the statement. This might seem surprising, but those with high position in the CAF have probably experienced fatigue with scientists and experts because they have long occupied such a prominent space within the field.

		Q28_5new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	Actota~w	QECran~w
-----		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Q28_5new		1.0000						
		140						
General AC		-0.0594	1.0000					
		0.4854						
		140	146					
Climate AC		-0.1687	0.4581	1.0000				
		0.0463	0.0000					
		140	146	146				
Geneva AC		-0.1251	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
		0.1409	0.0000	0.0000				
		140	146	146	146			
Combined AC		-0.1485	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
		0.0800	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			

		140	146	146	146	146	
Combined AC rank		-0.1412	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000
		0.0961	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	
		140	146	146	146	146	146
EC rank		-0.0832	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034
		0.3285	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677
		140	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank		-0.0811	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082
		0.3408	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215
		140	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
-----	QCCrank	1.0000					
		146					

Q28_6 asked respondents to rate their agreement that CD is the most powerful tool to address climate change. There are two statistically significant relationships here. First, the measure of general activist capital agrees that CD is the most powerful tool. Second, the EC measure disagrees that CD is the most powerful. These results lend support to the claim that activists have a positive view of CD and that possession of EC is less important than possession of CC. In this case, since the EC measure shows a negative relationship, one can interpret it as being a negative reference and something activists avoid. There is no significant relationship for the measures of climate change and the Geneva specific activist capital. The overarching hypothesis for this project would expect there to be a positive relationship between all measures of capital and a positive view on this statement. This stands in contrast to Q24_6 that asked about CD's effectiveness in this particular fight. Perhaps while those high in activist capital related to climate change as well as related to this particular fight feel that CD is effective on the Geneva fight, they don't think it is "the most powerful tool" to address climate change

more generally because they understand addressing climate change means covering many areas including policy. Maybe it is simply that the language of the single most powerful tool was too strong. Still, it's difficult to interpret because the general activist capital measure did show a positive correlation.

	Q28_6new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_6new	1.0000						
	130						
General AC	0.2802	1.0000					
	0.0012						
	130	146					
Climate AC	0.0521	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.5559	0.0000					
	130	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.0786	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.3742	0.0000	0.0000				
	130	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.0908	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.3044	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	130	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.0810	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.3597	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	130	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.2707	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.0018	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	130	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	-0.0144	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
	0.8710	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
	130	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

Q28_7 queried agreement on the statement that “climate change cannot be separated from capitalism, racism, or male domination.” High scores on both the measure of activist capital in general and the climate specific measure agree with the statement at

a very high confidence level (.000). The Geneva specific fight measure was close to significance (.0604). The highest score was for the general activist capital measure followed by the climate specific measure. This makes sense considering that those with high general activist capital are more likely to be involved in other issues and see the connections between them and climate change. That the Geneva specific measure doesn't correlate suggests that the climate activists and the general activists have not come to totally dominate this specific fight. Activists in general have come to internalize an intersectional analysis, and these findings support that.

	Q28_7new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_7new	1.0000						
	144						
General AC	0.3906 0.0000	1.0000					
	144	146					
Climate AC	0.2858 0.0005	0.4581 0.0000	1.0000				
	144	146	146				
Geneva AC	0.1569 0.0604	0.3480 0.0000	0.6423 0.0000	1.0000			
	144	146	146	146			
Combined AC	0.3307 0.0001	0.7122 0.0000	0.8672 0.0000	0.8458 0.0000	1.0000		
	144	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	0.3200 0.0001	0.6535 0.0000	0.8521 0.0000	0.8440 0.0000	0.9715 0.0000	1.0000	
	144	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.0846 0.3135	-0.0798 0.3381	0.0555 0.5061	0.0775 0.3523	0.0286 0.7317	0.0034 0.9677	1.0000
	144	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	-0.0267 0.7509	0.0469 0.5736	0.0707 0.3966	-0.0776 0.3519	0.0103 0.9017	-0.0082 0.9215	0.1787 0.0309
	144	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

The only significant relationship for Q28_8 is the combined AC measure (composite of each of the three activist measures). Those high on the combined AC measure disagree that everyone needs to do their part to reduce emissions when buying things. The climate specific measure shows a weaker relationship than the field specific measure and the general AC, which provides very weak evidence that those high in CAC are less likely to hold a positive view of the statement, perhaps because they are reacting to a long history of climate efforts around individual consumption that haven't gotten very far.

```
. pwcorr Q28_8new QACGtotalranknew ACCCtotalranknew ACGPPtotalranknew Accombedtotalnew
ACtotalranknew QECrankingnew QCCrank
> , obs sig
```

	Q28_8new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPPt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_8new	1.0000						
	145						
General AC	-0.1620	1.0000					
	0.0516						
	145	146					
Climate AC	-0.1414	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0897	0.0000					
	145	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.1607	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0535	0.0000	0.0000				
	145	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.1901	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.0220	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	145	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.1410	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.0908	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	145	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	0.0624	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.4562	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	145	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	0.0222	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
	0.7906	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309

	145	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

Q28_9 asks for agreement with the statement “I am concerned that CD alienates or scares people away from the climate movement.” The only significant relationship is the climate specific measure of capital. Those high in climate specific capital are not concerned that CD scares people away from the movement. That this is the only group that shows a significant relationship suggests perhaps that climate activists have heard this concern before and not seen it bear out. In any case, this demonstrates those with the highest climate specific capital are more supportive of CD in the sense that they aren’t concerned about negative repercussions for the movement.

	Q28_9new	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_9new	1.0000						
	137						
General AC	-0.0277	1.0000					
	0.7479						
	137	146					
Climate AC	-0.1713	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0453	0.0000					
	137	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.0589	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.4945	0.0000	0.0000				
	137	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.1063	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.2164	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	137	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.1039	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.2269	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
	137	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.0105	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.9033	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	

		137	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank		-0.0812	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
		0.3458	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
		137	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank							

QCCrank		1.0000						
			146					

Q28_12 asked for agreement with the statement “Middle class white people, especially men, should follow the lead of people of color and lower income folks who are hurt more by climate change.” Like Q28_7, we see a decreasing relationship with the general measure highest, followed by climate specific, followed by field specific. In other words, the general field of activism views the statement most positively, followed by climate change, and the Geneva specific measure, which doesn’t have any significant relationship. Again, since those with high general activist capital are more likely to be involved in other issues, they might be more likely to see the importance of marginalized individuals and groups taking leadership. That the Geneva specific field measure doesn’t correlate provides more evidence that the climate activists and the general activists have not come to totally dominate this specific fight. Interestingly, there is a significant relationship between EC and level of agreement. Those high in EC are more likely to disagree with the statement. One might ask how they could not, since the question is saying that people in an advantaged class, race, and gender positions need to step back.

	Q28_12~w	QACGto~w	ACCcto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACtota~w	QECran~w

Q28_12new		1.0000					

		139						
General AC		0.2495	1.0000					
		0.0031						
		139	146					
Climate AC		0.1663	0.4581	1.0000				
		0.0503	0.0000					
		139	146	146				
Geneva AC		0.0818	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
		0.3386	0.0000	0.0000				
		139	146	146	146			
Combined AC		0.1948	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
		0.0216	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
		139	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank		0.2214	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
		0.0088	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		
		139	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank		-0.1725	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
		0.0423	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
		139	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank		-0.0322	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
		0.7068	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
		139	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank							
QCCrank		1.0000						
		146						

Q28_14 asks for agreement with the statement that the “climate movement would benefit by focusing more on elected officials.” High EC is associated with disagreeing with the statement, which is counter to the hypothesis that politicians would be more of a focus for those higher in EC relative to CC, as would the CAF more generally because of its closer association to CC. This is difficult to interpret. Why are those high in EC more antagonistic to this idea? Perhaps they have some understanding that focusing more on elected officials won’t be effective; maybe they already think the climate movement focuses a lot on elected officials. The other significant relationship is to those with greater Geneva specific capital disagreeing that the climate movement would benefit

from focusing more on elected officials. This could be interpreted as respondents who have worked quite a bit on pushing elected officials but seen little result. This question provides further support that the Geneva specific field is more closely related to EC than the CAF more generally. Comparing this to Q24_4 on the effectiveness of lobbying politicians, there was no significance (.1181) for high EC being associated with “lobbying politicians” as effective in fighting the pipeline. They did have a negative score though, whereas there were significant associations between the measures of activist capital and ranking lobbying politicians as lower in effectiveness.

	Q28_14~w	QACGto~w	ACCcto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_14new	1.0000						
	137						
General AC	0.0152 0.8597 137	1.0000 146					
Climate AC	-0.1060 0.2176 137	0.4581 0.0000 146	1.0000 146				
Geneva AC	-0.1829 0.0324 137	0.3480 0.0000 146	0.6423 0.0000 146	1.0000 146			
Combined AC	-0.1218 0.1562 137	0.7122 0.0000 146	0.8672 0.0000 146	0.8458 0.0000 146	1.0000 146		
Combined AC rank	-0.1346 0.1169 137	0.6535 0.0000 146	0.8521 0.0000 146	0.8440 0.0000 146	0.9715 0.0000 146	1.0000 146	
EC rank	-0.2002 0.0190 137	-0.0798 0.3381 146	0.0555 0.5061 146	0.0775 0.3523 146	0.0286 0.7317 146	0.0034 0.9677 146	1.0000 146
QCCrank	-0.0160 0.8531 137	0.0469 0.5736 146	0.0707 0.3966 146	-0.0776 0.3519 146	0.0103 0.9017 146	-0.0082 0.9215 146	0.1787 0.0309 146
		QCCrank					
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

Q28_16 measures agreement with the following statement “Engaging with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) about a pipeline project is a waste of time.” High CC is associated with disagreeing with FERC being a waste of time. That is counter to the hypothesis, which predicts High CC respondents are more likely to agree with the statement. General AC is significant at the .1 level and also disagrees that FERC is a waste of time. This is in contrast to Q24_2 that asked about engaging with FERC on this specific gas project. All the measures of activist capital for that question were significantly related to a low ranking on the importance of FERC in this specific fight. CC in Q24_2 was the only measure that didn’t show a significant relationship, and here it’s the only one that does. So these are showing similar things—that CC is an outlier on FERC.

	Q28_16~w	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	Actota~w	QECran~w
Q28_16new	1.0000						
	129						
General AC	-0.1498	1.0000					
	0.0903						
	129	146					
Climate AC	-0.1319	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.1361	0.0000					
	129	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.0026	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.9770	0.0000	0.0000				
	129	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.1097	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.2160	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	129	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.0829	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.3505	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		

	129	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	0.0252	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.7767	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	129	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	-0.2263	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
	0.0099	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
	129	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

Q28_17 asks respondents their agreement on the following “We need to be more pragmatic on climate change. For instance, we should emphasize business opportunities and costs.” The climate specific measure and the CC measure are both significantly associated with disagreeing with the statement. This is evidence in support of the hypothesis about business and the field of power being viewed negatively from within the CAF, which is more closely related to CC. The Geneva specific measure is very close to significance at .0514 while the general activist capital measure is not.

	Q28_17~w	QACGto~w	ACCCto~w	ACGPpt~w	Accomb~w	ACTota~w	QECran~w
Q28_17new	1.0000						
	140						
General AC	-0.0967	1.0000					
	0.2555						
	140	146					
Climate AC	-0.2158	0.4581	1.0000				
	0.0105	0.0000					
	140	146	146				
Geneva AC	-0.1650	0.3480	0.6423	1.0000			
	0.0514	0.0000	0.0000				
	140	146	146	146			
Combined AC	-0.1999	0.7122	0.8672	0.8458	1.0000		
	0.0179	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
	140	146	146	146	146		
Combined AC rank	-0.1716	0.6535	0.8521	0.8440	0.9715	1.0000	
	0.0426	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		

	140	146	146	146	146	146	
EC rank	-0.0168	-0.0798	0.0555	0.0775	0.0286	0.0034	1.0000
	0.8438	0.3381	0.5061	0.3523	0.7317	0.9677	
	140	146	146	146	146	146	146
QCCrank	-0.2108	0.0469	0.0707	-0.0776	0.0103	-0.0082	0.1787
	0.0124	0.5736	0.3966	0.3519	0.9017	0.9215	0.0309
	140	146	146	146	146	146	146
	QCCrank						
-----+-----							
QCCrank	1.0000						
	146						

It is not just having the “correct” knowledge about views (on policy for instance) in the CAF that provides and indicates one’s position, one also should have that view and be able to express it. In order to analyze this claim, I grouped all those who responded “don’t know” to questions about positions in the field versus those that gave an opinion. In the following T-tests, group 1 are those who responded “don’t know” to statements that asked for their level of (dis)agreement with said statements. Below, I report all of the statistically significant findings.

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_1, which asks about a carbon tax. Those who gave a view were significantly more likely to rank higher on general activist capital, CAC, and the combined measure of activist capital. The level of significance (.0008) and the differential in quantity of capital (1.017) is highest for the measure specific to CAC. Next was the combined activist capital measure followed by general activist capital. These findings are not surprising. A carbon tax is an important policy mechanism to reduce emissions, and those with higher positions within the CAF should be able to

demonstrate more knowledge of the policy relative to their peers who work relatively less in the climate activist space.

```
. ttest QACGtotalranknew , by(DUMQ28_1new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	125	3.128	.1118617	1.250651	2.906594	3.349406
1	21	2.428571	.2542161	1.164965	1.898286	2.958857
combined	146	3.027397	.1042077	1.259147	2.821435	3.23336
diff		.6994286	.2922267		.1218206	1.277037

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = 2.3934
degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9910

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0180

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0090

```

```
-> ttest ACCCtotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_1new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	125	3.16	.1155073	1.291411	2.931379	3.388621
1	21	2.142857	.2213133	1.014185	1.681206	2.604509
combined	146	3.013699	.1077911	1.302445	2.800654	3.226743
diff		1.017143	.2963456		.4313935	1.602892

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = 3.4323
degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9996

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0008

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0004

```

```
-> ttest Accomcombinedtotalnew, by(DUMQ28_1new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	125	3.1184	.0945397	1.056986	2.931279	3.305521
1	21	2.471429	.2043844	.9366071	2.04509	2.897767
combined	146	3.025342	.0879101	1.062222	2.851592	3.199093
diff		.6469714	.2455297		.1616635	1.132279

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = 2.6350
degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9953

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0093

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0047

```

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_2. Q28_2 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “Addressing climate change is an opportunity to decrease inequality, both within the US and between countries, and we must take advantage of that.” The same pattern emerges in Q28_2 as with Q28_1 where the highest level of significance (.0031) and the largest differential between the two groups (1.194) is seen in the climate change specific measure of activist capital. One might expect the measure of general activist capital to show a higher degree of significance and greater difference than the climate specific measure, as those more positioned in the general activist field might be more likely to hold a view about addressing inequality as part of the climate change movement. However, the results show that those positioned more highly in the climate activist space are the most likely to have a view. Perhaps this is because the question mentions “addressing climate change,” which works as a signal that this is an area climate activists should know about.

Interestingly, Q28_2 is one of the few questions where there was a statistically significant difference regarding quantity of CC. Those who said “don’t know” rank significantly lower on the CC measure. This adds some support to the hypothesis that the CAF is more strongly influenced by CC than EC. This is because while there was no significant difference between those who held a view on Q28_2 in terms of EC, there was a significant difference for CAC and CC.

```
. ttest QACGtotalranknew , by(DUMQ28_2new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```
-> ttest ACCCtotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_2new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```
-> ttest Accombedtotalnew, by(DUMQ28_2new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```
-> ttest QCCranknew, by(DUMQ28_2new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

408

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = 1.9876
degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9756

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0488

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0244

```

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_3. Q28_3 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement ““Big Green” environmental groups (large, D.C. based) sometimes do more harm than good.” The difference between “don’t know” and respondents with a view were significant for both the climate change specific measure and the CC measure. Those who responded with a view had higher quantities of both measures. This provides some support to the hypothesis that the CAF is more guided by CC than EC, which did not show a statistically significant difference between those who responded and those who said “don’t know.”

```

-> ttest ACCCTotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_3new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      126    3.142857   .1158621   1.300549    2.913552    3.372163
1 |       20     2.2      .2247806   1.005249    1.729529    2.670471
-----+-----
combined |      146    3.013699   .1077911   1.302445    2.800654    3.226743
-----+-----
diff |           .9428571   .3046151           .3407625    1.544952
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
t = 3.0952
degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9988

Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0024

Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0012

```

```

-> ttest QCCranknew, by(DUMQ28_3new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean   Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      126    2.888889   .1225249   1.375338    2.646397    3.131381
1 |       20     2.15   .2835397   1.268028    1.556545    2.743455
-----+-----

```

```

combined |      146      2.787671      .1142675      1.380699      2.561826      3.013516
-----+-----
diff |      .7388889      .3277525      .0910615      1.386716
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      2.2544
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =      144

Ha: diff < 0                      Ha: diff != 0                      Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9872                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0257                Pr(T > t) = 0.0128

```

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_9 on the measure of total activist capital. Q28_9 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “I am concerned that CD alienates or scares people away from the climate movement.” Those who responded “don’t know” were significantly lower on the total activist capital measure than those who gave a response. In other words, high position in the activist field is related to having a view about CD being concerning (not necessarily agreement or disagreement), while low position in the activist field is related to not being sure of a view. The measure for Geneva specific capital was close to significance (.0625), which suggests that those with a lower position on this specific fight are more likely to say “don’t know” regarding Q28_9.

```

-> ttest ACtotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_9new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
-----+-----
Group |      Obs      Mean      Std. Err.      Std. Dev.      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 |      137      3.087591      .1118151      1.308763      2.86647      3.308712
1 |       9      2.111111      .4230985      1.269296      1.135444      3.086778
-----+-----
combined |      146      3.027397      .1095123      1.323242      2.810951      3.243844
-----+-----
diff |      .9764801      .4496121      .0877881      1.865172
-----+-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      2.1718
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =      144

Ha: diff < 0                      Ha: diff != 0                      Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9842                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0315                Pr(T > t) = 0.0158

```

```
-> ttest ACGPPTotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_9new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	137	3.087591	.1160547	1.358386	2.858086	3.317097
1	9	2.222222	.3239418	.9718253	1.475211	2.969233
combined	146	3.034247	.1118464	1.351446	2.813187	3.255307
diff		.865369	.4610496		-.0459302	1.776668
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 1.8770		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 144		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
Pr(T < t) = 0.9687		Pr(T > t) = 0.0625		Pr(T > t) = 0.0313		

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_12 on the measure of CAC. Q28_12 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “Middle class white people, especially men, should follow the lead of people of color and lower income folks who are hurt more by climate change.” While only seven respondents said “don’t know”, their mean CAC score is approximately half that of those who gave a response. This large difference, significant at the .01 level, suggests that not having a view here is highly related to a lower position in the activist field. It is interesting that there was no significant relationship for the climate specific measure or the CC measure.

```
-> ttest ACCCTotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_12new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	139	3.086331	.1087756	1.282446	2.871249	3.301413
1	7	1.571429	.2973809	.7867958	.8437638	2.299093
combined	146	3.013699	.1077911	1.302445	2.800654	3.226743
diff		1.514902	.4902777		.5458317	2.483973
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t = 3.0899		
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom = 144		
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		

$\Pr(T < t) = 0.9988$

$\Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0024$

$\Pr(T > t) = 0.0012$

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_13 on the measure of CAC and general activist capital. Q28_13 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “Nuclear plants should be shut down immediately.” Respondents who provided an opinion held significantly more CAC. This suggests that having a view on nuclear power is associated with higher position in the activist field.

```
-> ttest ACCCtotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_13new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	128	3.117188	.11291	1.27743	2.893759	3.340616
1	18	2.277778	.3003871	1.274434	1.644016	2.911539
combined	146	3.013699	.1077911	1.302445	2.800654	3.226743
diff		.8394097	.3214788		.2039828	1.474837
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	2.6111	
Ho: diff = 0				degrees of freedom =	144	
Ha: diff < 0		Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0		
$\Pr(T < t) = 0.9950$		$\Pr(T > t) = 0.0100$		$\Pr(T > t) = 0.0050$		

There was an almost significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_14 on the measure of general activist capital (.0878) and CAC (.0570). Q28_14 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “The climate movement would benefit by focusing more on elected officials.” Those responding “don’t know” scored lower on both measures than those who gave a response.

```
-> ttest QACGtotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_14new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

```

-----
  Group |      Obs      Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      0 |      137    3.072993    .10598    1.240464    2.863411    3.282575
      1 |       9    2.333333    .4714045    1.414214    1.246273    3.420394
-----+-----
combined |      146    3.027397    .1042077    1.259147    2.821435    3.23336
-----+-----
      diff |          .7396594    .4303932          - .1110451    1.590364
-----+-----
      diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      1.7186
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =      144

      Ha: diff < 0                                Ha: diff != 0                                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9561                                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0878                                Pr(T > t) = 0.0439

-> ttest Accombinetotalnew, by(DUMQ28_14new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
-----
  Group |      Obs      Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      0 |      137    3.068175    .0901944    1.055698    2.88981    3.24654
      1 |       9    2.373333    .3324238    .9972713    1.606763    3.139904
-----+-----
combined |      146    3.025342    .0879101    1.062222    2.851592    3.199093
-----+-----
      diff |          .6948418    .3621866          - .0210472    1.410731
-----+-----
      diff = mean(0) - mean(1)                                t =      1.9185
Ho: diff = 0                                           degrees of freedom =      144

      Ha: diff < 0                                Ha: diff != 0                                Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9715                                Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0570                                Pr(T > t) = 0.0285

```

There was a significant difference between those who said “don’t know” and those who responded with an answer for Q28_16 on the measures of CAC (.0255), Geneva specific capital (.0158), the combined measure of activist capital (.0232), and EC (.0011). Q28_16 asked specifically about level of agreement with the statement “Engaging with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) about a pipeline project is a waste of time.” Those who responded “don’t know” had lower scores on all four said measures. Interestingly, it is the EC measure that shows the highest level of significance and the greatest degree of difference between those who supplied a view and those who said “don’t know.” This provides some evidence against the hypothesis because it shows that the climate activist measure, the Geneva specific measure, and the

combined measure are all following the same pattern as EC. One interpretation is that those with higher position on all four measures would be more likely to hold an opinion about engaging FERC because they feel they have a more informed understanding of the federal agency. It is unclear, however, why there was no significant difference between the attitudinal responses and the “don’t know” responses on the CC measure.

```
-> ttest ACCCTotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_16new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	129	3.100775	.1153467	1.310087	2.872542	3.329008
1	17	2.352941	.2564058	1.057188	1.809385	2.896497
combined	146	3.013699	.1077911	1.302445	2.800654	3.226743
diff		.747834	.3314162		.092765	1.402903

```
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9872
Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0255
Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0128
t = 2.2565
degrees of freedom = 144
```

```
-> T-test ACGPPTotalranknew, by(DUMQ28_16new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	129	3.131783	.1207514	1.371472	2.892856	3.37071
1	17	2.294118	.2230257	.9195587	1.821324	2.766911
combined	146	3.034247	.1118464	1.351446	2.813187	3.255307
diff		.8376653	.3428781		.159941	1.51539

```
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)
Ho: diff = 0
Ha: diff < 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9921
Ha: diff != 0
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0158
Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T > t) = 0.0079
t = 2.4430
degrees of freedom = 144
```

```
-> T-test Accombedtotalnew, by(DUMQ28_16new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances
```

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	129	3.097519	.0941697	1.069562	2.911189	3.28385
1	17	2.477647	.2047856	.8443528	2.043521	2.911773
combined	146	3.025342	.0879101	1.062222	2.851592	3.199093

```

diff | .6198723 .2701322 .0859358 1.153809
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 2.2947
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9884 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0232 Pr(T > t) = 0.0116

```

```

-> T-test QECrankingnew, by(DUMQ28_16new)
Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

```

-----
Group | Obs Mean Std. Err. Std. Dev. [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0 | 129 2.922481 .1030144 1.170019 2.718649 3.126312
1 | 17 1.941176 .2181235 .8993462 1.478775 2.403578
-----+-----
combined | 146 2.808219 .0978344 1.182138 2.614853 3.001585
-----+-----
diff | .9813041 .2949487 .398316 1.564292
-----
diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 3.3270
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 144

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.9994 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0011 Pr(T > t) = 0.0006

```

7.4 CONCLUSION

Overall, the analyses reported here indicate some support for the hypothesis that the CAF is more strongly influenced by CC than EC. However, the data also offer some evidence against the hypothesis. Below, I take these in turn.

There was evidence in support of the hypothesis from the question that asked respondents to rank what was important to them in the effort to stop this gas project. Federal power was ranked with low importance in a significant way by those high in CAC, capital specific to the Geneva fight, and CC. Since CC follows the same pattern as CAC and Geneva specific capital but not EC, this is evidence that the activist field is pulled more strongly by CC. Reducing emissions was another choice on the question

asking respondents to rank their level of importance in fighting against the pipeline. Again, CAC and CC each showed a statistically significant relationship to ranking this as important. The option for ranking the importance in this fight of an opportunity to grow the climate movement provides some evidence in support of the hypothesis. To a statistically significant degree, those with higher positions in the activist field as measured by my composite score of activist capital, value growing the movement as more important relative to those in lower positions. Those with higher scores on CAC and the capital most closely associated to the Geneva fight rank growing the movement as slightly more important than those high in general activist capital. This provides some evidence that climate activists are more concerned with growing their movement than other activists, perhaps because of the scale of the challenges associated with addressing climate change. While neither CC nor EC showed a statistically significant relationship to views on growing the movement, the CC measure was much closer (.1051 relative to .8814), and it was also in the same direction as the activist capital measures. Meanwhile, EC showed the opposite direction where higher EC is, insignificantly, correlated with placing a lower rank on growing the movement.

Another question asked activists about effectiveness of different tactics. One of these tactics was CD. High scores on all three measures of activist capital as well as CC were correlated to providing a high rank on the effectiveness of CD. This provides strong evidence for the hypothesis that CC is more dominant within the CAF than EC. Interestingly, the climate specific measure showed a higher level of significance and a higher Pearson R than the Geneva specific measure, which was followed by the general

activist capital measure. This suggests that the social space of this particular fight (the Geneva specific measure is the quantity and quality of experiences in this space) rests in between a more pure climate activist space and a more pure general activist space. Those high on the different measures of activist capital think CD is effective to fight this pipeline, but the climate activists think that most strongly.

Responses to another question added support to the idea that CD has become a high status pursuit within the CAF. I asked respondents for their (dis)agreement with the statement that CD alienates or scares people away from the climate movement. The only significant relationship was the climate specific measure of capital. Those high in climate specific capital were not concerned that CD scares people away from the movement. In other words, those who are the highest positioned climate activists are most supportive of CD in terms of its effectiveness, and they are also least concerned about possible negative repercussions from CD.

One question showed a sharp contrast between those with high activist capital and those with high EC. I asked respondents for their level of (dis)agreement with the statement “Middle class white people, especially men, should follow the lead of people of color and lower income folks who are hurt more by climate change.” Those most likely to view the statement positively were those high in general activist capital, followed by CAC. This can be interpreted as the larger range of issues that those high in general activist capital are involved in make them more likely to place importance on leadership coming from those most hurt by an issue as well as marginalized individuals and groups in general. There was also a significant relationship between EC and level of agreement

with the statement. Those high in EC were more likely to disagree with the statement. In other words, those high in EC had an inverse understanding of this question relative to those high in general activist capital and climate specific capital. Meanwhile, the Geneva specific measure did not show any significant relationship, which suggests that activists' views have not become fully dominant in the field. Furthermore, it suggests that relative to CC, EC might be more closely related to those high in the Geneva specific measure of capital compared to those high in CAC. This is not to say that EC is more closely related to the Geneva specific measure than CC, but relative to the climate specific measure, that seems to be the case.

I asked respondents for their (dis)agreement on the following statement “We need to be more pragmatic on climate change. For instance, we should emphasize business opportunities and costs.” High scores on the CAC measure and the CC measure were both significantly associated with disagreeing with the statement, while the Geneva specific measure was very close to significance (.0514). This provides support to the notion that CC is more important than EC within climate activist spaces. Those high in CAC and those high in CC think that the climate movement should not be pragmatic and emphasize business opportunities or costs. Business is associated with EC, and climate activists are saying they disagree with an effort to move in that direction.

While the survey data provide support for the overarching hypothesis that those with a greater composition of CC relative to EC are more dominant in the field than those with a greater composition of EC to CC, the data also provide some evidence against the hypothesis. The strongest such evidence is the lack of a significant relationship between

the composite measures of activist capital and CC, as the hypothesis predicted. However, there was no significant relationship between activist capital and EC either. Since EC and CC are significantly (.05) and positively related to one another, there is likely not enough difference between respondents' quantities of EC and CC to find a significant relationship to the measures of activist capital.

Further evidence against the hypothesis came from respondents' rankings of the effectiveness of different tactics. If the field were completely dominated by activists with a great deal of CC, then engaging with a bureaucratic institution like the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission would be viewed as a waste of time by those highest in activist capital as well as those highest in CC. I conducted a T-test to determine if there was a significant difference between those who said "don't know" and those who responded with (dis)agreement that engaging with FERC was a waste of time. As expected, all three measures of activist capital were significant (CAC (.0255), Geneva specific capital (.0158), the combined measure of activist capital (.0232)). However, the measure for EC was significant (.0011) while the measure for CC was not (.5282). This means CC is following a dissimilar pattern than EC and all the AC measures.

Further assessing this FERC issue, high CC was the only measure significantly associated with agreeing or disagreeing. Those with the highest CC disagreed that engaging with FERC was a waste of time (.0099) while none of the activist capital measures or EC had significant associations. However, the direction of the CC measure was the same as the AC measures—higher scores showed disagreement with the statement—while higher EC scores agreed with the statement. Since only the CC

measure was significant, one can only go so far in the interpretation but the directionality being the same for CC and the AC measures provides some support for the hypothesis. While language in the question—“waste of time”—could have been part of the issue, my overall interpretation here is that my a priori view of activists’ understandings of FERC was incorrect. Activists do not tend to think FERC is a waste of time.

Additional evidence against the hypothesis came from T-tests comparing those high and those low on each measure for the question about lobbying. The high groups on all of the activist capital measures were significantly associated with ranking lobbying as lower in effectiveness while the high groups on EC and CC were significantly associated with ranking lobbying as higher in effectiveness. To some degree, this makes sense. Those with more cultural and EC are likely better able to lobby politicians and thus their views reflect their position. Regression analysis of this question also showed high scores on most measures of activist capital to be significantly associated with a lower ranking of the importance of lobbying. However, when those high in CC as well as those high in EC are different from those high in AC measures, this is support against the hypothesis. This is perhaps qualified from responses to my question asking for (dis)agreement with the statement that “climate movement would benefit by focusing more on elected officials.” High EC was significantly associated with disagreeing with the statement. The lobbying question was about the local fight while the question about increasing focus on politicians was with regard to the climate movement as a whole, so maybe this addresses the contradiction. Still, the hypothesis expected those high in EC to agree with an increased focus on elected officials. Perhaps everyone except for those most endowed with

economic and CC see lobbying and engaging with politicians as not necessarily ineffective, but not the most effective.

T-test analysis of the difference between high and low groups for each measure of capital showed that, in terms of rallies, the “high” group for the Geneva specific measure, the combined activist capital measure, and the EC measure were all significantly more likely to rank rallies as higher in effectiveness than those in the “low” group for each measure. Regression analysis showed the same pattern with the high CC group not following the pattern for the high EC and two of the AC measures. This adds weight counter to the notion that CC is a more important in the CAF than EC because the EC measure shows the same relationship on the importance of rallies as does the Geneva specific measure and the combined activist capital measure.

Interestingly however, on the rankings of rallies as well as lobbying, it was the climate specific AC measure (in addition to the CC measure) that did not follow the pattern of EC and the other AC measures. This suggests that CAC might be more closely related to CC than the general activist and the Geneva specific measures, which are more closely related to EC. This fits within the interpretation that the neighborhood non-climate activists originally involved were more strongly associated to EC than the climate activists who became involved. This also speaks to preferred tactics. Lobbying was originally the neighborhood group’s main tactic. But they soured on that after repeated failures by politicians to halt the pipeline’s progress, a sentiment that only grew as more climate activists became involved who tended to discount the efficacy of lobbying (fifteen years ago, I suspect the story would have been different). So there was eventual

agreement between the two groups on lobbying. The fact that high CAC was the only AC measure not to show significant support for rallies (both the Geneva specific and general activist measures did) suggests those highest in CAC had already “moved beyond” rallies. Their preferred tactic is CD, and rallies are really just a means to recruit for CD. While the neighborhood activists eventually moved in this direction too, it was after the failure of less extreme measures as well as the active involvement of climate activists pushing in that direction. The extent to which lobbying, rallying, and getting arrested to stop a pipeline are effective is not so much the issue (in this campaign, all were done extensively, and the pipeline was built). The issue is that climate activists, and especially those positioned highly in the field, effectively pulled some of the neighborhood residents into their social space, terrain where they dominated. This is in contrast to other areas like lobbying a local politician where a neighborhood resident probably was more effective. So, ultimately, this is a story of those best-positioned climate activists pulling the CAF toward CD where these high status activists are dominant, which works to legitimate their CAC and increase their status.

8 APPENDIX 3: GENEVA PIPELINE PROJECT SURVEY

Q1 Hello. My name is Bobby Wengronowitz. I'm studying the efforts to stop the Geneva Pipeline Project. This survey is part of my doctoral research designed to help us better understand and strengthen the climate movement. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability. The survey should take about 25 minutes. As a gesture of thanks, I'm raffling off approximately \$1,000 in cash and donations. I'll enter you into a raffle to win either 1) cash or 2) a donation to a group/organization of your choice made in your name. I appreciate your time and effort!

My contact information

Cell phone: 630.464.5875

Email: bobbywego@gmail.com

Home: 410 Memorial Drive #542, Cambridge, MA 02139

Work: 410A McGuinn Hall, 140 Commonwealth Avenue, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467

Anonymity/confidentiality/freedom not to complete the survey

- Information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Any published material will use broad categories. If I do say anything specific, I will use a pseudonym, and I will alter some of the information so that it will be difficult to identify you.
- The information you provide should not jeopardize or harm you in any way.

- You may stop taking the survey at any time. If you stop, there will be no penalty, and you will still be entered into the drawing.

Q2 Preliminary questions

Q3 First name

Q4 Last name

Q5 Year born

Q6 Your email

Q7 Your phone number

Q8 Your current address

Street (1)

City (2)

Zip code (3)

State (4)

Q9 Years at that address

Q10 Would you consider being interviewed?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q11 I am interested in your experiences trying to make social change. I use “social change” to refer to a broad range of activities such as protests and lobbying politicians that are carried out collectively (i.e., larger than an individual effort).

Q12 Regarding your first experience with social change, what was the year? (Guess if necessary)

- ☐ 2017 (1)
- ☐ 2016 (2)
- ☐ 2015 (3)
- ☐ 2014 (4)
- ☐ 2013 (5)
- ☐ 2012 (6)
- ☐ 2011 (7)
- ☐ 2010 (8)
- ☐ 2009 (9)
- ☐ 2008 (10)
- ☐ 2007 (11)

- 2006 (12)
- 2005 (13)
- 2004 (14)
- 2003 (15)
- 2002 (16)
- 2001 (17)
- 2000 (18)
- 1999 (19)
- 1998 (20)
- 1997 (21)
- 1996 (22)
- 1995 (23)
- 1994 (24)
- 1993 (25)
- 1992 (26)
- 1991 (27)
- 1990 (28)
- 1989 (29)
- 1988 (30)
- 1987 (31)
- 1986 (32)
- 1985 (33)

- 1984 (34)
- 1983 (35)
- 1982 (36)
- 1981 (37)
- 1980 (38)
- 1979 (39)
- 1978 (40)
- 1977 (41)
- 1976 (42)
- 1975 (43)
- 1974 (44)
- 1973 (45)
- 1972 (46)
- 1971 (47)
- 1970 (48)
- 1969 (49)
- 1968 (50)
- 1967 (51)
- 1966 (52)
- 1965 (53)
- 1964 (54)
- 1963 (55)

- ☐ 1962 (56)
- ☐ 1961 (57)
- ☐ 1960 (58)
- ☐ 1959 (59)
- ☐ 1958 (60)
- ☐ 1957 (61)
- ☐ 1956 (62)
- ☐ 1955 (63)
- ☐ 1954 (64)
- ☐ 1953 (65)
- ☐ 1952 (66)
- ☐ 1951 (67)
- ☐ 1950 (68)
- ☐ 1949 (69)
- ☐ 1948 (70)
- ☐ 1947 (71)
- ☐ 1946 (72)
- ☐ 1945 (73)
- ☐ 1944 (74)
- ☐ 1943 (75)
- ☐ 1942 (76)
- ☐ 1941 (77)

- ☐ 1940 (78)
- ☐ 1939 (79)
- ☐ 1938 (80)
- ☐ 1937 (81)
- ☐ 1936 (82)
- ☐ 1935 (83)
- ☐ 1934 (84)
- ☐ 1933 (85)
- ☐ 1932 (86)
- ☐ 1931 (87)
- ☐ 1930 (88)

Q13 Regarding your first experience with social change, what issue was this about?

(Check all that apply)

- ☐ Civil rights/human rights (1)
- ☐ Climate change/energy (2)
- ☐ Economy (e.g., inequality, poverty) (3)
- ☐ Education (4)
- ☐ Electoral (e.g., campaign finance, national/state/local elections) (5)
- ☐ Environment (not climate) (6)
- ☐ Health care (7)
- ☐ Local issues (e.g., fixing traffic light) (8)

- ☐ Peace (9)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (10) _____

Q14 Regarding your first experience with social change, who was this with? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ By myself (1)
- ☐ Church/faith group (2)
- ☐ Coworkers (3)
- ☐ Family (4)
- ☐ Friends (5)
- ☐ Local organization (please specify) (6) _____
- ☐ National organization (please specify) (7) _____
- ☐ Other (please specify) (8) _____

Display This Question:

If Regarding your first experience with social change, what issue was this about? Climate change/energy Is Not Selected

Q15 Regarding your first experience with social change related to climate change, what was the year? (Guess if necessary)

- ☐ 2017 (1)
- ☐ 2016 (2)
- ☐ 2015 (3)

- 2014 (4)
- 2013 (5)
- 2012 (6)
- 2011 (7)
- 2010 (8)
- 2009 (9)
- 2008 (10)
- 2007 (11)
- 2006 (12)
- 2005 (13)
- 2004 (14)
- 2003 (15)
- 2002 (16)
- 2001 (17)
- 2000 (18)
- 1999 (19)
- 1998 (20)
- 1997 (21)
- 1996 (22)
- 1995 (23)
- 1994 (24)
- 1993 (25)

- 1992 (26)
- 1991 (27)
- 1990 (28)
- 1989 (29)
- 1988 (30)
- 1987 (31)
- 1986 (32)
- 1985 (33)
- 1984 (34)
- 1983 (35)
- 1982 (36)
- 1981 (37)
- 1980 (38)
- 1979 (39)
- 1978 (40)
- 1977 (41)
- 1976 (42)
- 1975 (43)
- 1974 (44)
- 1973 (45)
- 1972 (46)
- 1971 (47)

- 1970 (48)
- 1969 (49)
- 1968 (50)
- 1967 (51)
- 1966 (52)
- 1965 (53)
- 1964 (54)
- 1963 (55)
- 1962 (56)
- 1961 (57)
- 1960 (58)
- 1959 (59)
- 1958 (60)
- 1957 (61)
- 1956 (62)
- 1955 (63)
- 1954 (64)
- 1953 (65)
- 1952 (66)
- 1951 (67)
- 1950 (68)
- 1949 (69)

- ☐ 1948 (70)
- ☐ 1947 (71)
- ☐ 1946 (72)
- ☐ 1945 (73)
- ☐ 1944 (74)
- ☐ 1943 (75)
- ☐ 1942 (76)
- ☐ 1941 (77)
- ☐ 1940 (78)
- ☐ 1939 (79)
- ☐ 1938 (80)
- ☐ 1937 (81)
- ☐ 1936 (82)
- ☐ 1935 (83)
- ☐ 1934 (84)
- ☐ 1933 (85)
- ☐ 1932 (86)
- ☐ 1931 (87)
- ☐ 1930 (88)

Display This Question:

If Regarding your first experience with social change, what issue was this about? Climate change/energy Is Not Selected

Q16 Regarding your first experience with social change related to climate change, who was this with? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ By myself (1)
- ☐ Church/faith group (2)
- ☐ Coworkers (3)
- ☐ Family (4)
- ☐ Friends (5)
- ☐ Local organization (please specify) (6) _____
- ☐ National organization (please specify) (7) _____
- ☐ Other (please specify) (8) _____

Q17 Regarding your first experience with social change related to the Geneva Pipeline Project, what was the month?

- ☐ January (1)
- ☐ February (2)
- ☐ March (3)
- ☐ April (4)
- ☐ May (5)
- ☐ June (6)
- ☐ July (7)
- ☐ August (8)
- ☐ September (9)

- ☐ October (10)
- ☐ November (11)
- ☐ December (12)

Q18 Regarding your first experience with social change related to the Geneva Pipeline Project, what was the year?

- ☐ 2017 (1)
- ☐ 2016 (2)
- ☐ 2015 (3)
- ☐ 2014 (4)
- ☐ 2013 (5)

Q19 Regarding your first experience with social change related to Geneva Pipeline Project, who was this with? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ By myself (1)
- ☐ Church/faith group (2)
- ☐ Coworkers (3)
- ☐ Family (4)
- ☐ Friends (5)
- ☐ Local organization (please specify) (6) _____
- ☐ National organization (please specify) (7) _____
- ☐ Other (please specify) (8) _____

Q20 Please rank the following by their importance to you in the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project? (Click and drag the statements to move them up and down to order your preference)

- _____ Corporate power violating my rights (1)
- _____ Federal government violating my rights (2)
- _____ Local impacts (e.g., health, safety, traffic) (3)
- _____ Opportunity to grow the climate movement (4)
- _____ Directly reduce or stop emissions from gas infrastructure (5)
- _____ Other (6)
- _____ Other 2 (7)

Q21 Regarding your efforts against the Geneva Pipeline Project, please rate your level of involvement on the following scale. (a score of 1 might be you called a politicians one time, a 6 might be you came to the several rallies and actions and worked to bring others to them, a 10 might be you put much of your life on hold and worked many hours each day to fight the pipeline)

- ☐ 0 (0)
- ☐ 1 (1)
- ☐ 2 (2)
- ☐ 3 (3)
- ☐ 4 (4)

- ☐ 5 (5)
- ☐ 6 (6)
- ☐ 7 (7)
- ☐ 8 (8)
- ☐ 9 (9)
- ☐ 10 (10)

Q22 In the last year, about how many times have you done the following activities A) related to the Geneva Pipeline, B) related to climate change but not the Geneva Pipeline, and C) related to any other issue?

	Related to the Geneva Pipeline			Related to climate (not Geneva Pipeline)			Related to something else		
	0 (1)	1-3 (2)	4+ (3)	0 (1)	1-3 (2)	4+ (3)	0 (1)	1-3 (2)	4+ (3)
Attend a meeting about social change (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attend a protest/demonstration with arrests (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Attend a protest/demonstration without arrests (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attend a social change training or workshop (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Boycott or buy something to cause social change (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Campaign in an election (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Donate money toward social change (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Help organize protest/demonstration with arrests (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Help organize protest/demonstration without arrests (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Help organize a training/workshop (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lobby politicians (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make phone calls to help social change (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Post to social media to help social change (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Send emails regarding social change (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sign petitions (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Write letters to editor (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q23 Whether it was listed above or not, what do you feel is the main way you contributed to the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project?

Q24 In your view, please rank the following in terms of their effectiveness in fighting the Geneva Pipeline Project? (Click and drag the statements to move them up and down to order your preference)

- _____ Direct outreach (phone calls, door-to-door, tabling) (1)
- _____ Fighting FERC (Federal Energy Regulatory Commission) through courts and otherwise (2)
- _____ Indirect outreach (website, social media, letters to editor) (3)
- _____ Lobbying politicians (4)
- _____ Rallies and vigils (5)
- _____ Stopping pipeline construction/actions with arrests (6)
- _____ Other (please specify) (7)

Q25 If you had only TWO words to describe the resistance against the Geneva Pipeline Project, what would they be?

First word (1)

Second word (2)

Q26 If you had only TWO words to describe the People's Climate March what would they be?

First word (1)

Second word (2)

Q27 If you had only TWO words to describe the resistance against the Dakota Access Pipeline, what would they be?

First word (1)

Second word (2)

Q28 Please rate your views on the following statements using the given scale:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither disagree or agree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	Don't know (6)
A carbon tax is the single most effective policy tool to reduce emissions. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Addressing climate change is an opportunity to decrease inequality, both within the US and between countries, and we	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

must take advantage of that. (2)						
“Big Green” environmental groups (large, D.C. based) sometimes do more harm than good. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Climate change groups/organizations that are structured organizationally with a clear hierarchy accomplish more than most protest groups. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Climate scientists and other experts need to be central in efforts to reduce	○	○	○	○	○	○

emissions. (5)						
Civil disobedience is the most powerful tool to address climate change. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate change cannot be separated from capitalism, racism, or male domination. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Engaging with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) about a pipeline project is a waste of time. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Everyone needs to do their part in reducing emissions when they buy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

things. (8)						
I am concerned that civil disobedience alienates or scares people away from the climate movement. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
International agreements are better at fighting climate change than small-scale, local efforts. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Improved technology is helpful to fight climate change but we already have what we need. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle class white people, especially	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

men, should follow the lead of people of color and lower income folks who are hurt more by climate change. (12)						
Nuclear plants should be shut down immediately. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The climate movement would benefit by focusing more on elected officials. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The ethical/moral aspect of climate change is what motivates me. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
We need to be more pragmatic on climate change. For	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

instance, we should emphasize business opportunities and costs. (17)						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Q29 In a typical week in 2016, about how many hours did you spend on social change efforts unrelated to climate change?

- ☐ 1 (1)
- ☐ 2-3 (2)
- ☐ 4-7 (3)
- ☐ 8-12 (4)
- ☐ 13-20 (5)
- ☐ 21-40 (6)
- ☐ More than 40 (7)

Q30 Compared to the amount of time you spent in 2015, this was:

- ☐ Far less (1)
- ☐ Less (2)
- ☐ About the same (3)
- ☐ More (4)
- ☐ Far more (5)

Q31 In a typical week in 2016, about how many hours did you spend on social change efforts related to climate change?

- ☐ 1 (1)
- ☐ 2-3 (2)
- ☐ 4-7 (3)
- ☐ 8-12 (4)
- ☐ 13-20 (5)
- ☐ 21-40 (6)
- ☐ More than 40 (7)

Q32 Compared to the amount of time you spent in 2015, this was:

- ☐ Far less (1)
- ☐ Less (2)
- ☐ About the same (3)
- ☐ More (4)
- ☐ Far more (5)

Q33 About how many of your family, friends, and colleagues/classmates are involved in social change?

	None (1)	Some (2)	Around half (3)	Most (4)	Nearly all (5)	All (6)
Family (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friends (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Colleagues/classmates (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q34 If you had space for three speakers at a rally, which three would you choose? (Select three)

- ☐ Al Gore (1)
- ☐ Alicia Garza (Black Lives Matter) (2)
- ☐ A local but not well-known climate activist (3)
- ☐ Bill McKibben (4)
- ☐ Dallas Goldtooth (Indigenous Environmental Network) (5)
- ☐ James Hansen (6)
- ☐ Local city councilor (named when participant filled out survey) (7)
- ☐ Naomi Klein (8)
- ☐ Religious leader (9)
- ☐ Tim DeChristopher (10)
- ☐ Local indigenous activist (named when participant filled out survey) (11)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (12) _____
- ☐ Other (please specify) (13) _____

☐ Other (please specify) (14) _____

Q35 Which comes closest to describing your political identity?

- ☐ Anarchist (1)
- ☐ Conservative (2)
- ☐ Democrat (3)
- ☐ Green (4)
- ☐ Independent (5)
- ☐ Liberal (6)
- ☐ Libertarian (7)
- ☐ Progressive (8)
- ☐ Republican (9)
- ☐ Socialist (10)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (11) _____

Q36 How strong is your political identity?

- ☐ Extremely weak (1)
- ☐ Very weak (2)
- ☐ Weak (3)
- ☐ Moderate (4)
- ☐ Strong (5)
- ☐ Very strong (6)

☐ Extremely strong (7)

Q37 What did you do last November 2016 on Election Day?

Q38 Please rate the following in terms of their importance for your understanding and analysis regarding social change. Please also name your favorite for each category.

	Importance					Please name favorite
	Not at all important (1)	Somewhat important (2)	Important (3)	Very important (4)	Extremely important (5)	Favorite (1)
Books (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Friends, colleagues (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Magazines, newspapers (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Organizations (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Social media, websites (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	

TV, Radio/podcasts (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
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Q39 What is your favorite for each of the following? (Please be as specific as possible)

Beverage (1)

Food (2)

Form of transportation (3)

Movie, play, TV show, or TV channel (4)

Recreational activity (5)

Restaurant (6)

Way to describe someone who doesn't believe in climate change (7)

Q40 Finally, I'd like to ask you a few demographic questions

Q41 Do you have a spouse or partner?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

Q42 How many children do you have?

☐ 0 (1)

- ☐ 1 (2)
- ☐ 2 (3)
- ☐ 3 (4)
- ☐ 4 (5)
- ☐ 5 (6)
- ☐ 6 (7)
- ☐ 7 (8)
- ☐ 8 (9)
- ☐ 9 (10)
- ☐ 10 or more (11)

Display This Question:

If How many children do you have? 0 Is Not Selected

Q43 How many grandchildren do you have?

- ☐ 0 (1)
- ☐ 1 (2)
- ☐ 2 (3)
- ☐ 3 (4)
- ☐ 4 (5)
- ☐ 5-7 (6)
- ☐ 8-12 (7)
- ☐ 13-19 (8)
- ☐ 20 or more (9)

Q44 How religious are you?

- ☐ Not at all (1)
- ☐ Somewhat (2)
- ☐ Moderately (3)
- ☐ A great deal (4)

Display This Question:

If How religious are you? Not at all Is Not Selected

Q45 What is your religion (e.g., Baptist, Catholic, Jewish)?

Q46 What is your living situation?

- ☐ Apartment or house that you rent (1)
- ☐ House or condo that you own (2)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (3) _____

Q47 What is your sex?

- ☐ Female (1)
- ☐ Male (2)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (3) _____

Q48 Does your gender identity match your sex

- ☐ No (1)

☐ Yes (2)

Display This Question:

If Does your gender identity match your sex No Is Selected

Q49 With which gender do you most identify?

☐ Female (1)

☐ Male (2)

☐ Trans female (3)

☐ Trans male (4)

☐ Queer/gender variant/non-conforming (6)

☐ Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q50 What is your sexual orientation?

☐ Heterosexual/straight (2)

☐ Homosexual/gay/lesbian (3)

☐ Bisexual (1)

☐ Other (please specify) (4) _____

Q51 Please describe your ethnic and/or racial identity.

Q52 Where did you grow up?

City (1)

State (2)

Country (if not US) (3)

Q53 How many siblings do you have?

- ☐ 0 (1)
- ☐ 1 (2)
- ☐ 2 (3)
- ☐ 3 (4)
- ☐ 4 (5)
- ☐ 5 (6)
- ☐ 6 (7)
- ☐ 7 (8)
- ☐ 8 (9)
- ☐ 9 (10)
- ☐ 10 or more (11)

Q54 For your mother/guardian, what is their highest level of education completed?

- ☐ Less than high school (1)
- ☐ High school or equivalent (2)
- ☐ Some college (no degree) (3)
- ☐ Associate's or technical degree (4)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ☐ Master's degree (6)

- ☐ Professional school degree (7)
- ☐ Doctorate (8)

Q55 For your father/guardian, what is the highest level of education completed?

- ☐ Less than high school (1)
- ☐ High school or equivalent (2)
- ☐ Some college (no degree) (3)
- ☐ Associate's or technical degree (4)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ☐ Master's degree (6)
- ☐ Professional school degree (7)
- ☐ Doctorate (8)

Display This Question:

If Do you have a spouse or partner? Yes Is Selected

Q56 For your spouse/partner, what is the highest level of education completed or currently enrolled in?

- ☐ Less than high school (1)
- ☐ High school or equivalent (2)
- ☐ Some college (no degree) (3)
- ☐ Associate's or technical degree (4)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ☐ Master's degree (6)

- ☐ Professional school degree (7)
- ☐ Doctorate (8)

Q57 For you, what is the highest level of education completed or currently enrolled in?

- ☐ Less than high school (20)
- ☐ High school or equivalent (21)
- ☐ Some college (no degree) (22)
- ☐ Associate's or technical degree (23)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (24)
- ☐ Master's degree (25)
- ☐ Professional school degree (26)
- ☐ Doctorate (27)

Display This Question:

If What was the highest level of education completed by you? Less than high school Is Not Selected

Q58 Was your high school public or private?

- ☐ Public (1)
- ☐ Private (2)

Display This Question:

If What was the highest level of education completed by you? Less than high school Is Not Selected

Q59 How would you rate your high school?

- ☐ Far worse than average (1)

- ☐ Worse than average (2)
- ☐ Average (3)
- ☐ Better than average (4)
- ☐ Far better than average (5)

Display This Question:

If What was the highest level of education completed by you? Less than high school Is Not Selected

And What was the highest level of education completed by you? High school or equivalent Is Not Selected

Q60 What was the name of your college/university and your major?

Name of school (1)

Major/field of study (2)

Display This Question:

If What was the highest level of education completed by you? Master's degree Is Selected
Or What was the highest level of education completed by you? Professional school degree Is Selected

Or What was the highest level of education completed by you? Doctorate Is Selected

Q61 What was the name(s) of your graduate or professional school(s) and your major(s)?

Name of school (1)

Major/field of study (2)

Q62 Please provide information for your occupation, your parents/guardians, and your spouse/partner if you have one (please be as specific as possible).

	Job title (1)	Company/organization (2)	Field/industry (3)
You (1) Mother (or guardian) (2) Father (or guardian) (3) If Do you have a spouse or partner? Yes Is Selected Spouse/partner (4)			

Q63 In a typical week, about how many hours do you work for pay?

- ☐ 0 (1)
- ☐ 1-9 (2)
- ☐ 10-19 (3)
- ☐ 20-29 (4)
- ☐ 30-39 (5)
- ☐ 40-49 (6)
- ☐ 50-59 (7)
- ☐ 60-69 (8)
- ☐ 70-79 (9)

- ☐ 80 or more (10)

Q64 What is your family's/household's approximate yearly income?

- ☐ Less than \$10,000 (1)
- ☐ \$10,000-24,999 (2)
- ☐ \$25,000-49,999 (3)
- ☐ \$50,000-79,999 (4)
- ☐ \$80,000-119,999 (5)
- ☐ \$120,000-179,999 (6)
- ☐ 180,000-299,999 (7)
- ☐ \$300,000 or more (8)

Q65 What is your family's/household's approximate net worth (wealth/debt situation)?

- ☐ \$1,000-14,999 (1)
- ☐ \$15,000-39,999 (2)
- ☐ \$40,000-79,999 (3)
- ☐ \$80,000-139,999 (4)
- ☐ \$140,000-249,999 (5)
- ☐ \$250,000-599,999 (6)
- ☐ \$600,000-1.49M (7)
- ☐ More than \$1.5M (8)
- ☐ No wealth or debt (9)

- ☐ \$1,000-9,999 in debt (10)
- ☐ \$10,000-24,999 in debt (11)
- ☐ \$25,000-59,999 in debt (12)
- ☐ \$60,000-124,999 in debt (13)
- ☐ More than \$125,000 in debt (14)

Q66 If you win a donation in your name, which organization/group would you like the donation to be sent to (does not have to be a non-profit)?

Organization/group (1)

Q67 If you win a cash prize, I'll send you a check. If you did not provide your address at the start of the survey please do so below.

Street (1)

City (2)

Zip code (3)

State (4)

Q68 Thank you very much for your participation! If you want to add anything, please feel free to write it here or get in touch.

9 APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Hello. My name is Bobby Wengronowitz. I'm studying the efforts to stop the Geneva Pipeline Project. This interview is part of my doctoral research designed to help us better understand and strengthen the climate movement. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability. This interview should take about an hour. I appreciate your time and effort.

My contact information is as follows:

Cell phone: 630.464.5875

Email: bobbywego@gmail.com

Home: 410 Memorial Drive #542, Cambridge, MA 02139

Work: 410A McGuinn Hall, 140 Commonwealth Avenue, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467

Anonymity/confidentiality/freedom not to complete the survey

- Information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Any published material will use broad categories. If I do say anything specific, I will use a pseudonym, and I will alter some of the information so that it will be difficult to identify you.
- The information you provide should not jeopardize or harm you in any way.
- You may stop taking the survey at any time. If you stop, there will be no penalty.

Go through notes on interviewee and their survey responses to help inform questions (complete survey with interviewee if they haven't done it yet).

I'm going to begin the recorder and start with asking for your consent to record.

- Do you consent to this interview being recorded?
- What's your full name?

General Background

1. I like to start with just a bit about your background. When and where were you born?
2. Tell me what life was like growing up?
 - a. Family
 - b. Work
 - c. Education
3. Higher education?
4. What do you do now for work?
5. Where do you live?

Social Change Background

6. I'm especially interested in the roots of your social change efforts. Where do you think your impulse to change things come from?
7. Regarding social change, how did you first get involved?
 - a. Groups, feelings when getting involved, memorable experiences
 - b. What is most of that time spent on?
 - c. Sustained for a long period of time?
8. Regarding social change around climate change, how did you first get involved?
 - a. Groups, feelings when getting involved, memorable experiences
 - i. Al Gore, KXL, COP climate change talks, other pivotal events?
 - b. What is most of that time spent on?
 - c. Sustained for a long period of time?

9. Tell me about your experiences learning skills and knowledge regarding social change?
 - a. Influential experiences (positives and negatives)
 - b. Influential people (positives and negatives)
 - c. Trainings and workshops (who, what groups) (positives and negatives)
 - d. How much time each week?
10. How much do you feel like social change is a core part of your identity? Do people tend to think of you as an activist/organizer/advocate?
11. Is there anything else that you want to share about your background that might be important in terms of your role in making social change happen?

Geneva Pipeline Project

12. How did you first learn about the Geneva Pipeline Project? Walk through details of their involvement, their thinking about ways to fight the pipeline, important events and actors, and so on.
 - a. Key people and groups
 - b. How was it framed (health and safety, local rights, climate change)?
13. How involved would you say you were in the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project?
 - a. How much time each week?
 - b. Ups and downs of your involvement?
14. Could you talk about some of the specific efforts you've been a part of at Geneva Pipeline Project?
 - a. Groups, trainings, specific actions, arrests
 - b. Most memorable/exciting?
 - c. Frustrations?
15. Who do you see as the most influential actors regarding the GPP?
 - a. Politicians (local city councilor up through federal senators)
 - b. Media (neighborhood paper, large regional paper, alternative, social)
 - c. Experts like climate scientists

- d. Courts (FERC and local)
 - e. Activists and their groups (we'll come back to this in a moment, but try to get their sense of the differences between the various people trying to fight the pipeline? E.g., local residents, climate activists, religious)
16. Overall, how effective do you think the efforts to stop the Geneva Pipeline Project were?
- a. Directly stopping Geneva Pipeline Project (influencing politicians and regulators)
 - b. Indirectly stopping pipelines (i.e., building broader climate movement)
 - c. To what extent do those two go together or clash? Walk through examples
17. There were two main groups fighting the Geneva Pipeline Project, SGPP and Fight. Talk to me about your thoughts on these groups
- a. Do you know how these groups developed?
 - b. Organizational structure and key people
 - i. Who do you know in these groups? For how long? What do you think about them? (e.g., Lisa, Michael, Carrie, Juliana, Rose, Scott, John)
 - ii. Experienced/inexperienced?
 - iii. Young/old?
 - iv. Paid/unpaid?
 - c. How about group meetings?
 - i. Does anyone seem to know more about what's happening?
 - ii. Does anyone seem to be in control?
 - iii. Do meetings change when different people are there or not?
 - d. Tactics—what do they like and why (petitions, vigils, rallies, arrestable actions, etc.)
 - e. Strategy—what strategy (or strategies) were used to fight the pipeline?
 - i. What do you think about X strategy's effectiveness?
 - ii. Earlier in the campaign, the strategy seemed to be more about bringing neighborhood residents together to press politicians (and FERC and learn more) while later the strategy seemed to be about stopping pipeline construction with arrests. Does this seem right? Talk to me

about why this was the case, who made the decision for it to be this way, and so on.

1. Do you think anyone benefitted from either of these strategies?
 2. Tactics changed as the strategy evolved. How did you feel about these changes? Especially later in the fight, people locked down and did more “radical” actions—what did you think of this?
- f. Other groups were involved at different points. Could you say anything about their participation (or lack of it) (e.g., GEA, 350State, MFC, CDAG, MEC)?

18. Key events (looking for ones they were at)

- a. Fall 2015 rally
- b. MFC rally (late May, 2016)
- c. Many Deaths Action and day before with MEC (late June, 2016)
- d. Advertisement in Geneva Bulletin explaining why civil disobedience to fight the pipeline (show ad)
- e. One year anniversary of CD campaign
- f. Signed the pledge to fight?
- g. A training they went to (who with, talk about that experience)
- h. Participate in any CD, arrested or support or another role?

19. Let’s walk through some hypothetical situations.

- a. If you were making phone calls to potential supporters, what would you say? Why?
 - i. What if they had pledged to take action?
- b. If you were canvassing in Geneva, what would you say to residents? Why?
 - i. Would you think about how to dress?
- c. If you were talking to a pipeline worker or police officer during a vigil or some kind of protest, what would you say? Why?

Talking through answers to survey

20. In the Survey, you answer in X ways on the following ranking system. Could you walk me through your thinking? Please rank the following by their importance **to you** in the fight against the Geneva Pipeline Project?

- a. _____ Corporate power violating my rights (1)
- b. _____ Federal government violating my rights (2)
- c. _____ Local impacts (e.g., health, safety, traffic) (3)
- d. _____ Opportunity to grow the climate movement (4)
- e. _____ Directly reduce or stop emissions from gas infrastructure (5)
- f. _____ Other (6)
- g. _____ Other 2 (7)

21. In the survey, you responded in X ways on the following statements. Could you walk me through your thinking? (have their answers and start with the bolded ones and interesting responses where they had strong feelings)

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
A carbon tax is the single most effective policy tool to reduce emissions (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Addressing climate change is an opportunity to decrease inequality, both within the US and between countries, and we should take advantage of that (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

“Big Green” environmental groups (large, D.C. based) sometimes do more harm than good (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate change groups/organizations that are structured organizationally with a clear hierarchy accomplish more than most protest groups (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate scientists and other experts should be central in efforts to reduce emissions (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Civil disobedience is the most powerful tool to address climate change (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate change cannot be separated from capitalism, racism, or male domination (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Everyone needs to do their part in reducing emissions when they buy things (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I worry that civil disobedience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

alienates or scares people away (9)					
International agreements are better at fighting climate change than small-scale, local efforts. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Improved technology is helpful but we have what we need (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle class white people, especially men, should follow the lead of people of color and lower income folks who are hurt more by climate change (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nuclear plants should be shut down immediately (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The climate movement would benefit by focusing more on elected officials (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The ethical/moral aspect of climate change is what motivates me (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Engaging with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) about a pipeline project is a waste of time (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
We need to be more pragmatic on climate change. For instance, we should emphasize business opportunities and costs (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?) If you had space for three speakers at a rally, which three would you choose?

23. a) Al Gore

24. b) Alicia Garza (Black Lives Matter)

25. c) A local but not well-known climate activist

26. d) Bill McKibben

27. e) Dallas Goldtooth (Indigenous Environmental Network)

28. f) James Hansen

29. g) Local city councilor (named when participant filled out survey)

30. h) Naomi Klein

31. i) Religious leader

32. j) Tim DeChristopher

33. k) Local indigenous activist (named when participant filled out survey)

34. l) Other_____

35. m) Other_____

36. n) Other_____

37.

38. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?) If you had only TWO words to describe

- a. The resistance against the Geneva Pipeline Project?
- b. People's Climate March?
- c. The resistance against the Dakota Access Pipeline?

39. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?) About how many of your family, friends, and colleagues/classmates are involved in social change? (Choices were None, Some, Around half, Most, Nearly all, All

- a. Family
- b. Friends
- c. Colleagues/classmates

40. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?) Please rate the following in terms of their importance for your understanding and analysis regarding social change. Please also name your favorite.

	Importance					Please list favorite
	Not at all important (1)	Somewhat important (2)	Important (3)	Very important (4)	Extremely important (5)	Favorite (1)
Books (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Friends, colleagues (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Magazines,	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	

newspapers (3)						
Organizations (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Social media, websites (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
TV, Radio/podcasts (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	

41. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?)?) What is your favorite for each of the following? (please be as specific as possible)

- a. Beverage (1)
- b. Food (2)
- c. Form of transportation (3)
- d. Movie, play, or TV show or channel (4)
- e. Recreational activity (5)
- f. Restaurant (6)
- g. Way to describe climate denialists (7)

42. (Could you walk me through your thinking on this survey answer?) Which comes closest to describing your political identity?

Choices from survey: • Anarchist • Conservative • Democrat • Green •

Independent • Liberal • Libertarian • Progressive • Republican • Socialist

Broader climate movement

43. How do you understand the problem of climate change? Who do you blame for the problem? How much does it connect to other problems? What kind of impacts come to mind from climate change?

44. What about solutions to climate change?

- a. Policy.
 - i. State policy. Bills. State's Climate Solutions Act
 - ii. Thoughts on carbon tax and 100% dividend relative to others?
 - iii. How do you think about policy international level? US role?
- b. Renewables. Comments on rooftop solar, community solar, wind, hydro
- c. Lifestyle. How much needs to change in terms of the typical American's lifestyle?
 - i. How much reduced consumption necessary (if any)?
 - ii. Have you changed your lifestyle (housing, food, transit)?

45. Which organizations do you think do the best work around climate change?

- a. Why? (strategy, size)
- b. What about local groups?

46. Which activists do the best work around climate change (name names)?

- a. What about local activists?

Thinking more generally

47. Thinking about right now or historically, what movement/organizing do you most respect? Why is that?

Finishing up

48. Who else do you think I should speak with? Great idea, could you share why you think I should talk with X?

- a. Those who have fallen away or gotten involved in some other angle of this fight or another fight altogether.

49. Anything else you want to share about your experience? Any insight on what worked well and what could have gone better?

50.

51. THANKS! Reiterate how to get in touch and how much I appreciate their thoughtfulness and time.

10 APPENDIX 5: OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

A) Meetings and trainings

1) Before meeting

- a. Who organized
- b. Roles people take (e.g., make agenda, take notes, facilitate conversation)
- c. Punctuality of different people and meeting itself
- d. Conversations before

2) Start of meeting

- a. Who begins/calls to order
- b. Rules/guidance/agreements
- c. Introductions

3) Layout of the social space

- a. Number of people
- b. Race appearance
- c. Gender appearance
- d. Location of different people
- e. How people sit

4) Speaking

- a. Speaking most/least
- b. Volume of speaker

- c. Reactions when different individuals speak, especially from dominant actors

- d. What happens when someone interrupts someone else

5) Language

- a. Activist language: Privilege/oppression, ally, process,

- b. Gender pronouns, who is familiar

- c. Mention of other movements, especially indigenous and racial justice

- d. Cussing

- e. How long people speak

- f. How frequently people speak

6) Cultural indicators

- a. Clothing

- b. Food (who brought and who eats)

- c. Beverage (who brought and who drinks)

- d. Mention of activist experience

7) Meeting structure

- a. How detailed is agenda

- b. Are there stated goals and do they get accomplished

- c. Is there group facilitation?

- d. Who takes notes and how are they distributed?

- e. Any collective memory/visual record-keeping (e.g., notes on whiteboard)

- f. Is there a stack or speaking queue?

8) Close of meeting

- a. Meeting recap/debrief
- b. Who takes charge of following-up
- c. Formal/informal closing

9) After meeting

- a. Pace at which different people live
- b. Who cleans (if there are things to be cleaned)
- c. Conversation after

B. Actions

1) Before action

- a. Who organized
- b. Roles people take (e.g., media, police liaison, jail support, medic, song/chant leader, speakers)
- c. Are there stated goals
- d. Punctuality of different people and action itself
- e. Conversations before

2) Start of action

- a. Who gets people moving
- b. Energy of different people—who seems experienced

3) Social space of action

- a. Number of people
- b. Race appearance

- c. Gender appearance
- d. Location of different people

4) Speaking

- a. Length
- b. Audience
 - i. To protesters, workers, police, media
- c. Volume of speaker and familiarity with megaphone or people's mic
- d. Reactions when different individuals speak, especially from dominant actors
- e. Out of place/unplanned speaking
 - i. Extent to which on message
 - ii. How people react

5) Cultural indicators

- a. Clothing
- b. Food
- c. Beverage
- d. Songs
- e. Signs, buttons, other
- f. Cell phone and battery pack

6) Structure of action

- a. How choreographed?
- b. Who makes decisions?

- c. How are decisions made
- d. Extent it follows plan

7) End of action

- a. Pace at which different people live
 - i. Side conversations—how quick turn from action to reflection on action
- b. Jail support
 - i. Main person
 - ii. Supporters
- c. Debrief
 - i. Extent to which goals accomplished
 - ii. Responsibility taken for positives and negatives
 - iii. Lessons drawn

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